S. A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1990

FEBRUARY

Disbanding of groups expected

STAR 5/2/90 (304A)

Several organisations are expected to disappear following the unbanning of ANC, PAC and SACP, reports **SEFAKO NYAKA**

The "struggle" was not about the unbanning of organisations but about political power, Release Mandela Committee publicity secretary Mr Dali Mpofu said at the weekend.

The concessions were not a result of Mr de Klerk's goodwill but the result of pressure by internal and external organisations, he added.

Mr Mpofu conceded that Mr de Klerk's announcements, especially the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, had caught the Mass Democratic Movement off guard.

The unbanning of the ANC and SACP would certainly result in a drastic realignment of forces in extra-parliamentary politics.

The United Democratic Front was likely to cease to exist and its members would probably operate under the banner of the ANC, while the SA Youth Congress would probably be absorbed by the ANC Youth League, Mr Mpofu said.

A number of UDF affiliates — especially civic, sports, cultural and women's organisations — were expected to operate formally as extensions of the ANC once consultations had been made.

But one contentious issue might be the status of Cosatu and its relationship with the self-exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Mpofu said.

Sactu had a historic link and longstanding alliance with the ANC, and although it was not officially banned, it went into exile when the ANC was outlawed in the 1960s because most of its office-bearers had been SACP or ANC members.

Some elements in Cosatu, especially those who propounded the idea of a workers' party, would most likely resist efforts to make Cosatu a labour wing of the ANC.

Several single-issue organisations, such as the Release Mandela Committee, would fold when their demands had been met.

Mr Mpofu said Mr de Klerk's speech would pose a major headache to homeland leaders. His announcement that the issue of the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa was open for negotiation would meet with some resistance from people long regarded as puppets of the Government.

The suspension of the death penalty, although welcomed, was bound to pose problems, especially regarding crimes committed by right-wing elements.

The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act would certainly be opposed by the CP, he said.

FW de Klerk's reforms not likely to reverse divestments

STAR 6/2/90 (304A)

LONDON — There is little prospect of any early reversal of the strategy of disinvestment from South Africa in the wake of the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress and other measures announced by President FW de Klerk recently.

Barclays Bank, which pulled out of South Africa in November 1986, said: "Our position has not changed in the last few days."

The international business community is still absorbing the implications of Mr de Klerk's speech. Its initial response is likely to be cautious.

Post-disinvestment links remain close in many cases. On most occasions the departing company negotiated agreements with new owners on licensing, servicing, future technology transfers and use of patents and titles, so that the businesses could continue to perform profitably as a recent study, Apartheid and International Finance, commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat, points out.

If perceptions of the investment climate in South Africa change the likely first response is to upgrade these links rather than provide new capital. Secondly there may no substantial easing in the pressure for disinvestment, particularly powerful in the US where state and federal legislation has penalised ties with SA.

Although several Western governments have responded favourably to Mr de Klerk's speech, saying they will review sanctions, disinvestment is more the product of anti-apartheid lobbying than sanctions legislation itself.

In the US in particular, stockholder pressure co-ordinated by church groups, students, universities, and trade unions, backed by a powerful black lobby have led companies to pull out.

Another powerful factor in the US is Congress's Rangel Amendment of December 1987. This requires American companies to pay US taxes on their South African profits as though they were income earned in the US, without credit for taxes paid in SA.

High returns

The Commonwealth study estimates that this change in the law cost Mobil $5 million in 1988.

Thirdly, many foreign businessmen suspect that the days of high return from South African investments are over. Even four years ago, profits from Barclays's associate company, Barclays National Bank (now First National Bank) had fallen sharply, and were less than 10 percent of group earnings. Barclays was subjected to substantial pressure from several groups to disinvest, including the National Union of Students. The damage being done to its student business was one reason for the bank's decision.

The combination of political uncertainties in South Africa, as well as concern about the ANC's recent renewed commitment to nationalisation of banks and main industries, leave most investors and ex-investors cautious.

The bulk of disinvestment from SA took place between 1986 and 1988, by which time most of the companies vulnerable to pressure had pulled out.

Stocks of foreign direct investment in SA have fallen sharply.

Britain is the largest foreign investor (40 percent of total direct foreign investment), but estimates of the size of the investment vary, affected as it is by different calculations of the book value, and the weakening of the rand.

One study by Merle Lipton for the Economist Intelligence Unit, suggested that their book value had declined from almost £3 billion at the end of 1984 to £2 billion at the end of 1985.

British-based companies which stayed include ICI, which owns a trading company and has a 38 percent stake in AECI. BP and Shell also stayed. They welcomed the political changes in the country as vindicating their decision not to disinvest.

ICI said it had always felt it could contribute more to change in South Africa by staying in the country. "We have felt we could change the system from within by keeping our activities in South Africa," an ICI official explained.

He also stressed that ICI never condoned apartheid and that moves to change the system were welcome. He added the company had adhered to both the UK government's directions and the EC code on doing business with SA.

BP sold its South African coal interests last November. However, the British oil group said the coal sale was not part of a broad programme to withdraw from SA.

Political change

Shell recently pointed out that it had publicly called for many years for the abolition of apartheid, the freeing of Nelson Mandela and political prisoners and recognition of all organisations.

The political change in the country is likely to be closely watched by the two French car giants, the private Peugeot-Citroen group and the state-owned Renault company, which both withdrew from the SA market.

The two French volume manufacturers are likely to review their approach to the South African market in the wake of recent attempts by Japanese car producers to expand their penetration there.

US investment in South Africa was valued at $2,6 billion in 1981 and had fallen to under $1,5 billion in 1987, according to UN figures, while latest estimates suggest it is now under $1 billion.

But SA's share of US investment abroad is insignificant and the issue is unlikely to have priority in US boardrooms. It represents less than 0,5 percent of all American direct investment abroad. — Financial Times

FW had no mandate to unban ANC, says prof

Star 7/2/90 · (304A)

The Government should have consulted the white electorate before announcing Friday's sweeping changes, says a political scientist. White voters had given a mandate for the Separate Amenities Act and for the banning of the ANC, but not their reversal, says the expert.

President de Klerk did not have a mandate to unban the ANC and scrap apartheid laws, a political scientist has claimed in Pretoria.

Retired political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said this week that he disagreed with Mr de Klerk that he had a mandate from voters to carry out the measures announced on Friday.

He said Mr de Klerk, in a television interview, had tried to justify the unbanning of the ANC by claiming that voters in last year's general election had voted for negotiation.

Voters' endorsement of negotiations could not be interpreted as a mandate to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and unban prohibited organisations, Professor Kleynhans said.

"If you say you have a mandate, it means you have spelt out your intentions specifically," he said.

"Negotiation is a general term and nowhere in the National Party's 1989 election manifesto was the electorate asked to give the Government the authority to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to legalise the ANC, SACP or PAC."

Professor Kleynhans stressed he was not commenting on the merits of the Government's decisions, but on Mr de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate.

"President de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate is wrong and he cannot claim that a mandate to negotiate includes the things he did on Friday." — Own Correspondent.

Cape Times 13/2/90

Stoffel sees future govt with ANC

(3844)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa's Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was asked on British TV yesterday about the possibility of a coalition between the ANC and the National Party some time in the future.

Speaking on the BBC programme "Newsnight", he said: "We believe that the future government of SA should be composed in such a way that all the parties that make a difference to the future of the country, should be represented in such a government.

"Now if that includes the ANC and that includes the NP, then one hopes that a future government will be so composed."

On whether a black election would be held prior to negotiations starting, he said: "What is clear is that at the negotiating table, all the people of SA will have to be represented.

"What the right way is to select those leaders, whether it should be done through a universal black franchise or through whatever means, that is something that should be negotiated before the time. But the point is that eventually all the people must be represented and must feel themselves represented."

He said negotiations would still "take some time" to get under way.

Speaking on the same BBC programme, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's support for the lifting of sanctions has been slammed by Mr Thabo Mbeki, international secretary for the ANC.

Mr Mbeki backed Mr Mandela's call for international pressure to be retained till apartheid had been completely eradicated.

Mrs Thatcher, who has written to European and Commonwealth leaders calling for a "more positive" approach to encourage the ending of apartheid, yesterday released a statement reaffirming this standpoint.

Britain's voluntary ban on new investement in SA has already been ended.

Mr Mbeki said Mrs Thatcher had "always been opposed to any struggle against apartheid. It is therefore not surprising that she has wanted to remove even those little sanctions that this country has imposed.

"I don't know if she has any respect at all for the ANC — for the leadership of our people."

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd yesterday acknowledged that sanctions had played a significant part in Mr Mandela's release — but added that British support for positive moves had also been beneficial.

While US President George Bush was not prepared to discuss sanctions yesterday, White House sources quoted here said Congress was unlikely to soften sanctions, with the possible exception of reinstating landing rights for SA Airways in recongnition of Mr Mandela's release.

● In the same programme, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche verbalised right-wing threats after footage was shown of the march in Pretoria on Saturday, including a white man who was badly beaten up for opposing the AWB. Mr Terre'Blanche said the "capitulation" of the government would result in war.

S.A.C.U.M. (PTY) LTD. CHART OF ACCOUNTS 17/11/83 PAGE 39

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Politics of human rights

South 1/2 - 7/2/90

304A

A bill of rights is being debated by a broad spectrum of South Africans, from the Nationalist Party to the African National Congress. In this focus, SOUTH looks at the proposals of Judge Pierre Olivier's SA Law Commission and an ANC viewpoint:

A BILL of rights for South Africa is not — as one position taken has it — meant to protect the interests of the white minority against a future black majority government.

Instead, a bill of rights can be a major instrument to guarantee that the whole population, including the black majority, effectively realises the rights they have for so long been denied.

To project a bill of rights as essentially a mechanism to frustrate majority rule is to doom it from the start.

It should be used to enlarge, rather than to freeze, the area of human rights and to eliminate, rather than perpetuate, racial distinctions and the fruits of such distinctions.

The bill of rights must not be seen as a positive, creative mechanism that would encourage orderly, progressive and rapid change in the direction of real equality.

In the South African situation, it would thus provide for general, civil and political rights — including a multi-party system based on freedom of speech, association and organisation — but there would be no freedom to call for apartheid to be maintained or restored.

Other rights, such as the right to peace, development and a clean environment, must also be addressed.

This might upset lawyers used to Anglo-American legal conventions who argue that such concepts are political, not legal, and as such have no place within a bill of rights.

Sweeping

Any serious look at the needs of a post-apartheid society, however, shows that sweeping changes will be needed to ensure that the majority of the people have genuine and not merely token access to the rights, privileges and benefits of society

A fundamental feature of a meaningful bill of rights for South Africa is that it must be structured around a programme of affirmative action.

Not only individuals will be looking to the bill of rights to increase their freedom and improve the quality of their lives, but also whole communities — especially those whose rights have been systematically and relentlessly denied by the apartheid system.

The advantage of corrective action is that clear and irreversible goals with an undeniable social and moral purpose are stated, but considerable flexibility is permitted in terms of how the goals are to be realised.

There is no area of South African life that apartheid has left untouched It will therefore be necessary to extend affirmative action to every aspect of South Africa society — for example, in the areas of health, education, work and leisure

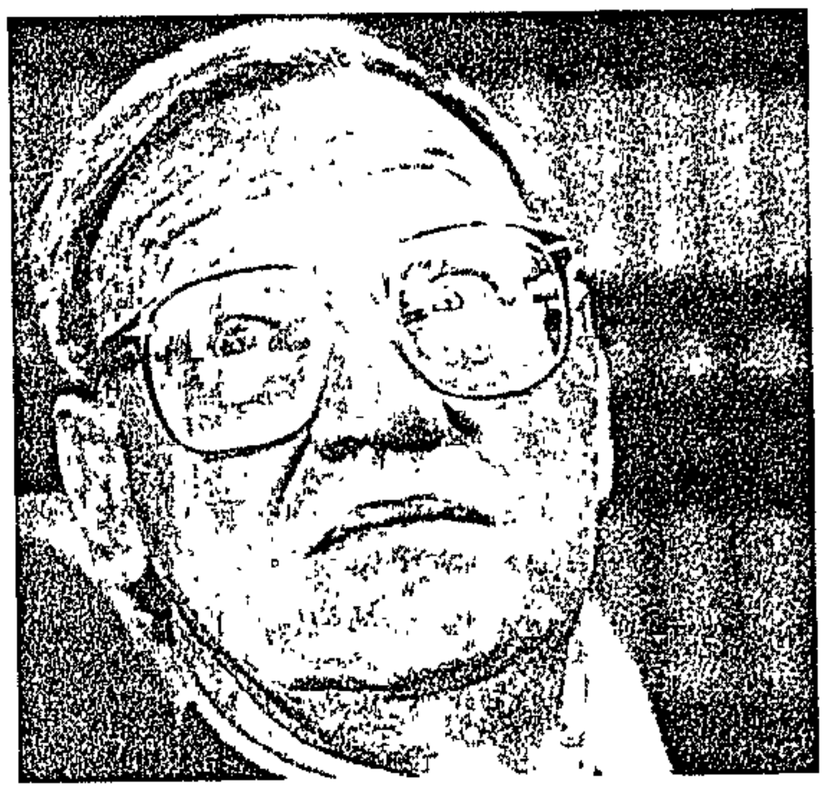
The assumption in most current writing on a bill of rights is that its final watchdog should be a body of highly-trained and elderly judges, applying traditional legal wisdom in what is considered a neutral and objective manner.

Disturbance

If the goal of a bill of rights is selfishly to guarantee the continued existence of property and social "rights" and that these suffer minimum disturbance — one has to put "rights" in inverted commas, as the power to ensure your child goes to a whites-only school cannot be dignified with the word "rights" — then who better to fulfil the role than those who not only belong to and share the values of the very group to be protected, but whose whole professional mode has been shaped in the context of the interests, values and styles of that group?

If, on the other hand, the "dog" is to watch the interests of the oppressed, it would have to have a totally different pedigree and training

It is unthinkable that the power to control the process of affirmative action in South Africa should be left to those who are basically hostile to it.



Judge Pierre Olivier

At present, the great need will be to give people confidence in parliament and representative institutions, to make them feel their vote really counts and that parliamentary democracy serves their interests

The principle of equal rights, which in other countries is regarded as so ordinary as not to merit any explanation or require any defence, is projected as something quite wondrous in South Africa.

It is considered so astonishing as to be constitutionally illusory and practically unattainable

Yet, essentially this is what the anti-apartheid struggle is directed towards — the achievement of full equality between all South Africans, independent of race, colour, ethnic origin, sex or creed.

The measure of the success of any new constitutional order will thus be the degree to which it enshrines and helps materialise the principle of full, genuine and inalienable equal rights

In the ANC's view, as race classification and group areas will disappear from legislation, they will vanish from citizenship and the electoral system.

There will be a common voters' roll made up of all adult South Africans to elect a parliament representative of and speaking in the name of the whole nation.

The constitution in this sense will be completely non racial There will be no special privileges for racial or ethnic groups.

Race will enter the constitution only as a negative principle in that the constitution will be not only non-racial but also anti-racist.

The anti-racist character will specifically:

- outlaw racial discrimination,
- prevent the dissemination of racist ideas and the organisation of racist parties; and
- ensure that measures are taken to overcome the effects of past racial discrimination

Persecuted

What guarantee would exist in a constitutional order based on majority rule against minorities being persecuted by the majority.? It may be argued that, while recognising the evils of apartheid, it would be unjust to inflict on future white generations the very kinds of discrimination which their fathers have been and are inflicting on blacks

At the pragmatic, it may be contended that if one wishes to persuade whites to relinquish power now, they must be given reasonable guarantees against persecution in the future.

The general scheme already outlined presupposes guarantees against the persecution both of individuals and of groups — but accomplishes this without introducing racist concepts.

Besides, the cultural diversity of the country will get a degree of constitutional recognition that will permit groups to develop certain aspects of what they might call their own way of life with a view to enriching the texture of society as a whole. This is the guarantee of equal rights for all national groups.

Isolation

The increasing precariousness of the apartheid regime inside South Africa and its growing isolation internationally could tempt it to stage-manage a solution similar to the Lancaster House agreement in Rhodesia

It could, namely, try to negotiate a constitution and a bill of rights that keep racist principles alive and guarantee privileges (not rights) for whites, but that nevertheless permit some kind of majority-rule.

The position of the anti-apartheid forces has long been that the people as a whole, acting through a democratically-elected constituent or national assembly, should be responsible for drawing up a constitution for a democratic South Africa.

Negotiations for a transitional arrangement could in fact pave the way to dismantle apartheid relatively peacefully and to establish a democratic South African state

The goal of a race-free democratic society would not be negotiable. The means of getting there, however, and in particular the timetable and method of transferring power from a racial minority to the people as a whole, would be.

In this context, it is more important than ever that opponents of apartheid do not lose sight of the goal of genuine democracy in South Africa

To suspend sanctions because apartheid managed to don attractive new clothes would be to betray the country to racial oppression and exploitation. It would be to negate the principles of equality and democracy.

It would also be to postpone peace in South Africa and delay the reconstruction necessary to ensure that the country truly becomes a country that belongs to all who live in it and a proud member of the community of nations.

(This article was extracted from an ANC document on a bill of rights.)

Bill could lead to end of apartheid

South 1/2 - 7/2/90.

304A

The South African government finally appears to be coming round to considering a bill of rights. If it accepts proposals on the issue, it could mean the scrapping of apartheid in South Africa RORY RIORDAN reports:

TRADITIONALLY, a bill of rights is the constitutional instrument used to protect the individual against the power of the state

It can be used to circumscribe the power of the state to prevent free expression, free association and other human rights, while also making detention without trial and other forms of government tyranny illegal.

A good bill of rights is also a measure against which all present and future legislation can be assessed. If such legislation infringes upon the human rights provisions of the bill of rights, the legislation can be rejected by the courts.

The National Party government until 1986 adamantly opposed a bill of rights The Constitutional Committee of the President's Council which devised the tricameral parliament, had refused to consider a bill of rights for South Africa.

On the other side of the political divide, the ANC has advocated a bill of individual rights since at least 1942 when, in African Claims, they proposed such a document for South Africa Mr Govan Mbeki was on the drafting committee

Today, Albie Sachs is working on a bill of rights project for the ANC

His draft report has been widely circulated for comment, both inside and outside South Africa.

In 1986, the NP government appears to have changed its attitude to a bill of rights. It appointed the SA Law Commission, a government body, to investigate two issues the relationship between individual and group rights; and how the courts could play a better role in protecting these rights.

The Law Commission appointed a team of researchers under Judge Pierre Olivier to perform this investigation, and circulated a working paper on 'Group and Human Rights" for comment in 1989.

The Commission is now preparing its final report, which it expects to have ready by the end of 1990 It will then be handed to the government, who may or may not use it recommendations

What value is the working paper for democracy in South Africa?

In the words of Etienne Mureinik, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand· "Judge Olivier's report has been described as the most important document to emanate from an official body in the past 40 years. My own view is that we could just as easily make that 400".

Some major points of the SA Law Commission's proposed bill of rights are.

- it unequivocally commits South Africa to equal, universal franchise for all adults;
- it states clearly that a bill of rights is the instrument to protect the individual against the state It is not the instrument to protect groups one against the other; such protection, if desired, should be in the constitution itself;
- it outlaws state involvement in discrimination — any institution that receives state funding may not discriminate because of race. The proposed Bill does allow for discrimination to continue at schools, hospital, for example — provided that no state money is involved;
- it allows for the principle of affirmative action programmes to try to redress the historic imbalances of apartheid;
- the Commission recommends the bill of rights be implemented in five stages: the fourth would entail "reaching consensus in a future constitution and finalising the bill of rights". The fifth is the legitimation, by referendum, of the new constitution — including the bill of rights·
- it would commit South Africa to a future dispensation based on an acceptance of international human rights norms Should the proposed bill of rights be accepted, South Africa could sign the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The proposals, however, also have shortfalls The most obvious is that it appears to entrench capitalism and private property.

· Most worrying is that it is being created without consultation with the ANC Judge Olivier argues that he would welcome ANC participation. He sent a letter to the recent Paris Conference in this regard.

But ANC suspicions of South African government bodies are deep-seated To the writer's knowledge, the ANC has not yet responded to the letter.

Thus the fundamental hurdle still awaits the SA Law Commission's proposed bill of rights. Can one construct a political initiative in South Africa today — no matter how good - which will be accepted by the majority of the people if the mass populist movements have not been involved in its having been drawn up?

This is the hurdle that the SA Law Commission must resolve. I do not believe they can.

(Rory Riordan is Director of the Human Rights Trust in Port Elizabeth)

De Klerk speech will be let-down — MDM

B/Day 1/2/90

ALAN FINE

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will make general commitments and express pleasant sentiments, but is unlikely to make specific undertakings in his speech at the opening of Parliament tomorrow, mass democratic movement (MDM) leaders believe.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday it was clear De Klerk had to address himself to the main issues raised in the Harare Declaration — including the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

"But I suspect he will be vague. It is clear government is trying to defuse expectations. For us, the important thing is how far he is prepared to go," Morobe said.

Both Morobe and an unofficial MDM source said they believed De Klerk remained bound to take into account the views of the "securocrats" who were worried about a repeat of the 1984 to 1986 uprisings.

This, the source said, explained the "so-called problems" regarding Mandela's release.De Klerk was unlikely to name dates, times and other specifics of his intentions regarding the emergency and the legal status of the ANC

IAN HOBBS reports from London that the largest assembly of ANC leaders outside Africa is gathering in Stockholm for a summit with their ailing president Oliver Tambo, to respond to De Klerk's opening of Parliament statement.

The meeting of all the most senior ANC executive members would give an "emphatic" response to De Klerk, spokesmen said yesterday.

Tambo, recovering in a Stockholm clinic from a stroke that partially disabled him six months ago, will not appear in public.

The summit with Tambo would be held behind locked doors, and all media conferences and public meetings would be led by Walter Sisulu, secretary general Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki and SA Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo.

A spokesman for the ANC executive said they hoped De Klerk would respond positively to the "gravity" of the situation facing SA.

Sisulu and his group are due to return to SA on Monday to deliver to their colleagues the full details of their summit with Tambo.

304A

Direction

KIN BENTLEY reports that the British government has not drawn up a firm list of political changes it expects De Klerk to announce.

But it does expect him to "say something new to develop the direction in which he has been going", a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday.

With violence between police and anti-rebel cricket tour protestors featuring prominently in the UK media this week, political commentators have virtually dismissed hopes of major changes being announced.

The Whitehall spokesman said only the British government was looking for "fresh changes and the repealing of some Acts".

Juicy Lucy's MD quits SA

EDYTH BULBRING

JUICY LUCY MD Sydney Cohen, 48, has resigned his position and will emigrate to Australia at the end of March. Juicy Lucy is a division of Anglovaal's Pleasure Foods.

Cohen said yesterday his emigration to Sydney, Australia, was not a vote of no-confidence in SA's political situation. However, he said he lacked confidence in the economy.

He would be investigating opportunities in the fast food industry, or positions in general management in Australia.

His main reason for emigrating was to keep his family together as his three children wanted to emigrate. He doubted whether his wife and himself would have emigrated alone, he said.

The family had discussed emigrating for many years and once permission to emigrate came through, they decided to "make the break", he said.

Pleasure Foods MD Mike Filberbauer said yesterday he was sad to see Cohen leave. He had not yet reached a decision on his replacement.

There are two sets of clues, but the answers are the same

Right-wing 'brotherhood' terrorising Left

(304A) 1/2/90

Little is known about a secret organisation which, say police, has penetrated all levels of South African life in an effort to torpedo Government reform initiatives and thereby "protect" business assets. Investigators say intimidation, violence and murder are the group's weapons. But, on the evidence so far, it's clear the police are dealing with a sophisticated, resourceful and dangerous group that represents a threat to society. **KITT KATZIN and STEVE McQUILLAN report.** STAR 1/2/90 (304A)

A chilling picture has emerged of how and why a secret right-wing organisation, likened in character to the once-formidable Afrikaner Broederbond, has been directly linked by police to the apparent political murders of Dr David Webster and former Swapo advocate Mr Anton Lubowski.

Details of the operations of the new secret group, which police claim was responsible for the two as yet unsolved murders, have been uncovered by The Star in a prolonged investigation of its own.

First indications of the character and objectives of the movement came from senior police sources in papers lodged in the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, chief investigating officer in the Webster murder and commander of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, levelled a list of serious allegations against the group when he opposed an application for the release of Mr Ferdie Barnard, a former narcotics detective who is allegedly a member of the organisation or was working on its behalf.

In an affidavit submitted to court last week, which led to an application for Mr Barnard's release being rejected, Brig Mostert expanded on the "sensitive" information he had gathered on the group's activities.

He disclosed the organisation committed murders and terrorised left-wing radicals with intimidation and violence, but said he could not reveal all the facts as secrecy was of the "greatest importance".

An investigation by The Star, however, throws some light on the strategies and activities of the group and on the movements of some of its alleged members.

It has been disclosed that:

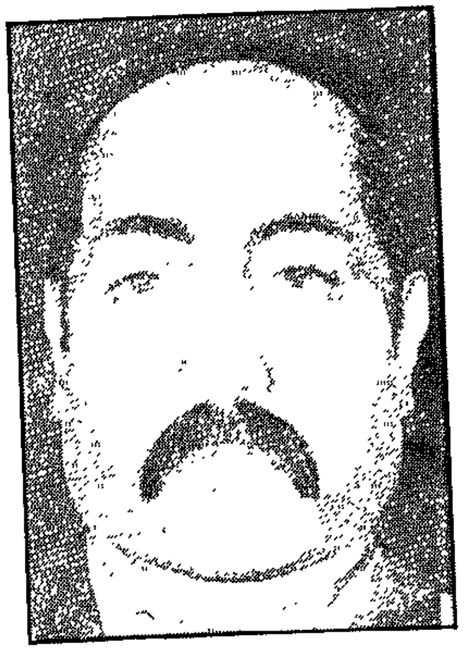
- Mr Barnard, who has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since October 31, had at least twice met Irish national Mr Donald Acheson, who has been charged in Windhoek with the Lubowski murder.
- Both meetings took place in Johannesburg before Mr Lubowski was killed outside his home in Windhoek on September 12. (Mr Acheson is charged only with the Lubowski murder while Mr Barnard is being questioned in connection with both killings — Lubowski and Webster).
- Mr Barnard, who has allegedly confessed to being under the command of the military intelligence arm of the South African Defence Force, met Mr Acheson soon after the Irish national was due to appear on a shoplifting charge in Johannesburg. However, he never stood trial and disappeared to Windhoek where he was arrested on the night Mr Lubowski was shot.
- Mr Acheson, meanwhile, has apparently admitted in prison in Windhoek to knowing Mr Barnard — but by another name. He identified a photograph of Mr Barnard, but said he did not know him as "Barnard". There is wide speculation that Mr Acheson was in some way "set-up".
- This appears to confirm suspicions that members of the secret organisation used code names and were not known to each other by their real names. They apparently also do not know who their superiors are.
- A further indication of this is that payments were apparently made in cash to members of the organisation for "services rendered" by intermediaries using false names.
- Some members of the group may have been "set up" in regard to illegal actions they are alleged to have perpetrated. This has given rise to speculation that they may have been used as pawns.
- Mr Barnard, it is believed, operated under the cover of an insurance company representative while undertaking tasks for the organisation.

It is understood police established a link between Mr Acheson and Mr Barnard when they found a telephone number in Mr Acheson's apartment in Windhoek. The number turned out to be registered to a paging service in Johannesburg in the name of a former Springbok athlete involved in a legitimate insurance business. It is believed Mr Barnard carried one of the company's radio pagers.

Forsyth link

Mr Barnard was allegedly instructed to shadow the movements of an activist who had close contacts with Dr Webster, though it is not known for what purpose. The Star has spoken to the person concerned, who has requested his identity remain secret.

However, investigations show that a possible reason for the surveillance may be linked to the case of former security police spy, Olivia Forsyth, who escaped from the African National Congress (ANC) in May 1988 and took refuge in the British Embassy in Luanda before she was freed.



The police identikit of a man wanted for questioning in connection with the Webster killing.

According to sources, friends of Lieutenant Forsyth, who has since returned to South Africa, were perturbed about her situation at the time she was holed up in Luanda — the Angolan government at first refused to allow her to leave and the ANC demanded that she be handed back — and approached the activist for help.

He and Miss Forsyth had known each other as students. It is believed the activist may have responded by discussing the matter with Dr Webster to see if the academic could help. It is not known to what extent Dr Webster became involved.

Also, several strange reports have surfaced in connection with the Lubowski shooting.

In repeated anonymous calls to the *Windhoek Observer* newspaper, a caller said Lubowski's assassins had long since flown out of Africa. The caller added that the case had aroused the attention of the United States Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bureau of Investigation — not an unreasonable suggestion considering Lubowski's assassination occurred on the eve of Namibian independence negotiations and had the potential of wrecking the peace plan.

Also, in court papers, Mr Acheson described how a police officer had asked him to collect firewood for an informal braai at a dam construction site in Namibia soon after he was detained. On at least two occasions, he claimed, keys were left in an unattended motor car — once at the dam and once outside a police station. He claimed police told him how far it was to the border.

Mr Acheson said it appeared he was being encouraged to abscond and feared for his life.

Police in Windhoek are on record as saying they cannot discuss the Acheson/Lubowski case because of national security concerns.

Intimidation, violence

The Star has also established that the organisation is alleged to have intimidated prominent people and was involved in the burning of academics' motor vehicles and the stoning of buses.

These incidents are being investigated by police.

It is claimed that the organisation threatened people with violence and death over the telephone. The Star knows of at least one person, an advocate, who received such a call.

Police are said to be investigating further incidents of violence allegedly perpetrated by the group and believe Mr Barnard is withholding vital evidence in this regard.

Dubbed by some as an "armed Broederbond", the new right-wing organisation also apparently has access to the security police, the military and government departments. And, like the Broederbond, it was formed to achieve political objectives.

However, unlike the Broederbond, whose purpose was and still is to reinforce Afrikaner political advancement, the new group is intent upon destroying the base of the present-day National Party and the Government's reform initiatives.

There is growing evidence to show that the right-wing group could also be linked to military intelligence.

Sources say evidence in this respect may soon become known and police confirm they are investigating a possible connection.

Mr Barnard withdrew an initial application for his release on the grounds that, as a self-confessed MI operative, he feared for his life. He would be killed by "interested parties", he said, if he were freed.

The SADF has denied he was a member of military intelligence.

Protest by Schwarz: no to committee post

(304A) 1/2/90

By Peter Fabricius, STAR
Political Correspondent

2/2/90

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, has announced that as a protest he will not accept the position of deputy chairman of Parliament's standing committee on finance.

Mr Schwarz made it clear yesterday that his action was a protest against the Speaker of Parliament's appointment of National Party MPs to all the chairmanships of the standing committees.

The standing committees perform an important function in examining and often changing forthcoming legislation.

Veteran finance spokesman Mr Schwarz has been vice-chairman of the important finance committee for years. But he said in a statement that he would find the position unacceptable because of the situation that had arisen.

On January 17 the DP, Labour Party, Solidarity Party and National People's Party began boycotting the standing committees.

The reason given was the Speaker's appointment of NP MPs as chairmen of all 14 standing committees.

Mr Schwarz said he had served on the standing committee on finance since its inception and on the public accounts committees of Parliament and the Transvaal Provincial Council since 1958.

"I will continue as an ordinary Member to act to the best of my ability as a watchdog for the public in respect of its finances," he said.

Negotiating table laden with prizes for bold SA

STAR 1/2/90 (304A)

In a bid to get the crucial talks going, the West is offering the South African Government the carrot and the ANC something less, writes **RICHARD DOWDEN**, Africa Editor for The Independent, London.

Western countries are beginning to hold out carrots to the South African Government to lock it into negotiations by offering to lift sanctions as soon as Nelson Mandela is released.

The United States is shifting its policy from pressing Pretoria to end apartheid to urging it and the African National Congress to enter negotiations. The Bush administration wants to lift some sanctions as a gesture when Mr Mandela is released. The British, who maintain no serious sanctions apart from the arms embargo, are holding out the prospect of a visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher when negotiations are under way.

Mr Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, has picked up the pieces of the South African policy which was broken by Congress in 1986 with the passing of the Anti-Apartheid Act in defiance of President Ronald Reagan's veto.

Mr Cohen is now suggesting that the president can use the clause enabling him to "modify or suspend" sanctions when at least four of the five demands on Pretoria stated in the Act have been met.

'Warm statements'

The strategy of the Bush administration has been to tilt towards the African National Congress in public, making warm statements about its "helpfulness" and meeting its senior officials. Mr Cohen has also stated that sanctions have been effective — a sentiment which has infuriated the South Africans and irritated the British.

Having gained brownie points with the anti-apartheid movement, however, Washington is guiding the ANC to the door of the conference room but then saying goodbye. The US strongly rejects suggestions that there should be a United Nations formula for ending apartheid or even offering its own definition of what it would consider a fair settlement beyond "a non-racial, representative government" in South Africa. The ANC is now on its own as far as Washington is concerned, and must go to the conference table and secure whatever its own strength can achieve.

President George Bush is prepared to lift some US sanctions as a gesture when Mr Nelson Mandela is released.

The British are holding out the prospect of a visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher when negotiations are under way.

"Our ploy used to be putting pressure on the white power structure to end apartheid," Mr Cohen said in London last week. "We now feel the priority to be putting pressure on the white power structure and the non-white majority to engage in fruitful negotiations. We will criticise the first to move away from those negotiations."

Britain, mainly through the high-energy policy of its ambassador in South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, is trying to work at a formula which will actually bring President de Klerk's Government and the ANC to the table, for example by persuading Mr de Klerk to talk in terms of minority rights — acceptable to the ANC — and not group rights, which the ANC regards as revamped apartheid.

Ireland, which holds the EC presidency, agrees that lifting some European sanctions will probably be on the agenda when Mr Mandela is released.

At the moment the ANC is going along, with a deal of grumbling, with the negotiation idea. At one time it demanded the end of apartheid before negotiations. Then it insisted on an interim government. These have been ruled out.

Pretoria may agree to black representation in government during talks, but the ANC is being forced to the conference table before Pretoria has come anywhere near to a commitment on majority rule.

Negotiation may secure an agreement which satisfies the aspirations of most South Africans. But what if it does not? The problem with US and British policy is that it has no backstop.

Mr Cohen has persuaded Congress to give the South Africans until June, when the South African parliamentary session ends, to effect substantial progress.

But if Mr de Klerk does not produce the goods by then, Mr Cohen is committed to doing nothing more than consulting Congress. But Congress has shot its bolt. Further sanctions would hurt the US more than South Africa, and American officials have privately ruled out the option of forcing Washington's allies to impose the same sanctions package as the US.

Mrs Thatcher, even more than Mr Bush, relies on using the carrot to end apartheid, and is firmly against further sanctions under any circumstances. Pretoria, therefore, is in a strong position to use the talks for its own ends.

Extremely vulnerable

The ANC, on the other hand, is extremely vulnerable as it goes to the conference table. On its own admission it cannot fall back on armed struggle or expect much support from the Frontline states — a collection of countries with little in common now beyond their geographical closeness to South Africa.

The turmoil in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has deprived the ANC not only of material support, but also of a philosophical basis. The South African Communist Party, which has had immeasurable influence on the structure, tactics and strategy of the ANC, is moving towards support for multiparty democracy and perestroika.

The ANC is having to rely on popular support inside South Africa and international public sentiment against apartheid. Once it starts negotiating, the only message it will hear from Western governments is to stay there and keep talking.

Patience of white man run out - AWB

Sowetan 11/2/90. (30w)

A GROUP of Afrikaner Weerstand-beweging supporters - several of whom were armed - assembled on Tuesday outside Cape Town station to "make their presence felt" because "the patience of the white man has run out" with the Nationalist Party government.

Fourteen members stood on the pavement outside the station as the Western Cape leader of the organisation, Mr Steven Jacobsen, read out a prepared statement.- Sapa

Bid to clear obstacles to release (304A)

Last-minute meeting for FW, Nelson

B/Day 1/2/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela today to try to remove the final stumbling blocks to his release.

De Klerk is also likely to brief Mandela on the contents of his address to Parliament — details of which were disclosed to the full Cabinet for the first time yesterday.

Cabinet Ministers yesterday would not discuss the contents of the speech, but one senior government source described it as "courageous". "It's an all-out effort to do as much as is possible in the prevailing circumstances," the source said.

Government members are all too aware of the dangers of Friday's speech turning into another "Rubicon" and have warned against raising "undue expectations". A source said while the speech had "elements of drama" in it, it was "not that dramatic".

It is still considered highly unlikely that De Klerk will give specifics about Mandela's release date or even announce his release. But, depending on the outcome of today's talks, De Klerk can be expected to give an indication that the ANC leader will be released in a matter of weeks. A date being touted in parliamentary circles is February 12.

Sources said while most of the opening speech had been completed, De Klerk would add the final touches only after meeting Mandela.

Mandela is reportedly insisting that the ANC be unbanned and the state of emergency lifted before his release.

Sources said the outbreak of violence linked to the rebel English cricket tour and the general unrest potential in the country had occupied a major part of yesterday's Cabinet deliberations.

MANDELA

DE KLERK

Because of this, the speech would not go as far as government might originally have liked, but was still "courageous" from an NP viewpoint. But government was not hesitating to introduce reform measures because of fears of a right-wing backlash.

In his speech De Klerk is expected to outline government's plans to get negotiations going.

A partial lifting of the state of emergency, further details of the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act and an outlining of government's new fiscal and monetary policy can also be expected in the speech.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis are understood to have been working on the latter aspect of the speech for several weeks.

Although a senior government source confirmed today's meeting between De Klerk and Mandela, it is not clear where it will take place. Unlike their previous

☐ To Page 2

FW and Nelson

(304A) B/Day 1/2/90

☐ From Page 1

meeting, it is unlikely to take place at Tuynhuys as preparations are well under way for Parliament's opening ceremony.

Government officials are also taking precautions to prevent details of the opening speech from becoming known before De Klerk's address because of fears that an early leak could affect capital and equity markets.

MERVYN HARRIS reports that hesitancy emerged among foreign and local investors on Diagonal Street yesterday ahead of the speech.

Dealers said investors were reluctant to take up positions as the finrand investment currency was expected to move sharply in reaction to any proposals.

A favourable response could see further strong demand for the currency, while a negative view could bring the price of the finrand down.

The currency has already moved up sharply on the so-called Mandela factor.

The currency yesterday weakened to R3,3900 from R3,3450 in what dealers described as thin and quiet trading in both London and Johannesburg.

The withdrawal of buyers to the sidelines and a lower gold price resulted in share prices easing across most sectors on the JSE. The overall index declined 20 points to 3 194.

FW meets Mandela today

President De Klerk

Mr Nelson Mandela

Cape Times 1/2/90

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela will meet today in a bid to iron out problems related to the ANC leader's release.

The surprise meeting, the second between the two leaders, will take place at an undisclosed venue and time.

It comes on the eve of Mr De Klerk's crucial speech to Parliament at its opening tomorrow.

A senior government source said last night that the meeting could have a significant impact on the final draft of Mr De Klerk's address and the eventual date of Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Mandela appears to want his release to be part of a comprehensive package which includes the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency, while the government favours a staggered programme of reform measures.

Should the two leaders be able to fashion a compromise, Mr Mandela's release could take place within weeks. It is understood that Mr De Klerk plans to hold a press conference on February 12.

While Mr De Klerk is not expected tomorrow to announce the precise date of the ANC leader's release, he might say that Mr Mandela will be freed as soon as arrangements can be finalised — as happened before Mr Mandela's fellow Rivonia trialists were freed.

As expectation and speculation about Mr De Klerk's speech continues to mount, government members are acutely aware of the dangers of another "Rubicon".

Government sources said that while the speech did not go as far as some might have wanted, under the prevailing conditions it would nonetheless be a "courageous" statement.

One source said the speech would be "not be that dramatic" but would contain "some drama". The government believes it has made "an all-out effort to do as much as possible under the circumstances".

It is understood that the latest wave of nationwide unrest played a much greater role in deliberations around the speech than any fear of a right-wing backlash from whites.

Among the announcements Mr De Klerk is expected to make tomorrow is that the state of emergency is to be at least partially lifted, resulting in an end to the curbs placed on 34 opposition organisations.

An announcement on the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act is also possible.

NEW CAPS

Revealed: The official document

304A

South 1/2 – 7/2/90

A SECOND paper by Nelson Mandela, entitled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding," criticises state president FW de Klerk for his recent statements on reform and takes a clear stand on the "talks about talks" issue.

Details of the document were made available to SOUTH this week.

In the document, Mandela makes an important departure from a previous document, first published in SOUTH last week, on the question of "talks about talks".

He calls for the creation of a "proper climate," echoing the view of the ANC that certain pre-conditions must be met before negotiations can begin.

Mandela begins the document by complimenting De Klerk for freeing the eight political prisoners in October last year.

He says the conflict and violence in South Africa would never be settled unless the government and the ANC reached agreement.

The document states that the government had over a period of time consistently insisted that the ANC make a commitment to peace as a precondition for talks.

Mandela said he wanted to make it clear to the government that the ANC would never make such a commitment at the insistence of the National Party.

He said the history of the ANC itself had been such a commitment.

TO PAGE THREE

Birthday march for ET

Sowetan 1/2/90

IF Nelson Mandela was released, "all hell would break loose", Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terreblanche told a crowd of emotionally-charged supporters on Tuesday. (304B)

On the eve of his forty-fifth birthday, TerreBlanche invited more than 800 people to join him and members of the Boerestaatparty and the "Transvaalse Seperatiste" in a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, some time soon.

'Climate for negotiation'

Argus 01/02/90 (304 A)

By TOS WENTZEL, on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk is expected to present the government's latest plans for creating a climate for negotiations for a new constitution when he opens parliament tomorrow but no firm details are expected.

At a National Party caucus meeting on Tuesday Nationalist MPs were left in the dark about what he would be saying and about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, matters

24 HOURS

NEWS WATCH

they feel he is bound to deal with in his speech.

These matters were considered further at yesterday's cabinet meeting. Various Ministers have submitted inputs to the speech but it appears as if no final decision has yet been taken on a release date for Mr Mandela.

According to one top Nationalist source the question of the release of Mr Mandela has been left to an inner circle of the cabinet and also to the jailed ANC leader and the president. A statement after their meeting last month indicated that there could be follow-up meetings.

Today's planned second meeting between the President and Mr Mandela will probably aim to resolve the complicating factors in the timing of his release from prison. The present security situation and some of the preconditions set by Mr Mandela are said to have complicated the release date.

The government must still decide on whether the release must be tied to the unbanning of the African National Congress.

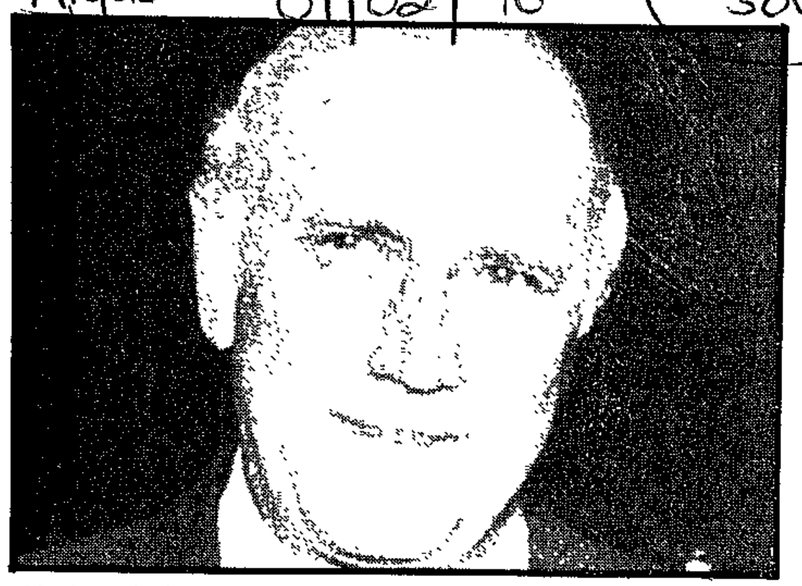
The impression among Nationalist MPs is that his speech tomorrow will be aimed at setting the scene for pre-negotiations, "talks about talks", on the start of negotiations to provide for black political rights and a new democratic system. He will not be presenting any final package for negotiation.

Speculation about President De Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament tomorrow is reaching fever pitch in political and diplomatic circles amid these indications that he will go no further than to set out in broad terms the government's plans to get negotiations going.

There is intense international interest in the speech. A spokesman at Tuynhuys said the president's office was being inundated with requests from journalists from all over the world for interviews with Mr De Klerk or Mr Nelson Mandela. All these requests are at present being turned down.

According to an indication he gave last year he will deal with plans for a strategy and a plan for power-sharing talks and for economic restructuring.

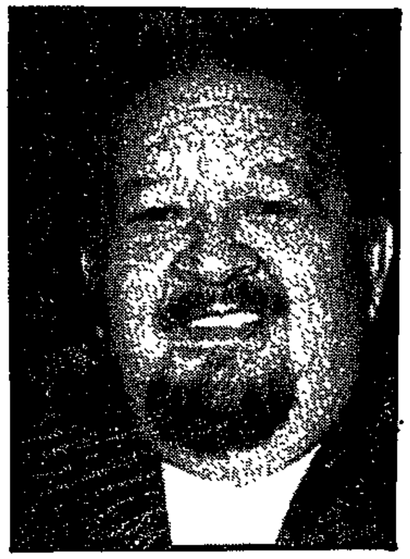
The first phase of such a plan is likely to be moves to continue creating and evaluating a climate in which negotiation can start.



Mr De Klerk ... Nationalist MPs believe his speech tomorrow will be aimed at setting the scene for pre-negotiations — talks about talks

Dr Treurnicht ... 'Mr De Klerk faces a huge dilemma'

Dr Zac de Beer ... 'SP can afford to lift the emergency'



Mr Allan Hendrickse ... 'overseas attitudes must be considered'

Mr De Klerk has promised that enough progress can be made in the next few months to confirm the government's commitment to reform.

In political circles it is felt that, in order to create a climate for negotiations, Mr De Klerk will have to take note of the demands for the unbanning of the African National Congress and other politicl movements, the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The big question that remains is how far he will be prepared to go on this occasion.

There is concern among Nationalist MPs about expectations that have been created about the speech and that Mr De Klerk may not be able to fulfil these.

In many quarters the expectations about the speech are in fact being scaled down, especially in view of the the renewed and widespread unrest in the country.

In diplomatic circles there is now a growing feeling that Mr De Klerk will not make a firm statement on when Mr Mandela will be released but that he may ease the state of emergency by perhaps modifying restrictions on newspapers, the printed media, but not on television, especially overseas television.

The unrest situation is now also seen as one of the major stumbling blocks to the release of Mr Mandela and the lifting of the ban on the ANC. Ideally these two steps would be announced together but the prospects for both appear to be fading.

If Mr De Klerk does not make a positive move in this direction he is bound to face a barrage of international criticism, also from countries who have been sympathetic to his reform moves.

The effect the release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC could have on the internal situation is the big issue now being considered and in view of the latest flaring up of unrest the chances of this happening now are not good.

Mr De Klerk may well renew his invitation to opponents of the government to come and test the government through dialogue and negotiation.

He also has to grapple with the question of protest marches, especially now that the organisers of some have them have indicated that they will not seek the official permission required for these.

Dilemma

Political leaders today had widely varying ideas of where Mr De Klerk is going or should be going.

Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said Mr De Klerk faced a huge dilemma.

If he acceded to all the demands that were being made of him there would be chaos and revolution in the country. If he did not, the demonstrations would continue.

Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said Mr De Klerk would obviously want to continue with the creation of a climate for negotiation.

This was why he believed that Mr De Klerk could still announce the release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC on Friday.

He could afford to lift the state of emergency or at least part of it.

Mr De Klerk would have to try and keep up the momentum for reform which he had started and he would have to say something of note.

If he did not announce steps to remove some of the major obstacles to negotiation he ran the risk of being seen as trying to dampen the high expectations he had created.

Expectations

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it was not yet clear whether Mr De Klerk would at this stage come with any fundamental moves.

What was clear was that he could not afford not to say something about Mr Mandela after all the expectations that had been created.

The government would also have to take cognisance of what had happened in Eastern Europe and it would also have to take into account the attitudes of overseas countries which wanted to encourage reform moves in South Africa.

Ms Cheryl Carolus, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, said the movement wanted Mr De Klerk to announce the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners.

It also wanted Mr De Klerk to put his money where his mouth was by making far-reaching announcements to create a climate for negotiations.

Among these should be the scrapping of measures such as the state of emergency and the Internal Security Act which circumscribed free political activities.

In terms of the Act all open air meetings were banned and it was also used to ban people.

Birthday march for ET

Sowetan 1/2/90

IF Nelson Mandela was released, "all hell would break loose", Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terreblanche told a crowd of emotionally-charged supporters on Tuesday. (30/4/)

On the eve of his forty-fifth birthday, TerreBlanche invited more than 800 people to join him and members of the Boerestaatparty and the "Transvaalse Seperatiste" in a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, some time soon.

The Argus
01/02/90
304 A

Intense world interest in speech by FW

DAVID BRAUN Argus Foreign Service in Washington

NOT since President P W Botha's ill-fated "Rubicon" speech of a few years ago has so much international expectation built up over a South African leader's address.

President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament tomorrow will, like Rubicon, be carried live in the United States by at least one television channel — CNN.

American viewers have been told to expect a major policy speech, probably including details of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison as well as other dramatic reforms such as lifting or modifying the state of emergency and relaxing restrictions on opposition organisations.

The major networks are hungry for a big international story at the moment, as the news has been somewhat flat since last year's rebellion in China and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The big television companies are looking at what they expect will be one of the biggest stories of the decade, the release of Mr Mandela.

NBC director of foreign news coverage Mr Dave Miller told USA Today that when Mr Mandela walked to freedom "for 72 hours, South Africa will be in the centre of the world."

To ensure they will be on the spot, the major networks have already prepared travel arrangements for large television crews.

CBS is sending its 48 Hours team to South Africa to look at events leading to the release and ABC is sending Nightline's Ted Koppel to try to secure Mr Mandela's first interview.

ABC is planning to send its star anchor, Peter Jennings, to South Africa for Mr Mandela's release. If he goes, the other networks will almost certainly send their top anchors.

South 1/2 – 7/2/90.

The official Mandela document

304A

He continued to examine what De Klerk had been saying about reform in South Africa and criticised him.

In the document, he drew attention to De Klerk's inaugural statement where he had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together and negotiating a new constitutional dispensation.

Mandela said he believed that the cornerstone of the statement was the need for reconciliation.

He questioned De Klerk's meetings with homeland leaders, saying there was no need to seek reconciliation with them as they were the government's creation.

He said these meetings had nothing to do with reconciliation.

The large majority of South Africa's population understood reconciliation as that between the government and the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations. The government could not avoid this issue.

Mandela said it was at this level that the country was yearning for reconciliation.

Experience had shown that the government was only interested in making peace with those who agree with them.

This did not help but only impeded negotiations.

In his previous document Mandela had suggested two "stages" to negotiations. The first would be a meeting between the government and the ANC where preconditions for negotiations would be discussed; the second would be the actual negotiations.

Obstacles

The ANC, however, had stated that the onus would be on the government to create a proper climate for negotiations. He was therefore not in favour of the two "stages", Mandela said.

According to the ANC, the government had to eliminate the obstacles to negotiations, the second document stated.

The climate would be created if apartheid legislation was scrapped, the state of emergency lifted, banned organisations were unbanned, political prisoners were released, exiles were allowed to return and all executions and political trials halted.

Mandela said in the document that unless the proper climate was created for talks about dismantling apartheid and the measures used to enforce it, the idea of talks was totally unrealistic.

He reiterated his commitment to the ANC and said the "two stage" approach had been his own thoughts at the time.

He said in the document he had always indicated that whatever he did was subject to his organisation — the ANC — and he adopted their stand.

SOUTH's sources confirmed that Mandela handed the second document personally to Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on the afternoon of December 12, 1989.

At this meeting the two ministers informed him about the meeting with De Klerk the following day. The document formed part of his discussions with De Klerk.

Conditions of release the sticking point

FW, Mandela in dramatic talks today

STAR 1/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are expected to meet today in a dramatic last minute attempt to solve the thorny problem of Mr Mandela's release date before tomorrow's opening of Parliament.

This would be the second known meeting between the two leaders, who last met at Tuynhuys on December 13 to discuss ways of ironing out obstacles to negotiation.

Senior government sources confirmed today "plans existed" for another meeting and they expect it would take place today.

The sources said the meeting could have an important bearing on Mr de Klerk's address at the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

A senior Government source said Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela would discuss "sticking points that have arisen in plans for Mr Mandela's release".

Finishing touches

"They will try to sort out one or two problems surrounding the release. If the can sort them out, Mr de Klerk will say one thing tomorrow. If not, he will say something else," the source said.

Sources indicate the major portion of Mr de Klerk's momentous speech is complete and "finishing touches" will follow his meeting with the ANC leader

It is understood that the problem is that Mr Mandela will not come out of prison in Paarl unless the Government meets certain conditions.

These probably include the immediate unbanning of the ANC, the de-restriction of internal political organisations such as the UDF and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The Government, on the other hand, has expressed itself in favour of a step-by- step approach to removing these obstacles to negotiation.

'Absurd' situation

National Party sources suggest the Government is prepared partially to lift the state of emergency immediately and that Mr de Klerk intends to announce this tomorrow, but is wary of scrapping it altogether or unbanning the ANC immediately.

There is mounting dismay in some high circles of Government that Mr de Klerk did not release Mr Mandela unconditionally late last year and has allowed himself to be manoeuvred by Mr Mandela into meeting his hard conditions for his own release.

One senior source said that it was "absurd" that a prisoner should be setting conditions for his release and that the Government should let him out immediately and face the consequences.

It now seems that if the problems can be sorted out today, Mr de Klerk could possibly announce tomorrow that Mr Mandela would be freed when arrangements had been finalised.

Today, Argus Group newspapers salute children who will take So Chang-Kue (17), Liza Saayman (17), Tumi Kgoma (18) and Maria Phe launched to thank thousands of readers for more than 100 years of su

Argus donates R1-m to

STAR 1/2/90

Argus Newspapers is about to give R1 million to young people of all races who will help build a new South Africa.

Instead of splurging on a nation-wide "bash" to celebrate the corporation's 100 years in newspapers, Argus Newspapers intends to mark its recent centenary by donating R1 million to private-initiative education.

Argus chairman Mr Hal Miller ... 'Repaying some of our dues.'

The money will be used to capitalise on the efforts of The Star and our readers — and of all Argus newspapers — who have invested in TEACH.

TEACH built classrooms when there was no place in school for many new pupils and, over a decade of shortages, it provided accommodation for about a quarter of a million children.

Today, in a new era, and to mark the beginning of its second century of commitment to South Africa, Argus Newspapers announces that it is to create a R1-million educational trust.

The money is for all young South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed. It will promote education across the whole spectrum community ser Argus newspaper

These newspap clude The Star, S Star and Sunday S Argus and We Argus, The Daily Sunday Tribune Mercury and Pos Sowetan, Pretoria and the Diamond Advertiser

Trustees will money according greatest need of a ticular community

The newspaper tion trust may gi saries or build buy needed equ and books or m outright donatio school, technikon versity.

The only test wi that the best way the cause of educa

Announcing the tion of the trust,

SECURITY AND REFORM F/M 2/2/90 (304A)

The politics of protest

It is not easy to find out what really happens when policeman meets protestor.

The reporting of the cricket tour protests (and others) has been remarkable for the number of wildly different versions in the media. One newspaper said the protest at the match in Kimberley was peaceful; another reported that a fence was almost broken down and stones were thrown on to the field. And the SABC's radio and TV news teams often appear to have been at another event altogether.

When the visiting players arrived at Jan Smuts Airport, one British journalist apparently reported on an event he had not seen, in a manner which implied that he had.

On Tuesday, the Radio 702 cricket correspondent noted that the protest at the Bloemfontein match was peaceful; a moment before, the same station's newsreader spoke of the SADF taking control of Bloemfontein township Mangaung because the SAP had lost control of demonstrators.

Are the police being mulish, even mutinous — and deliberately brutal? Or are they simply attempting to keep the peace in very trying circumstances, without proper equipment and clarity of purpose?

After more than a decade of the lid being kept firmly in place, the police are obviously not accustomed to handling huge demonstrations — but neither are the protestors. And most of the reporters, either rusty or naive, seem to have forgotten how to get all sides of the story, and prefer to settle into advocacy journalism in which the good guys have been picked in advance.

Whatever the reality, the simmering violence seriously threatens President F W de Klerk's reform initiative. The problem must be dealt with quickly, unequivocally and in a peaceful way — and it is in the end a problem for the politicians, not the police (who can deal only with symptoms, not the root causes).

As the *FM* went to press, the situation appeared to be worsening. Three protest marches were planned for Cape Town's CBD. The largest, on Friday, will be to the gates of parliament to coincide with De Klerk's opening address. Winnie Mandela is due to take part. Hundreds of foreign journalists will report on the event. Official permission has not been granted for the gathering, and police have warned that they will break it up.

Optimists were ready to believe that De Klerk's message of compromise and tolerance was getting through to the police (*Current Affairs* January 26), and perhaps it has. But some methods used against anti-tour protestors, and black scholars in Cape Town, suggest that it might not have.

Is it significant that the latest crackdown started only days after De Klerk told 500 senior police officers that their job is to keep law and order and not play politics? He said in essence that politicians will in future deal with political issues, including public protests, and that the strong-arm tactics of the past will be unnecessary.

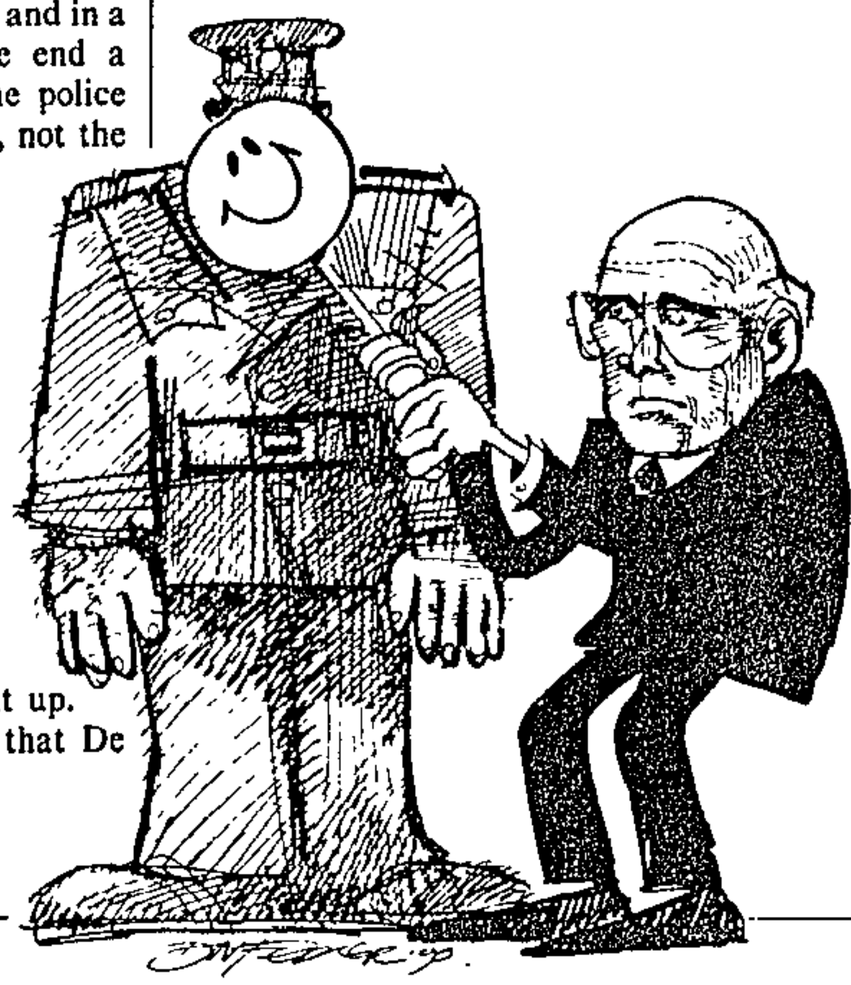
Whether or not the latest police actions were unnecessarily brutal, the public relations effect was such that they were. Mention water-cannon, razor wire and teargassing, and it begins to look as if the police are making a political statement.

It is understood that De Klerk is extremely concerned, but is unlikely to do anything until after the opening of parliament.

The police are not in an easy position. How long should they wait, at a protest, before acting to prevent injury and damage to property? If the law is broken and they are criticised for acting upon that offence, surely it is the law that is at fault? And that is a matter for the politicians.

The situation that has arisen was inevitable. The MDM no doubt needed to test the outer limit of government's new-found tolerance by seeking ways to defy official rules for peaceful protest. Refusing to apply to magistrates for permits to demonstrate is their chosen strategy.

Once again, we see police colonels surrounded by chanting mobs, trying to wage unwinnable street debates on issues of political principle with shrewd MDM leaders. The police tend to be (understandably) impatient with clever talk, and they become intransigent; so does the mob.



The situation also dents our battered international image and highlights the apparent inability of government leaders to deal even at this relatively uncomplicated level with extra-parliamentary political opponents. Simply to insist that protests must be officially sanctioned invites conflict and plays into the hands of township anarchists.

Law & Order officials argue that to compromise or allow protests to proceed without formal approval brings the law into disrepute — and they have a point. Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe insists that the police will enforce existing laws.

But justifying police action against "illegal" protestors and blaming the organisers for injuries and damage to property doesn't resolve the political problem. To his credit, Minister Adriaan Vlok revealed last week that he invited anti-tour leaders to discuss their protests "and to state government's viewpoint on legal and peaceful protests," but was spurned.

How to end the violence must be a government priority. It will be tragic if peaceful resolution were to be derailed by petulant street mobs bent on little more than provoking nervous, short-fused policemen.

Both sides deserve a better deal. ■

TALKING TO THE ANC

It's Pik and Thabo!

Two weeks after President F W de Klerk opens parliament, the National Party government will break its own ban on the ANC with a flourish — by sharing a platform with the arch-enemy. They won't be in the same room — the debate will be on TV — but Foreign Minister Pik Botha will publicly square up to ANC crown prince Thabo Mbeki. F/M 2/2/90

This extraordinary about-turn in Nat policy is the result of delicate behind-the-scenes planning by the well-known American TV journalist, Ted Koppel, host of the ABC network's *Nightline* programme. So the electronic face-to-face will be a media event with international interest.

Koppel's able research assistant, Terra Sonnenschein, recently returned to Washington (where *Nightline* is normally produced) after successfully concluding the final negotiations for Koppel's SA programmes. They will be broadcast worldwide over four days this month. Sonnenschein also spent a week in Lusaka to obtain Mbeki's co-operation.

FM 2/2/90

THAT RIVER AGAIN

(3044)

Parliament is still the most important forum for passing or repealing laws, but the real debate this year will essentially be between government and the ANC.

There is little doubt that "reform" will dominate this session, but it seems doubtful that parliament itself will have much effective input. Government will probably use the forum to announce progress, or pass or repeal laws deemed necessary for reform. The tricameral system is effectively dead. The coloured and Indian houses will play an even less significant role.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer doesn't have high hopes for De Klerk's programme. He is worried that Nat policy remains wedded to "group" concepts and ultimate white control. Statements implying this were made by De Klerk during the general election campaign.

De Beer sees both opportunity and danger. "If I'm correct in interpreting Nat policy as being based on groups and white control, then we have a very dangerous and explosive situation. But it is possible that in the pre-negotiation process things may develop in such a way that the Nats and De Klerk can't control them. In that case, we may end up with them doing the right thing — by accident."

The DP's role in parliament will be to support government where it moves decisively towards an open and equal society and to oppose measures that inhibit such moves. It also intends hammering away at important topical issues, such as the crisis in black education and allegations of police hit squads.

He says while political issues will dominate in the short term, economic issues will be "absolutely decisive" in the medium term. Political stability is essential if the economy is to grow at the rate necessary to satisfy the reasonable demands of all South Africans. He believes that reducing the size of the civil service, keeping tight control of monetary policy and improving productivity must be government priorities.

High-profile political change is important to encourage foreign banks to again roll over loans, to attract private-sector foreign investment and to stop the outflow of capital. "There must be evidence that we are moving away from apartheid and building a democracy."

De Beer believes parliament's obvious flaws mean that only part of the political debate can take place there. "My fervent hope is that we are beginning to embark on a process which will give us a representative parliament. Then it really will be important."

Focus on one more victim of apartheid – the environment

304A

The state's policy of separate development has had far-reaching consequences. MOIRA LEVY reviews 'South Africa — The Wasted Land', a documentary on the destruction of the environment.

W/Mail 2/2 – 8/2/90

THERE have been other documentaries on the human costs of apartheid but *South Africa — The Wasted Land,* to be shown on British television's Channel Four on Sunday, focuses on the environmental consequences and poses new questions.

One scene in particular stands out: children in a classroom learning about the dangers of asbestos. They repeat after the teacher, "asbestos causes lung cancer".

The voice-over declares: "Building materials are so scarce in the 'bantustans' that Mmafefe school was made from asbestos bricks."

In the schoolyard children at play kick up clouds of blue asbestos dust. The commentary continues: "The asbestos used to make the bricks was left lying in the school playground."

Twenty years ago the Mmafefe asbestos mines were abandoned. Only now is the community starting to learn what the mineowners knew all along about the dangers of asbestos.

Phineas Makoti is interviewed lying on his narrow bed, a figure wasted by lung cancer.

"They should have told us a long time ago not to work in those asbestos dumps. Asbestos is like a green mamba. It is very dangerous," he said.

Until they learned of its dangers, the community saw asbestos as a free building material.

"The roads are surfaced with it," the commentary states. "They have used it to plaster their houses. The water supply contains more than 2 000 parts of asbestos per litre. X-Rays show that half the population have traces of asbestos in their lungs.

The camera zooms in on a graveyard — the gravestones are made out of asbestos.

It gets worse. The scene cuts to an industrial dump where containers used to store toxic waste have been corroded away, and poison spills and oozes into the dust. Nearby, more children play.

"This industrial waste contains high levels of both lead and mercury. It has been dumped here by a dealer who knew that the black people living nearby would be unable to protest."

The camera focuses on the playing children: "The lead in this waste can produce mental retardation," the commentary continues.

In an interview the *Weekly Mail's* environmental reporter, Eddie Koch, says: "International dealers in toxic waste could see South Africa as the ideal dumping ground.

"The South African government, with an economy sensitive to sanctions and a massive foreign debt problem, is obviously tempted to see toxic waste as a solution to some of its problems."

He cites the Middle East, particularly Israel, as a source of dealers in toxic waste who have made "almost irresistible" offers to South African firms to "take other people's high level

●To PAGE 22

P.T.O.

her. For her, the crisis of her Leon's infidelity is over. She understands so little of the real horror she has participated in. She is sad, but the fourth figure has added new layers to *Apparently...* as a whole.

Shaun de Waal

Apartheid's victims — the environment

W/Mail 2/2/ — 8/2/90 (304A)

From PAGE 21

waste and store it and recycle it".

In another scene, white mothers are told by their doctors that air pollution is the cause of their children suffering from bronchitis and asthma. The pollution is so dense that "early in the morning you have to put your headlights on, you are going through such smog that you can't see where you are going".

The documentary makes the point that environmental degradation only became a public issue when it began to affect white communities.

For generations, black communities have suffered the environmental destruction that is a direct product of apartheid. But it is the homeland policy that is most destructive of the environment. The film effectively uses the technique of switching rapidly from scenes of "homeland" degradation to South African Tourist Board sunsets and wildlife footage.

Directed at a British audience, it takes pains to explain the policies of forced resettlement and separate development. Subtitled interviews with a community threatened with eviction are gruelling and effective, as is a surreptitious interview with the farmer forcing them from their land — "They just can't stay. I bought the land. It's mine."

The producers of the documentary manage to steer away from yet another historic sociological documentary on apartheid by their grim reminders that relocation and overcrowding in rural ghettos cannot be separated from soil erosion, drought and the destruction of forests.

Old men bent over walking sticks recall vast grazing lands and plains.

The irony is that a country world-renowned for its natural resources is destroying its environment by proclamation and government policy. The danger the film points to is that long after apartheid has disappeared its legacy will remain — an environment destroyed.

●*South Africa — The Wasted Land* was produced by Debonair Productions, in association with the Television Trust for the Environment, for Channel Four Television. Producer: Toni Strasburg. Director: Jamie Hartzell

Matter of fact

IN last week's report on the recent Unisa International Piano Competition the gremlins were at it again. There were initially nine South African entries, of course, not one.

More importantly, when the allegations about the inclusion of Salvatore Spanó among the finalists were put to John Roos, the professional director of the competition, he strenuously denied them, and explained that the jury voting system made it impossible for any rigging of the results.

Gatting's mask of reason slips for a moment

By JOHN PERLMAN

THE face of reason which rebel cricket captain Mike Gatting has used to ease his way around South Africa slipped badly in Bloemfontein yesterday as he was introduced to a man injured in the unrest that has troubled the town since the Englishmen arrived.

When told that the man had been hurt while in the township and not outside the ground, Gatting said that the incident had "nothing to do with us".

The injured man, John Segonetco, 25, accompanied by three Anti-Tour Committee (ATC) delegates, met Gatting on a balcony above Springbok Park in full view of some 500 demonstrators gathered below. W/Mail 2/2/90 8/2/90

Segonetco's back was peppered with marks from shotgun pellets; his left arm was bandaged and in a sling. ATC representatives claim Segonetco was shot in Mangaung township on Tuesday while on his way home from demonstrating outside the stadium.

Gatting's reaction was extraordinary.

●To PAGE 2

Fierce cabinet row over FW's speech

W/Mail 2/2/90 - 8/2/90 (304A)

By GAVIN EVANS

STATE President FW de Klerk's opening address to parliament, to be delivered at 11am today, was the subject of a "furious cabinet row", according to senior National Party sources.

The initial draft of the address, which has since been revised, caused Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to express "grave fears" that it was not offering enough.

According to the NP source, who asked not to be named, Pik Botha was "terrified of a Rubicon repeat" and wanted Nelson Mandela to be released on Monday January 29 — a move which the cabinet came close to accepting.

Arguing against him was Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who favoured Mandela's release as part of a package and therefore proposed the move be delayed until some weeks after De Klerk's speech.

The NP source said the possibility of being released on January 29 was conveyed to Mandela, who was "angry" that it broke assurances his release would be accompanied by measures such as lifting the Emergency and the unbanning of the African National Congress. Mandela is said to have insisted that his release could not be an isolated event.

Since the cabinet meeting the speech has been redrafted with a more "upbeat" tone, but has not been substantially changed in content, according to sources.

De Klerk is said to have left open

●To PAGE 2

Cabinet controversy over FW speech

W/Mail 2/2/90 - 8/2/90 (304A)

the possibilities of further changes following communications with Mandela.

National Party, Democratic Party and top-level diplomatic sources say that De Klerk is seeing the speech as the first salvo in a battle to wrest the political initiative from the ANC.

"He wants the package to unfold over a period of six months to a year, rather than to be released in a single, once-off speech," said the NP source.

A senior Western diplomat said he had been led to believe that the speech would have a positive tone, which would suggest a process of substantial reform without many major announcements.

Among the moves it is expected to include are lifting the Emergency media regulations and restrictions on various political organisations, changes to the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Act and a package of economic concessions to appease the business community.

Barring last-minute changes this morning's speech will not include an

●From PAGE 1

announcement of the date of Mandela's release or lifting the ban on the ANC and other organisations, though it may indicate an intention to do so.

There will also be no announcement of a complete lifting of the Emergency regulations, he said.

It is possible that an announcement will be made concerning the release of five ANC prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment 13 years ago. Some of them have served a total of 25 years behind bars.

De Klerk was said to be considering an announcement relating to the death penalty — possibly a commission of inquiry.

He is also expected to provide an indication of the nature and extent of the forthcoming budget cuts.

The speech will explain the need for cuts in defence spending, will praise the police for the role they are playing and will stress that "law and order" will be maintained.

Democratic Party national chairman Tian van der Merwe said he was not expecting any dramatic announcements, and much of the speech's tone would be aimed at maintaining the support of the business community.

National Party sources indicate, however, that today's speech should not be seen in isolation.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen is said to be keen to start the negotiation process in earnest by the end of the year, and the government recognises that before then the major "obstacles" need to be removed.

Unless there is large-scale "unrest", by mid-year the government is expected to have announced the unbanning of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, the lifting of the Emergency and a package which includes an end to political trials and the release of political prisoners not convicted of murder.

Towards the end of the year provision is expected to be made for the return of ANC and other exiles.

In return the government is expecting an immediate scaling down of the ANC's insurgency, leading to a mutually binding ceasefire later in the year.

NP sources say they are moving in this direction because De Klerk feels that by taking the initiative they will be able to "keep the ANC on its back foot".

They also recognise that such changes are inevitable and would prefer that they are not seen as concessions squeezed from the government through pressure.

The government recognises that the ANC is a necessary party to negotiations, but insists that Inkatha be given equal status.

De Klerk is said to have indicated to Mandela that an acceptance of "group rights" is negotiable and that the NP is no longer wedded to this concept. The future of the Population Registration Act would therefore be subject to negotiation.

While the pace of his reforms is said to have caused disquiet in sections of the NP and among some "securocrats", he has now reached the point where such opposition no longer represents a major threat.

As the world holds its breath . . .

(304A)

FW denies any meeting with Mandela

B/Day 2/2/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk said last night he did not meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday.

A short statement issued by his office late last night said: "In response to numerous media queries and widespread speculation, it can be stated that a meeting did not take place today between the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Nelson Mandela."

It added: "Furthermore, no such meeting is planned before the opening of Parliament on February 2."

Earlier both the President's office and spokesmen for Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee refused to confirm or deny that a meeting would take or had taken place.

However, by midday yesterday, Cabinet Ministers, who were briefed on Wednesday on the contents of De Klerk's opening speech to Parliament today, were still expecting a meeting between the two men. Some even thought a statement, outlining issues raised, would be released.

De Klerk's statement gave no indication that a meeting had been planned, but sources said he was furious that details of a planned meeting had been leaked.

Television crews that gathered outside Victor Verster Prison in Paarl early yesterday reported that a convoy of three vehicles, including a truck, had left the prison at about 4.30am, followed later by a black car. Large media contingents gathered outside De Klerk's residence, Westbrook, and outside his Tuynhuys office from early yesterday morning.

Cabinet Ministers closely linked to the arrangements for Mandela's release cancelled all interviews yesterday.

Our Cape Town Correspondent reports that World Alliance of Reformed Churches president the Rev Allan Boesak said yesterday he had been requested by prison authorities to cancel a meeting yesterday with Mandela. It had been postponed to February 6.

Asked whether he thought he would be able to keep his appointment with Mandela then, he said he thought Mandela would be released before the arrival in SA on February 8 of US civil rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson.

"The government doesn't want competition from Jackson," he said.

Sapa-AP reports from Washington that President George Bush will invite Mandela to visit the White House as soon as he is freed. Whitehouse spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said yesterday "there were indications" Mandela would be freed today.

But ANDREW GILL reports that at least one major US news network is banking on a different release date. An ABC TV network spokesman said yesterday anchorman Ted Koppel would arrive in SA on February 11, to present his Nightline programme for five nights from February 12.

The spokesman said the date February 16 had been gaining ground in the US as a possible release date for Mandela.

Reports earlier this week that Koppel had lined up a debate between ANC leader Thabo Mbeki and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha could not be confirmed by another ABC employee, Koppel's research assistant Terra Sonnenschein.

"Nothing definite has been lined up. I spoke to Ted yesterday and he couldn't confirm any of the reports," she said.

Meanwhile, except to say that it was "courageous" and would result in a "great

□ To Page 2

FW and Mandela

(304A)

□ From Page 1

"leap" for SA, Cabinet Ministers and government spokesmen have been loath to discuss the contents of De Klerk's speech today. B/Day 2/2/90

However, some Ministers said speculation about a partial lifting of the state of emergency, a clarification about the repeal of the the Separate Amenities Act and an outlining of government's plan to remove further obstacles to negotiations was "about right".

In a separate development, the Cape based-newspaper South yesterday published details of what it said was a document handed to De Klerk by Mandela. South said that in the document Mandela made it clear that the ANC would not make the commitment to peace government was insisting on before its unbanning. South reported Mandela as saying that the history of the ANC had been one of such commitment.

The newspaper said: "In the document, he drew attention to De Klerk's inaugural statement where he had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together and negotiating a new constitutional dispensation.

"Mandela said he believed the cornerstone of the statement was the need for reconciliation."

● See Page 10

UK business bullish on SA, says Worrall

B/Day 2/2/90 (304A)

HAROLD FRIDJHON

BRITISH business leaders are showing a more positive attitude to SA and generally indicating greater interest in the situation here, says DP co-leader Denis Worrall.

He returned this week from a brief overseas tour with Alan Denny and Johan Brummer of stockbrokers Andrew Forbes & Co. Meetings were held with top financiers and portfolio managers in the UK and Europe.

In their discussions Worrall gave an overview of the SA political scene, and found a "most encouraging" change in attitudes abroad since his previous visit , although expectations were "a little unrealistic".

In a telephonic interview yesterday, Worrall pointed out that during their stay in London everything appeared to be going for SA; the gold price had been rising and rumours about the release of Nelson Mandela were persistent.

Denny said expectations about change in SA were high and his big fear was that President de Klerk's speech today might be another "Rubicon" let-down. Worrall, however, disagreed, saying De Klerk had "the ability and power to say what he wanted to say".

The two Forbes men were surprised by the positive attitudes of the people they met. Brokers were very interested in SA equities, particularly those in the Gencor group under Derek Keys's leadership. Although there was no immediate urge to buy, holders of SA shares showed no desire to sell. The major UK concern appeared to be fear of a right-wing backlash.

The British hesitancy to re-invest in SA did not carry across the channel, said Denny. Bankers and investment managers in Germany and Switzerland, acting on behalf of private investors, were very interested in the high positive returns available through financial rand investments.

304A

PERSPECTIVE

Joe Thloloe

An open letter to President FW de Klerk

Dear Mr de Klerk,

Whatever I say now will not affect the shape or content of your speech to Parliament today.

You most probably spent last night hammering out the final draft and you are now feeling the adrenalin pumping, hands sweating slightly as you prepare to get on the world stage.

It is an enormous responsibility.

The world expects you to pronounce the death sentence on apartheid and announce the beginning of a new era in South Africa.

It expects you to talk about the dismantling of a system that was started by your forefathers, both English and Dutch, and codified by your party in 1948.

I've never had such responsibility weighing down on me; all I can do is imagine and feel your burden.

What I know very intimately is what most, no, all blacks and some whites in this country and most of the world would love to hear you say today.

Sadly, I know you are not going to say it.

In fact, the SABC - and they are the best people to give an indication of the direction you are taking - this week were cautioning against "unjustified expectations".

They quoted you as saying that you intend living up to the expectations you have raised but cannot accept responsibility for other, unreasonable expectations that have been aroused as a result of over-enthusiastic or even twisted versions of your Government's policy.

Mr de Klerk, nobody in his right mind expects you to pull out a magic wand and get rid of apartheid with an enchanted flick of the wrist.

What the vast majority of the world expects you to do today is to provide a vision - to spell out in unequivocal language that your goal is to create a one-person-one-vote democracy where the colour of the voter or the texture of his hair is completely irrelevant.

You could then place on the table for the whole world to see the practical problems preventing you from reaching that goal.

The whole world - and that includes the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, New Unity Movement, the PAM, the MDM, Cosatu, Nactu, the lot - would be rushing in to assist you in working out the programme for overcoming the obstacles and getting to that goal.

You and your party refuse to paint that big picture, and that is why the world will be feeling let down when you sit down today.

You can sit back, comfortable with yourself, saying that you warned against unjustified and unreasonable expectations.

You actually started warning the world when you spoke to the *Washington Post* a few weeks back.

If that was all, it would not be that serious: the world would go back to its business and leave you alone to get down to your reform programme. But that will not happen.

The blacks in this country will continue to feel resentful that the best that our land can give continues to go to whites.

The violence in our streets will not stop.

You cannot continue to talk incremental change, unless the destination is clearly spelled out and is acceptable to the majority of the country.

You will run out of rabbits to pull out of your hat.

I've just been reading a book that says it is very well for the ancient sage to say that a journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step, but it does not help much if we do not know precisely in which direction we want to travel.

So far you have said you want power-sharing, you have said that every person must have the vote, but your language has not differed radically from that of your predecessors, who even had the arrogance to say that we had already attained that goal.

You might say that another difference is that you have left the door open for negotiations, even with radical groups, on a new constitution. But your predecessors also "negotiated" with the Mangopes and the Matanzimas.

All we have on record is the five-year plan you gave the white voters last year.

That plan is apartheid - white domination - managed with a smile. We don't need that. You have to give this country a vision and you still have the rest of this parliamentary session to make up. . . .

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304A

FW de KLERK

NELSON MANDELA

By SOWETAN REPORTER and SAPA

THERE was speculation yesterday that Nelson Mandela will be released from prison today.

The rumour started in the United States and was picked up by South African news agencies but could not be confirmed by late last night.

However a spokeswoman for President FW de Klerk said: "That is pure speculation."

Meanwhile, in a day of drama in Cape Town yesterday, the media chased around for the time and venue of a meeting between Mandela and State President Mr FW de Klerk, a meeting that the Government later denied.

A statement from De Klerk's office said: "In response to numerous media queries and widespread speculation, it can be stated that a meeting did not take place between the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Furthermore, no such meeting is planned before the opening of Parliament...."

Until late yesterday, media representatives from various parts of the world were arriving in large numbers in South Africa, basing themselves in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

There was intense local and international interest in De Klerk's speech opening to Parliament today.

He is expected to announce the release of Mandela and give the Government's plans for creating a climate for negotiations for a new constitution.

The impression among Nationalist MPs is that De Klerk's speech will be aimed at setting the scene for pre-negotiations, "talks about talks", on the start of negotiations to provide for black political rights and a new democratic system.

● To page 2

'Confidential' permit for Cape march

By THEMBA MOLEFE

CAPE TOWN'S Chief Magistrate gave the nod to today's march on Parliament after a "mysterious" source applied to him for permission.

The chief magistrate, Mr W P Theron, yesterday refused to reveal the name of the applicant saying it was confidential.

The Mass Democratic Movement said it had not sought permission for the march and was unaware that permission had been sought on its behalf.

A spokesman for the MDM in Cape Town said the march, which begins at 8am in the city centre, goes on as planned. He said the mysterious granting of permission was a ploy to defuse the intensity of a march.

Meanwhile, it is believed that Mass Democratic Movement leaders have agreed to change key elements of the plan for today's march on Parliament after consultation with Cape Town City Council - and that details had been delivered to the magistrate's office.

Today's march, to coincide with the opening of Parliament and to protest against the tricameral institu-

● To page 2

WE'RE SWEEPING OUT OUR 1989 SEALYS
TO MAKE ROOM FOR NEW STOCKS!

SEALY FEELINGS
MATTRESS ONLY R150
WAS NOW
R289 R299 R349 R429
MATTRESS & BASE SET ONLY R200
WAS NOW
R509 R549 R629 R769

SEALY LUXURY SLEEP
MATTRESS ONLY R100
WAS NOW
R199 R219 R289

SEALY LUXURY SLEEP
MATTRESS & BASE SET ONLY R180
WAS NOW
R349 R399 R509

SEALY PREMIUM COMFORT
MATTRESS ONLY R110
WAS NOW
R259 R289 R329 R399

SEALY PREMIUM COMFORT
MATTRESS & BASE SET ONLY R210
WAS NOW
R449 R499 R579 R719

Sealy
LESS 25% AND MORE
LIMITED STOCKS IN CERTAIN SIZES
THE SLEEP SPECIALISTS
MATTRESS WORLD
39 STORES
S.A.'S BIGGEST DISCOUNT BEDDING CENTRES
No 1 IN MATTRESS SAVINGS

Sowetan 2/2/90

It's D-Day for FW De Klerk

304A

● From page 1

He will not be presenting any final package for negotiation.

Speculation about De Klerk's speech is reaching fever pitch in political and diplomatic circles amid indications that he will go no further than to set out in broad terms the Government's plans to get negotiations going.

Demands

In most political circles it is felt that, in order to create a climate for negotiations, De Klerk will have to take note of the demands for the unbanning of the ANC and other political movements, the lifting of the State of Emergency and the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.

The United Democratic Front expects De Klerk, at the very least, to boldly commit the National Party to meeting the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said in a statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday that nothing less would be acceptable to the liberation movement and the international community.

Lekota warned: "The Government must also note the high expectations of the masses of the people, as well as the preparedness of our activists to engage in direct non-violent action."

TERROR LEKOTA

Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said De Klerk would obviously want to continue creating a climate for negotiation.

This was why he believed De Klerk could still announce Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC today.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it was clear that De Klerk could not afford to say something about Mandela after all the expectations that had been created.

A buzzword to end conflict

THE traditional understanding of negotiation extends from the battlefield on to the bargaining table.

The two opponents define the issues, determine the positions of each party and then fish for a compromise. Agreement, if reached, is grudging and trust remains low.

However, if a body of research over the last decade is recognised by key South African actors there is hope for a successful resolution to issues facing this country.

The problem has been defined as "deep-rooted conflict" by theorist John Burton and researchers have found it in hot spots such as Northern Ireland, the Middle East and South Africa.

In these areas, the block to resolving conflict is not land, money or natural resources. Rather, it revolves around the basic human needs of security, identity, recognition and human development.

Burton argues these are universal needs which go deeper than material goods and "will be pursued regardless of consequences".

Due to the nature of these needs, one's own interests are best served by recognising, honouring and collaborating to meet the basic needs of an opponent with whom one is locked in such conflict.

Once this is recognised, it is possible to have a "win/win outcome" to the conflict.

Land and wealth are not the real issues, but are the avenues to the basic needs which cause humans to take the lives of others.

As Dirk Mudge of the DTA in Namibia said recently: "You can't eat independence." Bu

Ne ot ations as seen by artist Richard Smith. The illustration was used in the *Leadership* article on negotiations.

Macmillan's famed words of 30 years ago are still coming home to roost

Star 2/2/9

'Wind of Change' still blowing

(304)

Thirty years ago tomorrow, on February 3 1960, Britain's then Prime Minister, Mr Harold Macmillan, caused a sensation in South Africa when he delivered his "Wind of Change" speech to Parliament in Cape Town.

In the polite language of the British upper class, Mr Macmillan, who had come to South Africa on the last leg of a tour through Africa, warned that South Africa would have to take cognisance of the challenge brewing in the African hinterland.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the man of granite, *'n man wat sy man kon staan*, was South Africa's Prime Minister; the architect of grand or territorial apartheid, he believed that South Africa was taking the necessary measures to withstand the pending storm.

Looking back, it is clear that, on balance, Mr Macmillan was right and Dr Verwoerd wrong.

Polite, tactful

The Speaker at the time, Mr J H Conradie, had enough of a sense of history to have the speeches printed in a souvenir publication.

Reading Mr Macmillan's speech and Dr Verwoerd's reply is still a fascinating exercise.

One is struck by Mr Macmillan's tact and politeness.

Remarkably, he did not once mention the word "apartheid"; he was too circumspect for bluntness of that order. His admonishment was gentle, not hectoring. He spoke not as an outsider but as as insider.

His criticism was softened with kind words: "I said that I was speaking as a friend. I can perhaps almost claim to speak as a relation.

"For we Scots can claim family connections with both the great European sections of your people, not only with the English-speaking people but with the Afrikaans-speaking people as well."

His speech contained essentially two criticisms:

In a long and distinguished career, British Premier Harold Macmillan made many fine speeches. One, delivered to a stunned Parliament in Cape Town, went into the very fabric of South Africa's history. The delivery "from a friend, almost a relation" was deceptively gentle, the impact like a thunderbolt. **PATRICK LAURENCE** recalls it.

February 3 1960 . . . a historic picture taken in the dining-room of the House of Assembly during former British Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech to both Houses of Parliament. With him on the dais are (left to right) President of the Senate, Senator C A van Niekerk, Speaker of the House of Assembly Mr L H Conradie, Prime Minister Dr H F Verwoerd, and the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff.

affairs were her own business;

Second, a rejection of race discrimination and, as a corollary, indirect counsel to South Africa to extend its notion of nationhood to include all the people of South Africa, not merely the whites.

On the first point, Mr Macmillan asserted his acceptance of the concept of sovereignty.

He then immediately modified it by noting that the world was "shrinking" and that the policies of

On the second point, Mr Macmillan quoted the then British Foreign Secretary, Mr Selwyn Lloyd: "We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another.

"Our policy, therefore, is non-racial; it offers a future in which (all will) play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations."

A third of the way through his

most famous the British leader made in his long and distinguished political career.

"Fifteen years ago, this movement (for national independence) spread through Asia. Many countries there, of different races and civilisations, pressed their claim to an independent national life. Today, the same thing is happening in Africa.

"The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the

tensify the application of separate development.

But the wind of change was not stilled.

Sixteen years later, his successor, Mr B J Vorster, warned: "The storm has not yet struck. We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it."

He started to reform apartheid cautiously in the hope of depriving the pending storm of its driving force. He failed.

Eight years later, South Africa was plunged into the worst and most prolonged turmoil since the Act of Union. The townships burnt, fanned by a hurricane.

Today, South Africa under President de Klerk is in a period of relative calm. But there are signs that it may be merely another lull before the storm.

Mr de Klerk, it seems, has but a few months to avert the threatening tornado.

may take different forms. But it is happening everywhere.

"The wind of change is blowing through this continent."

Then came his crunch line, insofar as there could be one in his politely phrased speech: "We always try to (give) South Africa our full support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our deep convictions about the political destinies of free men . . ."

Dr Verwoerd, never a man at a loss for words, replied promptly, defending the idea of separate freedoms for the different races.

He asserted that South Africa's whites found empty tracts of land. "We settled a country which was bare." He put the "Bantu" on a par with the whites as "settlers".

"The Bantu, too, came to this country and settled certain portions for themselves." Each would be given the "fullest rights" in the areas in which they settled, the imperturable Dr Verwoerd said.

Barely more than six weeks later the first of the winds that Mr Macmillan had warned of struck.

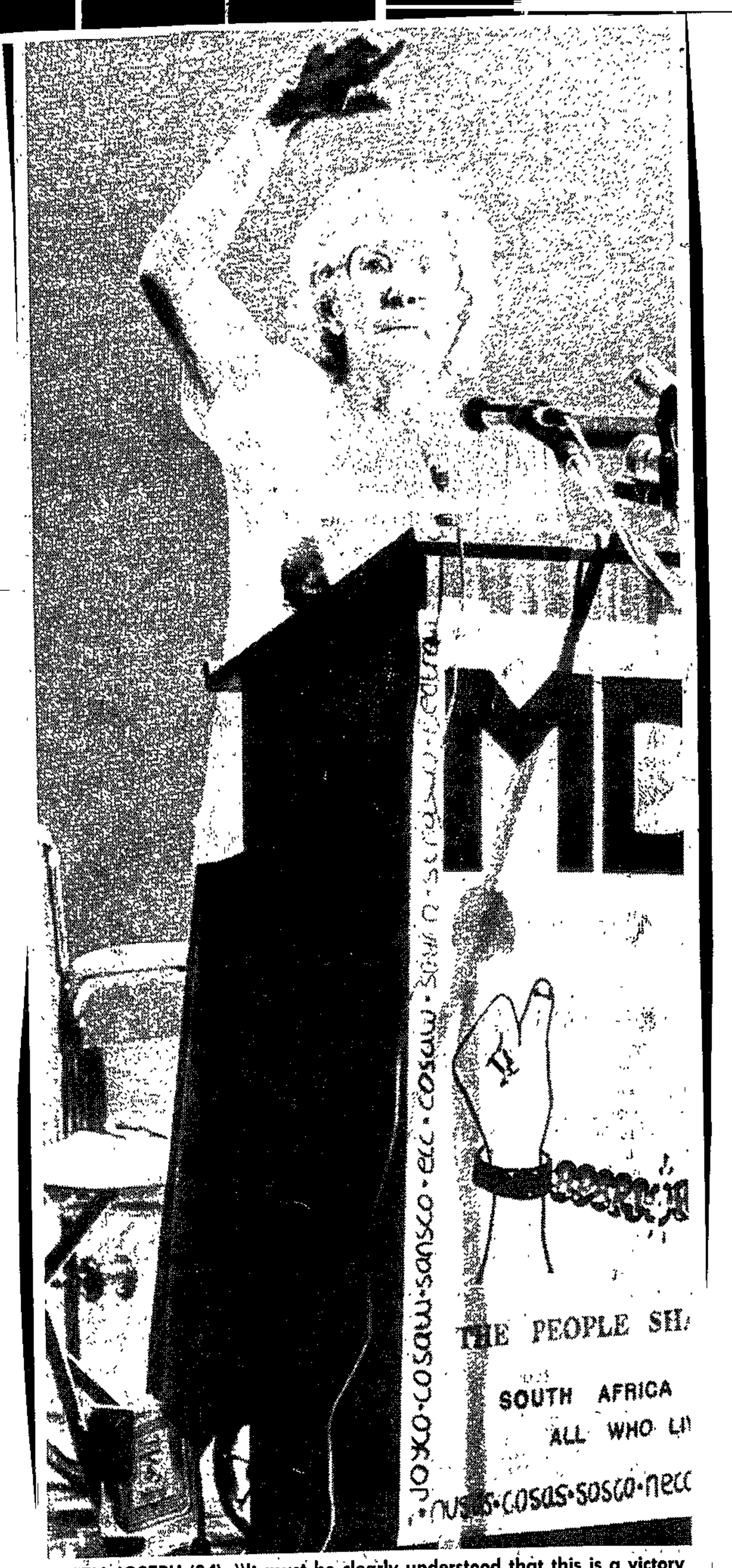
On March 21, the Pan-Africanist Congress campaign against the pass laws — an integral component of Dr Verwoerd's grand vision of enforced separation — led to the Sharpeville massacre when nervous police opened fire on a crowd outside the police station, killing 69 people.

Opponents ignorant

It was an incident that reverberated around the world and is commemmorated to this day.

But Dr Verwoerd's reaction was composed, if not complacent.

His opponents who blamed the disturbance on separate development were ill-informed and did not have sufficient facts at their disposal. His first and immediate remedy was to quell the "incitement"



HELEN JOSEPH (84): "It must be clearly understood that this is a victory of the people."

STAR 3/2/90 (304A)

Veteran activist Helen Joseph – 'free at last'

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

VETERAN human rights campaigner and activist Mrs Helen Joseph (84), a listed person since 1962, regards herself as free at last.

After listening to State President F W de Klerk's announcements of the unbanning of organisations she has been involved in for decades, she said: "This is a wonderful day. I am very excited about my personal freedom since I am no longer a listed person.

Resistance politics

"Most of all I am excited about our victory, for this is a victory of the people. It must be clearly understood that this is a victory of the people."

The wheelchair-bound Mrs Joseph has for more than 30 years been active in resistance politics since her early involvement with the Congress of Democrats in the 1950s.

A founder member of the Federation of SA Women, she has received international praise for her stoicism and courage in her own life and for her outspoken criticism of the authorities, despite years of bannings and house arrest.

She said: "My heart grieves for those people who have died for something that should never have happened. If only South Africa had justice and democracy before this.

"Above all I am excited about the return of all my friends and comrades and all the exiles who will be coming back home, all my comrades who will be released from jail, and the lifting of restriction, although only partly.

"I very much hope that the door will now be opened for proper negotiations which will be negotiations between equals. Out of that will come some sort of democracy under which we can all live in peace, a country in which — at last we can bring up our children with hope," she said.

ARGUS 2/2/90 (304A)

FW'S SPEECH —

THE address by State President F W de Klerk at the opening of the second session of the ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa today.

THE general election on September 6 1989 placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change.

Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No-one can escape this simple truth.

On its part, the government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant

opments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa as well.

Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval.

In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide.

At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired.

These developments will

significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand, and on the other, should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death, will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals.

In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines.

In the meantime, no executions have taken place since November 14, 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law.

Only when the death sentence is imposed, will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned contains other related

ments immediately.

In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while.

The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products brought with them unhealthy trends.

These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities.

All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance.

In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibil- [illegible] e to pro-

w... en.oy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour — constitutional, social and economic.

I hope that this new parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority:

- Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this Session.
- Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.
- Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new parliament, we shall have to deal, complimentary to one another, with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the process of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal first with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The government is aware of the important part the world at large has to play in the realisation of our country's national interests.

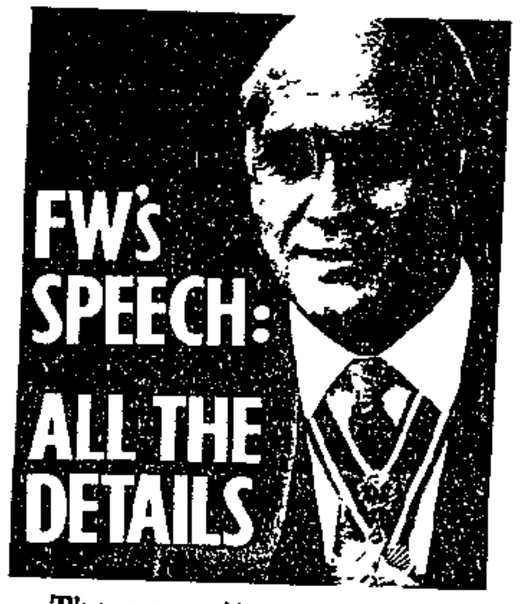
Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens. The dynamic devel-

ental unprec.ab.e co.ne-quences for Europe, but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa.

The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the Marxist economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa.

Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either.



The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change.

It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation.

The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the big powers or of the United Nations.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge: Southern

reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events.

This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

At present the government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries.

Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon.

In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities.

These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in this parliament. Naturally this will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the government referred the question of the protection of fundamental

has to take this into account.

The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear.

Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights.

It is neither the government's policy nor its intention that any group — in whichever way it may be defined — shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it.

This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution.

The terms of reference also include:

- The identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context;
- An analysis of the ways in which the relevant rights are protected in every model; and
- Possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

princ.p.e. ... nounced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice.

It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues.

It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions.

Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively.

The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner.

Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

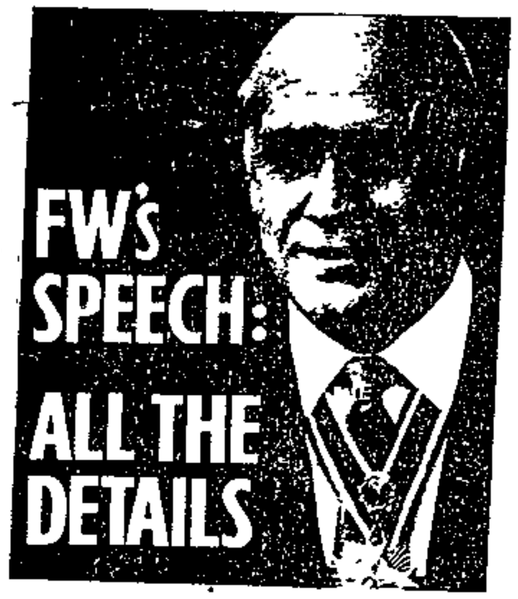
From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the ...

mote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy.

The government remains committed to this balanced and practical approach.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy.

We shall persist with this in a well-considered way.



This does not mean that the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances.

On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas

opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction.

It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the Southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world.

Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan.

The government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states.

During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by Presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda.

These leaders expressed their sincere concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development.

Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and

rican Law Commission.

This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions.

At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received.

A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which includes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission.

Therefore, it would be inappropriate of the government to express a view on the details now.

However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies.

We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justiciable by an independent judiciary.

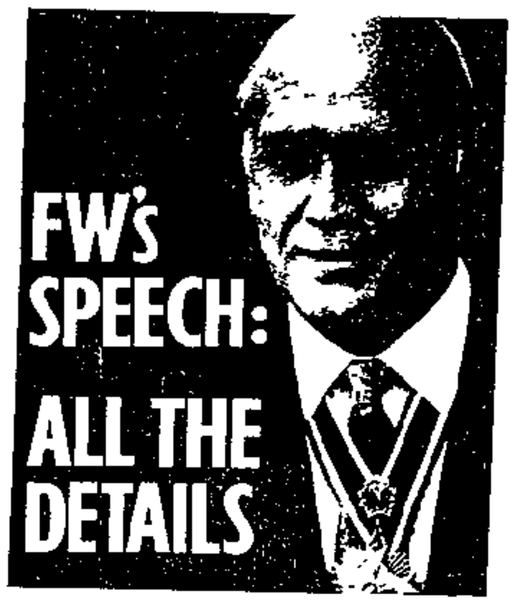
However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole.

South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation

E DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months.

However, the government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. On April 27, 1989, the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area.



Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform.

After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the government had noted the opinions of academics and other interested parties, the government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of available options:

- That reform in this area is indicated;
- That the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and
- That an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a

ng the course of the session.

One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953.

Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announce that this Act will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our circumstances demand. The community at large, and especially the private sector, also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

THE ECONOMY

A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view to this, the government has taken thorough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies. The central message is that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the sixties, was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies.

After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes, recovered economically so that lengthy periods of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjust-

years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

- The gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners;
- The encouragement of personal initiative and savings;
- The subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline;
- Rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation; and
- The encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices, have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the nineties.

The government has also noted with appreciation the manner in which the Reserve Bank has discharged it's special responsibility in striving towards our common goals.

The government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy.

For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference.

This applies both to the various functions within the government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

This is obviously not the occasion for me to deal in greater detail with our total economic strategy or with the recent course of the economy.

I shall confine myself to a few specific remarks on one aspect of fiscal policy that has been a source of criticism of the government for some

The Wanderer's column and today's letters have been held over

HE FULL TEXT

time, namely State expenditure.

The government's financial year ends only in two month's time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year are still subject to refinements at this stage.

Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear.

I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

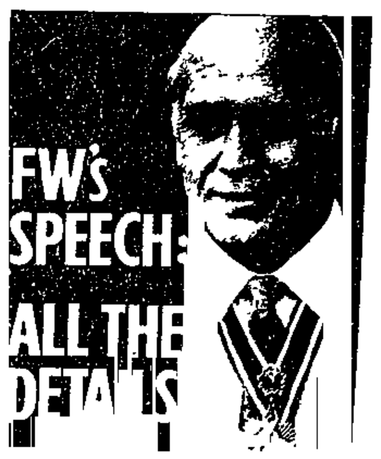
In respect of government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years.

The financial figures will show:

- That government expenditure is thoroughly under control;
- That our normal financing programme has not exerted any significant upward pressure on rates of interest; and
- That we will close the year with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Without pre-empting this year's main budget, I wish to emphasise that it is also our intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way that will enable us to achieve the ensuing goals — namely:

- That the present downturn will take the form of a soft landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;
- That our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and



The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.
- People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.
- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.
- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.
- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following:

National Education Crisis Committee

South African National Students Congress

United Democratic Front

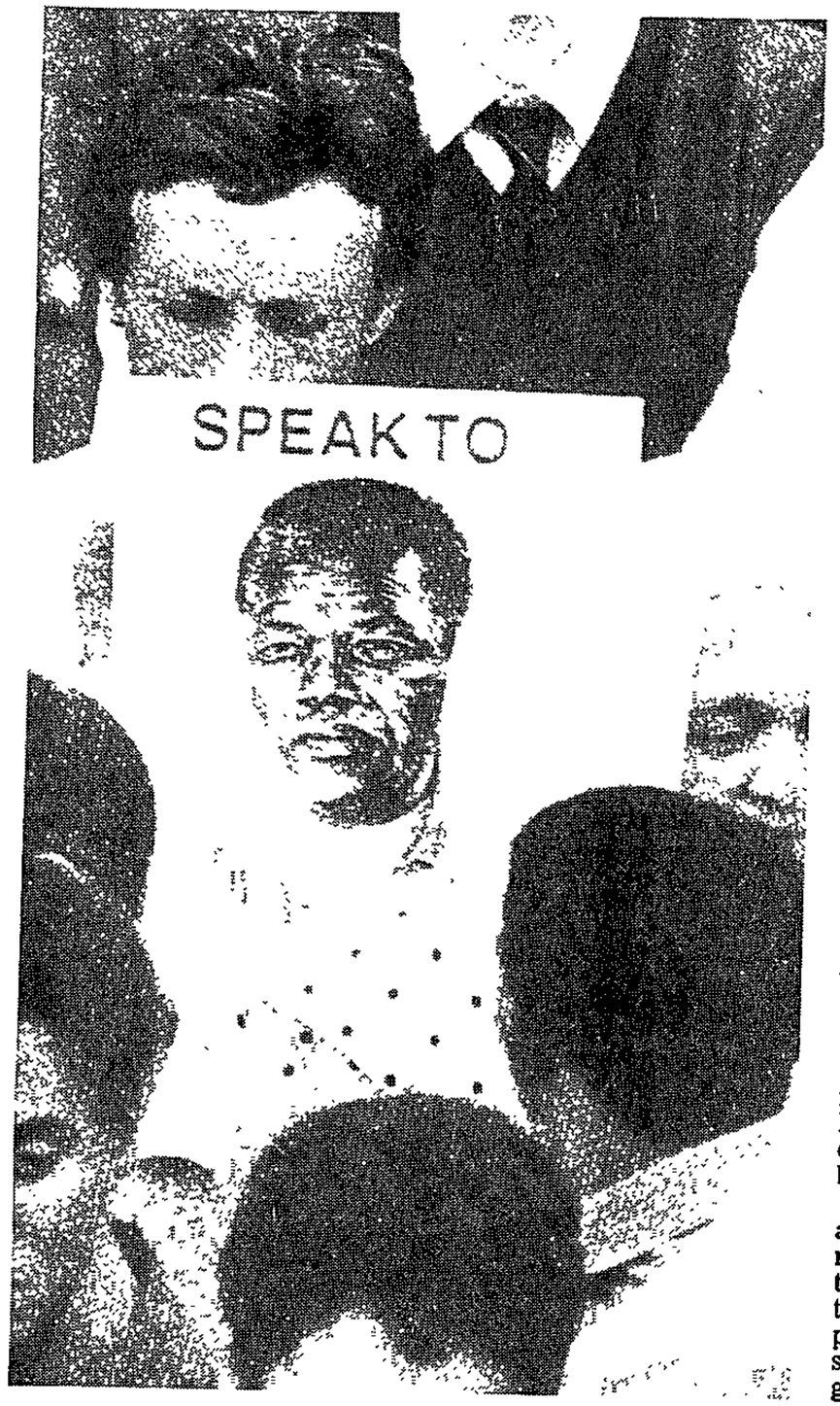
Cosatu

Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

- The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.
- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

These decisions by the cabinet are in accordance with the government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of the good order.

They were preceded by thorou h and u[illegible] nous ad-



not be jeopardised. The government will not forsake its duty in this connection. Violence from whichever source, will be fought with all available might.

Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation.

No democratic country can tolerate that.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law, will be ensured.

[illegible] fact [illegible] the franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner:

- The government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace.
- The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.
- The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

These facts place everybody in South Africa before a fait accompli. On the basis of numerous previous statements there is no longer any reasonable excuse for the continuation of violence. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stands. This includes all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organisations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored. Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

CONCLUSION

In my inaugural address I said the following:

"All reasonable people in this country — by far the majority — anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand:

- Deeply under the impression of our responsibility.
- Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead.
- Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction.

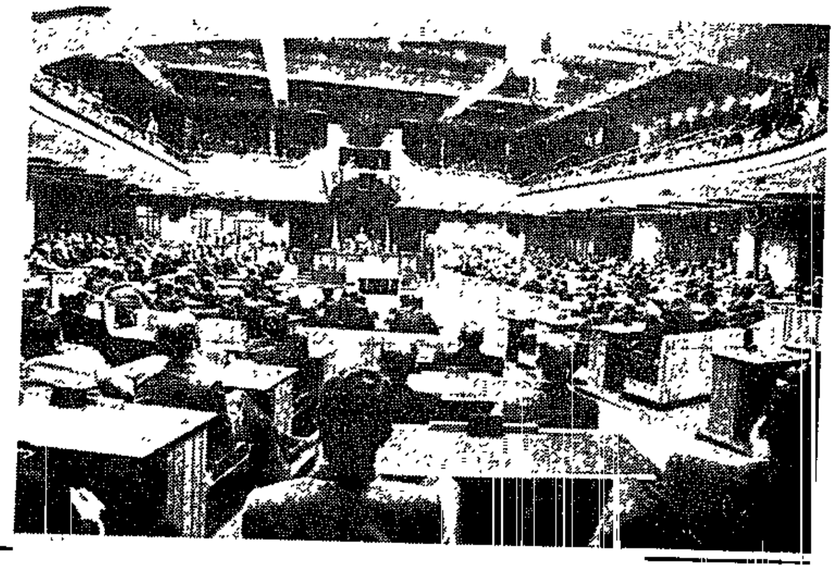
I ask of parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through uncharted waters and will bless your labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament,

I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.



● That we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surplusses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the government, especially in this particular period of our history, to promote a dynamic economy which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

NEGOTIATION

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks.

The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation.

However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced.

Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation.

Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence.

The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

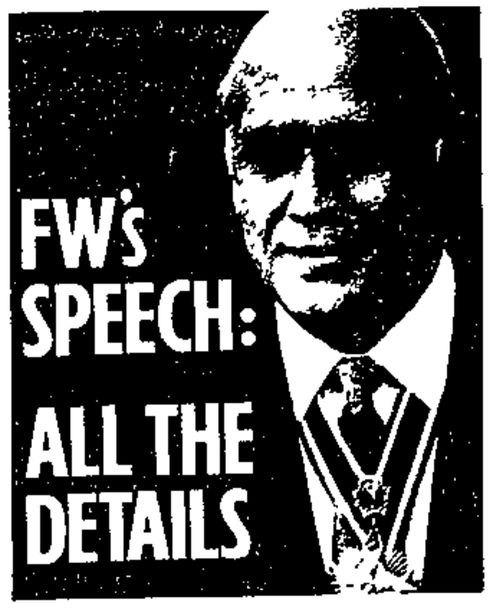
which included members of the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice the government received in this connection, are the following:

● The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

● The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.



● There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.

● The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.

About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future. Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the government's principles, among other things, against their economic policy and aspects of their constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare

ready begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the dedicated service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists.

There is still conflict which is manifesting itself mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle.

In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end.

Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the mean time, the state of emergency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades.

It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal

'Chance to set aside conflict'

Star 2/2/90. Political Staff (304A)

Southern Africa now had a historic opportunity to set aside conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction that would attract loan capital and investment from the world, President de Klerk said today.

"The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived," he said.

The Government believed "obstacles in the way of a conference of southern African states have now been removed sufficiently".

Mr de Klerk warned: "Unless the countries of southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced with further decline and ruin."

He added: "The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan."

Without saying so, De Klerk moves to meet ANC's terms

304A

CHARLENE SMITH B/Day 2/2/90

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk addresses Parliament today amid a belief by political analysts that government is quietly fulfilling all five of the basic preconditions of the ANC's negotiation steps listed in the Harare Declaration.

After ANC leader Nelson Mandela's latest messages to government, De Klerk's speech will be watched for further indications that government is paving the way for Mandela's release and freer political activity by banned organisations.

The ANC's negotiation declaration was adopted in Harare last November and subsequently endorsed by the OAU, the UN General Assembly and the Johannesburg Conference for a Democratic Future.

RAU political scientist Prof Deon Geldenhuys said government was not announcing that it was moving toward fulfilling the terms of the Harare Declaration because "they want to be seen to be calling the shots, they do not want to appear to be responding to external pressure. The government is trying to steal the high ground. The ANC at this stage has the government over a barrel."

Geldenhuys did not believe that government would announce when it had fulfilled the initial preconditions of the Harare Declaration, for the same reasons.

Mandela has claimed, through his lawyer, Dullar Omar, that his release would be delayed because basic pre-negotiation conditions had not been met. The issue of Mandela's release is expected to be addressed in De Klerk's speech today.

Edgar du Pisani, research director at the Institute for International Relations, said moves towards negotiations meant government would have to fulfil certain conditions. "The government created the present situation and will have to remove constraints. There is a liberalisation process going on, particularly in areas of social policy. But liberalisation, while essential, is not sufficient for negotiations or democracy."

The first negotiating precondition of the Harare Declaration is that all political prisoners and detainees be released unconditionally.

Although detentions are continuing, the numbers of detainees have diminished dramatically. The Prison Review Board is reviewing the sentences of certain political prisoners, including Barbara Hogan who was sentenced to 10 years' jail in 1982 for treason.

However, SA Prison Services spokesman Maj Dave Smith said the service could not furnish additional information or decisions with regard to the release of individual prisoners.

The second Harare Declaration precondition is the removal of bans and restrictions on proscribed and restricted organisations and people.

The ANC and the PAC remain banned. Although no organisations have formally been derestricted, several, including the United Democratic Front and the End Conscription Campaign, have "unbanned" themselves and are openly operating. No measures have been taken against them or the restricted individuals who for some months have flouted their emergency restrictions.

Since De Klerk took office, state of emergency restriction orders have declined by a fifth, to 554. However, listings — a more severe form of retriction against individuals — have, in terms of the Internal Security Act, risen from 537 to 580.

The third precondition calls for the removal of all troops from the townships.

SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said SADF troops remained in the townships in support of police units. He could not say whether there were more or fewer troops than in the past. However, residents in major urban townships report a dramatic reduction in numbers of troops. In some townships no troops are evident.

The final two demands are the ending of the state of emergency and the repeal of all legislation, including the Internal Security Act — "designed to circumscribe political activity", and the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

DP law and order spokesman Denis Worrall said that from a practical point of view it would not be difficult for government to lift the state of emergency, "given the fact that it is not being fully implemented in practice".

Worrall noted that there were only a few people left in detention in terms of emergency regulations, restrictions on newspapers were not being implemented and meetings and marches were being permitted. He and a wide range of political analysts believe government would also engender a strong positive response locally and internationally if the state of emergency were lifted.

Du Pisani said lifting the emergency, if accompanied by other measures (including Mandela's release, unbanning the ANC and the removal of security legislation), would prevent the imposition of additional sanctions. Existing sanctions would remain in place until SA moved into negotiations, "and some will only go when the outcome of those negotiations is in place, for example, a new constitutional framework".

Lawyers and legal academics have said that in the past three months a softening of penalties against offenders in terms of the Internal Security Act has been noted.

Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies director Prof John Dugard said charges under the Internal Security Act were increasingly being dropped. The state was not enforcing all bans on meetings, nor prosecuting those who quoted listed people or were found in possession of banned documents. He did not believe the Act would be scrapped at this stage, but its removal, or part of it, would be important to free political activity and fulfil a Harare Declaration prerequisite.

"Certainly Section 29, which allows for indefinite detention, has brought the administration of justice

PTO

LETTERS

CAPE TIMES 15/2/90 (304N)

No more reason for violence, says FW

Mandela 'must stop war talk'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC and Mr Nelson Mandela "must now stop the war talk", as the reason for the justification of violence had fallen away, President F W de Klerk told TV US viewers.

In an interview with Mr Ted Koppel on the ABC-TV programme "Nightline" on Tuesday, Mr De Klerk said the reason for the ANC's original justification of violence "as well as for the refusal to talk and the refusal to admit and accept that South Africa needed a constitution in which all South Africans must vote, has fallen away".

"They must realise that an essential change is now to take place within their own ranks, a change from being also a military organisation to becoming really a political party."

He added that he was prepared to talk to anyone, including the ANC, who was interested in establishing the foundation which would make possible the end of the state of emergency.

He also said it was "a bit early" to judge Mr Mandela and how exactly he was going to react to events.

Mr De Klerk said there was a marked difference between Mr Mandela's first speech and the statements he made the day afterwards.

"On the one hand he made a very important statement when he said that he and the ANC are committed to peaceful solutions and that they recognise that those solutions must in the final analysis be able to have the support of blacks as well as whites.

"I've been saying that for some time now.

"On the other hand, the adherence to justification of violence is to my mind not justified."

Mr De Klerk said the state of emergency could be ended "within days, within weeks after we can be sure we can afford to uplift the state of emergency.

"The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurrence of unrest-related things must be limited to the marked exception and must not still be a common factor of our daily life."

In reply to Mr Koppel's question whether the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki or the Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo would be welcome at talks on the end to the emergency, Mr De Klerk said: "I think in their case, certain other talks would be necessary. We must also have discussions, and I declared myself willing to hold such discussions, as to how we should handle those outside SA who might be guilty in terms of the laws of the country, of certain crimes.

"We have to discuss that because there is fear amongst some of them that on their return they might be arrested. We want to solve that," he said.

"One will have to work out structures as to how people can clear their positions."

Mr Mbeki

Mr Slovo

Mandela criticises FW report

STAR 21/2/90 (304A)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk's statements on reform and reconciliation have been criticised by Mr Nelson Mandela in a publication titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding", it was claimed yesterday.

In the document, extracts of which were published yesterday in *South* newspaper, Mr Mandela is reported to have said a climate for negotiation would be created if apartheid laws were scrapped; the state of emergency lifted; banned organisations unbanned; political prisoners released; exiles allowed to return; and all executions and political trials halted.

UNREALISTIC

Unless a proper climate was created for talks about dismantling apartheid and the measures used to enforce it, the idea of negotiations was totally unrealistic.

In the document, said to have been handed to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen on December 12, Mr Mandela criticised Mr de Klerk for meeting homeland leaders.

South carried extracts from the document in yesterday's report. Last week it published an earlier document given to the Government.

Examining Mr de Klerk's statements on reform, Mr Mandela said the President had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together, and negotiating a new constitution.

But he questioned Mr de Klerk's meetings with homeland leaders, because they were the Government's creation and had nothing to do with reconciliation.

The document compliments Mr de Klerk for releasing eight political prisoners in October. But Mr Mandela said the conflict and violence in South Africa would not be settled until the ANC and the Government reached agreement.

The Government had insisted that the ANC make a commitment to peace as a precondition for talks. Mr Mandela said the ANC would never make such a commitment at the insistence of the National Party. The history of the ANC had itself been such a commitment.

South editor Moegsien Williams said the newspaper report was a summary of the document. "We did not get the actual document this time. However, our sources are impeccable," he said.

STAR 12/2/90 (304A)

Response to FW has ANC hopping

By KEN VERNON, The Star's Africa News Service

On the eve of one of the most crucial meetings in the history of the ANC, at which it must formulate a response to President F W de Klerk's reform initiative, the leadership appears to be in disarray.

The meeting is scheduled to be held in Zambia this week.

Forced on the diplomatic defensive by the scope of Mr de Klerk's reform programme announced two weeks ago, the ANC must come up with matching concessions, or risk losing any chance of regaining the initiative in the important pre-negotiation manoeuvring.

It also risks being labelled incapable and obstructive by friends and enemies if it fails to meet de Klerk's challenge adequately.

The crucial meeting could not come at a worse time.

Since Mr de Klerk's announcement, it has been trying to answer him with a multitude of differing voices, reflecting dissension on how to react.

More importantly, its external leadership structure is in some disarray.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is incapacitated since his stroke last year, and acting president Mr Alfred Nzo is under pressure from two differing factions over what course to take.

A pro-negotiation faction is led by foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, while a faction led by military strongman Mr Chris Hani favours pursuing the military struggle to victory.

The situation is further complicated by the role of Mr Nelson Mandela, who was freed yesterday.

He has more and more seemed to be adopting the role of real leader of the ANC, issuing statements and negotiating with the Government.

Military capacity

Internally, the view of the leadership of the nebulous Mass Democratic Movement has to be taken into consideration, in addition to those of the released Rivonia trialists — mainly Mr Walter Sisulu.

Accommodating these various factions, views and personalities at the meeting will be difficult enough, but in addition, it is being held against a backdrop of the virtual emasculation of the organisations military capacity.

Members of the armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, were first expelled from Mozambique under the 1984 Nkomati Accord, and then from Angola under the Angolan-Cuban-South Afrian tripartite agreement.

This was followed last year by their expulsion from Zambia by President Kaunda, who became exasperated with the lawlessness of armed ANC members.

Restricted to bases as far away as Tanzania, the "armed struggle" has become almost impossible to prosecute, at least in the short term.

Faced with these realities and pressures, it is certain that the first priority of this week's meeting will be to try to restore a semblance of a unified front towards the South African Government.

After that it might decide to announce a moratorium on an armed struggle, which it cannot pursue in any event.

In that case, not only could its immediate dilemma be resolved, but also possibly the future leadership of the organisation — in favour of the negotiation faction.

(304A)

'The season of viol

CAPE TOWN — This is a precis of the address by President de Klerk at the opening of Parliament yesterday:

The general election in September 1989 placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest.

On its part, the Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens. The dynamic developments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa as well Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either.

The countries of southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge: Southern Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction. It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world.

The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones, confrontation by contact, disengagement by engagement, slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states

At present the Government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon. In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in this Parliament.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

Certain matters of principle have emeged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

"The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived."

The Government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justiciable by an independent judiciary.

However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of heterogeneous population will simply disappear. Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations.

THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the Government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. In April 1989, the Minister of Justice indicated there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals. In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines. In the mean time, no executions have taken place since November the 14th, 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed, will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

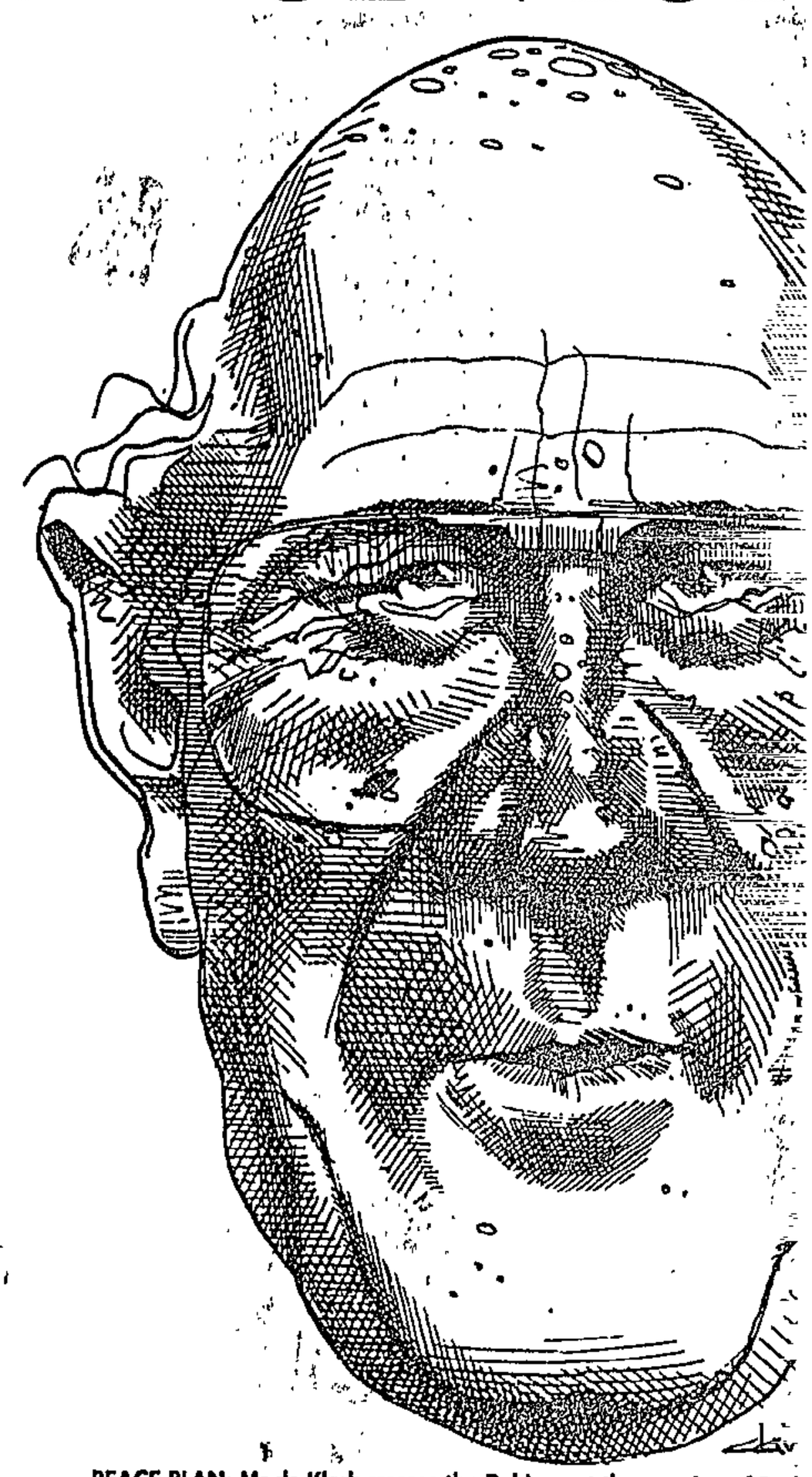
A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the Government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act 1953. I announce that this Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.

THE ECONOMY

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the sixties was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies. After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes, recovered economically so that lengthy period of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.



PEACE PLAN: Mr de Klerk crosses the Rubicon at the opening of P

Time for reconcili is here, says De Kl

"I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament."

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while. The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, brought with them unhealthy trends These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance. Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility the same time to promote

# of violence is over'

(304 A)

PLAN: Mr de Klerk crosses the Rubicon at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

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particular ... was pro- by the ris- the neces- adjust- . In fact, price even with it for ...y of the and the de- of gold and products, unhealthy ...ed high weakening of capital, economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

"I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament."

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance. Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility at the same time to promote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, privatisation, deregulation and curtailing Government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy.

This does not mean that the State will foresake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the Government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas of the economy in recent years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are. The gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners, the encouragement of personal initiative and savings, the subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline, rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation, and the encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

The Government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy. For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference. This applies both to the various functions within the Government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

The Government's financial year ends in two month's time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year are still subject to refinements at this stage. Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear. I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

In respect of Government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years The financial figures will show: that Government expenditure is under control, that our normal financing programme has not exerted any significant upward pressure on rates of interest, and that we will close the year with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

NEGOTIATION

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political chess game.

Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions

Steps decided are. that the prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded; people serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released.'

Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this. The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished. The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest, the restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded.

The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.

The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing

"There is a growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace."

The most important facets of the advice the Government received in this connection, are the following: the events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare not be jeopardised. The Government will not forsake its duty in this connection.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law, will be ensured. In fact, the budget for the coming financial year will already begin to give effect to this.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists. There is still conflict which is manifesting itself mainly in Natal. In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it.

With the steps the Government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution, universal franchise, no domination, equality before an independent judiciary, the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights, freedom of religion, a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise, dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner: the Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace. The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.

I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: walk through the open door take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stands

CONCLUSION

As I said in my inaugural address "All reasonable people in this country — by far the majority — anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us" — Sapa.

Market clamour

Cape Times 3/2/90

Investors race to support FW's moves

30 KA

By ARI JACOBSON

FOREIGN and local investors clamoured to the market to demonstrate overwhelming support for F W de Klerk's opening speech to parliament yesterday.

This reaction rippled through to the JSE where demand for shares soared and crossed over to the capital market which received a healthy injection from overseas investors.

The JSE Overall Index rose 86 points to surpass its mid-January peak of 3261 and close at a record 3279.

General expectations underestimated the extent of De Klerk's initiatives, say market sources.

Gad Ariovich, market strategist at Fergusson Bros, Hall, Stewart & Co says the positive response would impact in the short term, but the medium term would remain uncertain.

"In the short term the brain drain will decline and foreign investment through the equity and capital market will rise."

However, says Ariovich, the medium term seems a little uncertain as negotiations and conflict pave the way to a suitable setlement, which may shake-up the free market system.

Brian Kantor, who heads up the school of economics at UCT says although he saw no immediate threat to the free market concept, all political parties must realise there are benefits to political as well as economic freedom.

"Any form of control is deemed to be a weakness not a strength," says Kantor.

A market analyst added that the medium term would also impact on larger organisations' profitability.

"All such organisations have exploited cheaper labour and will be forced to improve the worker's predicament with higher salaries and improved social conditions."

Moving to the long end of the market, a bond dealer says the real fear surrounding the speech was the possibility R6bn in bonds purchased over the last year could be dumped on the market.

"Thumbs up to the speech saw the E168 rate, which opened at 15,35% trade as low as 15,12 in the morning session, as foreign investment poured in."

Andy Swartz, CE at Cape Investment Bank was overjoyed at the foreign reaction — "although rates came back to close at 15,18% on profit taking, there is plenty of upside potential in bond prices".

The finrand followed the same pattern opening at R3,36/$ and climbing to R3,31/$ before falling back to R3,33/$ at the close.

First National's assistant treasurer Rob Wade says the capital market has been buoyed by local and foreign investors taking a positive position prior to De Klerk's speech.

"We became bullish, once the Germans and Swiss, renowned for their caution, remained locked into the gilt market," says Wade.

He says the sharp movement in the finrand and capital market rates is indicative of how much the market was caught unawares by the speech.

Wade did sound a note of caution — "an appreciating finrand knocks returns, introducing competition for foreign funds as countries like Australia offer similar yields."

Dave Gise, gold analyst at Davis, Borkum, Hare & Co says local institutions helped the equity market, especially gold shares, which edged up to a closing volume of 2 252, just short of the post-crash high of 2 260 recorded in December.

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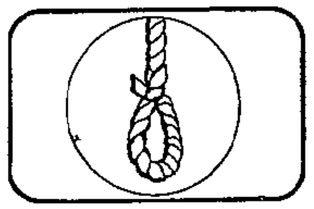
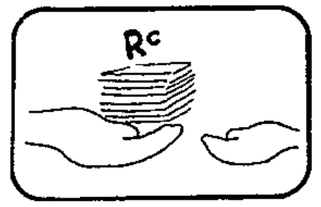
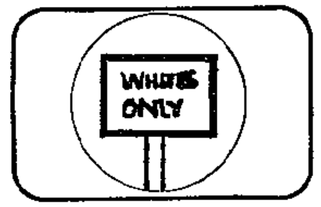
FW's new plans


● Executions are suspended



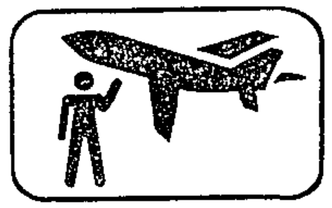
● Tax burden to be eased



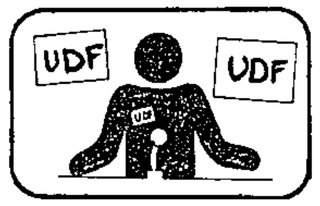
● No separate amenities

● Media clamps abolished

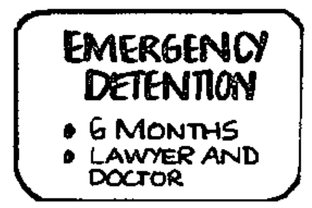
● Political prisoners free


● Exiles can return

● Bannings are lifted



● Restrictions are lifted

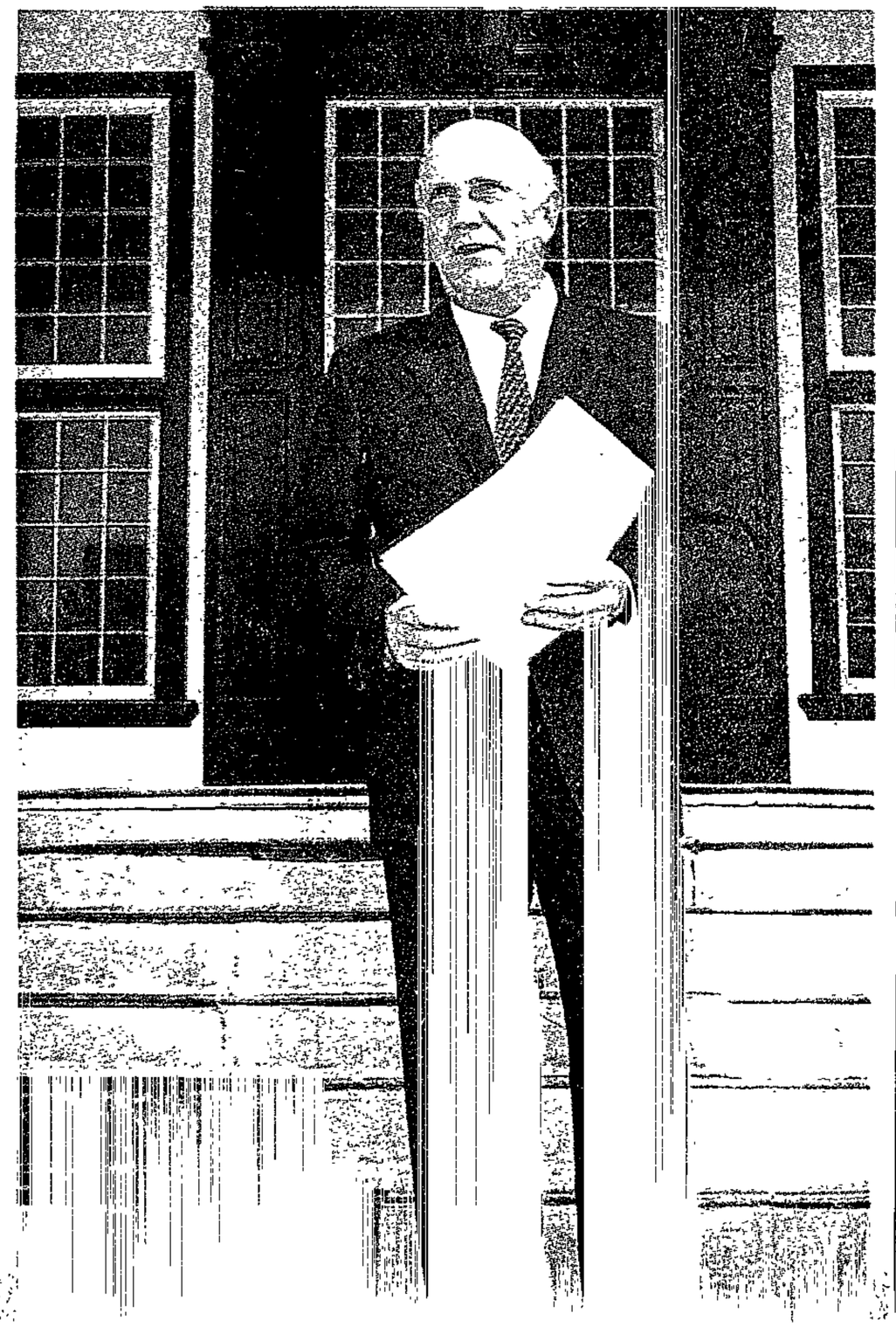


● Detainees' curbs lifted

NEW ERA FOR SA

Cape Times 3/2/90

304A



OPINION

On the move

SOUTH Africans are right to have

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

TRIBUTES poured in from around the world yesterday following President F W de Klerk's triumphant watershed speech in Parliament which has changed the

JOHANNESBURG. — Some of South Africa's most famous banned people are being quoted today for the first time in more than three decades.

From Lusaka Mr Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party, said "Of

do not think there has been a government change of heart. They are under pressure from the struggle and the strength of the people and have responded to fear of sanctions and economic pressure".

Mr Reggie Sen-

Later, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the reforms "take my breath away. A new SA is just around the corner".

A surprised World Alliance of Churches leader Dr Allan Boesak said the new moves showed that Mr De Klerk was "serious" about reform. "Now there is hope for a new SA," he said.

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, congratulated the State President and said the

move again after decades in political backwaters. For the first time ever a South African head of government has presented a vision of the country with which citizens from all strata of society can identify.

In his address to Parliament yesterday, President F W de Klerk demonstrated that he has grasped the crux of our national dilemma. He dispelled suspicions that his reforms are clever but essentially short-term responses to political pressures, and signalled a willingness to deal with causes instead of symptoms. Moreover, he showed himself to be his own man, overriding entrenched security interests as well as conservative anxieties within his own party in order to break loose the political logjam.

If at that stroke he succeeded — as early reactions indicate may be the case — in allaying some deep-seated suspicions about the government's reform programme and so removing obstacles in the way of negotiations, that would be a well-deserved reward for his political courage. His predecessor, even when apparently realising the need for reform, was hamstrung by an inability to move with resolve. Against that, Mr De Klerk has exceeded expectations in seizing the intiative as he did yesterday.

Of course that is not to say that he has met all demands or satisfied all needs. Far from it. We ourselves would have liked to have seen a more comprehensive lifting of the emergency regulations and greater finality on a date for Mr Nelson Mandela's release. There are those who will have far more fundamental objections to Mr De Klerk's performance. But such objections cannot detract from the significance of what the State President has done in launching South Africa on an era of new politics.

Yesterday's speech holds out the promise that our problems may yet be resolved in a peaceful manner. Ironically, however, it also signals that we have now entered a more dangerous phase of the inevitable process of change, where the situation is going to be much more volatile. Political opportunism will abound, many people will feel threatened, and mistakes will be made with sometimes violent consequences.

There is no easy road, though — this is the one we have to travel.

back to the international fold.

Britain and the United States announced that they would take steps to end Pretoria's international isolation following President De Klerk's announcement, which included lifting a 30-year-old ban on the African National Congress and 33 other organisations.

Senior ANC leaders converged on Stockholm to hold an emergency party caucus, possibly to decide whether they would officially retract their call for South Africa's black majority to take up arms against the government.

FW'S HOUR THE NEW POLITICS

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo were en route from the Zambian capital of Lusaka for Sweden, where a large ANC delegation is currently visiting, an ANC official said.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, in a statement that could be published legally in South Africa for the first time in 30 years, welcomed Mr De Klerk's announcement, but warned that many aspects of South Africa's repressive machinery would still remain intact.

ANC foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki said Mr De Klerk's speech "goes a very long way to meeting the ANC's demands that political conditions must be created for everybody to participate in a peaceful political process".

Slovo longing, Joseph happy

want to come home."

Mr Slovo said he hoped the ANC's national conference to be held in the middle of this year could be in SA.

In Johannesburg Mrs Helen Joseph, 84, who has lived under restrictions for more than 36 years, said: "I'm a free person. It's unbelievable. I've come out of the social twilight."

Mrs Joseph, who has experienced ill-health for the past two years, including a stroke that has left her with a single vocal chord, said yesterday was a "great day of tremendous joy. But I, for my part,

committee member who has been out of the country for over two decades, said he hoped he could return home to Cape Town before the end of the year.

He said he was not sure if it was a good idea to return to where his old home had been. He recalled that Mr Brian Bunting (an ANC exile living in London) had been distressed when his daughters returned from a visit to SA late last year and told him a beloved old fig tree in the garden of their former home had been chopped down.

Future's 'good promise'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

A BEAMING and relaxed President F W de Klerk told the Cape Times yesterday after his historic speech to Parliament: "The future holds good promise."

Speaking at the end of a triumphant day which brought him accolades from political leaders both at home and abroad, Mr De Klerk said in an interview in the Tuynhuys gardens that he was heartened by the initial response to the reform package he had unveiled earlier in the day.

During a brief break from his hectic schedule, the President said he was hopeful that the changes he had announced would prepare the way for South Africa once again becoming a fully fledged member of the international community.

"But the real passport to international acceptance lies in internal reconciliation," Mr De Klerk said as he savoured the success of what was widely billed as the most important day of his political career.

Also in Stockholm, veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said "victory" was in sight. Mr De Klerk had now shown "he is a man the ANC can and will talk to".

A statement issued by the SACP last night said "the positive steps towards a climate for negotiation" by Mr De Klerk were a recognition of the strength of the national liberatory movement and "a great victory for the masses of our country".

Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zeph Mothopeng committed himself to convening the first legal consultative conference of PAC members inside the country.

In Cape Town, ANC slogans were broadcast legally over the Grand Parade for the first time in 30 years when the thousands who had taken part in yesterday's protest march heard that the organisation had been unbanned.

At the Parade, where the nearly 8 000 marchers had gathered, the mood was at first disbelief and then euphoria when South African Youth Congress vice-president Mr Rapu Molakane told the crowd the ANC had been unbanned.

... some of the conditions towards creating a climate conducive for negotiation.

An emotional President Kenneth Kaunda said in Zambia that it was "his proudest moment" and commended Mr De Klerk for his "courage".

It was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

The OAU described the unbanning of the ANC as a "positive step toward negotiations".

US President George Bush told reporters on board Air Force One that he viewed the developments positively, and would talk to congressional leaders about reviewing various trade sanctions.

"I think when people move in the right direction, it is time to review all policy," Mr Bush said.

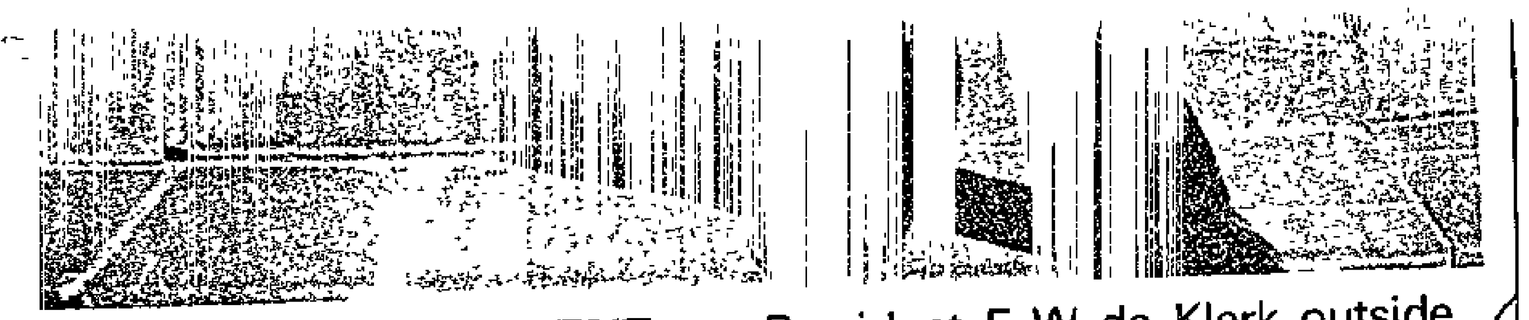
In London, Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's office said the measures vindicated its longstanding policy of refusing to impose any trade sanctions against South Africa.

"This is an historic landmark on a road to a new South Africa. We look to the ANC and other groups to respond positively to the offer now being made to join in negotiations to work out a new constitution."

The only bodies to sharply attack the measures announced yesterday were far right wing white groupings like the Conservative Party

To page 2

FW'S HOUR THE NEW POLITICS



MAN OF THE MOMENT ... President F W de Klerk outside Tuynhuys yesterday after his historic speech.

Cop leave cancelled

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police leave has been cancelled indefinitely and the entire force placed on alert in anticipation of spates of "emotional upsurges" to State President F W de Klerk's opening-of-Parliament speech yesterday.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said police anticipated Mr De Klerk's speech would have "immediate" repercussions.

FW becomes Comrade

JOHANNESBURG. — Celebrations of the unbanning of the ANC in and outside the Cosatu head office building here were marred by the teargassing by police of a group of demonstrators outside the front door and the lobbing of teargas canisters into union offices.

One witness said police appeared to react aggressively to demonstrators shouting "Viva Comrade De Klerk".

More on FW speech

- The full speech — Page 6
- 'Wit Wolf' may get reprieve — Page 2
- Separate amenities to go — Page 2
- Spending 'under control' — Page 2
- Police use rubber bullets — Page 2
- Unbanned can now be heard — Page 3
- Fashions at opening of Parliament — Page 5

JSE gets boost from investors

Finance Staff

FOREIGN and local investors clamoured to the market to demonstrate overwhelming support for Mr F W de Klerk's speech to Parliament yesterday.

This reaction rippled through the JSE where demand for shares soared and crossed over to the capital market, which received a healthy injection from overseas investors.

Both local and foreign demand boosted mining and industrial shares to lift the JSE overall index 2,7% or 86 points to surpass its mid-January peak of 3261 and close at a record 3279.

The industrial index soared 98 points or 3,3% to a new high of 3031 while the all-gold index jumped 70 points or 3,2% to 2250 to come within a whisker of its mid-December closing peak of 2254.

In New York, buying of SA shares was spurred by a statement by President George Bush that he would review sanctions.

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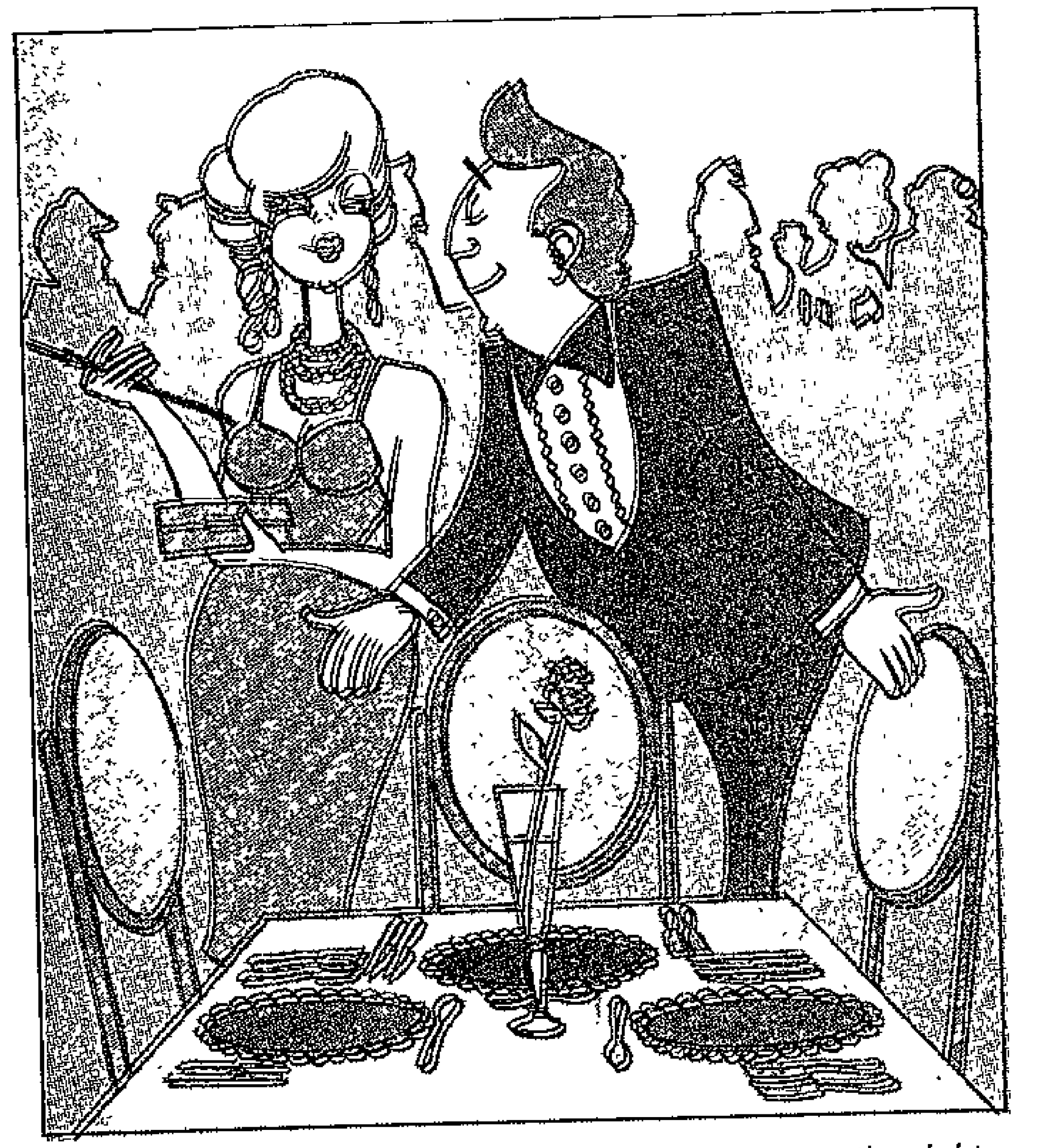
DAILY LISTING — Page 23
STOCK PRICES — Page 22

"When hosting a dinner party, I cannot quite recall whether the principal lady guest should sit on my right or left side."



*Although gentlemen should always try to stay on the right side of ladies, in the stateliest English homes the lady in question is always seated on the host's right. Naturally, the provision of cigarettes should not be left to chance. Mills Special, with their fine, expensive tobaccos ... their superb flavour and aroma... are unquestionably the right choice.

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(4795)

(30KA)

City hears ANC slogans 30 years on

By MARIUS BOSCH and PETER DENNEHY

ANC slogans were broadcast legally over the Grand Parade for the first time in 30 years when the thousands who had taken part in yesterday's protest march heard that the organisation had been unbanned.

President F W de Klerk's announcement was met in Cape Town — as in other cities across the country — with spontaneous celebrations in the streets.

At the Parade, where the nearly 8 000 marchers had gathered, the mood was at first disbelief and then euphoria when South African Youth Congress vice-president Mr Rapu Molakane told the crowd the ANC had been unbanned.

Smuts statue

During the march the crowd had been considerably larger with many observers remarking that the crowd was more than 10 000.

Cries of "ANC, ANC, ANC" drowned the speakers on the makeshift podium — a flatbed truck — and people in the crowd waved ANC flags.

Led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and UDF leaders, the marchers set out from Greenmarket Square soon after 10am.

When the procession reached St George's Cathedral the marchers stopped and UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota, speaking through a loudhailer, demanded the resignation of President De Klerk and the government.

A youth with a wooden gun climbed to the top of Jan Smuts's statue and an ANC flag was draped over Smuts's head (Picture — Page 3).

Before the march even started, rumours swept through the crowd that the ANC would be unbanned.

The march ended at the Parade after speeches with the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. About 1 000 marchers halted traffic soon afterwards in Darling Street.

At the station, SATS authorities and police allowed the crowds to board trains without buying tickets.

UDF marshals controlled the crowds at the station and at one stage they tried to close carriage doors to enable a Khayelitsha-bound train to leave. The train eventually left with open doors while some marchers jumped through carriage windows to get on the train.

● Claremont Democratic Party MP Mr Jan van Eck said the police, city council and the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, should be congratulated for their roles in the two marches in Cape Town this week.

Three hurt after march

TWO policemen and a member of the public were hurt during yesterday's march.

A police spokesman said the march went off peacefully, but stonethrowing was reported at four railway stations as marchers returned home.

The policemen were stoned as a train left Cape Town station. One received eight stitches to a gash over an eye. — Sapa

ON THE RUN . . . Part of the crowd who marched through the city yesterday break into an exhuberant run after hearing that the ANC had been unbanned.

Noisy demo at SA embassy

LONDON. — About 450 Anti-Apartheid Movement supporters took part in an enthusiastic and noisy protest outside the South African embassy here at lunchtime yesterday, demanding the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

As usual for demonstrations like this, the embassy's front entrance on to Trafalgar Square was closed, with visitors being directed to a discreet side entrance, and curtains in windows overlooking the protesters were drawn.

Mr Norman Willis, leader of Britain's powerful Trades Union Congress, told the crowd Mr F W de Klerk was "starting to break" and that there should be "no reduction of people pressure" on him.

A Cosatu representative in London also took the microphone to announce: "We want total surrender.

Police use rubber bullets

JOHANNESBURG. — Demonstrators celebrating the unbanning of the ANC yesterday were sprayed with teargas, baton-charged, shot with rubber bullets and herded with police dogs by the police here.

The spontaneous cele-

'Separate amenities to go this session'

Political Correspondent

THE Separate Amenities Act will be scrapped during the current session of Parliament, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

However, government ministers yesterday declined to say what would happen to what the government calls "sensitive areas" when the Act enforcing racial segregation in public facilities finally goes.

Meanwhile, it was neither the government's policy "nor its intention" that any group, however defined, "shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others", Mr De Klerk said yesterday.

He was reiterating the government's commitment to a group-based solution to South Africa's problems, while addressing the issue of a bill of rights for South Africa.

Mr De Klerk said the SA Law Commission (SALC) was currently in-

'Wit Wolf' killer among the reprieved

PRETORIA. — Mass killer Barend Strydom is among the 302 death row prisoners saved from hanging by President F W de Klerk's announcement yesterday of a moratorium on executions.

However, Mr De Klerk stopped short of scrapping the death penalty, as neighbouring Namibia has done.

"Wit Wolf" Strydom was sentenced to death eight times for the mass murder of eight people in November 1988. He was sentenced by Mr Justice Louis Harms — who will chair a commission on inquiry into the alleged existence of hit squads.

A second highly publicised person who lived in the shadow of the gallows is Evelina de Bruin — the only woman on death row. She is one of the Upington 14 under sentence of death for the murder of a municipal policeman in 1985, on the controversial basis of "common principle".

Robert McBride has also been on death row a long time, following his conviction for the 1983 Durban bomb blast.

Others include the Delmas Three — Neo Potsane, Jabu Masina and Ting Ting Masango, Leonard Shehana of Swapo and Nthetheleli Mncube and Mzo Ndeleli Nongula of the Tzaneen trial.

Between 1980 and 1988, 1 070 people were hanged in South Africa, 67% of whom were black, and a further 94 were executed in the independent homelands. Last year 53 were executed.

The last man to have been executed was Solomon Ngobeni, on November 14, for the murder of Mr Mackson Kubayi, who was killed during an armed robbery. — Sapa, Political Staff

NP reaffirms support for FW

FW says spending is under control

Political Staff

THE budget for the current financial year would be the most accurate in many years, President F W de Klerk said yesterday in his opening address to Parliament.

Mr De Klerk said that when the financial figures were made available they would show that government expenditure was thoroughly under control.

The figures would also show that government's financing programme had exerted no significant upwards pressure on interest rates. The financial year would close with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Mr De Klerk said fiscal and monetary policy would be co-ordinated in such a way as to ensure that the present downturn would take the form of a soft landing.

He committed government to easing the tax burden on individuals.

charles zweig
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small crowd began toyi-toyi-ing in the centre of town. The group grew in numbers as passersby joined in, bringing traffic to a halt.

In an interim unrest report, police said traffic was disrupted and stones were thrown, forcing police to use tearsmoke and batons on the crowds.

Three policemen were injured when stones were thrown at them.

Four Wits students are reportedly in hospital after clashing with the police.

Police said one student hurt his head when he fell against a wall. They claimed the student took his shirt off, smeared it with blood from his head wound, put the shirt back on and then told the media he had been attacked by the police. — Sapa

THE UNBANNED . . . One of the marchers from yesterday dances down the pavement with an ANC poster as a policeman looks on.
Picture: OBED ZILWA

From page 1

and the AWB. The CP plans a protest meeting in Pretoria on February 15.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche shook his head in disbelief at the news of the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and the SACP.

"Just don't tell me that. God, just don't tell me that. No, oh no it can't be true."

Among the most important steps announced by Mr De Klerk yesterday were that:

● The bans on the ANC, PAC, SA Communist Party and subsidiary organisations like Umkhonto we Sizwe are to be rescinded.

● Prisoners jailed because of membership of these organisations are to be released — but no amnesty will be granted for those who have committed murder, terrorism, arson or other common-law crimes. Exiles not wanted for criminal offences could return to South Africa with impunity.

● Trials of individuals charged with being members of formerly banned organisations or promoting their aims are to be suspended.

● All executions have been suspended till Parliament has taken a final decision on new proposals to restrict the death penalty to "extreme cases".

● The nationwide state of emergency is to remain in force but the media and education emergency regulations are to lifted. However, the security emergency regulations are to be amended "to still make effective control over visual material relating to scenes of unrest".

● Emergency curbs on 374 released detainees are to be rescinded — and regulations providing for such restrictions abolished. No organisations or individuals are now restricted.

● The Separate Amenites Act will be repealed during the current session of Parliament — but there is no indication of how the government plans to deal with so-called "sensitive areas".

No reference was made in the speech to the Group Areas or Population Registration Acts but government ministers said they would not be summarily scrapped without replacing them with certain other measures to be decided by negotiation.

Mr De Klerk said he was "serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay" but "unfortunately a further short passage of time is unavoidable".

There were "factors in the way of Mr Mandela's immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least".

Mr De Klerk's speech yesterday triggered immediate developments in South Africa and abroad.

● Britain has issued an invitation to Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, and yesterday Mrs Thatcher announced that the British government would no longer discourage artists, scientists and academics from going to South Africa.

Further positive steps towards ending South Africa's international isolation would be considered once Mr Mandela was freed.

● President Bush said last night that he would review US sanctions against South Africa.

● A decision on the future of the UDF after the unbanning of the ANC yesterday would be taken only in April, UDF leaders said yesterday.

Mr Popo Molefe said "the structure of the UDF will be debating the relationship" existing between the UDF and an unbanned ANC.

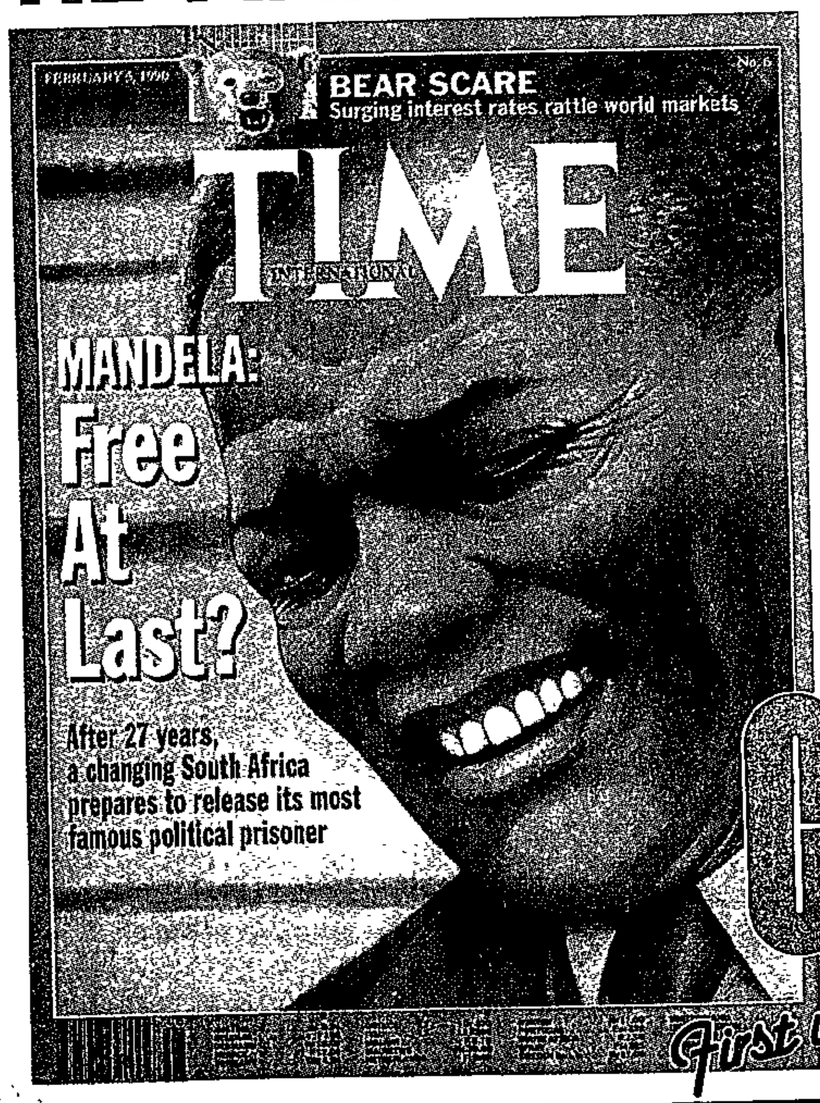
This will probably be done at the UDF's National Congress from April 6 to April 9, he added.

Too Late for Classification

DEATHS

BOSMAN
Bernard Edmund passed away Saturday January 27 1990. Sadly mourned by Sophy Hartney and family.

MANDELA
THE MAN OF THE TIMES



Today South Africa stands at a political crossroad.

Millions of blacks and whites are hoping for a miracle, seeking a path to a just, peaceful future. Will Nelson Mandela be able to work the miracle?

Read all about it in the 5th February issue of Time Magazine, now on sale at CNA.

cna
First with the goodies

mous support for yesterday's speech by FW de Klerk.

It took this decision at a meeting yesterday afternoon, according to a statement by the party's chief whip Mr Keppies Niemann, having re-examined the speech. — Sapa

account of the balance of payments and reconstructing gold and foreign exchange reserves.

JOBURG DEMO . . . A policeman sprays mace at marchers in an ANC demo in Johannesburg yesterday.

Sports isolation will remain for now

LONDON. — Announcements of racial policy changes by South Africa's president do not bring the country's athletes closer to a return to the Olympics or other international sports.

"As far as we are concerned, there is no change," Mr Sam Ramsamy, head of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, said yesterday. "It's a step in the right direction, but what we want is the dismantling of apartheid."

In Switzerland Ms Michele Verdier, of the International Olympic Committee, said it was really too early to react, but "of course, any step taken to get rid of apartheid is a good one".

The National Sports Congress (NSC) and the SA Congress of Sports (Sacos) said they now expected cancellation of Mike Gatting's rebel tour. — Sapa-AP

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Cape Times 3/2/90 (30KA)

SA REACTION . . .

Church leaders enthuse

LEADERS of a number of churches enthusiastically welcomed President De Klerk's announcement on the lifting of the bans on organisations but several said his speech should be seen in perspective as a reponse to pressure. They called on him to move quickly towards "genuine negotiations" to dismantle the pillars of apartheid.

Dr Alan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said it showed Mr De Klerk was serious about politcal change while the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, believed it a "sign fo hope" that Mr De Klerk used the powers of his office to make the announcements by decree.

Member of the SA Catholic Bishops Conference and the National Reception Committee of the MDM Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa said he was delighted with the announced reforms.

IT'S A BREAK

is/E-Argus 3/2/90

Weekend Argus Political Staff

304A

Sanctions: Should they now be lifted? A debate hots up

PRESIDENT De Klerk's watershed speech has been heralded worldwide as a breakthrough and the dawn of a new era for South Africa.

The reaction generally has been one of astonishment; that he has far exceeded expectations.

There is consensus that he has gone a long way towards setting the scene for the start of negotiations over a new democratic South Africa. And debate is already raging over whether sanctions should be lifted.

International doors are also opening for Mr De Klerk. He has accepted an invitation from Mrs Margaret Thatcher and has also had one from President George Bush of the United States.

Thabo Mbeki

In the most significant reaction from the African National Congress so far, its international expert, the charismatic Mr Thabo Mbeki, has said of the speech: "This is good news. If these decisions are carried out, they will be very important.

"Obviously this is going a very long way to meeting our demand that political conditions must be created for everybody to participate in a peaceful political process."

Speaking in Stockholm where recently released ANC prisoners Mr Walter Sisulu and others have been discussing developments with ANC leader Mr Oliver Thambo and other exiles, he cautioned, however, that political prisoners still needed to be released, all troops still had to be taken out of the townships, the legislation which had been used to ban the ANC be repealed and the emergency lifted in its entirety.

But he added: "If Mr De Klerk says the time for talking has come then I believe we may be saying the same thing ourselves soon."

The Weekend Argus bureau in Washington reports that Mr De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and other announcements have sparked intense debate on what the appropriate next step for the US would be.

Walter Sisulu ... in Stockholm with ANC

Prime Minister Thatcher ... invitation to De Klerk

Mr De Klerk's speech was the main news on all the major television channels on yesterday. Most commentators described it as the most historic event in South Africa in 40 years.

A furious debate has already started on whether sanctions should be lifted or tightened.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, described the steps announced as sweeping and said the South African government had now met some of the preconditions required by US law to modify or suspend sanctions.

Pointing out that the Bush Administration was prohibited by law from lifting sanctions, he added that if more conditions were met, such as the lifting the state of emergency entirely and releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, a stage could be reached where all but one of the requirements for lifting sanctions had been met.

Requirement

It appears the remaining requirement would be that of starting negotiations.

He said: "So it seems to me that at such time as all but one of the requirements are met, and I think a couple of them have been met now, we would then consult with Congress to determine whether the President should move ahead and use his authority to suspend or modify sanctions."

In South Africa, white conservative reaction has been vehement and from some on the left there have been claims that Mr De Klerk has still not gone far enough.

But the general response is typified by that of even a long-standing opponent of the government like Archbishop Desmond Tutu: "This is incredible. We expected he might deliver something, but what he said has taken my breath away."

The struggle

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described Mr De Klerk's address as a truly historic occasion. "South Africa's long line of heroes and martyrs should applaud the statement that black leaders can now realise the dreams of the struggle."

The chairman of the Organisation of Frontline States, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, advised against lifting sanctions but said the unbanning of the ANC was just the first step that should lead to other steps in the right direction.

Mandela may

IT'S A BREAKTHROUGH

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Mandela may have been moved

By BRONWEN DAVIDS and VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporters

SPECULATION was mounting today that Mr Nelson Mandela, the man who holds the key to the future of South Africa, may have been moved from Victor Verster prison in Paarl prior to his release.

But sources in the Department of Justice emphatically denied he had been moved, and refused to comment further.

Today Mr Mandela's son Mr Makgatho Mandela, who had arranged last Tuesday to see his father today, failed to arrive on a flight from Durban. Church leader Dr Allan Boesak's planned visit to Mr Mandela on Thursday was cancelled by authorities.

The unconditional release of Mr Mandela, promised by State President F W de Klerk in his watershed speech at the opening of parliament yesterday, is the next major step for South

Africa on the road to reform.

Mr De Klerk, who said Mr Mandela would be released within "a short passage of time" and "without delay", said Mr Mandela could play an important part in the negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa.

There was puzzlement at Mr Mandela's son's failure to arrive in Cape Town today. Said Mrs Farieda Omar, who accompanied her civil rights lawyer husband Dullah to the airport to meet Mr Mandela: "This is most unlike him. It's unlike him not to come, and it's unlike him to fail to inform us and save us an unnecessary trip to the airport. It's very strange.

"Last week Dr Boesak's visit was cancelled by the State, and now this. It seems that something is going on."

Surviving son

Mr Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela's only surviving son, had been due to see his father from 11am to 3pm. He last saw him about two months ago.

When Weekend Argus rang Mr Mandela's shop in Cofimvaba in Transkei, the man who answered the telephone said he thought Mr Mandela was in Durban. He said: "He lives his life, I live mine."

Outside the prison today it was quiet with few journalists present and no visitors for Mr Mandela at all, just a few for other inmates.

F W'S MOVES GAZETTED

PRETORIA. — Government Gazette proclamations enacting the announcements by State President F W de Klerk yesterday were published in Pretoria today.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee published notices repealing the prohibition of the ANC, PAC, SACP and their subsidiary organisations.

A total of 55 names — including those of Joe Slovo, Helen Joseph, Marius Schoon, Albie Sachs, Archie Sibeko, and Rowley Arenstein — were removed from the Internal Security Act consolidated list.

However, the names of a number of ANC members — including Oliver Tambo and Tom Sebina — apparently remain on the list.

There was no immediate clarification available from officials in Pretoria.

The media and education emergency regulations were repealed. — Sapa.

Brokers flooded as JSE soars

W/E ARGUS 3/2/90

30 4/7

By DICK USHER
Deputy Business Editor

THE business world, both local and international, reacted sharply and positively to President De Klerk's major reform initiatives.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange soared to fresh highs, financial indicators responded strongly and brokers were flooded with orders.

All leading business organisations welcomed the changes which were called brave, statesmanlike and a challenge to the business community to help create a new South Africa.

Speculation also emerged overseas that sanctions could be eased or lifted.

As news of the steps swept the financial markets reaction was immediate.

At the close the Johannesburg Stock Exchange overall share index had risen to a new high of 3 279 from Thursday's 3 194 close and a previous record close of 3 239 on January 15.

The all-gold index surged to a preliminary close of 2 252 from Thursday's 2 180 finish, with added help from a rally in the bullion price. The industrial index rebounded to a record 3 025 from 2 933 — breaching its January 15 high of 3 023.

Capital market rates were sharply lower.

In London, gold shares rose in early trading and shot up by between 5 and 10 percent while the Stock Exchange showed interest in South African industrials for the first time in years.

One dealer said: "The market's extremely good at the moment, we're very busy and shares are flying about all over the place."

Sanctions

She speculated that economic sanctions against South Africa eventually could be eased as a result of the moves.

In the United States, where Mr De Klerk's speech was carried live via satellite by one network, the market was sluggish in response.

Gold futures were slightly lower and one trader said this was possibly because the steps would "lessen the threat of a civil war and it should also reduce the possibility of production interruptions at the gold mines.

Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Gavin Relly welcomed the steps, which he said would normalise political life in South Africa.

"We would hope that these acts of courage and statesmanship on the part of President De Klerk will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship within South Africa's borders and beyond."

Mr K W Maxwell, president of the Chamber of Mines, said President De Klerk had crossed the Rubicon and opened the way to a new South Africa.

"We look forward to a positive response from the international community, including the lifting of sanctions. Together with President De Klerk, we also look forward to the end of decades of tensions and conflict".

The Afrikaanse Handelinstituut said the business sector had, for some time, pleaded for negotiations, the tested way to reduce tensions.

The organisation welcomed the announcement that the role of the public sector in the economy was to be reduced and that the private sector would be given the maximum opportunity to flourish.

As the largest employer organisation in South Africa, the South African Chamber of Business (SACB) "heartily welcomes the bold initiatives".

(304A)

Weekend FOCUS 3

Key issues in De Klerk's announcement

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk's announcements on key issues in his historic address to Parliament yesterday include:

■ DEATH PENALTY: Government has approved in principle that the death penalty be limited as an option in "extreme cases" and that automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

■ EXECUTIONS: All executions have been suspended until parliament takes a final decision on the new proposals.

■ APARTHEID: Separate Amenities Act of 1953 to be scrapped during the present session of parliament;

■ NEGOTIATIONS: "The time for negotiation has arrived." The government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace. The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on banned organisations "places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely." The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

■ BANNED ORGANISATIONS: The African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the SA Communist Party (SACP) and subsidiary organisations are being unbanned.

■ RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS: People serving prison sentences for their membership of these organisations and for related offences will be identified and released.

This does not apply to prisoners sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson.

■ MEDIA CURBS: The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being scrapped "in their entirety".

■ STATE OF EMERGENCY: An emergency situation still exists; hence the retention of certain emergency measures. The government's intention is to terminate the state of emergency completely "as soon as circumstances justify it." Those responsible for unrest and conflict must bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency.

The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

■ RESTRICTED ORGANISATIONS: Emergency restrictions on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the National Education Crisis Committee, the SA National Students' Congress, the United Democratic Front, Cosatu and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

■ EMERGENCY DETAINEES: Conditions imposed on 374 emergency detainees on their release are being rescinded and the regulations providing for such conditions are being scrapped.

The period of emergency detentions will be limited to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

■ PEACEFUL PROTEST: The governmnent will not allow peaceful protest to become a springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation — "violence from whichever source will be fought with all available might."

■ SOUTHERN AFRICAN SUMMIT: The obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states for formulating "a realistic development plan" have now been removed sufficiently. Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones; confrontation by contact ...

■ THE ECONOMY: Financial figures show government expenditure is "thoroughly under control".

The government will persist with "structural adaptations" for easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; for sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and for reconstruction of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

■ INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS: The government does not "reject out of hand" the idea of their future re-incorporation into the RSA and regards it as "but one of many possibilities." Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with by legislation in the respective parliaments. Such legislation will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

■ THE POLICE: Strong emphasis to be placed on even more effective law enforcement. Provision of manpower and means for this will be ensured. The budget for the coming financial year will begin to give effect to this.

■ MR NELSON MANDELA: The government has noted that he has declared himself willing to make a constructive contribution to a peaceful political process. The government has taken a firm decision to release him unconditionally. A decision is to be taken soon on the release date. His personal circumstances and safety are "not the least" of factors in the way of his immediate release.

Mr Nelson Mandela ... decision to be taken soon on release date.

Macmillan right, Verwoerd wrong

W/E ARGUS 3/2/90

By PATRICK LAURENCE in Johannesburg

304A

THIRTY years ago tomorrow British Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillan caused a stir in South Africa when he delivered his "winds of change" speech to Parliament in Cape Town.

In the polite language of the British upper class, Mr Macmillan, who had come to South Africa on the last leg of a tour through Africa, warned that South Africa would have to take cognisance of the challenge brewing in the African hinterland.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the man of granite — "'n man wat sy man kon staan"— was South Africa's Prime Minister. The architect of grand or territorial apartheid, he believed that South Africa was taking the necessary measures to withstand the pending storm.

Looking back, it is clear that, on balance, Mr Macmillan was right and Dr Verwoerd was wrong.

The Speaker at the time, Mr J H Conradie, had enough of a sense of history to have the speeches printed in a souvenir publication. Reading Mr MacMillan's speech and Dr Verwoerd's reply is a fascinating exercise.

One is struck by Mr Macmillan's tact and politeness. Remarkably, he did not mention the word "apartheid" — he was too circumspect for bluntness of that order.

His admonishment was gentle, not hectoring. He spoke not as an outsider but as as insider. His criticism was softened with kind words

"I said that I was speaking as a friend. I can perhaps almost claim to speak as a relation. For we Scots can claim family connections with both the great European sections of your people, not only with the English-speaking people but with the Afrikaans-speaking people as well."

His speech contained essentially two criticisms: first, a rejoinder to the current notion that South Africa's internal affairs were her own business; second, a rejection of race discrimination and, as a corollary, indirect counsel to South Africa to extend its notion of nationhood to include all the people of South Africa, not merely the whites.

ON the first point Mr Macmillan asserted his acceptance of the concept of sovereignty. He then immediately modified it by noting that the world was "shrinking" and that the policies of one nation could have repercussions beyond its borders.

"We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other, 'Mind your own business,'" Mr Macmillan said. "But in these days I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs 'Mind your own business, of course, but mind how it affects my business too.'"

On the second point Mr Macmillan quoted the then British Foreign Secretary, Mr Selwyn Lloyd: "We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy, therefore, is non-racial; it offers a future in which (all will) play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations."

DEALING with the argument that white South Africans had deep roots in Africa, Mr Macmillan said: "The same is broadly true of Europeans in Central and East Africa."

Then came his crunch line, insofar as there could be one in his politely phrased speech: "We always try to (give) South Africa our full support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our deep convictions about the political destinies of free men."

Dr Verwoerd, never a man at a loss for words, replied promptly, defending the idea of separate freedoms for the different races.

HE asserted that South Africa's whites found empty tracts of land — "We settled a country which was bare." He put the "Bantu" on a par with the whites as "settlers" — "The Bantu, too, came to this country and settled certain portions for themselves."

Each would be given the "fullest rights" in the areas in which they settled, the imperturbable Dr Verwoerd said.

Barely six weeks later the first of the winds that Mr MacMillan had warned of struck.

On March 21, the Pan-Africanist Congress campaign against the pass laws — an integral component of Dr Verwoerd's grand vision of enforced separation — led to the Sharpeville massacre when nervous police opened fire on a crowd outside the police station in Sharpeville, killing 69 people.

DR Verwoerd's reaction was composed, if not complacent; his opponents who blamed the disturbance on separate development were ill-informed and did not have sufficient facts at their disposal.

His first and immediate remedy was to quell the "incitement" and round-up the "inciters". His long term reaction was to intensify the application of separate development.

But the "winds of change" were not stilled.

Sixteen years later his successor, Mr B J Vorster, warned: "The storm has not yet struck. We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it." He started to cautiously reform apartheid in the hope of depriving the pending storm of its driving force.

He failed. Eight years later, South Africa was plunged into the worst and most prolonged turmoil since the Act of Union. The townships burned, fanned by a hurricane.

Today, South Africa under President F W De Klerk, is in a period of relative calm. But there are signs that it may be merely another lull before the storm. Mr De Klerk, it seems, has but a few months to defuse the threatening tornado.

Mr Macmillan

Dr Verwoerd

Bush wants to review sanctions, Pope may visit

STAR 3/2/90

(304A)

DAVID BRAUN and CORRESPONDENTS

SOUTH Africa's international relations have taken a giant leap forward following President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

The United States government will review its sanctions policy, and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has formally invited Mr de Klerk to an "early meeting" at her country residence, Chequers. Mr Mandela would also be invited once he had been released.

In other favourable reaction yesterday Vatican sources said it was now likely that the Pope will visit South Africa.

President George Bush told reporters on board Air Force One, the presidential aircraft, yesterday he wanted to talk to congressional leaders and various South African leaders about reviewing sanctions and other aspects of US policy on South Africa.

● See PAGES 8, 9 and 11

But first he wanted to see the announcements made by Mr de Klerk developed and Mr Nelson Mandela released, he said.

Mr Bush said earlier this week he would be inviting Mr Mandela to meet him in the White House once he was released. Similarly, he would invite Mr de Klerk. He planned to discuss with them how the United States could be of assistance to South Africa in promoting a democratic nonracial society.

But congressional sources were yesterday more guarded about Mr de Klerk's speech.

One source pointed out that Mr Bush could not lift sanctions against South Africa until certain specific conditions stipulated in the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had been met. While Mr de Klerk may now have met most of these, there were still some, such as the repeal of apartheid, which had not been met.

Sympathy

On the other hand, there is a degree of sympathy on Capitol Hill with the view that Mr de Klerk's far-reaching moves should in some way be encouraged.

A bipartisan task force in the House of Representatives and key senators hopes to hammer out a common policy with the Administration.

Anti-apartheid congressmen believe a package of incentives and sanctions would be appropriate.

The major US media yesterday reported Mr de Klerk's speech as the lead item, together with generally favourable reaction from prominent spokesman for the South African opposition.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told US television

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

WELCOMES FOR STEPS forward

STAR 3/2/90

FW applauded

FROM PAGE 1.

viewers he believed all parties could prepare themselves now to start negotiations within weeks rather than months.

The British government hailed Mr de Klerk's speech "a major step forward" and said the measures announced by the State President were "an important justification of our policy of contact rather than confrontation". Britain has said that it will not continue with its policy of "discouraging" artists, scientists and academics from visiting the Republic.

A Vatican source said the speech was a "major step towards a papal trip".

The Pope has often expressed a desire to visit South Africa, but on the advice of South Africa's Catholic bishops, he declined an invitation from the Pretoria government to visit during a 1988 tour of neighbouring countries. But he said he would make a trip here eventually.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday likened the news of changes in South Africa to "celestial music", saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

Mr Perez de Cuellar said he intended going to southern Africa in mid-March to celebrate the independence of Namibia from South African rule, scheduled to be proclaimed on March 21.

South Africa has been suspended from the United Nations General Assembly since 1974 because of its racial policies. But it remains a member of the 159-nation organisation and its flag flies alongside those of other countries outside UN Headquarters.

President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday welcomed the speech, but said the next step was to create real conditions for dialogue with black opposition groups.

"I say hearty congratulations for a job well started, not well done. I wish him (De Klerk) the best of luck.

In Lisbon, President Mario Soares, who last October became the first foreign head of state to visit South Africa in nearly 15 years, congratulated Mr de Klerk on the decision to legalise the ANC and free jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosotho Buthelezi said yesterday he was prepared to enter into negotiations with Mr de Klerk.

"I have always adamantly refused to be involved in any negotiations about the constitutional future of South Africa unless today's kind of announcements were made," the Chief Minister said.

He, however, remained concerned that the state of emergency had not been lifted, and appealed to the state president to be more specific about the circumstances in which he would lift all emergency regulations.

ANC: It's a victory, but not enough

ROBIN DREW
and
SAPA-REUTER

STOCKHOLM — ANC leaders visiting Sweden welcomed South Africa lifting the ban on political organisations, saying "victory is in sight".

Former ANC Secretary-General Mr Walter Sisulu told a news conference that President de Klerk had done a great deal by lifting a 30-year-old ban on the organisation.

"But he has not yet gone far enough," and added that economic sanctions must be maintained.

The ANC would have liked to have seen Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners set free immediately and soldiers removed from townships.

Mr Sisulu said Mr de Klerk had shown "he is a man the ANC can, and will, talk to.

"But this is merely a beginning. We want the ending of apartheid

ANC leaders in Stockholm issued a statement saying the removal of the ban "goes a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

But the ANC was concerned that not all political prisoners would be released and demanded that the state of emergency be lifted.

ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo and SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo were due to travel to Sweden yesterday from Lusaka.

The two organisations will hold a meeting to review the political situation after yesterday's announcement by President de Klerk.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the ANC leaders released last October, said he was surprised at Mr de Klerk's lifting the ban on the SACP. "We did not expect that."

Swedish Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and Foreign Minister Mr Sten Andersson welcomed President de Klerk's announcement.

Mr Andersson said the international economic

TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O

Reform moves raise hopes of major sanctions relief

STAR 3/2/90

FINANCE STAFF

SOUTH Africa's business community is expecting a significant reduction in sanctions following State President F W de Klerk's historic policy statement yesterday.

In hectic trading on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange buoyant share prices reflected the mood of optimism that swept the country yesterday.

But more fundamental economic changes are expected to emerge from the speech, which many economists described "as the first step in ending our international economic isolation".

Reports that US President Goerge Bush would seek a mandate from the US Congress to reduce sanctions, buoyed trading on the JSE.

Prices surge

Stockmarket dealers said one effect of Mr de Klerk's moves may be that economic sanctions against South Africa will be eased, resulting in improved trading prospects for South African companies.

Prices on the stockmarket surged to record highs yesterday as the overall index climbed by 2,7 percent, or 86 points, to close at 3280.

Both local institutions and foreign investors pursued industrial shares in particular — the JSE industrial index closed the day 3,2 percent or 98 points up at 3031.

South African gold and industrial shares also surged on British and European share markets.

Mr Les Boyd, president of the SA Chamber of Business, said: "Mr de Klerk has gone much further than expected. These steps should significantly enhance South Africa's business image. We hope this new approach will see a lifting of punitive sanctions."

The chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, said: "We would hope that these acts of courage and statesmanship on the part of President de Klerk will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship both within South Africa's borders and beyond."

Dr Carl Hahn, the international chairman of the motor giant Volkswagen, who is on a visit to Johannesburg, said: "The announcement will contribute greatly towards bringing South Africa back into the mainstream of the international business community."

Reserve Bank Governor Dr Chris Stals said the historic speech had greatly improved prospects for the South African economy.

"Most foreign banks will take their lead from their country's politicians, but short-term trade credits will be more easily accessible," Dr Stals said.

He also expected significantly reduced foreign debt repayments as a result of improved political sentiments, with the possibility that as much as R3 billion of this year's total R7 billion debt could be rolled over.

See PAGE 13

Ivorian Minister met FW

3044

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast, Mr Simeon Ake, has paid a surprise and secret visit to South Africa, sources have disclosed.

Mr Ake met Presdient F W de Klerk for an hour on Thursday and flew home yesterday morning — deeply impressed with the dramatic announcements Mr de Klerk made at the opening of Parliament, the sources said.

Government sources believe that Mr Ake's visit will play an important role in improving the Republic's standing in Africa. Star 3/2/90

It is understood that a representative of the Zaire government is in Cape Town and attended Parliament's opening.

News of change like 'celestial music'

Cape Times 3/2/90

FW's speech saluted by world leaders

38 KA

LONDON. — World leaders yesterday saluted Pretoria's decision to free ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and introduce sweeping reforms.

President George Bush said he viewed Mr De Klerk's speech "positively — and most people around the world will". Speaking to reporters in Washington, presidential spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater said "we remain hopeful the release (of Mandela) will occur as soon as possible".

British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher has invited Mr De Klerk to an "early meeting" at her country home, Chequers. Welcoming the measures, she also said in a statement that she would invite Mr Mandela to visit Britain as soon as he was free.

UN Secretary-General **Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar** likened the news of changes in South Africa to "celestial music", saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

The **Zimbabwe** government said Mr De Klerk's speech was a step in the right direction but that it met only some of the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration.

President Francois Mitterrand said he was pleased with the planned release of Mr Mandela and that he had sent him a message.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia welcomed the changes but said the next step was to create real conditions for dialogue with the ANC and black opposition groups. "I say hearty congratulations for a job well started, not well done. I wish him (Mr De Klerk) the best of luck. He has done something very good indeed," Mr Kaunda said.

In the Vatican, sources said South Africa's decision to lift the ban on the African National Congress and free Mr Mandela had increased the likelihood that Pope John Paul would visit the country.

Canadian External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark welcomed the move, as did **President Mario Soares** of Portugal, who congratulated Mr De Klerk and said he heard the news "with great pleasure and a sentiment of profound hope".

Egypt, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, hailed South Africa's decision. "Egypt sees this action as a positive and first step towards elimination of apartheid in South Africa," Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mr Boutros Ghali said.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said the apartheid regime had "half-opened the door to a process of negotiations that could lead to the ending of apartheid — but much more still needs to be done".

The Lesotho government noted the announcement "with appreciation", while the President of Botswana, **Dr Quett Masire**, described the reform package as "a bold statement in the context of the South African reality".

The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Mr Taro Nakayama**, said the steps taken by President De Klerk constituted important factors for dialogue to begin between the Pretoria government and black leaders.

Dutch Foreign Minister **Mr Hans van den Broek** welcomed Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament as a "breakthrough".

Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Rilwanu Lukman praised Mr De Klerk's announcement as "the first concrete step in the long journey toward the total eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination".

Israeli Foreign Minister **Mr Moshe Arens** said: "I welcome the steps for liberalisation and freedom of political organisations announced by President De Klerk. Israel will continue to follow favourably the process of reform in South Africa."

The World Council of Churches, welcoming the moves, said it was "particularly delighted that Mr Mandela's release will be unconditional". — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP, Daily Telegraph and UPI

Mandela may be freed next weekend as peace bid hots up

FW SWINGS INTO ACTION

S/Times 4/2/90

304A

F W DE KLERK
On the new road

Page One OPINION

A page has been turned in history

WEawake on this summer, Sabbath morn in a country where hope has displaced fear, despair and anger. Where there is a feeling that South Africans may yet have a decent chance of making it.

After decades of evading the truth, the hard, inescapable realities are at last being addressed with candour and sincerity. A page of history has been turned and all of us, regardless of pigment or political persuasion, today confront a new future.

On Sunday, prayers are in order.

Down the years there have been many moments of high decision in the South African story: decisions to Trek, to resist white colonial expansionism, to fight Queen Victoria's armies, to enter two world wars, to take up arms against apartheid and to declare a republic. Leaders of all races have regularly confronted momentous choices in a harsh and unforgiving continent.

But all of them skated around the Big One: finding a political accommodation for the rich diversity of people in our land. As a result, the growing power of blacks and the strong, but ultimately diminishing power of whites remained suspended in uneasy equilibrium. The world and many South Africans, began to believe that an apocalyptic ending was inevitable.

This week, in an act of Gorbachevian boldness, President De Klerk put an end to the evasion.

PRESIDENT DE KLERK is acting swiftly to translate his dramatic peace initiative into action.

Already a special team of negotiators has embarked on an "outreach campaign" to draw exiled political activists into the negotiation process.

Yesterday, Government sources said Mr Nelson Mandela may be released next weekend — an event that would instantly raise political activity to levels of unprecedented intensity.

ANC leaders assembled in Stockholm, Sweden, yesterday to prepare a formal response to Mr De Klerk's invitation to talk.

They did so against a background of mounting international and domestic acclaim for Mr De Klerk's bold decision to "normalise" South African politics by enabling all parties — including the ANC and the PAC — to operate freely (see page 2).

A top-ranking Government team has been instructed to roll up its sleeves for an intensive programme of informal approaches to leaders and parties outside Parliament. The Government is anxious to demonstrate its sincerity, both at home and abroad.

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES van HEERDEN

In the event of the De Klerk initiative failing, it plans to ensure that the ANC, and not Pretoria, is identified as the "spoiler".

In Lusaka, the ANC's information chief, Mr Pallo Jordan, told the Sunday Times that Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament on Friday "opened up a number of new possibilities on which we will have to take decisions soon".

The ANC's full National Executive was expected to meet within the next few days.

Opened

The initial reaction from the ANC's leadership has been cautious — an indication that the boldness of the Government's moves caught it unawares.

While stressing the pres- cases, our membership overlaps anyway," he said.

A more problematic issue was the "return of the exiles".

Should prominent ANC leaders return to South Africa to organise the movement internally and eventually participate in the negotiation process?

The ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, yesterday poured cold water on speculation that he would return soon

Speaking from Stockholm where he had visited ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in hospital, he said

BLONDE JANE TAKES OVER ON TV QUIZ

By CAROL KERRIGAN

SHE'S no plain Jane and she's just landed the TV job of her dreams.

Gorgeous Jane Riley, former Wheel of Fortune girl at Sun City, is the new hostess on Martin Bailie's Telly Fun Quiz, which returns to TV1 on Wednesday evening.

She replaces Sue Kelly Christie — and will partner another TV newcomer, Michael Copley, who replaces comedian Eddie Eckstein on the show.

Their contracts are not being renewed.

At 21, Jane has had an eventful life. Two years ago she was widowed and left to raise her daughter Natasha when her husband Neville died in a car crash.

Now three-year-old Natasha is her mum's greatest fan.

"This is the most exciting thing that's ever happened to me and it's the step I needed to achieve my ambition," said Jane.

"Eventually I'd like to have my own serious current affairs programme. I don't want to be typecast as just another dumb blonde."

The show will differ from the old format with bigger prizes and more difficult questions.

Said Sue Kelly Christie yesterday: "We had a ball on the show and there were no rows involved in our leaving. I'm planning a one-woman cabaret show so I don't have a moment to spare."

Added Eddie: "We had great fun and I wish Jane and Michael all the best."

Sunday Times sues SABC

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Sunday Times is taking the SABC to court over its refusal to broadcast a television advertisement.

The newspaper is bringing an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court to compel the SABC to run the advert.

This week the SABC refused to carry a commercial for the R1-million Finders Keepers Competition because the contest is co-sponsored by rival M-Net.

Winner

Sunday Times lawyers served papers on the SABC's attorneys this weekend.

The SABC's chief legal adviser, Mr Leander Gaum, refused to comment yesterday.

The first Finders Keepers Contest — launched last year — attracted a blockbuster 2,7-million entries. It was won by Tessa Brucker of Winterton, Natal.

This year's competition begins in the Sunday Times Magazine on February 25.

REDISCOVER THE

FW swings into his reform action

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES van HEERDEN

A top-ranking Government team has been instructed to roll up its sleeves for an intensive programme of informal approaches to leaders and parties outside Parliament. The Government is anxious to demonstrate its sincerity, both at home and abroad.

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In Lusaka, the ANC's information chief, Mr Pallo Jordan, told the Sunday Times that Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament on Friday "opened up a number of new possibilities on which we will have to take decisions soon."

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Opened

The initial reaction from the ANC's leadership has been cautious — an indication that the boldness of the Government's moves caught it unawares.

While stressing the pressure — including the "armed struggle" and sanctions — should be kept up, spokesmen nevertheless praised Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech as "an important announcement which will go a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

Senior government sources said yesterday Mr De Klerk's negotiating team — senior Cabinet members Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mr Kobie Coetsee — would start "Operation Outreach" immediately to follow up Friday's dramatic speech at the opening of Parliament.

The momentous decision to unban the ANC and other bodies has opened the way for government representatives to start dealing with the organisations directly.

Hitherto, contacts with leaders like Mr Walter Sisulu have taken place in secret.

Cabinet Ministers said yesterday the Government had "seized the high ground".

Secret

It would not compromise on its refusal to negotiate with parties that espoused or pursued violence — and it believed it would receive solid international backing for its position.

For its part, the ANC is faced with many difficult decisions. It, too, can also expect strong pressure from foreign governments — especially Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union — to be flexible.

Yesterday, Mr Jordan said the legalisation of the ANC meant the movement could activate underground structures that had been operating in secret for the past 25 years.

"You may soon see ANC branches being established all over the country," he said.

He did not foresee clashes of interest between an official ANC and its allied organisations, the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.

"We adhere to the same principles and work towards the same goals. In most cases, our membership overlaps anyway," he said.

A more problematic issue was the "return of the exiles".

Should prominent ANC leaders return to South Africa to organise the movement internally and eventually participate in the negotiation process?

The ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, yesterday poured cold water on speculation that he would return soon.

Speaking from Stockholm where he had visited ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in hospital, he said many important issues still had to be cleared up.

The most important was the position of ANC members in jail.

Forward

Mr De Klerk indicated that those convicted of purely political offences would soon be freed — but those imprisoned for violent crimes would not be affected.

ANC sources estimate there are about 350 ANC members in jail. Only about a third had been convicted of deeds of terrorism or violence.

Referring to Mr De Klerk's announcement as "a lucky dip", Mr Jordan said the ANC did not differentiate between its members. "What he regards as terrorism we consider to be people taking up arms to fight for freedom," he said.

"We are not considering unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle. Any cessation of hostilities or a ceasefire will have to be negotiated between us and Pretoria."

However, Mr Jordan said a decision on the return of some prominent ANC mem-

☐ To Page 2

☐ From Page 1

bers would have to be taken soon.

The ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, told the Sunday Times the De Klerk speech opened up a number of new possibilities.

"It was a dramatic moment in our history. He is obviously travelling on a road completely different from his predecessors. This is indeed a major move forward," he said.

However, Mr Zuma said the ANC was still awaiting clarity on a number of issues.

"Unbanning the ANC is important, but what about all the other repressive laws on the books?"

Mr Jordan said the ANC's cautious reaction should not be regarded as an attempt to stall the process.

"We are not nitpicking. To operate effectively above ground we should be placed on par with other parties in the country.

"There are still too many laws and regulations that will inhibit our effectiveness," he said.

Government sources said yesterday the next hurdle was the release of ANC kingpin Mr Mandela.

It was reliably learned the President's original target — the middle of February — was unchanged.

Diplomatic sources said SA had conveyed a secret message along these lines to the Organisation of African Unity via its chairman, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak.

Friday's unbanning of the ANC is understood to have cleared the major last-minute obstacle to Mr Mandela's release.

It is believed Mr Mandela stood firm on the question of the ANC's status in eleventh-hour brinkmanship.

Gags ar

SCORES of non-persons "came to life" yesterday when they were officially unbanned.

For some, like long-time SA Communist Party chief Bram Fischer, it came 15 years too late.

He died in 1975, but may now be freely quoted in SA — a privilege denied him for decades in terms of strict Government censorship.

Government Gazette No 4427, Vol 296, No 12287 of February 3 1990 changed all that — the result of Friday's announcement by President F W de Klerk that the ban on the ANC, the SACP and the PAC has been lifted. It also removed the gag from 175 of

DE KLERK'S FULL SP

PRETORIASTROIKA: PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S HISTORIC STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT

The season of violence is over

304A

THIS IS WHERE I STAND:

- **Deeply aware of our responsibility**
- **Humble in the face of the tremendous challenge**
- **Determined to go forward in faith and conviction**

PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S opening speech to Parliament on Friday may have been the most epoch-making ever delivered in the South African legislature.

Its consequences are likely to be every bit as far-reaching as the perestroika policies of the Soviet Union's Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

They will touch every man, woman and child, of every colour or political persuasion.

For Mr De Klerk addressed fundamental questions that, for decades, had been evaded by his predecessors — thereby setting our politics on an entirely new course.

For purposes of record, the Sunday Times today publishes the text of the major part of his address.

THE GENERAL ELECTION on September 6 1989, placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No one can escape this simple truth.

On its part, the Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour — constitutional, social and economic.

I hope that this new Parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority:

- Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session;
- Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation;
- Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new Parliament, we shall have to deal with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the process of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal first with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Government is aware of the important part the world at large has to play in the realisation of our country's national interests.

Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens. The dynamic developments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa as well. Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time Beijing seems temporarily, smooth-

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights.

It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had

and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the Government had noted the opinions of academics and other interested parties, the Government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of avail-

circumstances demand. The community at large, and especially the private sector, also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

THE ECONOMY

A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view

NEGOTIATION

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks. The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation,

The most important facets of the advice the Government received in this connection, are the following:

- The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters;
- The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same

been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the Government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least.

He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner:

- The Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace;
- The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue poli-

of the people of the Chinese mainland to greater freedom.

The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist communism expired.

These developments will entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa. The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the Marxist economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view.

It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either. The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change. It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation. The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the Big Powers or of the United Nations.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge: Southern Africa now has a historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction.

It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the Southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world.

Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan. The Government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states. During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by Presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda. These leaders expressed their sincere concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could, and should, play a positive part in regional co-operation and development.

Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events.

This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

tions to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which includes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission. Therefore, it would be inappropriate of the Government to express a view on the details now. However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The Government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justifiable by an independent judiciary.

However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear.

Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights. It is neither the Government's policy nor its intention that any group — in whichever way it may be defined — shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution.

The terms of reference also include:

- The identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context;
- An analysis of the ways in which the relevant rights are protected in every model; and
- Possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the Government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time.

On April 27 1989, the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor

- That reform in this area is indicated;
- That the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and
- That an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand, and on the other, should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death, will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals.

In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines.

In the meantime, no executions have taken place since November 14 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed, will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned also entails other related principles which will be announced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice. It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the Government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible Ministers during the course of the session. One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953.

Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announce that this Act will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our

ough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies.

The central message is that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the Sixties, was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while.

The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, brought with them unhealthy trends. These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment to our economy inevitable.

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance.

In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy. We shall persist with this in a well-considered way.

This does not mean that the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the Government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

- The gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners;
- The encouragement of personal initiative and savings;
- The subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline;
- Rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation; and
- The encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices, have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the Nineties.

The Government has also noted with appreciation the manner in which the Reserve Bank has discharged its special responsibility in striving towards our common goals.

However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid.

Others are merely part of a political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the Government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation. Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence. The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded;
- People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this;
- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety;
- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest;
- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following: National Education Crisis Committee, South African National Students Congress, United Democratic Front, Cosatu, Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika;
- The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished;
- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

These decisions by the Cabinet are in accordance with the Government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of good order. They were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice by a group of officials which included members of the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions;

- There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions;
- The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.

About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future. Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the Government's principles, among other things, against our economic policy and aspects of our constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare not be jeopardised. The Government will not forsake its duty in this connection. Violence from whichever source, will be fought with all available might.

Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. No democratic country can tolerate that.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law will be ensured. In fact, the budget for the coming financial year will already begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the dedicated service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists. There is still conflict which is manifesting itself, mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle.

In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end. Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the meantime, the state of emergency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the Government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have

- The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

These facts place everybody in South Africa before a *fait accompli*. On the basis of numerous previous statements there is no longer any reasonable excuse for the continuation of violence. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stands. They include all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organisations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored.

Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

CONCLUSION

In my inaugural address I said the following: "All reasonable people in this country — by far the majority — anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand:

- Deeply under the impression of our responsibility;
- Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead;
- Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction;

I ask Parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through unchartered waters and will bless your labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament, I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

C/Press 4/2/90

Nelson Mandela . . . his release is expected in a few days and he will play a vital future role.

No more to be hanged until policy made

C/Press 4/2/90.

ALL hangings have been stopped and no further executions will take place until Parliament has taken a decision on new government proposals.

The government has been considering the issue of hangings for some time and on April 27 last year the Minister of Justice indicated there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area.

The government feels it is now in a position to be able to make concrete proposals for reform, after consultations with a broad range of bodies, including the Chief Justice and, through him, the benches and academics and other interested parties.

The following broad principles had been decided upon from a variety of options:

- That reform in the area was indicated;
- That the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and
- That an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

If the proposals are adopted they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences and should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

No executions have taken place since November 14.

New and uncompleted cases will still be judged in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution. – Sapa.

'Time for violence to end, reconciliation to begin'

304A

C/Press 4/2/90.

THE season of violence in Southern Africa was over and the time for reconstruction and reconciliation had arrived, De Klerk said.

He said Southern Africa now had an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction.

"It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure the region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless Southern Africa achieves stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, it will be faced by further decline and ruin."

The government was prepared to enter into discussions for formulating a development plan.

"The government believes the obstacles in the way of a conference of these states have now been removed sufficiently. Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones – confrontation by contact, disengagement by engagement, slogans by deliberate debate."

He said there had recently been unusually positive results in contacts and relations with other African states.

"During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by Presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda. These leaders expressed their clear concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development."

De Klerk said South Africa's positive contribution to the independence process in Namibia had been recognised internationally.

Similarly, its efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict in Mozambique and Angola had received positive acknowledgement.

Turning to foreign relations in a broader sense, De Klerk said that without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world: "We cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens."

The year 1989 would go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired. These developments would entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they would also be of "decisive importance" to Africa.

"Indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa."

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also served as a warning to those who insisted on persisting with it in Africa. – Sapa

Group rights under a new spotlight

C/Press 4/2/90 (304A)

THE government is asking the Law Commission to investigate ways of protecting group rights in a future constitution.

President FW de Klerk said any constitution which disregarded the reality of South Africa's diverse population would be harmful

The task given to the commission is to protect the human rights of all the country's citizens, as well as associations, minorities and nations.

"This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution."

The commission must identify the main types and models of democratic constitutions, analyse ways the relevant rights are protected in each model and find ways in which such constitutions could be made to succeed.

De Klerk said he wanted the Law Commission to give priority to its current investigation into the protection of fundamental human rights.

He said the government accepted the principle of the recognition of the fundamental individual rights which formed the basis of most Western democracies.

"We acknowledge the most practical way of protecting those rights is by an independent judiciary.

"However it is clear a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a balanced whole.

"The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear." – Sapa.

others, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP. On this page we carry excerpts from the speech.

Surplus predicted for govt budget spending

C/Press 4/2/90

GOVERNMENT expenditure was now thoroughly under control and it appeared the year would close with a budget surplus.

Outlining the government's economic plans, De Klerk also said fiscal and monetary policy would be co-ordinated in the coming year to allow a continued easing of the tax burden – especially on individuals – the generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments and reconstruction of gold and foreign reserves.

Referring to government spending, he said the government's financial year only ended in two months' time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year were still subject to refinements.

"In respect of government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years.

The government intended to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way which would ensure that the present downturn would take the form of a soft landing which would help to make adjustments as easy as possible.

It was also intended the economy would consolidate before the next upward phase so that "we will be able to grow from a sound base".

He said a new South Africa was possible only if it was bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment.

The central message of the advice received by the government was that South Africa would have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

Substantial progress had already been made towards reducing the State's role in the economy.

This had been achieved by restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, by privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure.

This did not mean the State would give up its indispensable development role. The government would concentrate an "equitable portion of its capacity" on these aims. – Sapa.

ANC TIMELINE

C/Press 4/2/90

Through 30 years of persecution and exile, of underground action and guerrilla war against apartheid, the ANC has embodied the aspirations of millions of South African blacks.

This is how the ANC has come up through the years:

1912	The ANC began as a cautious middle-class group whose appeals against the removal of blacks' land and civil rights failed to moderate government race policies.
1948	Young radicals like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu took over the leadership after the white Afrikaner National Party's electoral victory.
1952	The ANC backed the first systematic campaign against the government when thousands of blacks were arrested for defying discriminatory apartheid laws.
1955	The ANC organises a congress and adopts "The Freedom Charter" at Kliptown calling for a non-racial democracy.
1959	Divisions within the movement led to creation of the PAC, which objected to white participation, argued for black self-reliance in the fight against white rule and proposed South Africa be renamed Azania.
1960	The ANC is banned and it forms a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Other movents banned are the SACP and the PAC. The ANC bases itself in Zambia, while the PAC moves to Tanzania.
1963	Mandela and most other ANC leaders had been caught and sentenced to life imprisonment.
1976-1986	After years of stagnation, the ANC gained new waves of young recruits when new South African opposition groups and youth revolts were crushed.
1988	ANC guerrillas mined South African border roads, ambushed black policemen and planted bombs in public places. But the organisation renounced attacks on civilian "soft targets" in August.
1990	The ANC, PAC and SACP are unbanned.

ISSUE OF THE WEEK

Negotiation process will be given top priority – FW

(304A)

Argus 4/2/90.

THE government would give the process of negotiation the highest priority, State President FW de Klerk said when he opened Parliament on Friday.

"The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour – constitutional, social and economic," he said.

The general election of September 6 had placed the country irrevocably on the road of drastic change.

Underlying this was the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population was able to ensure lasting peace.

"The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest.

"The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No-one can escape this simple truth."

De Klerk told MPs he hoped Parliament would play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself.

"I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority: "Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

President De Klerk ...drastic change ahead.

"Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

"Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind." – Sapa.

IN what is widely regarded as a far-reaching speech at Friday's opening of Parliament, State President FW de Klerk announced, among others, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP. On this page we carry excerpts from the speech.

Part of the jubilant crowd near the House of Assembly in Cape Town on Friday. They came to protest and left rejoicing – guardedly – at President FW de Klerk's important new moves.

C/Press 4/2/90

TIMELINE

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Separate Amenities to go

C/Press 4/2/90

304A

THE Separate Amenities Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.

Various ministers would be making important announcements on socio-economic matters during the course of the session.

A changed dispensation implied far more than political and constitutional issues, De Klerk said. It could not be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demanded practical solutions.

"Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life."

The conservation of the physical and human environment was of cardinal importance to the quality of existence and for this reason the government was developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

"All these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner.

"Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision," he said.

"From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible ministers during the course of the session.

"One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement is on the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. After my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announced that this Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament."

He said the State alone could not possibly deal with all the advancement South Africa's circumstances demanded.

The community at large and especially the private sector also had a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people. – Sapa.

National states could rejoin SA

C/Press 4/2/90.

THE re-incorporation of the independent national states into South Africa is one of many possibilities for the future of the territories.

There had recently been some debate about whether or not the TBVC countries should be re-incorporated into South Africa but it was only one of many possibilities, said De Klerk.

These countries are constitutionally independent and any return to South Africa would have to be dealt with not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in the South African Parliament.

3049

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT FW

By SUSAN DENNY

FAVOURABLE reaction to President F W de Klerk's sweeping reforms continued to pour in yesterday.

Mr De Klerk has been widely praised at home and abroad for taking "bold and imaginative steps".

The only dissenting voices came from the right. Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht called for another general election to give whites the opportunity to voice their opinions on the "drastic announcements".

US President George Bush said sanctions should be reviewed, but he wanted to see "more specifics" before this could be done.

"I'm sure that we'll have a lot of debate and discussion inside the administration as to what the next move by the United States ought to be," he said.

Welcome to visit me — Thatcher

"I am one who has not favoured additional sanctions so I'm perfectly willing to review things as new developments take place.

"I think when people move in the right direction it's certainly timely to review all policy. But we have not gotten into any specifics on that at this point. We want to see the policy initiatives go forward and the release of Mandela."

The Rev Jesse Jackson, due in South Africa this week, said: "We must balance hope with caution. Caution because the structure of apartheid is still in place and Nelson Mandela is still in jail."

Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, a Washington lobbying organisation, concurred: "Celebration would be premature ... as long as the apartheid system remains in place, as it does, we must sustain in the United States the imposition of economic sanctions."

The Soviet Union described the unbanning of the ANC and freezing of the death sentence as important steps.

"The Soviet Union regards these decisions ... as an important and long-expected step in the right direction," the official Tass news agency said.

Practical action was now needed, specifically the lifting of South Africa's state of emergency and the start of talks on dismantling apartheid, it added.

"Such development of events will be met with a positive response and full support in the Soviet Union," Tass said.

Bush hints at review of sanctions

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher officially welcomed the move and invited President De Klerk to visit her. But, cautioned the Foreign Office, the key point was how the ANC responded to the reforms.

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said the Commonwealth would lift sanctions as soon as Mr Nelson Mandela was released and talks had begun with the ANC.

"Now is the time to signal our preparedness to ease (sanctions) if the next steps are taken," he said.

Former Opposition leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert believed the danger zone was no longer the Government and its immediate extra-parliamentary opponents, "but radicalism and militancy on the extreme left and right".

The Democratic Party's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said the road to a nonracial democracy was open.

UDF activist and moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, Dr Alan Boesak, said there was still a long way to go "but one cannot but applaud the announcement that the ANC has been unbanned".

The presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, said it could have the effect of closing old chapters in a long history of war, violence, confrontation, suspicion and mistrust.

CP demands new general election

SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane welcomed "with enthusiasm" the unbanning of organisations and said it had met some of the initial conditions towards creating a climate conducive to negotiation.

Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Gavin Relly hoped that "these acts of courage and statesmanship will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship both within South Africa's borders and beyond".

Media Council chairman Mr Jan Steyn welcomed the lifting of the media emergency regulations, but believed the Government should review all remaining legislative and other constraints on the media.

Cosatu said the announcements were far-reaching and courageous but, in terms of the expectations of the majority of South Africans and the world, they fell short of what was needed.

While the United Democratic Front believed the announcements were bold, it said apartheid would continue to bedevil political relations and called on the international community not to let up on economic sanctions.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Mr Brian Currin applauded the steps and called on exiled political leaders to return.

It's a major step, say the Soviets

Zimbabwe said that while it was a step in the right direction, only some of the conditions for meaningful negotiations had been met.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said it was the first step in the right direction.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was prepared to negotiate and hoped all important black political leaders would make the same decision.

The great white shake-out

S/Times 4/2/90 (304A)

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

A COMPLETE re-alignment in white opposition politics may be one of the results of President F W de Klerk's dramatic speech on Friday.

While Mr De Klerk took time off yesterday to relax, his opposition was hurled into a weekend of high excitement and intense negotiation. Its problem: how to react to the sudden announcement that the ANC, the PAC and the SA Communist Party had been legalised.

Mr De Klerk's astonishing move changed, in one swift pre-lunch hour, all the parameters of South African politics. Conservative Party MPs left Parliament's debating chamber knowing their worst nightmares were becoming reality.

But will the DP survive FW's drastic reform?

Their first tactic was to focus their energy on a plan to bring all white right-wing groups together under a single umbrella organisation.

National Party politicians predict this will now be much easier to realise in conservative circles, but believe reason and time will demonstrate the wisdom of Mr De Klerk's path.

Clung

The spectrum of political activity is broadening so rapidly, they say, that the CP's inability to transcend purely minority concerns will rapidly become the right wing's Achille's heel.

Yesterday many CP parliamentarians could not be reached by telephone and were thought to be closeted in a council of war.

But the Democratic Party has the most to lose and its MPs were further reassessing their roles.

Party centrists clung to the belief that the new responsibilities of the opposition as a watchdog would devolve on the DP — but others saw a darker side.

One senior DP man predicted a large-scale realignment of political allegiances in the course of this year.

He believed the NP would lose individuals, even MPs, from its conservative flank to the CP, but this would be more than compensated for by DP representatives who came to believe that Mr De Klerk was implementing policies they supported — and joined him.

Because SA politics would probably become a bi-polar struggle between the NP and the ANC, the inclination of some DP members to side with the ANC could tear the party apart, one top DP man said.

Others felt that while this was likely in individual cases, movement both to the right and left in the DP would not be substantial enough to seriously harm the party.

Amid this speculation, Mr De Klerk's staff said the President had hung up a "do not disturb" sign for a few hours after the most momentous week in his political life.

Senior Nationalists said support for Mr De Klerk was overwhelming and unanimous in their caucus meeting after his speech.

They were not reckoning on any defections and one top Nat disclosed that the possibility did not form part of Mr De Klerk's weighing up of his strategy.

In diplomatic circles it was learned that there were now real prospects for the beginning of a reversal of sanctions.

Diplomats emphasised, though, that they were waiting for the completion of Mr De Klerk's "package" on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Allows

Western diplomats believe Washington will then take the lead with at least a symbolic relaxation of specific sanctions.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which governs American sanctions, contains a discretionary clause that allows President George Bush to lift sanctions under specific conditions.

Diplomats expected that Mr Bush would demonstrate his willingness to use these powers before the end of the month.

Radicals stay tough, but moderates want to talk

Argus 4/7/90

304 A

CP Reporters

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday he would negotiate with President FW de Klerk if talks centred on issues such as ownership of land and resources and one-person-one-vote in a unitary state without group protection or a minority veto.

Responding to the unbanning of the PAC, he said: "The PAC does not recognise the legitimacy of the South African government and therefore never recognised the banning of the organisation."

Mothopeng said his first task was to convene a consultative conference of PAC members in the next few weeks, and a full conference when exiles returned.

He said it was unrealistic to expect the PAC to disband its army, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla), as it was formed to meet certain national objectives.

Mothopeng called for complete mandatory sanctions as "partial sanctions have achieved partial change".

The Azanian People's Organisation praised De Klerk for breaking out of the old trappings of apartheid thinking. But his bold steps were still unsatisfactory, said Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza. His moves treated the symptoms and not the cause.

An hour after FW de Klerk's speech on Friday, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church Stanley Mogoba phoned Nelson Mandela.

"In his message Mogoba said he was prepared to visit Mandela as he was his chaplain. Remember Mandela is a Methodist," said a spokesman for the Bishop's office.

"The new name of the game is adaptation and change. Everyone will have to compromise and change. If FW de Klerk and a party that had always been regarded as monolithic can do so, then only selfishness and greed can stop others from also doing so," said Mogoba in a statement.

Cosatu said De Klerk's announcements fell short of the expectations of the majority of South Africans and the world.

Though it welcomed the changes as "far-reaching and courageous", Cosatu emphasised that the cornerstones of apartheid remained intact.

Cosatu called for a comprehensive initiative by the government to meet all clauses in the Harare Declaration.

But Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi praised the announcements and welcomed them as proof to those "who doubted De Klerk's sincerity".

"I am prepared to enter into negotiations and it is my prayer that the next few weeks will witness all important black political leaders making the same statement," said the Kwa-Zulu leader.

Actstop publicity secretary Cas Coovadia welcomed the changes.

"We welcome this in the spirit of change in South Africa. The decision taken by De Klerk fully justifies the struggles of the masses of our country," he said.

De Klerk's address fell short of fulfilling the eight steps towards negotiations listed by the ANC in the Harare Declaration, the UDF said on Friday.

"A climate of free political activity clearly has not been created. Only two of the eight clauses of the Harare Declaration have been met and even these are not unequivocal," said the statement.

It said De Klerk's initiatives failed to meet the following clauses:

- Removal of troops from the townships;
- Lifting the state of emergency;
- Release of all detainees; and
- An end to all repressive legislation, including the Internal Security Act.

National director for Lawyers for Human Rights, Brian Currin praised De Klerk for "his brave and far reaching initiative".

"We hope the unconditional banning of the organisations will result in negotiations as soon as possible. We call upon all political leaders who are in exile to return to SA and participate in negotiations about our future."

Currin supported De Klerk's decision to suspend all executions.

The Association of law Societies, representing over 7 000 attorneys, said it was much encouraged.

"We applaud this normalising of political life in South Africa. Of special significance to us is the lifting of restrictions on a number of local and national student organisations," said the statement.

The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) said the stand taken by De Klerk was bold in courage and vision.

And in another development, the National Forum has praised De Klerk for "taking noble steps" and called upon all black people to accept his hand of goodwill.

The University of Witwatersrand Council welcomed the changes.

304A

Its 'heavenly music' for UN's Perez de Cuellar

President FW de Klerk and his wife, Marike. Following the President's announcements on Friday, the couple can expect a heavy schedule of overseas invitations, at least to Britain and the United States.

UN SECRETARY General Javier Perez de Cuellar likened the news of changes in South Africa on Friday to "heavenly music", saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid.

The British government was less "over the moon" but still impressed. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has reacted by inviting President FW de Klerk to an "early meeting" at her country home, Chequers.

In a warm welcome to the decision to release Mandela, Thatcher described this as an historic landmark on the road to a new South Africa. She said she would invite him to visit Britain as soon as he was free.

British opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock welcomed De Klerk's announcements saying "it shows that pressure pays".

United States President George Bush said on Friday he would review US sanctions against South Africa with Congress and called Pretoria's decision to free Mandela "quite positive".

Bush previously indicated he would invite Mandela to the United States once he is freed, and would also invite De Klerk.

The Soviet Union described South Africa's decision to lift its 30-year ban on the ANC and freeze death sentences as an important step.

Practical action was now needed, specifically the lifting of South Africa's state of emergency and the start of talks on dismantling apartheid.

Leaders of African states welcomed De Klerk's parliamentary speech as a step in the right direction.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said the South African government should seriously review the problems in the country, so the issue of sanctions and apartheid would be a thing of the past.

The Egyptian current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity hailed South Africa's decision on Friday to lift a 30-year ban on the ANC.

"Egypt sees this action as a positive and first step towards elimination of apartheid in South Africa," said Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali.

A special advisor to Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, Bula Nyati Mandungu, said "a new era is starting for all Africa".

The Lesotho government "noted with appreciation" the announcement by De Klerk that the ANC, PAC and other organisations would be unbanned, among a host of other measures.

Portugal's President Mario Soares described De Klerk's move as "an amply significant step toward the opening of pluralist, multi-racial policies in South Africa".

But Anti Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said in London that De Klerk had not abolished the pillars of apartheid nor had he abandoned his commitment to group rights.

"It is vital we maintain and intensify international sanctions", he said. – Sapa, AP and Reuter.

Emergency and political prisoners stand in way

Snags still block Mandela's release

STAR 5/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Snags concerning the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are still standing in the way of any rapid move for official contact between the Government and the ANC.

This emerged today as the Government was waiting to hear the ANC's official response to President de Klerk's initiatives on Friday. The response will determine whether the Government and ANC begin their first official contact to begin talks about setting up negotiations.

Sources close to Mr Mandela indicated today that the talks about talks could be delayed by political problems — not just administrative ones — which still appear to be holding up Mr Mandela's release.

His wife Winnie saw him at the weekend and said it was "out of the question" that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency. Sources also point-out the definition of who was a political prisoner qualifying for amnesty was also likely to be a point of difference.

Mr Mandela's opinion was that all ANC operatives — even those guilty of offences such as terrorism and murder — should qualify for amnesty because they had committed the offences within the armed struggle.

The sources believe the chances of Mr Mandela's release during the next week or two were fading because of the snags.

National Party sources on the other hand are expecting Mr Mandela to be released any time from the end of this week, once the impact of Mr de Klerk's announcements on Friday has had time to sink in. It seems the Government is prepared to discuss these problems, but may regard them as subjects for the agenda of pre-negotiations.

Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu is reported to be flying to South Africa to deliver the ANC's official response to President de Klerk's initiative.

Government sources were unable to confirm today whether Mr Sisulu would see Mr de Klerk to deliver the response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Mr Sisulu would see Mr Mandela and communicate the response to him.

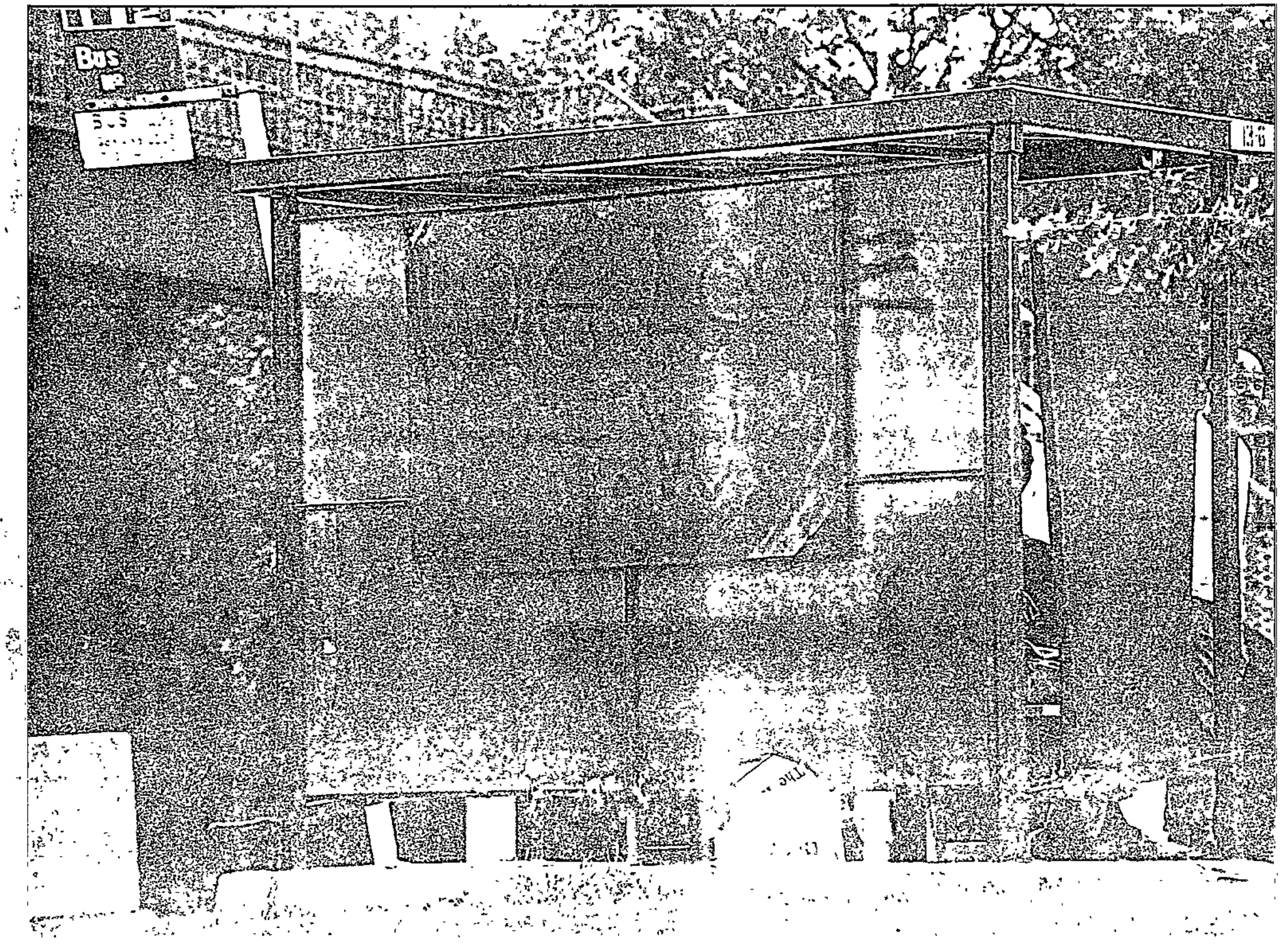
See Pages 2, 6, 7, 13 and 14

They said they believed the "talks about talks" would begin with Mr Mandela once he was freed.

Several extra-parliamentary organisations are considering disbanding to merge with the African National Congress in the wake of its unbanning last week.

Extra-parliamentary sources said yesterday that the issue of disbanding to join ANC ranks officially was being hotly discussed at grassroots and leadership levels.

Many organisations which sprang up to take the place of others that had been restricted would either amalgamate



Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Star's comprehensive guide to Nelson Mandela

What do you really know about Nelson Mandela?

Today, especially in South Africa, he is more myth and mystery than man

Several "instant" paperback books on the world's most famous prisoner will be marketed worldwide in the coming months.

But this week The Star brings you a special eight-page daily supplement, which, by Friday, will tell you more than you have ever known about the life and style of Nelson Mandela.

Don't miss the beginning of this dramatic, detailed series.

Don't miss one chapter of this four-part, 32-page collectors' biography. It's in The Star from tomorrow.

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Many organisations which sprang up to take the place of others that had been restricted would either amalgamate with their predecessors or disband completely to merge with the ANC, they said.

Others subscribing to the Freedom Charter would, however, not dissolve because of their specific constituencies.

These included women's organisations, trade unions and youth organisations.

Two of the oldest and most prominent organisations in the liberation movement which are considering disbanding are the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress.

Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) president Mr Cassim Saloojee said it was "very likely" the organisation — formed in the early 1900s and officially part of the Congress alliance of the early 1950s — would now disband.

● Mr de Klerk said on television last night that the Government was prepared to discuss all reasonable problems.

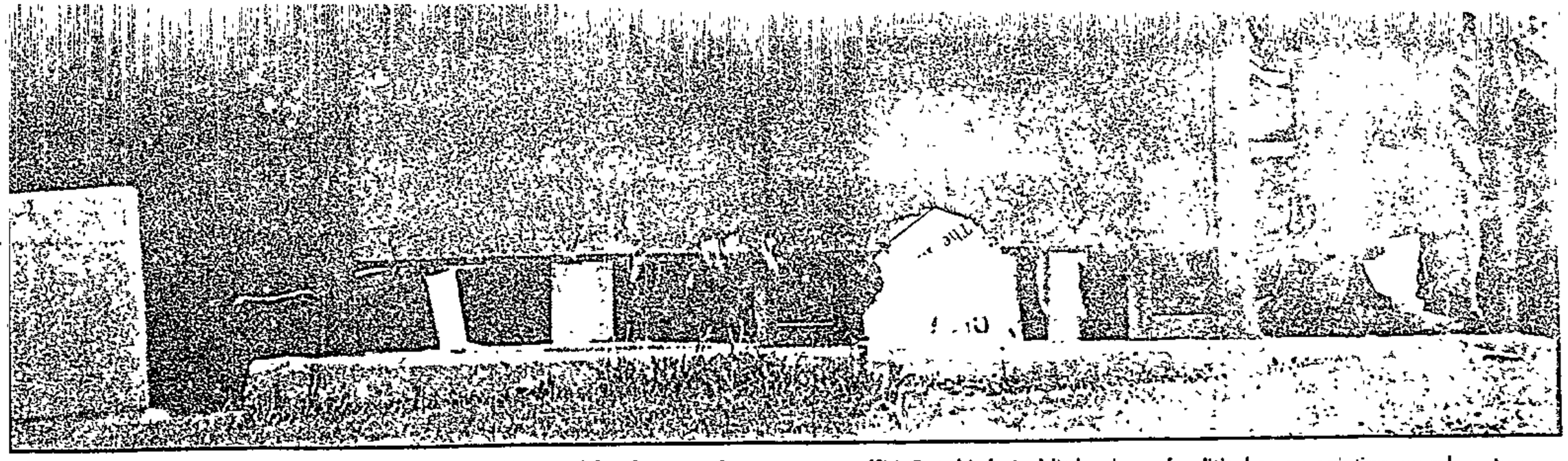
He said the door was open for negotiations and the ANC was not disadvantaged by the state of emergency as it applied to all parties.

The ball was in the ANC's court and they were in the limelight. If they continued to call for sanctions and planned violence they would have no moral ground and would be seen as enemies of peace

The world would then turn against them and they would also face a united front of South Africans. His decisions meant that the organisations could no longer justify violence with the excuse that they had no choice because they were banned.

They would now have to put standpoint to standpoint in open debate and he was not afraid to enter into debate with them. After the collapse of communism, the ANC would have to make the difficult decision whether to renounce this failed ideology or to defend it.

There is some evidence that international pressure could start to be exerted on the ANC if it does not respond positively to Mr de Klerk's speech.



The northern suburbs of Johannesburg are not normally noted for their pro-Government graffiti. But this lyrical little piece of political spray-painting, on a bus stop on Jan Smuts Avenue near Empire Road, is typical of the rash of FW-friendly responses since his dramatic speech on Friday. ● Picture by David Sandison.

Man foils robbery attempt, arrests 2

A 32-year-old man overpowered two assailants and recovered R20 000 they had allegedly stolen from him minutes before at Ouklip Garage in Wilro Park early yesterday.

Police said Mr Andre Potgieter was held at gunpoint by three men at 7.15 am. They demanded money and he handed over R20 000. But he overpowered and arrested two of them and recovered his money as well as the gun they had used. — West Rand Bureau.

The Bookie's Bet

Vaal tomorrow: Best bet — Liberty Lane, race 3. Best eachway — Lindross, race 6.

Security review after shots fired at embassy

Star 5/2/90 (344) Pretoria Bureau and Sapa

The British embassy is reviewing security at its five offices countrywide after unidentified people believed to be members of a right-wing organisation fired shots at its embassy in Pretoria yesterday.

Earlier in the weekend, graffiti saying "The right-wing struggle begins now" was sprayed on the iron railings surrounding the embassy compound in Hill Street, Pretoria.

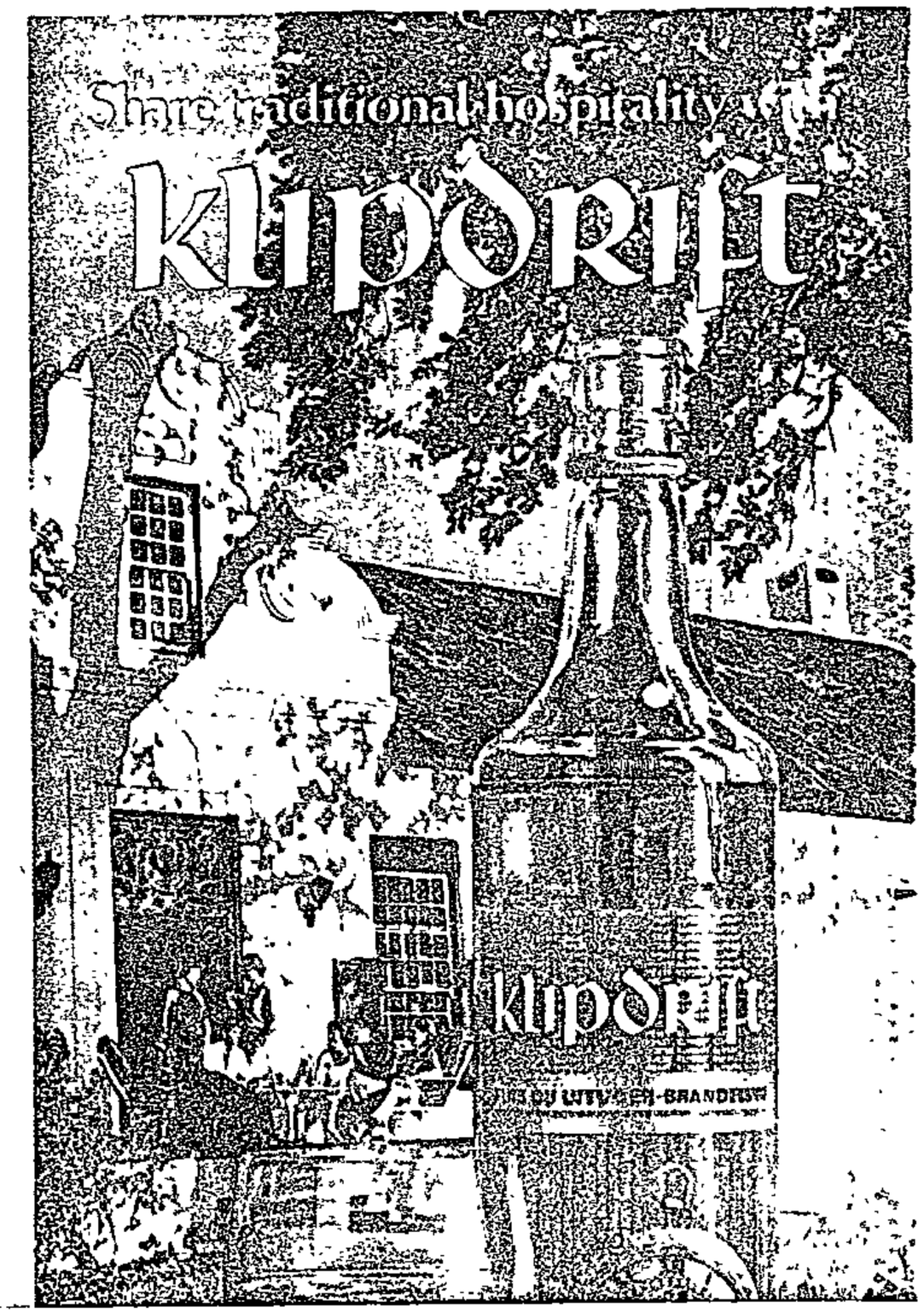
The Transvaal Republic Vierkleur was hoisted on a flagpole in the grounds just after midnight yesterday.

The British government yesterday held urgent talks with the SA Police and Department of Foreign Affairs on the incident and requested all-night armed protection outside the embassy. This is now being provided by police.

Mr John Sawers, press liaison officer for the embassy, said "at least three shots" were fired.

He said: "It is suspected that the attack by the right wing might have come about because we, the British government, have emphasised our support for the decisions announced by President de Klerk."

Police are investigating the incident.



De-censored

The Star is no longer operating under the media regulations.

We are able to report without having to resort to devices to get round the restrictions, though still having to watch carefully the security laws.

Photographs of demonstrators and police actions in "unrest" are still banned, but we shall continue to challenge the regulations and keep readers aware of events and informed of censorship.

Police plea on ANC weapons

Star 5/2/90 (251) (11A) By Craig Kotze

Police have urged all members of the ANC's armed wing inside South Africa to hand over their weapons and explosives — but warned that perpetrators of terrorism and other crimes would be hunted down relentlessly.

President F W de Klerk on Friday unbanned the ANC, PAC and the SA Communist Party. The unbanning of the ANC includes members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said members of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country could hand over their weapons to police, or contact police anonymously and say where the weapons could be found. (327)

"But we must stress — the SAP will not cease its vigilance in combating terror and other crimes. Everyone will have to accept that we will hunt down relentlessly all perpetrators of violence and terrorism," Brigadier Mellet said.

Police would continue to investigate crimes already committed, such as murders, explosions and acts of terror.

Lifting of 30-year gag too late for listed Anne

The official gag on Mrs Anne Heymann of Johannesburg was lifted this weekend after more than three decades — but she died of pneumonia in hospital on Saturday.

Mrs Heymann was listed as a former member of the SA Communist Party. On Friday President de Klerk announced the lifting of restrictions on listed people.

Mrs Heymann, of Norwood, is survived by her husband, Mr Isaac Issy" Heymann, whose name has also been removed from the list.

ANC JOY

(304A)

South 5/2 – 14/2/90

Now the hard work begins

A SOBER assessment of FW de Klerk's announcements in Parliament last Friday is necessary now that the dust has settled.

Friend and foe must concede that De Klerk's measures, including the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and several subsidiary organisations, are a shift away from the fixed National Party position since 1948.

The suspension of the death penalty has been widely welcomed.

Journalists countrywide are relieved that there's at least one less landmine in the minefield of legislation that proscribed their work.

De Klerk's measures, however, are most notable for what they fail to address. No mention is made of scrapping fundamental laws underpinning apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act. The state's battery of repressive laws such as the Internal Security Act and Public Safety Act are still intact.

Foolhardy

They fall far short of the vision of a future South Africa outlined by the ANC in its FreedomCharter and constitutional guidelines, the OAU's declaration (fast becoming an internationally accepted document) and the resolutions adopted recently at the Conference for a Democratic Future

De Klerk's measures must be interpreted as merely strategic and not a principled advance to real democracy in South Africa

They are designed to soften or reverse the country's diplomatic, economic, cultural (and sports) isolation and based on the realisation that more than five years of emergency rule failed to stop the majority's march to freedom.

Under these conditions, it will be foolhardy to "relax the noose around apartheid's neck", as Tanzania's foreign minister Benjamin Mkapa puts it.

Anti-apartheid forces, however, are now compelled to respond to De Klerk's measures. They need to seize the initiative in a way that mobilises people around the material conditions in our besieged communities.

Support for the ANC should not be assumed. Now is the time for activists to shed the rhetoric and go to the people.

We need to catch up on a 30-year backlog!

— The Editor

ABC of the ANC

No 'emergency' freedom for Mandela - Page 3 * Mandela's behind-the-scenes role - Page 7 * A longing for South Africa - Page 8 * The ABC of the ANC - Page 9 * The ANC's new generation - Page 10 * MK chief speaks out - Page 11 * ANC's history of endurance Page 14 & 15 * Afrikaners at crossroads - Page 21 * Nats most hated enemy - Page 19 * Dancing in the streets - Page 24

FREEDOM RIDE: ANC supporters take to the streets to express their joy at the movement's unbanning after 30 years PIC: ADIL BRADLOW

South 5/2 – 14/2/90 · (327)

South S/2 - 14/2/90

3044

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA SAYS DE KLERK STATEMENT FALLS SHORT CALLS FOR TOUGHER SANCTIONS

South African State President F.W. de Klerk's announcement today is a significant first step, but the time has long passed for first steps. Apartheid has not ended in South Africa. In terms of practical restrictions the country is now back to where it was in 1960.

If F.W. de Klerk is serious about dismantling apartheid, he must embrace the South African peoples' demand for one person, one vote. Until that demand is met, the U.S. should intensify the economic pressures which helped to force these initial concessions.

The people of South Africa have forced F.W. de Klerk to take these actions, and for them it is certainly a great victory. At the same time, de Klerk's concessions clearly demonstrate the need for stronger international pressure; the government made these moves precisely because they have lost more the $32 billion through direct and indirect sanctions over the last five years.

Apparently the government is not prepared to meet the minimum conditions necessary for free political dialogue. To end the bans and restrictions on organisations, especially the African National Congress, and the people and suspended political executions in an important first step, and the release of Nelson Mandela will also be an advance.

But how can the government call for a dialogue when the troops remain in the townships, the harsh emergency laws remain in effect and thousands of people remain in jail? The government must meet the minimum conditions for negotiations as established by the people of South Africa.

Behind the rhetoric of de Klerk's statement, we note that the cornerstones of apartheid still remain intact: The Group Areas Act, the Land Act, the Population Registration Act all remain in force. Above all, 75 percent of the people of South Africa still cannot vote to elect their nation's leader.

The United Demcratic Front today called for sanctions to be intensified. We will continue to work with people in every part of America to intensify the drive for comprehensive and meaningful sanctions. These sanctions would be the best guarantee that freedom will at least come to the suffering people of South Africa.

– Statement Issued by Jennifer Davis, Executive Director American Committee on Africa
New York City, NY, USA February 2, 1990

has not had armed guards on Klerk".

DP still has plenty to fight for — De Beer

(3048)

ARGUS 5/2/90

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer has dismissed concerns among some rank and file members of the party that President F W de Klerk's far-reaching speech had cut the ground out from under the DP.

He appealed to party members to be "calm and patient".

He acknowledged that some people in the party were expressing doubts about the future — and the efficacy — of the DP.

Dr De Beer, though, as parliamentary leader, said: "I feel more confident now than ever."

He added: "I have not the slightest concern about this.

"I know there are some members — mostly at fairly low levels of the party — who are saying: 'Do we need to carry on? Can't we just join De Klerk?'

"What I say is that there is still a long and stony road before negotiations can even start, and I would be certain that the President will fall far short of what we believe is required. We have to be there to fight for what we want — it will then have a much better chance of succeeding.

"If our people will just be calm and patient ... the next one or two years will be very exciting for us."

Dr Zac de Beer

Artificial lung for girl

SALT LAKE CITY. — In an operation claimed to be the first of its kind, a 16-year-old girl struggling for breath because of badly damaged lungs has had a temporary artificial-lung implant. — Sapa-Reuter.

Marathon meeting on FW speech

Sisulu heads home with ANC's reply

304A

B/Day 5/2/90

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Walter Sisulu will fly home tonight to deliver a response from the ANC executive to President F W de Klerk's initiatives and his call to prepare for constitutional negotiations without delay.

Senior ANC officials admitted De Klerk had put the ball in the court of the organisation's decision-making executive working committee, which has been locked in an emergency session in Stockholm since Friday night.

● SISULU

The committee, chaired by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo, met in the knowledge it must respond positively and without delay to what is seen around the world as a tactical success for De Klerk.

ANC officials admitted in private they were astonished by the extent and boldness of De Klerk's announcements, and particularly by the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SA Communist Party.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Cape Town that Winnie Mandela arrived in the city yesterday to see her jailed husband Nelson Mandela for the first time since De Klerk announced he would soon be freed.

On Saturday she conveyed her husband's verdict on De Klerk's measures to a rally in Johannesburg's Alexandra township: "You are the ones who have made government give in to your pressure," Mandela said in a message addressed to "the South African people".

"It was not President de Klerk. It is partly the international community which has forced these concessions," he added.

Speculation has reached fever pitch over the date of Mandela's release from his bungalow at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, where he is now held. De Klerk gave no date but government sources said Mandela could be out within a week.

A spokesman for the ANC's Swedish delegation said from Stockholm at the weekend: "We did not expect a completely new ball game so suddenly. There were a couple of big surprises, but we have had 30 years to prepare for them."

But the ANC executive and Tambo are reported to be angry that the organisation's most senior internal leaders were not in SA when De Klerk made the announcements.

Officials said they had, as a result, been forced to meet "non-stop, night and day" to respond emphatically and clearly to government.

A spokesman said the ANC was confident Sisulu and the six leaders who travelled to Sweden with him would be carrying an "emphatic response for the people" when they boarded an aircraft for Cape Town tonight.

While they have almost certainly been forced to shelve a prepared hardline statement rejecting talks-about-talks, they are expected to maintain that De Klerk's changes are still short of creating the correct atmosphere for negotiations.

The ANC is nevertheless under pressure to open at least some contact with the Pretoria government.

Officials said this was what the working committee was debating, while being aware of radical hostility within SA to any compromise with Pretoria.

The ANC executive, angry that British

☐ To Page 2

P.T.O

B/Day 5/2/90 (304A)

Ignore the rightwing, Jackson tells De Klerk

LONDON — Jesse Jackson has appealed to President F W de Klerk to follow the examples of Abraham Lincoln and John F Kennedy in pressing ahead with reforms regardless of any threatened rightwing backlash.

The US black civil rights leader expressed "hope and caution" about SA at the weekend as he prepared to revisit it after being refused entry for a decade.

He flies to Zambia today and to SA on Wednesday, and he said he was hoping to meet De Klerk as well as Nelson Mandela, in or out of prison.

He said De Klerk had to be encouraged to move and must not be deterred by any threatened backlash. "Great leadership does not follow opinion polls. It molds opinion," he told reporters.

He called on De Klerk to abolish the Group Areas Act.

Jackson, hitherto a fervent supporter of economic sanctions against SA, was non-committal about whether the West should continue to apply them.

"Sanctions should be part of the negotiating process, not a precon-

● DE KLERK

● JACKSON

dition," he said. "And to put the focus on sanctions rather than apartheid is to shift the focus away from the need to encourage Mr de Klerk to continue. And what we heard yesterday was reason for hope and caution."

But he said South African blacks now saw economic sanctions the same way the West saw Nato now that Eastern Europe was free of Soviet domination. "Nato is both a deterrent on one hand and a stimulus to democracy on the other."

He said the West's approach to SA and its neighbours should be the same as to Eastern Europe: first, joy at seeing the walls come down, then caution expressed in a reluctance to dismantle Nato prematurely; and finally massive aid.

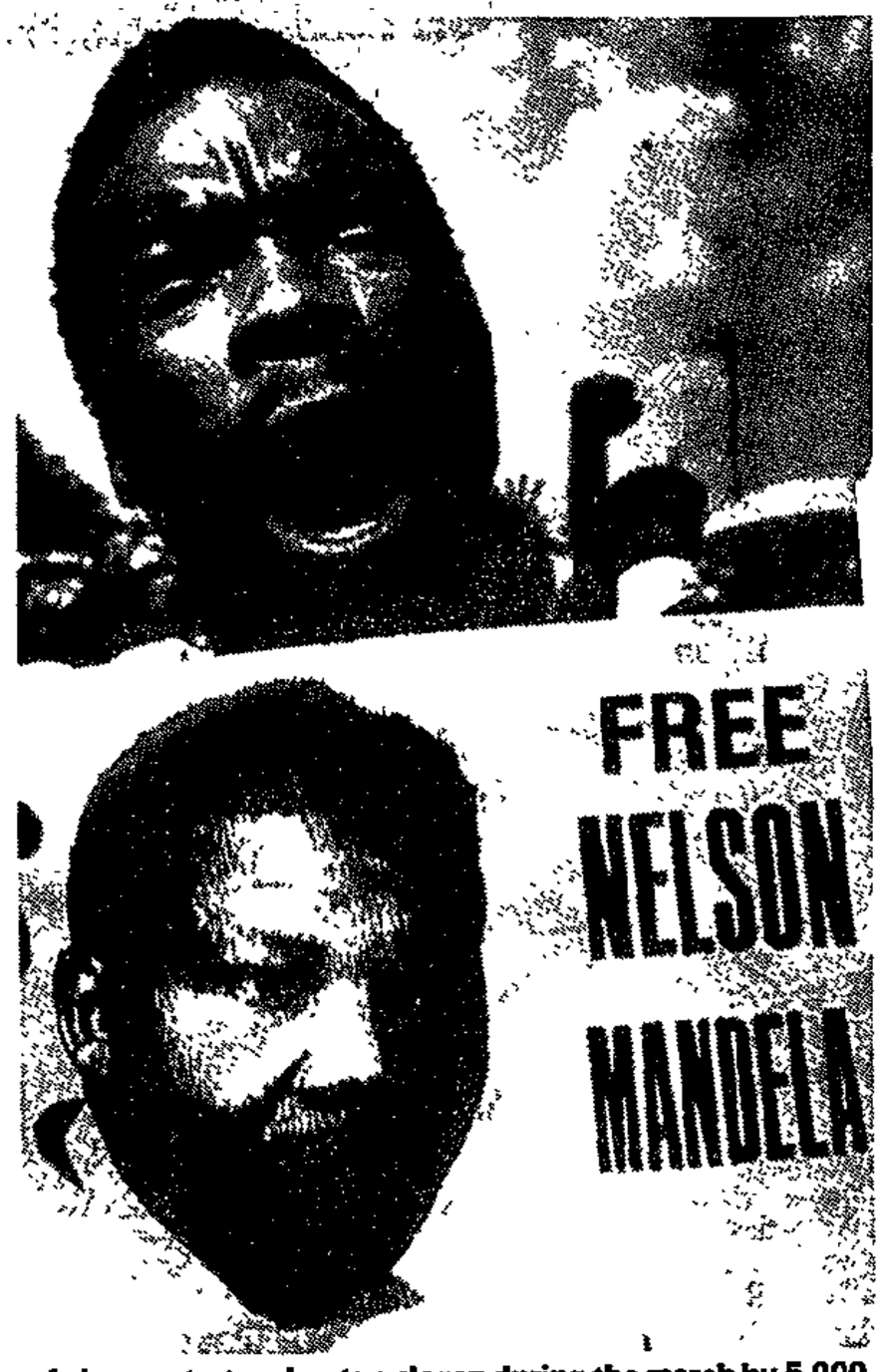
Jackson is to meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London today.

Meanwhile, governments around the world continued to give De Klerk's moves a cautious welcome, coupled with demands for speedy additional reforms.

The Indian government said they should be the starting point for negotiations, but anti-apartheid forces had to maintain pressure on government "for the total liquidation of the system of apartheid".

Tanzanian Foreign Minister Benjamin Mkapa appealed to the world not to relax "the noose around apartheid" by relaxing sanctions.

An Ivory Coast newspaper published by the Information Ministry said: "It behoves the black opposition to seize this historic moment to offer actions leading to racial conciliation. The leaders must avoid falling into a spiral of increasing demands that the right wing will not hesitate to exploit to block the progress that has begun." — Sapa-AP.



A demonstrator shouts a slogan during the march by 5 000 people in Alexandra township near Johannesburg on Saturday. The demonstration, organised by the Alexandra Civic Organisation to protest against housing conditions, turned into an ANC unbanning celebration. A petition was handed in at the council offices Picture: REUTER

How FW changed the face of SA

304A

The full text of President De Klerk's historic speech

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament,

The general election on September the 6th, 1989, placed our country irrevocably on the road to drastic change.

Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No one can escape this simple truth.

On its part, the Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights,treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour - constitutional, social and economic.

I hope that this new Parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority :

- Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

- Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

-Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new Parliament, we shall have to deal, complementary to one another, with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the proces of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Government is aware of the important part the world at large has to play in the realisation of our country's national interests.

Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the wellbeing and security of our citizens. The dynamic developments in international politics have created new oportunities for South Africa as well. Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

I hope this trend wil be encouraged by the important change in climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world. the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself. political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired.

These developments will entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa. The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa.

Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either.

The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change. It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation. The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the Big Powers or of the United Nations.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge: South Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction.

It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the Southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The Government is prepared to enter into discusions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan.

The Government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states. During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda.

These leaders expressed their sincere concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional cooperation and devlopment.

Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events. This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help brikng an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

At present the Government is involved in negotiations concerning the future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon. In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in this parliament. Naturally this will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Comision is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which includes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission. Therefore , it would be inappropriate of the Government to express a view on the details now. However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The Government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justifiable by an independent judiciary. However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear. Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights. It is neither the Government's policy nor its intention that any group - in whichever way it may be defined - shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution.

The terms of reference also include:

- The identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context;

- An analysis of the ways in which the relevant rights are protected in every model; and

- Possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the Government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. On April 27, 1989, the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the Government had noted the opinion of academics and other interested parties, the Government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of available options:

-That reform in this area is indicated;

- That the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the impositon of sentence;

- that an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand, and on the other, should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death, will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals. In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines. In the meantime, no executions have taken place since November 14, 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed will the new proposals be applied as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned also entails other related principles which will be announced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice. It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

President FW de Klerk

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued succesfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the Government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively.The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible Ministers during the course of the session. One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953. Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announced that this Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our circumstances demand. The community at large and especially the private sector also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

THE ECONOMY

● To Page 10.

What FW told the world

● From Page 9.

A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view to this, the Government has taken thorough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies. The central message is that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western World in the 6o's, was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies. After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes, recovered economically so that lengthy periods of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while.

The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, brought with them unhealthy trends. These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities.

All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal perfomance. In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility at the same time to promote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy. The Government remains committed to this balanced and practical approach.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, privatisation, deregulation and curtailing Government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy. We shall persist with this in a well considered way.

This does not mean that the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the Governmenmt to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas of the economy in recent years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

- The gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners.

- The encouragement of personal initiative and service;

- The subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline;

- Rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation; and

- The encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices, have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the nineties.

The Government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy. For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference. This applies both to the various functions within the Government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

This is obviously not the occasion for me to deal in greater detail with our total economic strategy or with the recent course of the economy.

I shall confine myself to a few specific remarks on one aspect of fiscal policy that has been a source of criticism of the Government for some time, namely State expenditure.

The Government's financial year ends only in two months time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calender year are still subject to refinements at this stage. Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear. I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

In respect of Government's expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years. The financial figures will show:

- that Government expenditure is thoroughly under control;

- that our normal financing programme has not exerted any significant upwards pressure on rates of interest; and

- that we will close the year with a surplus even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Without pre-empting this year's main budget, I wish to emphasise that it is also our intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way that will enable us to achieve the ensuing goals - namely

- that the present downturn will take the form of a soft landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;

- that our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and

- that we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the Government, especially in this particular period of our history to promote a dynamic economy which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

NEGOTIATIONS

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks. The focus, now, has to fall on negotitation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the Government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation. Today I am able to announce far reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence. The emphasis has to move and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.

- People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisation was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.

- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.

- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following;

National Education Crisis Committee, South African National Students Congress, United Democratic Front, Cosatu, Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Africa.

-The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished

-The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing

These decisions by the Cabinet are in accordance with the Government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of the good order. They were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice by a group of officials which included members of the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice the Government received in this connection, are the following:

- The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

- The activities of the organisation from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

- There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.

-The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.

About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future. Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the Government's principles, among other things, against their economic policy and aspects of their constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare not be jeopardised. The Government will not forsake its duty in this connection. Violence from whichever source, will be fought with all available might. Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. No democratic country can tolerate that.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law, will be ensured. In fact, the budget for the coming financial year will already begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the dedicated service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists. There is still conflict which is manifesting itself mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle.In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end. Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the mean time, the state of ermegency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the Government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the Government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribituion to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

Today's announcements, in particular, to go the heart of what black leaders - also Mr Mandela - have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence.The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner:

- The Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace.

- The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.

- The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

These facts place everybody in South Africa before a fait accompli. On the basis of numerous previous statements there is no longer any reasonable excuse for the continuation of violence. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever:

Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside Parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stands. This includes all the leaders of parliamentary parties,leaders of important organisations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored. Their places in the negotiationg process are assured.

CONCLUSION

In my inaugural address I said the following:

" All reasonable people in this country - by far the majority - anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand:

- Deeply under the impression of our responsibility.

- Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead.

-Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction.

I ask of Parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through uncharted waters and will bless your labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament

I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

Regulars at a Soweto tavern drink to a freer society . . . Mr Jackie Mokone (left), Mr Zack Manentje, Mr Dan Mavuya and taverner Ms Irene Mothei. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

STAR 5/2/90 (3049)

Taverners toast FW's historic act

By PATRICK BULGER

Soweto doctor Dan Mavuya raised his glass to celebrate President F W de Klerk's historic unbanning of opposition groups and declared: "It has taken a whole generation for the Government to understand what Nelson Mandela is saying."

For Dr Mavuya and a handful of professional colleagues, this was no ordinary Friday evening in a Soweto tavern.

While thousands of youths danced in the streets in townships across the Reef, older, more sophisticated people at Ms Irene Mothei's tavern reacted with a mixture of joy and amazement as the implications of freeing the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party hit home.

Years in the political wilderness had clearly done nothing to dampen the enthusiasm with which these people regard their movements.

At the same time, however, the daunting task of reconciliation lies ahead.

"What a waste. Apartheid has been a human tragedy on the scale of German nazism," said a professional man enjoying his Friday night beer.

A new era

But here was clearly a sense that South Africa is entering a new era — that the days of pass raids and second class citizenship are finally on the way out.

Still, there was the reminiscing about the "bad old days" when blacks applying for reference books were told what names they would use by aggressive officials who could not be bothered to spell out "complicated" African names.

Like the man who told the official his name — only to be told: "From now on you are Sylvester".

Clearly, however, the mere abolition of racist laws may not go far enough in restoring the human dignity successive Nationalist governments have usurped.

Said Dr Mavuya: "It is not enough to remove racist laws — we've got to criminalise racism. It is not enough to say there is no more Group Areas Act. You must make a law to make it illegal".

President De Klerk's announcement continued to evoke low whistles of amazement throughout the evening.

"He's taken four months to undo 40 years of misrule," one man commented.

"Now whites must get used to the idea of having blacks in Parliament."

Another expressed a note of caution, saying the announcement would have to be studied more carefully.

De Klerk's reforms 'do not go far enough'

HARARE — Reforms announced by President de Klerk on Friday were a step in the right direction but did not go far enough, Zimbabwe's government said at the weekend.

"The statement is silent on the question of abolishing apartheid through the repeal of such cardinal iniquitous legislation as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act," a government statement said.

It criticised Mr de Klerk for saying his Government had no intention that any racial group should be favoured above or in relation to others.

Better prospects

"We read this as a continued advocacy of apartheid and a vitiation, if not rejection, of the principle of universal adult suffrage or one man one vote," the statement said.

The Zimbabwean government also regretted that Nelson Mandela remained in prison.

Namibia's President-designate Mr Sam Nujoma welcomed the unbanning of the ANC, saying it improved prospects for good relations with Pretoria when his country gained independence.

OAU leader Hosni Mubarak . . . sent cable to Mandela.

Mr Sam Nujoma: Unbanning ANC was courageous step.

Mr Nujoma described the unbanning of the ANC and other political movements as a "courageous and important first step on the part of President de Klerk to end the international quarantine to which South Africa has been condemned".

His praise was carried in *Namibia Today*, the official mouthpiece of Swapo.

Mr Nujoma said: "The latest developments in South Africa hold forth promises and better prospects for good relations between independent Namibia and South Africa."

Sacrifices

Egyptian President Mr Hosni Mubarak yesterday sent a cable to Mr Mandela congratulating him on his imminent release.

"The decision for release resulted from the sacrifices of the African people in South Africa, and their loyalty to Mandela," Mr Mubarak said.

Mr Mubarak, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, also sent a mesage to ANC president Oliver Tambo assuring him of "the support of the Egyptian people".

"The decision to lift the ban (on the ANC) is a victory for human rights everywhere." — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

African ties set to improve

By DEON DELPORT

Diplomatic and economic relations with other African states have been made easier by President de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the promised release of Nelson Mandela, according to foreign-policy analysts.

"It was the most important speech concerning international relations in very many years," SA Institute of International Affairs head Professor John Barratt said at the weekend.

"The ANC will be under more influence from the Frontline states to get into talks. Zambia, particularly, has influence because that is where the ANC has its headquarters," he said.

Although President de Klerk had not met all the conditions of the Harare Declaration, he had met the "big ones".

Frontline states, including Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, all reacted positively to Friday's far-reaching announcements.

Reaction from Western countries has been most favourable. Both Washington and London have said they would reassess their stand on sanctions and hinted that Mr Mandela's release would be met with certain economic incentives.

Big debate: Now for a long slog

Sowetan 5/2/90

304A

FOCUS

By JOE THLOLOE, Deputy Editor of the *Sowetan*

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's historic speech on Friday caught almost everybody, even the South African liberation movements, by surprise.

At the end of the speech, they were hurrying back to their drawing boards: the ANC leadership had a strategy meeting in Stockholm at the weekend and the PAC president announced in Johannesburg that he would be calling a consultative conference of his organisation.

The immediate effect of the speech is that it paves the way for talks to start as organisations and individuals can now freely participate in the political debate in this country.

The South African Communist Party has officially been silent since 1950, one of the first victims of the National Party's 1948 victory.

The Suppression of Communism Act was used not only to silence the Communist Party, but also to gag individuals, some ironically anti-communist.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were outlawed on April 8, 1960 during the PAC's anti-pass campaign that led to the Sharpeville massacre when the police killed 67 people and injured 186.

Black Consciousness organisations like the Black People's Convention, which arose to fill the gap left by the banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960, were themselves banned on October 19, 1977.

Since 1977 political organisations have mushroomed, but they have all been standard-bearers for the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and, more recently, the Pan Africanist Congress.

The publications of the banned organisations, which have been reaching readers in this country via the underground, will now be dug out and read openly.

Thousands have been charged and convicted of being members of banned organisations, of furthering their aims and objects or of being in possession of their publications. All those still serving their sentences for any of these are to be released immediately.

The debate over South Africa's future has now started in earnest.

The African National Congress and its allies had some inkling that De Klerk was going to make concessions, but it now appears they were not expecting them so soon and so suddenly.

In a document circulated in the middle of last year the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF said: "There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987."

But after De Klerk's speech there was mixed reaction from the ANC. The initial statement welcomed the speech, but a later one from Lusaka said the organisation would not stop its military campaign.

The statement from the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Johnson Mlambo, from its headquarters in Tanzania congratulated the "Azanian masses" for having forced De Klerk to unban the organisation, but also called for an intensification of the struggle.

De Klerk has undoubtedly taken the initiative and the liberation movements will be running to catch up with him.

He has opened the possibility of negotiations on a democratic South Africa even when he has not completely outgrown National Party separatist ideology.

In his speech he continued to refer to *national entities*, and *national groups*: "The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as the collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution."

The new element was his committing himself to a democratic South Africa: "The agenda is open and the overall aim to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

"Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all."

There is still a long way to go: Who gets to the negotiating table and how do they get there? What is the role of the National Party government in this process? What is the role of the homeland governments and the Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei? What happens in the case of a stalemate in the negotiations?

The Government has already suggested an election to choose representatives of the indigenous Africans, the assumption being that the tricameral Parliament already represents whites, Indians and coloureds.

This is going to be rejected by the liberation movements who will demand an open election to a constituent assembly, as in Namibia.

There is going to be heated debate on how the wealth of the country, which has been concentrated in white hands, is going to be spread evenly.

De Klerk has already spelled out that he sees the free enterprise system as the route, while the majority in the liberation movements believe some form of socialism is necessary to achieve that spread.

There will be conflict over the protection of minority rights, with the liberation movements seeing this as an extension of white privilege.

A lot of work lies ahead. De Klerk merely cleared the decks for that work to start.

The suspension of the death penalty, the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the relaxation of the State of Emergency and the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act were very welcome cherries on the cake of open debate.

*** See tomorrow's *Sowetan* for the start of our series on the organisations that have just been unbanned: what do they stand for?**

Cape Times 5/2/90 (304A)

FW: The good and bad news

By SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE
Economist and leading DP member

REMEMBER the old jokes about the good and the bad news? Well, the good news on the political front is that President F W de Klerk made dramatic, courageous, imaginative announcements of historic importance in his presidential address.

The bad news is that his announcements will probably turn out to be neither good nor far-reaching enough to enable a smooth passage towards the solution of the South African problem. He is still inclined to confuse procedure with substance. The bad news is therefore not a joke.

The good news is that President De Klerk has succeeded in making a bigger quantum leap on behalf of reform than any of his NP predecessors. In making this giant leap he firmly grasps the political initiative — at least for the time being — and sets the terms for a totally new political ball game.

Over optimistic

The bad news is that the chasm he was supposed to clear with his quantum leap, has become terribly wide during 42 years of official apartheid and malign neglect.

It is mainly a chasm between white and black — between (white) enrichment and (black) impoverishment, between (white) righteousness and (black) embitterment.

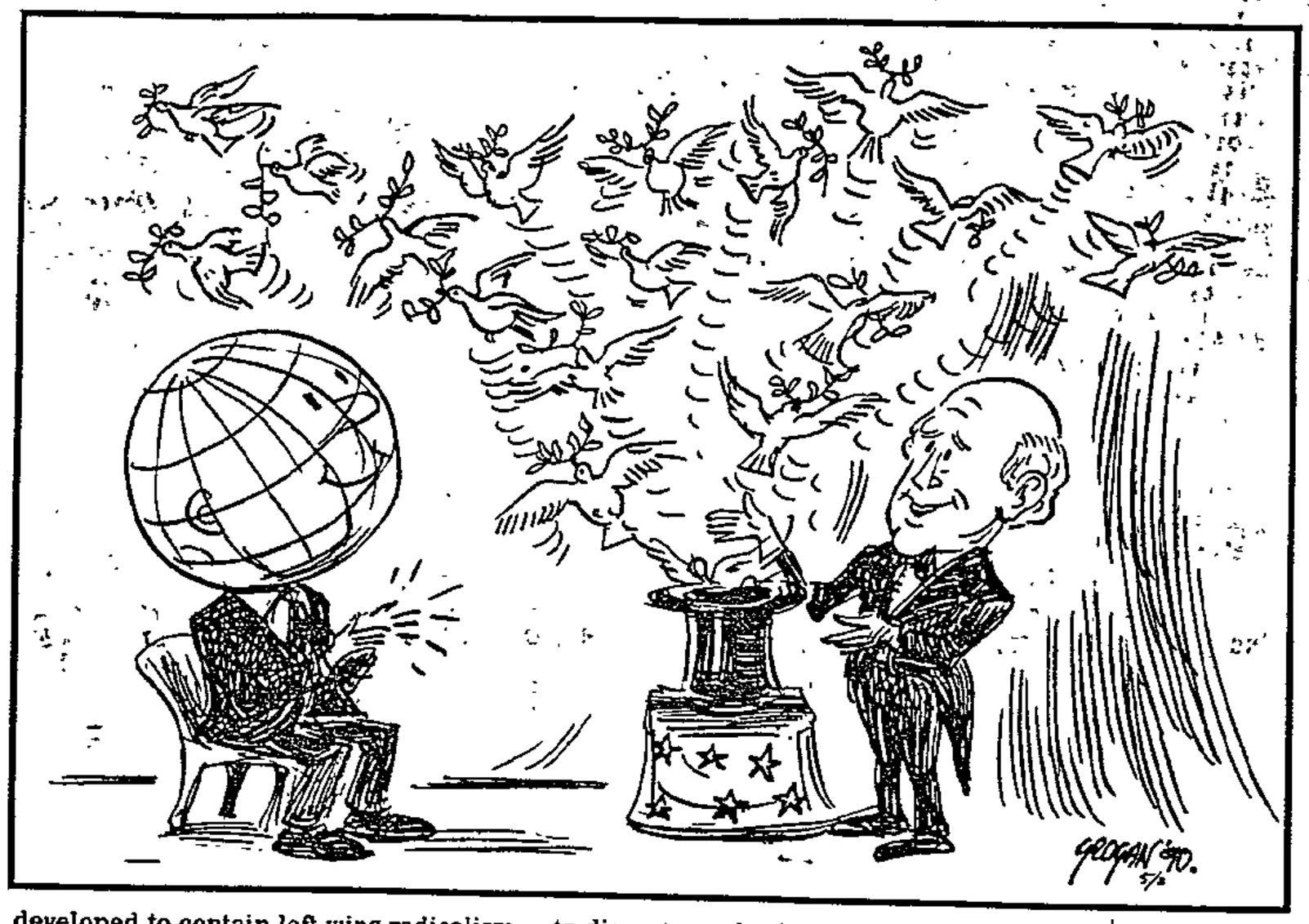
It is over-optimistic to claim that De Klerk succeeded in clearing the chasm with his reform leap. He will in all probability have to make several more leaps, and will be pressurised to make many more concessions.

What a pity he did not openly acknowledge the mammoth mistakes and the built-in injustices of apartheid. What a pity he did not commit his government openly to get rid of the remnants of apartheid as soon as possible.

Unfortunately apartheid is not dead — not yet! Mr De Klerk did not use the word apartheid once. It will not vanish by ignoring it.

The good news is that Mr De Klerk not only grasped the political initiative, but also shifted the centre of South African politics considerably to the left.

The bad news is that this shift leaves the extreme right wing high and dry as a potentially destabilizing factor similar to radical groups on the extreme left wing. Hopefully the De Klerk government will not hesitate to use its expertise and equipment — developed to contain left-wing radicalism — to discipline potential right-wing radicalism. But if Mr De Klerk really wanted to be smart, he would try to involve both the left- and right-wing fringes as full participants in the negotiation process.



The good news is that the NP government has at long last succeeded in getting the negotiation train on the rails. With the necessary luck — and the indispensable co-operation of Mr Nelson Mandela — the negotiation train may also get going before the end of the year. Hopefully with all the relevant negotiators on board.

The bad news is that a long and laborious journey lies ahead. It is unlikely that the promised land of a non-racial democracy will be reached before (at best) the second half of this decade. In its journey towards the promised land, the negotiation train unfortunately will have to cross high — and seemingly insurmountable — apartheid mountains still laying on its track.

Given the conflicting and perhaps also irreconcilable expectations and demands of the negotiating passengers — and of some non-travelling spoilers — the train will in all probability get derailed on several occasions along the steep and slippery slopes of the said mountains. All the passengers en route to a new South Africa should not only scale down their expectations and demands, but should "open" themselves to an intense (and sometimes painful) learning process.

The good news is that President De Klerk announced the unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela and of a great number of other political prisoners, while the prohibition on the ANC and other organisations has been rescinded in an attempt to "normalise" the political process in South Africa. En route to freedom and democracy, all these steps are of strategic importance.

The bad news is that President De Klerk can seemingly set neither himself nor the NP "free" from being "captives" of their own "group thinking".

Ironically enough the NP remains a "prisoner" of its obsession with protected minority interests and power, with the maintenance of national rights ("volks regte") and with the perpetuation of (white) sectional wealth and privilege. The NP still cherishes the hope of negotiating a racially based democracy without (group) dominance. It is Heunis's power-sharing — without dominance — over and over again. It will not wash. It's a waste of precious time.

Democratisation

Those who allege that the NP retains its "group cards" only as bargaining counters bluff themselves. The NP is apparently still not ready to give up its monopoly of political power in spite of the fact that less than 7% of the potential electorate voted for it in 1989 — and in spite of the events in the East Bloc countries.

The good news is that Mr De Klerk has become convinced of the futility of Mr Botha's policy of power consolidation and his strategy of co-optive dominance by a securocratic "elite". In a tour de force, Mr De Klerk swiftly swept away the Botha approach and replaced it with a process of liberalisation.

The bad news, however, is that a process of liberalisation in circumstances similar to ours normally serves to stimulate strongly the appetite for an accelerated process of democratisation in the ranks of the disenfranchised majority. These stimulated appetites can easily destabilise the political situation and necessitate a reinstatement of power politics and of the co-optive dominance strategy. To prevent this kind of disastrous news, Mr De Klerk should realise that a one-sided process of liberalisation can serve for only a limited period of time as a substitute — or as a curtain-raiser — for a genuine process of democratisaion. After a while a liberated but still disenfranchised majority wants the real thing — democracy.

Target

Cape Times 5/2/90 (30kA)

ANC welcomes govt's 'positive steps'

The following debate took place on Dutch TV on Saturday between ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pahad and South Africa's ambassador to The Hague, Mr Albert Nothnagel.

Mr Pahad: Clearly I think the ANC and many other organisations in the country are satisfied that at last the government has taken steps to try to find political solutions in our country. Some of the measures that have been announced are very welcome because they show the understanding that apartheid cannot continue and we must find a political solution. In that sense, we welcome aspects of it, but of course we are concerned that some other aspects are being maintained — the state of emergency hasn't been totally lifted, not all political prisoners are going to be released, the Internal Security Act is still on the agenda. We hope that that would help create the climate, we hope that the regime will go further and begin to deal with those very laws that we think have been preventing the move forwards.

Announcer: Mr ambassador, why didn't the South African government meet all of the demands of the ANC once the ANC had been recognized?

Mr Nothnagel: Well, I think in essence the government has met the most important demands and in fact Mr De Klerk has stated it very categorically that it is up to the ANC now to say that they would like to see peace in South Africa. The negotiation room is open, they are most welcome to come and they can also speak on the measures that are still on the statute books. I don't think that's an obstacle. It certainly cannot be an obstacle. I just get the impression that Mr Pahad and some members in the ANC are still trying to run away from South Africa, at this point in time I think they should come back right now.

Announcer: Are you running away from South Africa, Mr Pahad?

Mr Pahad: I want to make clear that the ANC's whole history has been a history of trying to find political solutions to our problems. We are saying that we have welcomed the move towards certain changes. We are saying that this is a step in the right direction and we must all now, black, white, ANC, the regime, and other forces in the country, continue the processes and get the situation where we end apartheid and work towards creating a real non-racial democratic South Africa. I don't think we're running away from anything. I think we are saying that as a positive step has been taken, it's a half measure, why stop at the half measure, we can now go ahead and find a real solution so the future generations can live in peace and prosperity.

Announcer: Mr ambassador?

Mr Nothnagel: It's not a half measure, it's a full measure. You can come back to South Africa tomorrow. The ANC can sit at the negotiation table with Mr De Klerk tomorrow. I think the problem is that many members in the ANC are at this point in time still only interested in seizing power. The ANC must realise that they are just a political organisation, they don't represent 24 million blacks, there are many other leaders, so why don't they come back and speak at the negotiation table about the future of South Africa?

Mr Pahad: Let me explain to the ambassador that the ANC was banned in 1960. The ANC since then has made constant efforts in order to find solutions to the political problems in our country. It is the policies of respective Nationalist governments that have placed the country in the crisis we find ourselves in. There has been untold bad suffering, not only in South Africa but in the region. We are committed to finding a solution, we have never said that we are sole representatives of our people but I think that the ambassador must admit and today's announcement reflects that the ANC is central to the solution of the problem.

The ANC has been committed in finding unity with all these forces but they are genuinely interested in finding a new South Africa. So we are not saying that we are the only organisation, we have never denied that other organisations have a role to play.

It is for the first time that the Nationalist government has now accepted that the oppressed people have got a say in the future of their destiny and they are not represented by those that the regime has imposed upon them as the representatives, but the people have chosen their own representatives. The ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, the Church structure, even some of the creations of the government, like the bantustans, are becoming part of the broad front to bring about a real change in our country. We are willing to accept any real movement.

Announcer: Mr Pahad seems to be quite optimistic, Mr ambassador.

Mr Nothnagel: Well, if you are really genuine in what you say there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time, still remain in London. In fact, your name says: African National Congress. Not British National Congress, not European National Congress — African National Congress. Let the people of Africa come back to South Africa and let us decide what the future should be. I think with all these pre-conditions you, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr De Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table.

Mr Pahad: We have pre-conditions, Mr Nothnagel. Let me make clear to you that we had to leave the country of our birth not because we like London, or other corners of the world.

Mr Nothnagel: Are you going back there?

Mr Pahad: We were banned, we were forced out, we were prosecuted and we persisted in our correct policy of never arguing and fighting against a particular group, we are opposed to apartheid and will continue.

Announcer: Yes, but Mr Pahad, the ambassador is asking you whether you are going to move your organisation from London to Cape Town or Pretoria.

Mr Pahad: Yes, we have said already our organisation is based inside the country, our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our organisation's structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is a process of discussion and we will work out in a systematic way how the rest of our organisation joins our organisations already inside the country. Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation.

Mr Nothnagel: Aren't you staying in London, aren't you staying overseas, to still continue boycott actions against SA, at this point in time, to the very detriment of ordinary human beings? Are you going on with these boycott actions and if you do, for what reason?

Mr Pahad: The suffering in our country has been caused by apartheid, that even Mr F W de Klerk has accepted that apartheid is a system that has to go. So apartheid has been the cause of our suffering. Those of us who will be asked to go back into the country by our movement, will go back. Those of us who are asked to remain outside in order to still mobilise international opinion to maintain pressure until apartheid is eradicated, will do so. We are saying that you cannot remove the pressure on the South African government until we get to a stage where the move to a non-racial democracy is irreversible. I mean, in a sense Mr Nothnagel, you cannot immediately expect that the international community must now say that things have changed to the full, and therefore pressure must be lifted. Pressure is to be maintained not as a punishment, but in order so that we all move together to bring about a genuine solution to our problems.

Sisulu brings response to FW

Cape Times 5/2/90

304A

QUOTE

"YOU could almost say that for practical purposes he (Mandela) has been set free. He must just reside (in prison) a little longer."

VETERAN ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu flies to Cape Town from London tonight to deliver a clear response from the ANC executive to President F W de Klerk's initiative on constitutional negotiations.

And in an interview yesterday, the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the government would like to meet the ANC "as soon as possible".

In further developments:

● President De Klerk assured the country that the government would not allow the negotiation process to be undermined by violence — and that any changes in the direction of a new constitutional dispensation would be put to the vote first.

● The Conservative Party — whose MPs were horrified by the "revolutionary" changes announced by Mr De Klerk — said it was planning a series of extra-parliamentary protest actions, including marches and rallies.

● Mrs Winnie Mandela said after visiting her husband at Victor Verster Prison that it was "out of the question" that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency.

In Stockholm senior ANC officials yesterday admitted that President De Klerk had put the ball firmly in the court of the ANC's decision-making executive working committee, which has been locked in a marathon emergency session since Friday night.

The working committee, being chaired by ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo at his clinic, met knowing that they must now respond positively without delay to what is seen around the world as a tactical success for Mr De Klerk.

ANC officials admitted privately that they were stunned by the extent and boldness of President De Klerk's changes, particularly their ubanning at this stage.

"We did not expect a completely new ball game so suddenly," a spokesman said.

During a break in the marathon talks, ANC foreign secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki said he realised the transition from an "apartheid South Africa" to a "non-apartheid South Africa" might take time and that a transitional government might be necessary.

"The road towards a political settlement is open ... and that is the road the ANC will take," Mr Mbeki told London Weekend Television's "Eye witness" programme.

But his father and veteran ANC leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, 79, struck a note of caution, saying that "if it seems this announcement is a change of heart, we must not believe it."

Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, added that "it is going to take a long time to evaluate what De Klerk has offered".

It also emerged yesterday that the ANC executive and Mr Tambo are clearly angry that their most senior internal leaders were out of the country in Sweden when President De Klerk delivered his speech.

A spokesman said they were confident that Mr Sisulu would have an "emphatic response for the people" when he boarded an aircraft for Cape Town tonight.

They have almost certainly been forced to shelve a prepared hardline statement rejecting talks-about-talks and they are expected to maintain that Mr De Klerk's changes are still far short of creating the correct "political atmosphere" for negotiation.

Snubbed

The ANC executive is outraged that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher was reported in London yesterday to be preparing unilaterally to end all British trade and financial sanctions on South Africa.

They confirmed that as a result of Mrs Thatcher's unilateral decision last Friday to restore Britain's cultural, artistic, educational and scientific contact with South Africa, they had snubbed invitations to meet British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd in London today.

In Cape Town last night Dr Viljoen told Anthony Johnson that a date for a meeting between the government and

To page 2

From page 1

Sisulu

Cape Times 5/2/90 304A

the formerly banned organisation would depend on the ANC, which now had to sort out its response to the government's latest initiative.

The ANC's initial reaction to the steps announced by Mr De Klerk contained "a certain amount of ambivalence, which is to be expected".

The government was awaiting the ANC's authoritative response once it had had time to study properly the package announced on Friday, which had brought "a complete change in atmosphere".

Dr Viljoen said it would be "puny" to check measures announced by Mr De Klerk against a shopping list drawn up beforehand.

The government had taken a number of steps to help pave the way for talks and it was now up to other parties to do the same.

On the ANC insistence that all trials it regarded as political should be stopped, he said the organisation should negotiate with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the issue. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

— The Minister of Education, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe

INSIDE

- 'Obstacles' block Mandela release — Page 2
- Frail Tambo still has major role — Page 2
- Mandela tells of depressions in jail — Page 2
- Political prisoners out by next week — Page 2
- PW rated better than FW — Page 6
- 165 are now unbanned — Page 6
- ANC stick to nationalisation — Page 7
- PAC, ANC split widens — Page 7

FW: All must get fair chance

Cape Times 5/2/90 (30CA)

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night that he was prepared to talk about any further "demands and requests" about obstacles to negotiation.

"Reasonable standpoints and requests must be considered and we will talk about them," he said in an interview on SABC.

However, those demands which were unreasonable and geared towards one party gaining a "victory" over another had to be identified and opposed.

Mr De Klerk said he wished to give all parties a fair chance to put their stand at the negotiating table.

"Only a new dispensation with majority support can make South Africa free from the risks that are staring us in the eyes."

Mr De Klerk said white South Africans should not make the same mistake as their counterparts in Rhodesia by waiting too long before grasping the opportunity to negotiate.

"When you have a situation where some have more rights than others, you have a built-in conflict and power struggle situation."

Mr De Klerk said that if South Africans dragged their feet and clung to the status quo, time would run out. Then all that was held precious could and probably would be destroyed.

To page 2

MANDELA VISIT . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela at D F Malan Airport on her departure after visiting her husband yesterday. She is accompanied by Mandela family friend and lawyer Mr Dullah Omar. Picture ALAN TAYLOR

P.T.O.

Afrikaners at the crossroads

By HARALD PAKANDORF

THE face of Andries Treurnicht said it all.

Sitting in the Chamber of Parliament listening to what he would later describe as the most revolutionary speech he had ever heard, he looked thunderstruck.

As well he might.

Because what FW de Klerk did on Friday was to close the book on Afrikaner history since about 1800. As Carel Boshoff of the Afrikanervolkswag and son-in-law of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoed said: the Afrikaner who wishes to maintain his identity and to exist in a separate nation, will not want to be part of the new dispensation.

Since about 1800 the striving of the Afrikaner has been for a country he can call his own and where he can rule his own people — initially the battle was against British imperialism and then against rising black nationalism.

Diversity

The first battle he won by 1961 when the union became a republic and the second he lost when partition — or separate development — failed.

What De Klerk said on Friday was that all South Africans belong to one nation in one country, even if there is cultural diversity.

And in that one country all South Africans must be treated equally — also as far as the vote is concerned. What he did not address, is that inevitably that must lead to a situation where the majority of the people will elect the government.

And the majority is black.

For the Afrikaner this means that he now has two options. The one is to continue to be an Afrikaner in the wider context of one South African nation, one among many, not one privileged above any other.

The other, to strive for a small piece of South African territory which he can call his own. Ironically, to try and do for himself what he had tried and failed to force other people into.

Both options will be exercised.

The first option is the De Klerk one, the second will become that of Andries Treurnicht.

De Klerk has begun the political process by giving the most contentious issue away right at the start — he now stands firmly by universal franchise.

There is now no need for an armed struggle, for violence in the streets. What is called for is debate, mobilisation, organisation and discipline among all the contending political groupings.

That important shift will soon lead to the next phase where the battle will no longer be about the right to an equal franchise, and equality in every sense of the word, but how that equality is to be achieved and what form it will take.

For most South Africans the options will be for one man one vote with a simple majority governing the country — as now happens in white politics.

For De Klerk and many other South Africans, the options will be for an involved electoral system which will lead to a multitude of parties, where coalition will be necessary and where all political groupings will be represented in the government.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche

Both options exist in the world and both are accepted as democratic.

Factually seen, the first option exists mostly in homogeneous countries. The second in heterogeneous countries, such as South Africa.

In both cases, the majority of the faces in the government will be black, simply because that is how the majority of the voters look.

It will not be an easy process to decide finally which of the two options comes into being. It can be expected that violence will continue but that the core will be a reasonable one, engaged in debate, manipulation, intimidation, argument.

But the Natal violence tells us that what De Klerk has done will not bring peace throughout the country. There may also be those for whom negotiation is not good enough and who might still resort to organised violence.

Also, there will be those on the white side who cannot accept what the new dispensation will bring. We are probably at the beginning of organised white terrorism.

In some sense, we will have black against black and also against white, yet also white against white but also against black.

It will mean that in Afrikaner circles the rifts will become deeper as the one section adapts to being Afrikaners in a non-racial South Africa, while the other section will work for their own separate development, a state somewhere where some Afrikaners will rule some other Afrikaners.

This is an impractical option, but on which is understandable and part of a worldwide striving — as secessionist tendencies in the Soviet Union highlight.

Peaceful

In the short term, look to organised yet peaceful resistance by the Conservative Party with fringe elements outside the party resorting to violence. Also, expect a period of growth for the CP.

Yet in the longer term, particularly if the economy begins to come right and the political process is relatively peaceful, expect a swing back towards the National Party.

For the Democratic Party trying times lie ahead. It can no longer pretend to be just a nicer version of the NP. The NP is now a nicer version of itself. The DP will have to define itself as strikingly different from the NP, not as being close to the NP, if it wishes to survive.

For the NP has certainly softened its view on the protection of group rights but its fundamental approach is still that of looking to minorities as being the building blocks of a future constitution.

Yet the die has been cast — we will be moving towards a dispensation where all South Africans will be treated equally.

Shares boosted by 9-billion

Argus 5/2/90 (30KB)

By TOM HOOD
Business Editor

INVESTORS boosted South African share values by almost R9 billion in reaction to the speech by State President F W de Klerk at the opening of parliament.

Shares prices soared on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange on Friday and brokers expect the momentum to continue today.

Two share barometers, the JSE's industrial index and the all-market index, reached new peaks on Friday and the total market value of shares was today estimated to exceed R331 billion.

South African gold and industrial shares also made sharp gains in British and European share markets.

In London gold share prices rose 7,2 percent. But a 4 percent rise in the financial rand restricted gains in gold shares in Johannesburg to 3,2 percent.

The strength in the financial rand also helped to limit the rise in industrial share prices on the JSE to 3,3 percent.

However, some foreign favourites scored sharp gains. Barlows jumped 500c (11,1 percent) to R50, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments rose 525c (10,6 percent) to R54 and SA Breweries rose 300c (9,2 percent) to R35,50.

The financial rand, following strong foreign buying, firmed to 3,45 to the US dollar — its highest rate since May 1988.

● One of Germany's top businessmen, Dr Carl Hahn, the international chairman of the motor giant Volkswagen, who is visiting this country, said the state president's announcement vindicated Volkswagen's decision to remain in South Africa.

INSIDE: Weather 2 Fin

(304A)

UNBANNING SPECIAL

Apartheid's pillars remain

By DJ McQUOID-MASON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's opening address to parliament on February 2 1990 is a direct challenge to the liberation movements to engage in negotiations with the government and others towards the establishment of a new South Africa.

Although De Klerk made several major concessions to the demands of the democratic movement in South Africa, many of these concessions will still operate against the background of the existing security and apartheid legislation in this country.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP means that these organisations can once again operate legally and establish offices, recruit members and hold meetings. Likewise, exiled members should be able to return if they satisfy the necessary immigration formalities.

Members of MK could also return if they returned to South Africa as civilian members and laid down their arms. They would be subject to the existing laws regarding the carrying of arms, and could be charged with "murder", "treason" or "terrorism" for unlawful acts that resulted in the death of individuals or destruction of property.

Despite the unbanning of these organisations it should be borne in mind that the current security legislation is still in force and it would be possible to subject the leadership and members of these organisations to the same form of harassment by the state authorities as has happened with other anti-apartheid organisations in the country.

Hopefully, however, in the spirit of negotiation, such "dirty tricks" will not be used.

The lifting of the media and education emergency regulations means that the newspapers and media will be able to publish full reports on so-called "unrest activities" and education bodies will be able to pursue their plans for a "people's education" programme.

The media will, however, be restricted in terms of "visual material" and will still be subject to the host of other laws that inhibit the freedom of the press.

The lifting of restrictions on 33 organisations including the NECC, Sansco, UDF and Cosatu means that these organisations will once again be able to operate freely. It should, however, be remembered that when these organisations were not restricted, their leaders and members were often subjected to harassment and intimidation by the authorities.

Unless the police and other authorities are told to cooperate in establishing a proper climate for negotiation, there is a danger that such harassment and intimidation could reoccur.

The same applies to the 374 people restricted in terms of the emergency regulations who will have their restriction orders lifted, and the political prisoners who have been sentenced for ANC, PAC and SACP activities who will be freed.

The latter, however, do not include those sentenced for murder, "terrorism" or arson as these have been regarded as crimes rather than political offences, even though they might have been politically motivated.

Until such time as cadres operating as the military wing of the liberation movement are given the status of prisoners of war, it is likely that they will continue to be treated as ordinary criminals irrespective of their motives.

The detention without trial of persons under the state of emergency will be limited to six months and they will have the right to legal representation and access to their own private medical practitioners.

This provision will only be meaningful, however, if it is also extended to the Internal Security Act instead of the emergency regulations to detain people.

This mechanism was used extensively prior to the introduction of the emergency regulations.

The suspension of executions of death row prisoners until such time as parliament has decided on how to reform the death penalty will be welcomed by organisations campaigning for the abolition of capital punishment.

The government is considering introducing a discretion for judges when imposing the death penalty for murder, whereas in the past the sentence has been mandatory where there are no extenuating circumstances.

The government is also likely to introduce an automatic right of appeal against the death penalty to enable all cases to be brought before the Appellate Division. In the past such an appeal could only take place with the leave of the judge who sentenced the accused to death.

Abolitionists will not be satisfied until the death penalty has been abolished but will regard this as a useful first step towards abolition.

It seems that the government is tentatively preparing for the return of the TCVB countries, although De Klerk made it clear that even if the "national states" legislated to be reunited with South Africa it would also be necessary for the South African parliament to pass the necessary legislation.

This is a short step along the way to meet the demand by the democratic movement that post-apartheid South Africa should be a unitary state.

De Klerk mentioned that the Separate Amenities Act would be repealed during the coming parliamentary session but made no mention of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

Essentially, therefore, the two main statutory pillars of apartheid remain intact. Until they are repealed South Africa will never be free of apartheid.

If the Separate Amenities Act is repealed it will be necessary for the courts to review the principle that has been incorporated into our common law that the discredited 'separate [illegible] equal' doctrine should be applied when dealing with the question [illegible] facilities provided for people of different races.

Unless a new constitution incorporating the protection of human rights is negotiated with people representing the majority of South Africans, it will lack credibility.

Concessions

Although De Klerk did not satisfy the final demand of the democratic movement that the state of emergency should be completely lifted, he has made some significant concessions in his bid to create a "climate for negotiation".

In the eyes of the outside world De Klerk will be seen to have seized the initiative and the ball will be now in the democratic movement's court.

There is a desperate need to rebuild the structures on the ground of the previously banned and restricted organisations and to provide leadership and direction for people, particularly the youth, in the strife-torn "killing fields" of Natal.

Although Nelson Mandela has still not been released it is clear that he has played a crucial role in facilitating the concessions made by De Klerk.

His release will enable him to operate freely with the present leadership of the democratic movement to shape South Africa into a united democratic country that can take its place in the community of nations.

(Prof D J McQuoid-Mason is Dean of the School of Law at the University of Natal in Durban.)

FW's leap across Rubicon

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday defied the sceptics and made a giant leap across the Rubicon.

His dramatic announcements in Parliament — the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and even the SA Communist Party, the amnesty for political prisoners and exiles and the lifting of much of the State of Emergency — have in one sweep created an entirely new political landscape.

One Cabinet Minister said: "Yesterday the sun set on the old South Africa. Today it dawned on the new."

That was no hyperbole. With one sweep Mr de Klerk completely swept almost all the serious obstacles to negotiation off the table.

Though strictly speaking the other side of the Rubicon must be defined as a fully democratic constitution, Mr de Klerk did nearly all that was expected of him to start negotiations going towards it.

He said in his address "these announcements go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence.

"The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and they they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations. The unconditional unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP had put everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.

"The justification for violence which was always advanced no longer exists," he said.

The move was so bold that the road ahead is not yet clear. How the ANC and to a lesser extent the PAC would react was the crucial question.

Would the exiles start to return from Lusaka immediatly — or at least those who had no convictions against them in South Africa for ordinary crimes?

Would they quibble over the remaining conditions for negotiation or would they regard these as matters to be negotiated about?

Constitutiional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen was naturally optimistic. Though conceding that yesterday's concessions would probably not meet all the ANC's and Mr Mandela's conditions, he said the table had been set for "talks about talks".

Remaining obstacles

That was probably a nice measured assessment, for it implied that the climate was not completly right for negotiations proper.

Remaining obstacles would probably be the continued detention of Mr Nelson Mandela, the remaining parts of the State of Emergency — specifically detention without trial (though reduced to a maximum of six months and the continued restrictions on gatherings) — and the Government's decision not to grant amnesty to those guilty of ordinary crimes even though committed with a political motive.

Main measures announced

THESE are the main measures announced by Mr de Klerk at the opening of Parliament yesterday:

- **Jailed black leader Nelson Mandela to be freed unconditionally after a further short delay.**
- **Lifting of 30-year-old bans on the African National Congress and the radical Pan Africanist Congress.**
- **Lifting of 40-year-old ban on the South African Communist Party.**
- **Lifting of restrictions on 33 other anti-apartheid organisations including the giant United Democratic Front coalition.**
- **Freeing of political prisoners.**
- **Moratorium on executions**
- **Lifting of emergency media censorship but formulation of new laws to restrict "visual material covering scenes of unrest". Other longstanding laws restricting media reporting remain in force.**
- **Moratorium on hangings. — Reuter.**

Some of these were not likely to remain problems for long. Mr de Klerk made it clear that it was largely administative and security reasons which were keeping Mr Mandela in jail and that these should be removed soon.

It was not clear, however, if Mr Mandela was still refusing to come out unless all his political pre-conditions had been met.

Mr de Klerk also said he intended lifting the State of Emergency completely as soon as circumstances justified it. It seemed likely that the steps he took today might well improve the security climate enough to lift the emergency soon.

The definition of "political prisoners" who qualified for amnesty was more likely to remain a point of difference as the Government seemed certain to stick to its insistence that politial murder and violence remained ordinary crimes.

Another question of whether the ANC would demand some concession on the National Party's group-based policy before entering negotiations.

That aspect Mr de Klerk hardly touched on yesterday. His only reference was to confirm that the Separate Amenities Act would be scrapped this session.

It was clear that the NP was sticking to its previously-stated view that apartheid measures such as the Group Areas Act would be dealt with in negotiations and not as negotiations.

Influential moderates

Whether or not the ANC would accept this is not clear. The official view seems to be that apartheid legislation must be scrapped prior to negotiations.

However influential ANC moderates such as Mr Thabo Mbeki have indicated that the ANC might be prepared to put the thorny problem of groups on the negotiating table.

Certainly Mr de Klerk's moves today have placed the negotiation ball squarely in the ANC's court.

As Dr Viljoen said, the Government had thrown out a challenge to the ANC if they wanted to negotiate. The Government had shown it was prepared to take considerable and bold risks to get the negotiation process started.

It had shifted the focus to the political debate. There was now a challenge to the ANC and others to join the debate and openly state the merits of their different political ideologies. As Mr de Klerk hinted in the speech, it was clear that the Government had been emboldened to take this step by what it perceived as a marked decline in the fortunes and prospects of the ANC recently.

The collapse of East European communism had weakened the ANC's support base and had also struck a severe blow at the prestige of communist ideology.

The ANC's armed struggle was also foundering — as the ANC itself has acknowledged — and has been confirmed by the South African Police.

The ANC had also shown itself recently to be shifting away from the armed struggle and towards negotiations. Yesterday's moves showed that the Government felt confident enough now to tackle the ANC politically, hoping to exploit its ideologcial and military weakness.

It was clear too that the Government felt that, because of the decline in the international stature of communism and the steps taken, the Western world might well tilt toward Pretoria's side.

Certainly yesterday's moves must have brought the Republic a giant step closer to the West. They came very close to meeting the conditions for the lifting of American and other sanctions.

The South African Government has launched itself boldly into the new arena of political competition with the ANC, and probably has given itself a head start.

ARGUS 2/2/90

ANC unbanned

FW's sweeping measures

- Unbanned: ANC, PAC, SA Communist Party.
- Exiled members free to return to South Africa.
- Imprisoned members to go free.
- All executions suspended.
- Death penalty should no longer be mandatory.
- Restrictions lifted on 33 organisations — including UDF, Cosatu, National Education Crisis Committee, SA National Student Congress, and Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van SA.
- Conditions imposed on 374 people released from detention scrapped.
- Media regulations abolished — except control over "visual material on unrest".
- Education emergency regulations scrapped.
- State of emergency to be terminated as soon as possible.
- Nelson Mandela to be released unconditionally, date to be decided soon.

'The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived . . .'

Mr Nelson Mandela . . . "the government will take a decision soon on the date of his release".

By TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

THE African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of other organisations are being unbanned, President De Klerk announced today.

Opening parliament, he also said that political prisoners were to be released and media restrictions would largely be lifted.

He made no firm statement on a release date for jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela but said the government would take a decision about him soon.

Mr De Klerk also outlined steps aimed at creating a climate for negotiations on constitutional reform:

People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence merely because a prohibition on one of the organisations, would be identified and released.

Media emergency regulations were being scrapped except in the case of visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest. The restrictions therefore remained, mainly in the case of television.

Restrictions lifted

Education emergency regulations were to be scrapped.

The restrictions in terms of 33 organisations including the United Democratic Front were being rescinded.

Other organisations included the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African National Students Congress, Cosatu and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

Restrictions imposed in terms of the emergency regulations on 374 people on their release from detention were being rescinded and the regulations which provided for such conditions were being abolished.

Periods of detention in terms of the emergency regulations were to be limited to six months. Detainees would have the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own

President De Klerk: "Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from radicalism of any kind."

Full text of FW's speech — pages 14 and 15.

Executions suspended, reforms proposed

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ALL executions are being suspended. None will take place until parliament decides on government proposals to reform the application of the death sentence, President De Klerk announced today.

He said the government had decided that reform was needed, that the death sentence should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence, and that an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

INCOMPLETE CASES

Everybody awaiting execution "will be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach".

New and incomplete cases would still be adjudicated in terms of existing law and "only when the death sentence is imposed will the new proposals be applied".

There would be no executions until parliament took a final decision on the proposals.

Mr De Klerk said the government had been giving attention to this "extremely sensitive issue" for some time. "We have not reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform."

Human rights study ordered

Political Correspondent

THE government would ask the Law Commission to make a study of the protection of human rights in constitutional models as a contribution to negotiating a new constitution for South Africa, President De Klerk said.

"This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations," he said.

The Law Commission would be asked to analyse how human rights are protected in other constitutional models and to pinpoint methods to ensure the success and legitimate safeguarding of a new constitution.

He also said he would ask the Law Commission to regard finalising its report on a Bill of rights as a "high priority".

The government accepted the principle of the fundamental individual rights protected by an independent judiciary.

"However it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded whole."

Any new constitution which disregarded the reality of South Africa's national composition would be inappropriate and even harmful, said Mr De Klerk. But no group, however defined, would be favoured.

Fight against inflation top priority

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

THE government's economic priorities were reducing inflation, encouraging personal initiative and savings, stringent financial control, rapid progress with tax reform and encouraging exports to earn more foreign exchange and boost industrialisation, said President De Klerk.

These adjustments would require sacrifices, but were prerequisites for a "new period of sustained growth" in this decade.

The government's "basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance", he said.

Preference would be given to allowing market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

The government remained committed to a balanced and practical approach and recognised the need to create a climate conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy.

It was the government's intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming year to achieve the following goals:

- "That the present downturn will take the form of a soft-landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;
- "That our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and,
- "That we will persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things of easing the tax burden, especially on individuals, sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves."

Separate Amenities Act to go this session

Political Correspondent

THE Separate Amenities Act would be repealed during this session of parliament, President De Klerk said.

Other "important policy announcements" in the socio-economic sphere would be made by ministers during the course of the session.

A changed dispensation meant far more than political and constitutional issues and could not be pursued in isolation.

Obstacles in the way of progress and prosperity were poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy and health needs. Conservation was another.

COMPREHENSIVELY

He said: "All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision."

But, he said, the State could not alone meet all the demands of social advancement. The community at large and the private sector had a vital role to play.

Mr De Klerk said these decisions by the Cabinet were in accordance with the government's declared intention to normalise the political process without jeopardising the maintenance of good order.

Soviet Union

The decisions were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice from officials which included members of the security community.

Implementation would be immediate and where becessary notices woukld appear in the Government Gazette tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice were:

Events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe weakened the capability of organisations which were previously strongly supported by these countries.

- The activities of the organisations being unbanned no longer entailed the same degree of threat to internal security.
- There had been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned which indicated a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.
- Police were convinced they would be able to combat violence and other crimes without the aid of bannings.

Mr De Klerk said the lifting of the bans did not signify the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence.

He said the unbannings should not be interpreted, among other things, as a deviation from the government's principles on constitutional reform. This would be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

Law and order

The maintenance of of law and order dared not be jeopardised, he said.

Peaceful protest should not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. Proper provision of manpower and means to the police would be dealt with in the Budget.

Mr de Klerk said it was his intention to terminate the state of emergency as soon as circumstances justified it but he had been advised that an emergency situation which justified special measures still existed.

There was still conflict in Natal and indications that radicals were still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

Those responsible for unrest and conflict had to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency, he said, but it was time to break out of the cycle of violence and to break through to peace and reconciliation.

With the steps the government had taken it had proved its good faith and the table was laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

"The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans," Mr De Klerk said.

"Among other things these aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all."

In this connection Mr Mandela could play an important

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

'The time has come to attract international capital'

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SOUTHERN Africa now had an historical opportunity to set aside conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction which would attract loan capital and investment from the world, President De Klerk said today.

"The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived," he said.

The government believed that "obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently".

Mr De Klerk warned: "Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced with further decline and ruin."

He added, however: "The government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan.

"Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones, confrontation by contact, disengagement by engagement, slogans by deliberate debate."

South Africa had had positive contacts with various African leaders, had made an internationally recognised contribution to the Namibian settlement and had received acknowledgement of its efforts to help end conflict in Mozambique and Angola.

Negotiations on future relations with Namibia were under way and there were "no good reasons" why there should not be good relations between the two countries.

Talks were continuing with Venda, Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. Re-incorporation into South Africa was an option for these states, but it was only one of several options and would be the subject of further talks.

He said the government was aware of the important role the world had to play in South Africa's national interest.

Contact and co-operation were essential and dynamic developments in international politics had created opportunities for South Africa.

He said: "Important advances have been made in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations. I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa."

International developments had important lessons for Southern Africa.

"The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist communism expired.

"The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that this is not the answer here either."

INSIDE: Weather 2, Letters 10, Finance 16, Racing 17, Sport 18-20, TV — Page 3 of Tonight

Argus 2/2/90

3044

ANC unbanned

(Cont from page 1)

part, Mr De Klerk said. The government had noted that he had declared himself willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process.

"I wish to make it plain that the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The government will take a decision soon on the date of his release."

Normally there is a short passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements.

"He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that his case requires particular circumspection."

Mr de Klerk said that today's announcement went to the heart of what black leaders, including Mr Mandela, had been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence.

The allegation had been made that the government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by way of the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence had ever been justified, he wished to say to those who argued in this manner that the government wished to talk to all leaders who sought peace.

JUSTIFICATION

The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on organisations placed everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.

The justification for violence which had always been advanced no longer existed.

"The time for talking has arrived and whoever makes excuses does not really wish to talk," he said.

He wished to repeat his invitation with greater conviction than ever.

"Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiation table with the government and other leaders who have important bases inside and outside parliament.

"Everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, there workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived," Mr De Klerk said.

He thanked those leaders who had always resisted violence. Their places in the negotiation process were assured.

He called on the international community to re-evaluate its position.

ie Bon- Cardin, to Russians, repre- sha from Irkutsk. bergstrand) and ☎ 88 8226 (Muizenberg).

Brokers flooded as JSE soars

W/E ARGUS 3/2/90

By DICK USHER
Deputy Business Editor

THE business world, both local and international, reacted sharply and positively to President De Klerk's major reform initiatives.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange soared to fresh highs, financial indicators responded strongly and brokers were flooded with orders.

All leading business organisations welcomed the changes which were called brave, statesmanlike and a challenge to the business community to help create a new South Africa.

Speculation also emerged overseas that sanctions could be eased or lifted.

As news of the steps swept the financial markets reaction was immediate.

At the close the Johannesburg Stock Exchange overall share index had risen to a new high of 3 279 from Thursday's 3 194 close and a previous record close of 3 239 on January 15.

The all-gold index surged to a preliminary close of 2 252. from Thursday's 2 180 finish, with added help from a rally in the bullion price. The industrial index rebounded to a record 3 025 from 2 933 — breaching its January 15 high of 3 023.

Capital market rates were sharply lower.

In London, gold shares rose in early trading and shot up by between 5 and 10 percent while the Stock Exchange showed interest in South African industrials for the first time in years.

One dealer said: "The market's extremely good at the moment, we're very busy and shares are flying about all over the place."

Sanctions

She speculated that economic sanctions against South Africa eventually could be eased as a result of the moves.

In the United States, where Mr De Klerk's speech was carried live via satellite by one network, the market was sluggish in response.

Gold futures were slightly lower and one trader said this was possibly because the steps would "lessen the threat of a civil war and it should also reduce the possibility of production interruptions at the gold mines.

Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Gavin Relly welcomed the steps, which he said would normalise political life in South Africa.

"We would hope that these acts of courage and statesmanship on the part of President De Klerk will create matching acts of courage and statesmanship within South Africa's borders and beyond."

Mr K W Maxwell, president of the Chamber of Mines, said President De Klerk had crossed the Rubicon and opened the way to a new South Africa.

"We look forward to a positive response from the international community, including the lifting of sanctions. Together with President De Klerk, we also look forward to the end of decades of tensions and conflict".

The Afrikaanse Handelinstituut said the business sector had, for some time, pleaded for negotiations, the tested way to reduce tensions.

The organisation welcomed the announcement that the role of the public sector in the economy was to be reduced and that the private sector would be given the maximum opportunity to flourish.

As the largest employer organisation in South Africa, the South African Chamber of Business (SACB) "heartily welcomes the bold initiatives".

A-
N
C, PAC and
P unbanned

● Mandela to be set free soon

● All executions are halted

(304-A) STAR 2/2/90

W opens doors to

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The President , Mr F W de Klerk, announced to Parliament today the immediate unbanning of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

His move is seen as a dramatic gambit to launch negotiations with the black majority.

In an historic speech at the opening of Parliament today, Mr de Klerk announced a series of far-reaching measures to create a negotiation climate.

He has met nearly all the conditions posed by the ANC and other organisations for negotiations.

He released political prisoners, freed all restricted organisations, and scrapped most of the state of emergency He also suggested that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would be released unconditionally as soon as administrative and security arrangmements could be made.

The decision means that all members of the ANC in exile who had not committed ordinary crimes in South Africa, would be able to return.

The Government would take a decision on Mr Mandela's release date soon.

With these steps there was no longer any reasonable excuse for political violence, Mr de Klerk said.

"The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk."

The steps included

- The release of all genuinely political prisoners — but not those who have committed ordinary crimes with political motives.
- A firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally as soon as administrative and security arrangements could be finalised.
- The lifting of emergency restrictions on 33 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and Cosatu.
- The scrapping of the regulations under which the organisations were restricted.
- The lifting of the media and education emergency regulations in their entirety.
- However, security emergency regulations will be amended to continue "effective control" over visual material of scenes of unrest.

Mr de Klerk said he intended lifting the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justified it and he appealed for co-operation from the public. But he said an emergency situation still existed especially in Natal.

- Detention without trial is retained, but is reduced to a maximum of six months. Detainees acquire the right to legal representation and a doctor of their own choice.
- To suspend the death penalty until Parliament passed judgment on several reforms proposed by Government — including a fuller discretion for judges to decide on passing the death sentence There will be automatic right of appeal.
- To repeal the Separate Amenities Act this session.

Deatils of the measures would be given in Government Gazettes tomorrow.

The measures did not imply the Government would condone violence and terrorism nor that it condones the ANC's economic policy and aspects of its constitutional policy.

Mr de Klerk said he was convinced the measures were justified from a security and political point of view.

"Our country and all its people have been embroiled in a conflict tension and violence struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation.

"The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

"With these steps the Government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

"The agenda is open ."

He gave several reasons for the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

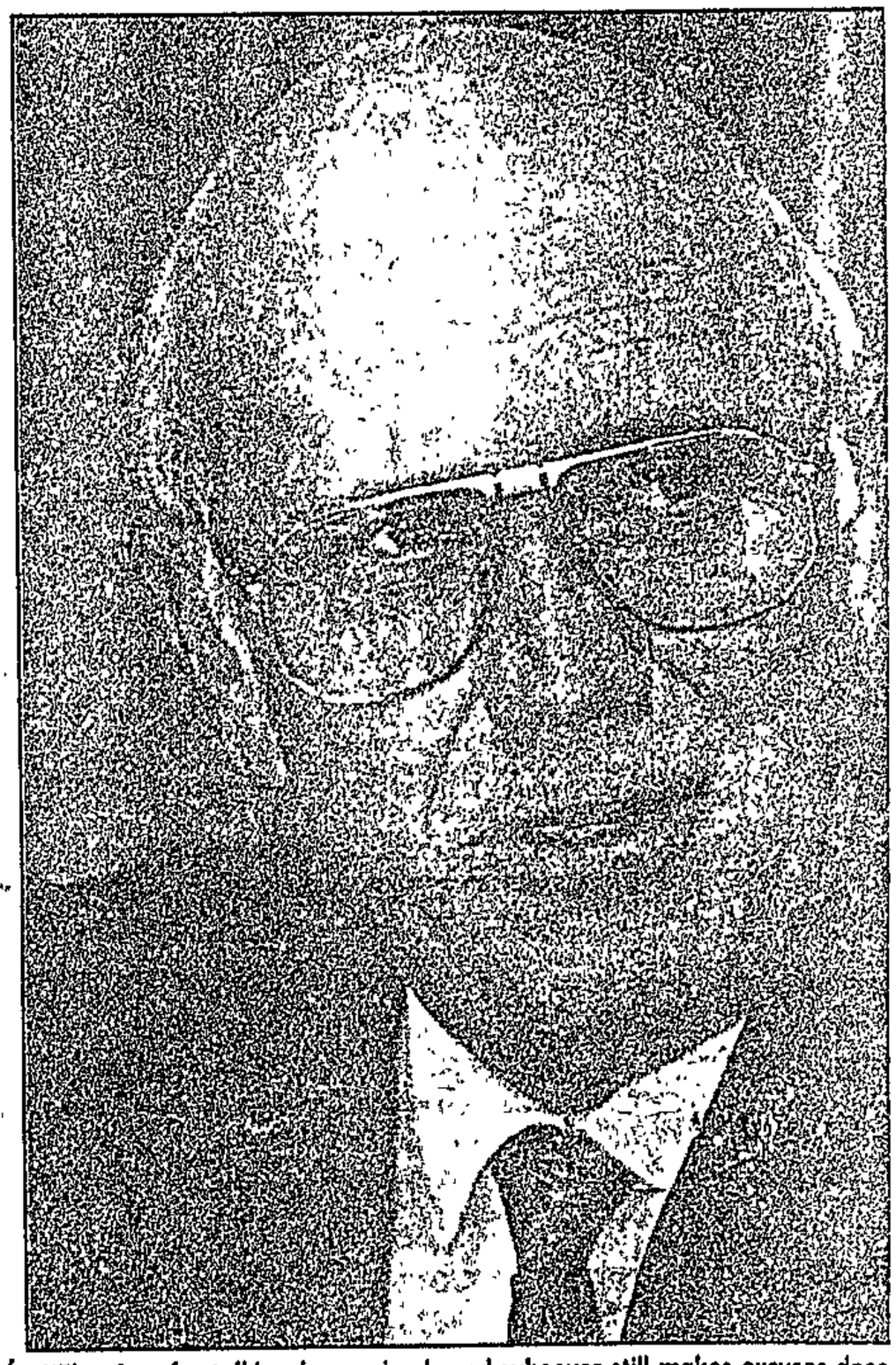
- The collapse of communism in Europe weakened the ability of the banned organisations to receive help.
- The activities of the ANC, PAC and SACP were no longer such a threat and the organisations had made important shifts towards peaceful solutions.

Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela could play a constructive part in negotiations. He had declared himself willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process.

In a briefing, Cabinet Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the retention of restriction on visual media was necessary, because they presented a picture of the country being racked by general violence when it was not.

Cabinet Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said he believed that most of Mr Mandela's and the ANC's conditions for participating in negotiations had been met.

The remaining obstacles might be the complete lifting of the state of emergency.



"The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk," President de Klerk told Parliament today.

Political prisoners to be released

freedom

Delay over release is 'unavoidable'

Political Correspondent

The Government had taken a firm decision to release jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela unconditionally, but unfortunately a further short delay was unavoidable, President de Klerk said today.

The Government would take a decision soon on the date of his release and was serious about finalising the matter without delay, he said in his opening address to Parliament today.

"Normally, there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release, because of logistical and administrative requirements.

"In the case of Mr Mandela, there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least

"He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time."

At a briefing on Mr de Klerk's speech, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was asked if the delay in the release was caused by administrative problems.

ADMINISTRATIVE

He was asked whether it had to do with the political conditions that he has apparently placed on his release.

Dr Viljoen said the reasons were mainly "administrative". He said Mr Mandela had been informed already of the parts of the speech which affected him.

Mr de Klerk said in his speech that he believed his decisions on creating a negotiation climate "go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence".

"The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and they were deprived of their rights to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations."

Mr de Klerk said that the justification for violence which was always advanced no longer existed.

Mr Nelson Mandela as he was in the early 1960s.

...ples gained from mother were lost

Staff Reporter

Sun International has cut back on operations in the Comoros Is-

By John Ryan, The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Self-confessed "hit

have to in- pub- media detri- mina- anche ate in e two Mak- Gold

bijlpark where the woman was hit with a firearm and robbed of R70 and cash from the safe.

● The two men then appeared with Mr Cornelius van Zyl (28) of Randburg and Mr Hendrik Binneman on various other charges. Mr van Zyl and Mr Binneman will apply for bail on February 5. Mr David Johannes de Beer of Kruger Avenue, Vereeniging, was granted bail of R1 000.

The Malaysians allege about 160 springbok, least six ostrich and thr bok skins are said to ready been sent home b leged poachers

The Administrator- Mr Louis Pienaar, mu whether to prosecute t members as only cert bers enjoy diplomatic under the agreement UN.

ANC for sake of

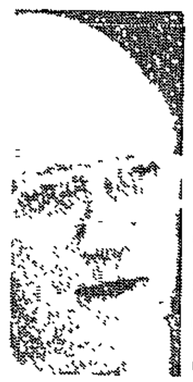
for trying to bring US $150 000 (R385 000) into South Africa illegally to evade taxation.

He said he had done so as a

P W Botha, nor his s Mr F W de Klerk, n known about the exu

FULL TEXT OF MR F W DE KLERK'S MOMENTOUS ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

The State President's speech



Extracts from the address by State President Mr F W de Klerk, DMS, at the opening of the Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa yesterday.

THE general election on September 6 1989 placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No-one can escape this simple truth.

On its part the government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour — constitutional, social and economic.

I hope this new Parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa and that is the overwhelming majority:

☐ Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

☐ Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

☐ Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new Parliament, we shall have to deal, complimentary to one another, with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the process of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal first with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE government is aware of the important part the world at large has to play in the realisation of our country's national interests.

Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens. The dynamic developments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa as well. Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe, and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

The year 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired.

These developments will entail unpredictable consequences for Europe but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa. The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline, in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the Marxist economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a

the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with not only by means of legislation in their parliaments but also through legislation in this Parliament. Naturally this will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

HUMAN RIGHTS

SOME time ago the government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which includes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission. Therefore, it would be inappropriate of the government to express a view on the details now. However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justiciable by an independent judiciary.

However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear.

Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights. It is neither the government's policy nor its intention that any group — in whichever way it may be defined — shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution.

The terms of reference also include:

☐ The identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context.

session. One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953. Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council last year, I announce that this Act will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our circumstances demand. The community at large, and especially the private sector, also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

THE ECONOMY

A NEW South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view to this the government has taken thorough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies. The central message is that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the Sixties was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies. After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes recovered economically so that lengthy periods of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while. The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products brought with them unhealthy trends. These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital and stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance. In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility at the same time to promote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly

☐ That our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base.

☐ That we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the government, especially in this particular period of our history, to promote a dynamic economy which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

NEGOTIATION

IN CONCLUSION, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks. The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the Government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation. Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized on as a justification for confrontation and violence. The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

☐ The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.

☐ People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.

☐ The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.

☐ The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

☐ The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the followi National

gency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end. Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the meantime, the state of emergency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

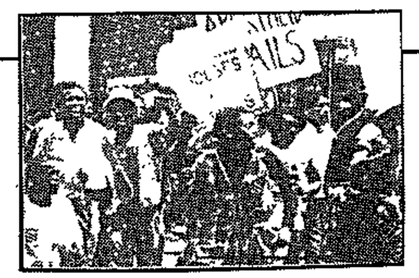
The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.



With the steps the government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation to reach an understanding by way of

[illegible] ..ose who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either. The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change. It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation. The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the Big Powers or of the United Nations.

The government accepts the principle of the recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge: Southern Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction. It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan. The government believes the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones: confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states. During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda. These leaders expressed their sincere concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development.

Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events. This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

At present the government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon. In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of [illegible] in every more [illegible]

☐ Possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

DEATH PENALTY

THE death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. On April 27 1989 the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988, in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the government had noted the opinions of academics and other interested parties, the government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of available options:

☐ That reform in this area is indicated.
☐ That the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence.
☐ That an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand and on the other should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody awaiting execution be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals. In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines.

In the meantime, no executions have taken place since November 14 1989. New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned also entails other related principles which will be announced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice. It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A CHANGED dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible Ministers during the course of the government remains committed to this balanced and practical approach.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy. We shall persist with this in a well-considered way.

This does not mean the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas of the economy in recent years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

☐ The gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners.
☐ The encouragement of personal initiative and savings.;
☐ The subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline.
☐ The rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation.
☐ The encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices, have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the nineties.

The government has also noted with appreciation the manner in which the Reserve Bank has discharged its special responsibility in striving towards our common goals.

The government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy. For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference. This applies both to the various functions within the Government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

This is obviously not the occasion for me to deal in greater detail with our total economic strategy or with the recent course of the economy. I shall confine myself to a few specific remarks on one aspect of fiscal policy that has been a source of criticism of the government for some time, namely State expenditure.

The government's financial year ends only in two month and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year are still subject to refinements at this stage. Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear. I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

In respect of government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years. The financial figures will show:

☐ That Government expenditure is thoroughly under control.
☐ That our normal financing programme has not exerted any significant upward pressure on rates of interest.
☐ That we will close the year with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Without pre-empting this year's main budget, I wish to emphasise that it is also our intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way that will enable us to achieve the ensuing goals, namely:

☐ That the present downturn will take the form of a soft landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible.

National Students Congress, United Democratic Front, Cosatu, Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

☐ The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.
☐ The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.
☐ These decisions by the Cabinet are in accordance with the government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of the good order. They were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice by a group of officials which included members of the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice the government received in this connection are the following:

☐ The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.
☐ The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.
☐ There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.
☐ The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.

About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future.

Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the government's principles, among other things, against their economic policy and aspects of their constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare not be jeopardised. The government will not forsake its duty in this connection. Violence from whichever source will be fought with all available might.

Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. No democratic country can tolerate that.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law will be ensured. In fact, the budget for the coming financial year will already begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the dedicated service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists. There is still conflict which is manifesting itself, mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle. In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emer-

Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner:

☐ The government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace.
☐ The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.
☐ The justification for violence which was always advanced no longer exists.

These facts place everybody in South Africa before a *fait accompli*. On the basis of numerous previous statements there is no longer any reasonable excuse for the continuation of violence. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever:

Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stands. This includes all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organisations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored. Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

CONCLUSION

IN MY inaugural address I said:

"All reasonable people in this country — by far the majority — anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction. If we fail in that the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand:

☐ Deeply under the impression of our responsibility.
☐ Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead.
☐ Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction.

I ask Parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through unchartered waters and will bless your labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament, I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

De Klerk 'captured the highground'

B/Day 5/2/90

MATTHEW CURTIN

GOVERNMENT had captured the political highground with Friday's announcements by President F W De Klerk, RAU political scientist Professor Deon Geldenhuys said yesterday.

"The politics of the next few months will be of one-upmanship as each side vies for the initiative."

Geldenhuys said De Klerk had taken people by surprise, and his speech had been a tactical coup.

The ANC would now be under pressure.

Geldenhuys singled out the damage De Klerk had done to the ANC's longtime favoured international status, with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular conferring a new respectability on Pretoria with her invitation to De Klerk to meet her.

The ANC would have to make the transition from a liberation movement to a political party.

"During negotiations, it may well be that the ANC and SACP go to the table as entirely separate organisations."

There would be parallels with Namibia in that the negotiation process would be a tortuous one, and likely to be conducted behind closed doors.

304A

Unbanning

Director of the SA Institute of International Affairs Professor John Barratt said: "The door is now open. The ANC still have to step through as a united front."

Barratt said it was not often that expectations were exceeded but F W de Klerk had done a "masterly job".

The speech had been solid throughout, and wide ranging, with the highlight being the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and PAC.

"It is an altogether different ballgame now. Even if the ball is not entirely out of F W de Klerk's court, given Nelson Mandela's continued imprisonment and the specific conditions mentioned in the speech, the government has reached a point of no return which is both frightening and exciting."

Barratt said the next move would have to come from the ANC.

Anyone who thought a divided ANC leadership was a good sign was misguided. Unless there was unity in the leadership there would be trouble for SA.

Barratt returned recently from a trip to Eastern Europe. He said there was little doubt the SA developments would be well received there.

He felt the demise of communist regimes in Eastern Europe had finally put paid to "the myth of the total onslaught" confronting SA. But Moscow would continue to support the ANC, he said.

UK media warm to FW

Most major British newspapers have hailed Mr F W de Klerk's speech on Friday as a courageous leap into a new era, reports THE STAR BUREAU.

STAR 5/2/90 (304A)

LONDON — President de Klerk was the toast of the British media at the weekend.

His speech to the opening of Parliament on Friday swept all other news off the front pages of major British newspapers and was widely heralded as a watershed for South Africa.

Most, however, struck a cautionary note, warning that further steps were required to end apartheid.

The *Sunday Times* said in an inside editorial that history might one day show that Mr de Klerk's speech was the act that raised the curtain on the "Great South African Drama".

Opposition

Mr de Klerk's initiatives would "sadly but inescapably" be opposed by a large percentage of the white electorate.

His speech also placed a heavy burden on the leadership of the unbanned organisations. The Government has done what thay have demanded for so long."

The *Sunday Times* said it was not enough to hide behind feeble excuses and raise pernickety points in order to shy away from talks.

It concluded: "No solution will be found unless all sides are willing to take risks."

The *Sunday Correspondent* said: "The first reaction among blacks (to President F W de Klerk's speech) suggests a dangerous degree of disunity. Bish op Tutu is characteristically but naively positive, Winnie Mandela characteristically sour, and the full range of positions between joy and defiance have been struck. Should such disunity persist, it could turn potential triumph to disaster."

The Observer said:

"With the unbanning of the African National Congress, the absolute promise of the early release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the removal of restrictions on political groups and the suspension of executions, President F W de Klerk has cleared the way for the beginning of talks on a new constitution.

"For white South Africans these are huge changes, and De Klerk will face some fierce criticism. But what he has done is right, and he deserves support from all those outside South Africa who oppose apartheid."

The *Independent On Sunday* said: "President de Klerk has acted with a conspicuous political bravery which deserves both applause and reward . . ."

On Saturday *The Independent* devoted its entire front page and four inside pages to the story. In an editorial the newspaper said Mr de Klerk had "announced a courageous and considered package of reforms which would have been unthinkable a year ago".

But it cautioned that there had as yet been no confirmation that talks between black and white in South Africa would begin.

The Times editorial said Mr de Klerk's speech was "distinguished by a remarkable degree of candour and an absence of the glib if convoluted constitutional 'solutions' so beloved by his predecessors".

Weakened

The Daily Telegraph, in an editorial, said it was now time for the West to end its "negative" influence in South Africa by lifting some of the sanctions which have "so severely weakened" the economy.

"It will be very much easier for Mr de Klerk to carry white voters with him if they see, in return, tangible economic efforts," it said.

Stephen Robinson of *The Telegraph* described the speech as "the most radical and far-sighted" ever made by a leader of the National Party.

He said the President had, in effect, thrown down a challenge to exiled ANC leaders to return home and negotiate the basis of a new society.

The Guardian said in front page commentary: "There is now at least a chance that there will be more talking than fighting in the future. It is a new era."

But its editorial warned that sanctions should be retained: "Mr de Klerk, or a successor under conservative pressure, could still despairingly step back across the Rubicon."

The Daily Mail compared Mr de Klerk to Russian Premier Mikhail Gorbachev. Its correspondent Ann Leslie said Mr de Klerk had shaken Afrikanerdom free of its last "lunatic delusion of perpetual white supremacy" with the self-confidence of a Gorbachev.

The Financial Times said in an editorial it was not yet the time to relax sanctions: "Judicious use of this pressure can push both sides towards a compromise."

The Daily Express said in an editorial that Mr de Klerk's "courageous and distinguished speech" has leap-frogged a looming deadlock over Mr Mandela's release.

And *The Sun* concentrated on Mr Pik Botha's assertion that "white domination will be ended in our country".

In an editorial, the newspaper said. "We must pray that when a black government takes over it creates a climate that will encourage the millions of nervous whites to stay."

The Daily Mirror speculated that Mr Mandela would be freed only after England's rebel cricketers had returned home and the ANC renounced violence.

Slabbert on SA — a useful collection

304A

B/Day 5/2/90

THE SYSTEM AND THE STRUGGLE by F Van Zyl Slabbert (Jonathan Ball, R44,95)

THIS is not Slabbert's latest political analysis, but a compilation of his speeches and writings over the past 15 years edited by former journalist Dene Smuts, now a DP MP.

Slabbert's analyses are always carefully argued, thought-provoking and challenging to supporter and critic alike, even where the reader in some cases has the benefit of years of hindsight of developments and Slabbert's own political course.

Subtitled Reform, Revolt and Reaction in SA, the collection takes the reader through Slabbert's contemporary assessments of apartheid under Vorster, a trenchant analysis of militarisation, extra-parliamentary government and "total strategy" under P W Botha and a final chapter on the prospects under President F W de Klerk.

The world, he says, wishes De Klerk to succeed in getting negotiations going and "there comes a time when a quantum leap has to be taken in political leadership, a leap that defies the normal laws of politics and convention". Whether Slabbert now judges that leap to have been taken remains to be seen.

He analyses the role of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics, the effects of repression and the struggle for liberation, and the requirements for reconciliation and negotiation.

His constant theme — enunciated repeatedly and forcefully during the 1984 referendum on bringing coloured and Indian people into what became the new tricameral Parliament — is the need for an accord between white and black and that anything else is a political manoeuvre doomed to failure.

The weakness lies in the editing. The extracts are dated by month and year, but Smuts does not say whether they were parliamentary or hustings speeches, public lectures or published analyses or, with two exceptions — lectures at Oxford and Simon Fraser universities.

For foreign readers — Slabbert has an international academic reputation — and possibly for some South Africans, Smuts takes too much knowledge for granted. The composition of the tricameral Parliament is not defined and the reader either knows why Slabbert rails against the exclusion of blacks or is left guessing; there is no explanation of RSCs or of the political stance of organisations from Inkatha to the HNP. Brief footnotes would have sufficed plus a reference section to the pages on which people or organisations are mentioned.

This criticism aside, it is a useful collection of speeches, particularly the later ones to which South Africans may not have had ready access since Slabbert's departure from Parliament in 1986.

MICHAEL ACOTT

'Premature to lift sanctions'

F W's reforms are too limited for talks, says Slovo

STAR 5/2/90 (304A)

Mr Joe Slovo ... says Mr de Klerk will have to go further.

STOCKHOLM — President de Klerk's reforms have made South Africa's political scene "more volatile" and are too limited to bring exiled opponents home to negotiate an end to the country's racial conflict, the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, said here yesterday.

"If he doesn't go further, he will be in a worse situation than before," Mr Slovo said. To truly normalise political life, he said, Mr de Klerk must lift the state of emergency completely, end army occupation of the black townships and free all political prisoners, including those jailed for violent crimes.

Mr Slovo, formally chief of staff of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), left South Africa in 1963. His wife, Ruth First, was assassinated in Mozambique by a letter bomb in 1982. Mr Slovo said that if he returned to South Africa now he and other exiles could still be detained for up to six months under existing security legislation.

He was in Stockholm this weekend to meet with senior anti-apartheid leaders, including the ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to prepare for the new political era, what he calls "new space", opened by Mr de Klerk's speech to Parliament last Friday, which included the lifting of bans on the ANC and the SACP.

Caught off guard

Mr Slovo credited internal resistance and international sanctions for forcing Mr de Klerk's hand. It would be inaccurate and ungenerous to say that he has not shown "a degree of freshness and courage," Mr Slovo said. But he argued that it was premature for Western nations to consider lifting economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Mr Slovo and other anti-apartheid leaders appeared to have been caught off guard by the scope of Mr de Klerk's concessions. "We have been in the wilderness for 40 years and don't yet see the promised land," he said. "We need a little more than 40 hours to work things out."

Even if Pretoria meets the opposition's demands in full, Mr Slovo said, negotiations will go nowhere if the Government continues to insist on minority rights, which the ANC regards as a euphemism for white domination. "If they are not prepared to talk about democracy as it is understood in the whole of the civilised world, there would be very little to talk about," he said. — The Independent News Service.

Freedom

(304A) Sowetan 5/2/90

Mandela free by February 16, say top Govt sources

By THEMBA MOLEFE and Sapa

NELSON Rolihlahla Mandela will be out of prison by February 16, highly placed Government sources have said.

State President FW de Klerk is expected to make an announcement towards the end of the week.

"Mr Mandela might even be home next Monday, February 12," a source said after De Klerk's historic speech in Cape Town on Friday.

But yesterday Mandela's wife, Winnie, said outside Victor Verster prison that there were still "certain obstacles" standing in the way of releasing him.

She told reporters she was "extremely disappointed and sorry I was unable to bring Nelson along with me".

This was due to the obstacles, which she would not name, that still stood in his way.

She said the onus was not on her husband as to when he would be released.

She added that she too had no idea when he would be released, but Mandela was preparing a statement to be released soon.

She would not comment further on the the statement but said the present State of Emergency and certain other conditions stood in the way of Mandela's release.

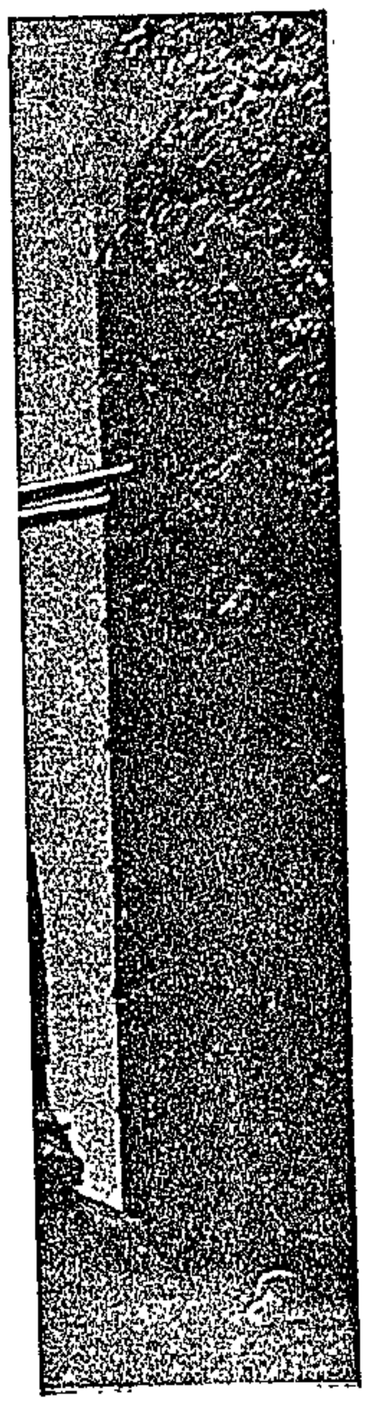
Winnie Mandela, dressed in a blue tartan suit and accompanied by her husband's legal adviser Mr Dullah Omar, entered the prison about 10.30am on Sunday and left about 3.45pm.

Before leaving, Mandela told journalists her husband was in good health.

Many political observers expected De Klerk to announce Mandela's release in his speech.

Mandela's release was no longer a matter of speculation as the Government had already made a decision, the Government sources said.

Mr FW de Klerk



ıg on the statue of for-
ırliament in Cape Town
ıry after President de
ı Friday. (304A)
Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

Serious

On Friday De Klerk said in Parliament: "I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately a further short passage of time is unavoidable."

Said the parliamentary source: "President De Klerk is also under pressure from some of his influential Cabinet members who want him to release Mandela immediately."

Meanwhile anticipation over Mandela's release has reached fever pitch. Journalists from all over the world began arriving in Cape Town at the beginning of the year.

Most hotels and flats

● To page 2

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Sowetan 5/2/90

Mandela to be free soon

(304A)

● From page 1

in the city have been fully booked as "Mandela-watching" reaches a climax.

Mandela lives in a luxury bungalow at Victor Verster Prison, Paarl, the scene of another drama which unfolded on the eve of De Klerk's speech.

Journalists flocked to the prison after rumours were spread that Mandela and De Klerk were to meet, ostensibly to discuss his release.

Others claimed they saw a luxury car enter the prison at about 4 am on Thursday and was seen leaving at high speed about an hour later.

However, Government officials later said no meeting between the two men had taken place.

Mandela, billed South Africa's most famous political prisoner by the foreign media, was jailed for life for high treason in the "Rivonia trial" on June 11, 1964. He is now 71 years old.

Riding the tide of SA's new-found spirit of optimism

304A

B/Day 5/2/90

STEPHEN MULHOLLAND

FOR those of us, like me, who are not naturally light-hearted, of sunny disposition or given to easy optimism, living in South Africa is often akin to labouring under a dark and heavy cloud.

Each day's headlines bring a sense of gloom, of dread at what the future holds, at despair over the threat of physical violence and the spectre of economic ruin.

I recall the terrible sinking feeling in my stomach as I watched the egregious P W Botha bring our nation to its economic and moral knees with his unspeakable Rubicon performance. As sanctions tightened and their direct consequence, black unemployment, increased, my sense of depression drew deeper and stronger.

Thus, as President F W de Klerk, urbane, polished, the epitome of the reasonable and rational man, moved through his address to Parliament on Friday my spirit lifted, I was immensely cheered, hope rose in me. It was physical: I actually stood straighter and felt better. One could almost feel the national mood lift as this consummate politician painted his vision, outlined his plan of action and told us all: "The season of violence is over."

Some of us gathered in an office to toast the new South Africa, the cheers of black staffers were heard down the corridors, a usually unflappable editor confessed to me he had a lump in his throat and a tear in his eye. After office hours dozens from our company met in the surburbs to share libation and celebrate a new dawn. Notices on our bulletin boards invited staffers to join their colleagues at home.

All this brings me to the thoughts of another urbane and sophisticated man of affairs, the great Lord Keynes, author of the monumental General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money. An intellectual, not, like President de Klerk, a politician, Keynes was nonetheless very much a man of the world, a highly successful speculator in the markets who endowed his college at Cambridge with his fortune.

Keynes taught us that economic and social progress depends to a very great degree on what he called the "animal spirits". He wrote: "A characteristic of human nature is that a large proportion of our positive activities depends on spontaneous optimism rather than on a mathematical expectation, whether moral or hedonistic or economic.

"Most, probably, of our decis.ons to do something positive, the 'ull consequences of which will be drawn out over many days to come, can only be taken as the result of animal spirits — of a spontaneous urge to action rather than inaction, and not as the outcome of a weighted average of quantitative benefits multiplied by quantitative probabilities."

And he added: "Thus if the animal spirits are dimmed and the spontaneous optimism falters ... enterprise will fade and die ... It is safe to say that enterprise which depends on hopes stretching into the future benefits the community as a whole."

This then is the very great, even historic, service De Klerk has done South Africa. He has lifted the national mood, he has shifted us from hesitancy and uncertainty to confidence and action.

It will be no easy feat to maintain the momentum. But, almost immediately, business will adjust to what it perceives to be new realities and new opportunities. Keynes's animal spirits will go to work, investment decisions, long postponed, will be made, the stock exchange will be active and volatile, the currency probably strong.

Markets will respond, as they always do, absorbing and sifting all this new information, peering into the future as millions of new decisions are taken here and abroad which are all interconnected and which, taken together, shape our unfolding future as it happens.

We are part of the world. In order to prosper and create jobs, particularly for our black youth, we need access to the skills, technological advances and investment resources of the great Western economies. As De Klerk correctly put it: "Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens."

Those of us who believe in freedom and, therefore, in free markets have taken heart from the courage and determination of the deprived millions of eastern Europe as they struggle to throw off the yoke of communism, much as our black brothers and sisters struggle to throw off the equally evil yoke of apartheid.

President de Klerk dwelt on the historic phenomenon of the collapse of communism. "In eastern Europe," he recalled, "and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom."

Economics, or rather the sort of economic system under which the new South Africa will function (or crumble), will be at the very core of the negotiating process when it starts. De Klerk made his bargaining position clear: "The collapse, particularly of the Marxist economic system in eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either." He might have added John Kennedy's remark that "a rising tide lifts all ships".

Businessmen will approve of the President's economic priorities. Reductions in state spending and its consequence, lower inflation, together with tax reform, export promotion and spurs to savings and private initiative — if these goals are assiduously pursued we could begin to look like the sort of high-growth, low inflation economic model which we are so very capable of being.

Bearding the white, largely verkramp, civil service will demand all the fortitude the President possesses. They have ridden the gravy train for far too long to disembark without putting up very serious resistance.

Our civil service *corpus* is a creation of the National Party. President de Klerk deals here with his own people who together are a considerable political factor. Decimating the civil service, as must be done, will for a National Party cabinet be as painful and bloody as self-amputation, and as risky.

Wrenching poverty, rampant crime, growing unemployment, the intense frustrations of black youth — these are only some of the seemingly intractable problems we now face. To address them, massive resources must be marshalled. This can only be accomplished, as De Klerk acknowledges, by allowing a vigorous private sector to create — and, more important, constantly recreate — the needed wealth. And, of course, the remaining evil pillars of apartheid have to be pulled down.

Finally, pragmatic businessmen, and not only those of conservative bent, will find it difficult to disagree with President de Klerk's view that the problems of heterogeneity do not simply disappear when equal rights are formally recognised. As Lord Acton taught us: "The most certain test by which we can judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

No Owen column

Ken Owen is still ill, so his column does not appear today.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and United Democratic Front secretary Mr Patrick Lekota are greeted by Ms Zenani Mandela-Dlamini upon their arrival in Boston on Saturday.

STAR 5/2/90 (304A)

It's still too early for celebrations, says Tutu

BOSTON — Jubilation over the pending release of Nelson Mandela must be tempered with the realisation that apartheid is far from ended, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

The archbishop, who is visiting Boston, urged continued political and economic pressure on South Africa.

"We have not yet the complete dismantling of apartheid and this is the pinpoint of the sanctions programme. We want apartheid totally dismantled," he said.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's promise to free Mr Mandela in the near future, Archbishop Tutu said his initial reaction was joy, but that soon faded.

"Of course, you see apartheid is still in place," he said.

The archbishop said he was looking forward to relinquishing his position as South Africa's pre-eminent opponent of apartheid now that Mr Mandela was to be released from prison.

"I said long ago that I was just an interim leader until he comes out," he said. "He's been making us work too hard."

THINK-TANK

Archbishop Tutu was accompanied by UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota. They were met at Logan International Airport by Mr Themba Vilakazi, head of the Boston-based Fund for a Free South Africa. Mr Vilakazi had just returned from Zambia.

The group was met by Ms Zenani Mandela Dlamini (30), eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela and a political science student at Boston University.

Archbishop Tutu, a member of Harvard University's board of overseers, was in Boston to attend a meeting at the school.

Mr Lekota said he planned to attend a meeting of the Albert Einstein Institute, a Cambridge think-tank which advocates the use of non-violent sanctions to solve political unrest.

Mr Mandela's daughter, greeted fondly by the archbishop, told reporters she was sceptical of the recent changes in South Africa, despite the news that her father would be released soon.

"This has been going on for 300 years," she said. "What happened on Friday, I'm not overly excited about it. Release some political prisoners? To me, that's nothing. We want total majority voting in South Africa. Until that happens, I will not be satisfied." — Associated Press.

SA envoy challenges ANC to talk

STAR 5/2/90

The Star's Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — South Africa's Ambassador to The Hague, Mr A E Nothnagel, has challenged the ANC to return to South Africa and negotiate.

Speaking to the ANC's London representative, Mr Aziz Pahad, on Dutch radio, he said: "If you are really genuine in what you say, there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time still remain in London ... Let the people of Africa come back to South Africa, and let us decide what the future should be."

Referring to ANC reservations about President de Klerk's speech, he added: "I think with all these preconditions really you, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr de Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table."

30411

PRECONDITIONS

Mr Pahad responded: "We have preconditions ... we had to leave the country of our birth not because we like London ... We have already said our organisation is based inside (South Africa), our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our organisation's structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is in the process of discussion and we will work that out in a quiet, systematic way.

"Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation."

'Bastille of apartheid' collapsing

The Star's Foreign News Service STAR 5/2/90

PARIS — Mr Laurent Fabius, Speaker of the National Assembly, issued a formal invitation yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela to "visit us as soon as he is released".

(304A)

Mr Fabius, wrote in the newspaper, *Journal de Dimanche*: "I am convinced that the Bastille of apartheid is really beginning to collapse."

He recalled that when he was Prime Minister in 1985, he walked one day through the streets of Paris with Archbishop Desmond Tutu who laughingly kept repeating: "Let us both, you a white and me a black, one day walk together side by side in Pretoria and Johannesburg."

Mr Fabius, as France's youngest Prime Minister, ordered strict sanctions against South Africa in 1986.

On Saturday night, Prime Minister Mr Michel Ricard handed Johnny Clegg a special prize at France's major annual show business awards at the Zenich Music Hall. The show was watched on TV by 10 million people.

Mr Rocard is a self-declared fervent admirer of Johnny Clegg.

In a front-page editorial, the weekend *Le Monde* commented: "By making a breach in apartheid, De Klerk will be forced to carry out its complete dismantlement."

'It's too early for peace'

From DAVID BRAUN in Washington, and GARNER THOMSON in London

THE ANC has proposed that armed conflict would be deemed to have terminated in South Africa only at the point that a new constitution is adopted, according to the organisation's secretary for international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Writing in the Sunday edition of the New York Times, Mr Mbeki said all thinking South Africans were sensitive to the atmosphere of mistrust that was a necessary product of the country's history.

"Given this, it must be stated plainly that no South African can now be certain that negotiations, once they start, will succeed.

"Hence the need for two stages: a suspension and, later, a termination of hostilities.

"In addition, the threat of a resumption of hostilities would itself encourage the achievement of a political settlement," he said.

Mr Mbeki said that in spite of President De Klerk's remarks in Parliament last Friday that armed struggle in South Africa was no longer justified, the issue of a negotiated cessation of violence by all sides had not lost its importance.

Only recently, when Mr De Klerk addressed 500 senior police officers, he drew atten-

Thabo Mbeki

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

terminated only at the point that a new constitution is adopted."

Mr Mbeki said that to save lives, the ANC proposed a mutual suspension of armed conflict, even before negotiations for a new constitution

Picture LEON MULLER, the Argus

CELEBRATION: People dance at a spontaneous "victory" celebration in Khayelitsha at the weekend after President F W de Klerk's announcement in Parliament on Friday that Nelson Mandela was to be released soon and the ANC had been unbanned.

New deal is 'serious offer' — FW

HE had made the right decisions in his Parliamentiary speech on Friday and he was serious in his offer of "a new deal" to the peoples of South Africa, President de Klerk, said in a television interview on Sunday night.

Mr De Klerk said: "I am thankful for the wide coverage. People should realise that we are serious to make a new deal.

"I expected this reaction, but the crux of the matter is that the decisions were taken in the interest of the country. With regard to the restriction of still some certain organisations, violence will be checked on and not allowed in this country."

"But what went through my mind were the weighty matters and the certainty of having to end violence and get this country to bloom again.

"We should give new thoughts to a new approach and accept the risk. To be in a cul de sac will mean our end. In our country there is no situation without risk, and if we do not take the risk it could develop in an 80-year-long war which could slowly destroy us."

mageccon tna. cou c .ead to the death of five million South Africans. This realistic view recognised that apartheid had generated a physical confrontation between oppressor and oppressed, which could only be ended by abolishing this system, Mr Mbeki said.

□□□□□

The ANC had recently reaffirmed the preference for a settlement arrived at by political means. Consistent with this position, the ANC proposed that, once the climate for negotiations had been created, the first issue to be negotiated by the South African liberation movement and the apartheid regime was a mutually binding suspension of armed hostilities.

Mr Mbeki added: "The recognition by Mr De Klerk that apartheid has inevitably led to a violent confrontation should make it easy for him to understand that the ANC will never lay down arms unilaterally.

"And since apartheid is the root cause of the violence, only when apartheid is ended can the suspension of hostilities to which we have referred be transformed into a termination of hostilities.

"For this reason the ANC has proposed that armed conflict would be deemed to have

"This is important to eliminate any actual or perceived intimidation, and to insure the greatest freedom of expression among the people."

Speaking on British Independent Television's Eyewitness programme yesterday Mr Mbeki repeated his organisation's readiness to begin talks to bring about the mutual ending of violence.

But he insisted that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remains an obstacle to the suspension of the ANC's commitment to an armed struggle.

He said: "There are various questions of this nature which still have to be addressed to create this climate conducive to negotiations."

However, he said it was unlikely that the ANC would agree to a staged release of political prisoners. "We don't see what the problem is with releasing all political prisoners now. If there is indeed movement towards a negotiated settlement, why don't we move as quickly as we can?

"It really ought to be that everyone comes out as quickly as possible."

Mr Mbeki said that ANC exiles were unlikely to return to South Africa with the release of political prisoners, but would probably wait for 'the cessation of hostilies' and the use of force by both sides.

Exiles challenged to return

The Argus Foreign Service in The Hague

SOUTH Africa's Ambassador to The Hague, Mr Albert Nothnagel, has challenged the ANC to return to South Africa and continue talks there.

Speaking to the ANC's London representative, Mr Aziz Pahad, on Nederland 3's Late News programme, he said: "If you are really genuine in what you say, there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time still remain in London ... let the people of Africa come back to South Africa, and let us decide what the future should be."

Referring to the ANC's reservations about President De Klerk's speech, Mr Nothnagel added: "I think with all these preconditions really you personally this evening, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr De Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table."

Mr Pahad responded: "We have preconditions, Mr Nothnagel, let me make clear to you that we had to leave the country of our birth not becease we like London, or other corners of the world ... we have already said our organisation is based inside South Africa, our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our organisation's structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is in the process of discussion and we will work that out in a quiet, systematic way.

"Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation."

Mr Nothnagel: "Aren't you staying in London, aren't you staying overseas, to continue boycott actions against South Africa? Are you going on with these actions, and if so for what reason?"

Mr Pahad: "The suffering in our country has been caused by apartheid — that even Mr De Klerk has accepted ... those of us who will be asked to go back to the country by our movement will go back. Those of us who are asked to remain outside to still mobilise international opinion will do so. We are saying that you cannot remove the pressue on the South African Government until you have got to the stage where the move to a non-racial democracy is irreversible ... pressure is to be maintained, not as a punishment, but in order that we all move together to bring about a real, genuine solution to our problems."

PAC calls for 'intensification of struggle'

Argus Africa News Service

THE Pan Africanist Congress chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, has called for the intensification of the struggle against the South African government.

In a statement issued in his behalf in the Tanzanian capital, Dar Es Salaam, Mr Mlambo said the South African government was "now employing new tactics to perpetuate apartheid colonialism".

In his speech to parliament Mr De Klerk had not addressed "the five political pillar of apartheid", he said.

In Lusaka the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) has welcomed President De Klerk's announcement of the unbanning of political parties in South Africa.

The SADCC said the nine member countries agreed in total to the principle of negotiation and dialogue as a practical essence in resolving the political impasse in South Africa.

But, it said, "until the South African government takes appropriate measures towards dismantling apartheid it is necessary for the international community to at least maintain in place measures taken against apartheid".

.e sa c. the government would maintain strict law and order. What had happened was purely "a shift in emphasis".

Two parallel things were happening: the continuation of orderly government and the process of creating a climate in which all could participate in peaceful negotiation.

Asked whether South Africa was not going the same way Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) went, he said one should look back in history.

"Many mistakes were made there. We should not repeat these, because too long a time was taken for a decision.

"Existing rights in South Africa can be settled in a just manner. But if we drag our heels we will run into a situation in which everything will die."

On the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and PAC, Mr De Klerk said these organisations could no longer hide and claim they were being ostracised. Dramatic events had happened in Europe, and in Mozambique the stance had changed dramatically.

Asked what he saw as the new future for South Africa, the State President said he had trust in the future.

"One big fact crystallises: there is a big reservoir of good hope — especially from the youth of this country — in the future. I am sure it will go well in the futre." — Sapa.

Argus 5/2/90

Bitter debate likely on watershed speech

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

TOUGH and even bitter debate is expected today as MPs to the left and right of government return to parliament to dissect President De Klerk's speech.

He can expect both praise and reprobation and probing questions from all sides.

In contrast to demands from outside parliament that President De Klerk should go even further to remove obstacles to negotiations — and the release of Nelson Mandela — MPs from all three Houses, who assemble again today in the Great Hall for the start of the four-day debate on the President's speech, will be pressing the government for clarity on key issues.

STRATEGY

Outside parliament feverish discussion among African National Congress affiliates continues over tactics and strategy.

One of the questions that has arisen in some organisations is whether to disband and formally join ranks with the ANC, but matters such as these — as well as strategies to boost recruitment and create a more established organisational base — are likely to hinge on further consultations with the ANC leadership.

The government will challenge the ANC and the panoply of extra-parliamentary groupings to commit themselves to peace and negotiations, or lose respect and credibility at home and abroad.

FRANCHISE

Tough, but constructive questions will be put to the government from the Democratic Party today as they seek more clarity on Mr De Klerk's plans and, in particular, his definition of a "universal franchise", one of the commitments in his speech.

The government will be reminded that apartheid still exists ... and will be asked how it intends dealing with racial segregation at schools and hospitals, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

Pressure will mount from the right too — angry responses are expected from the Conservative Party.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has challenged the government to go back to the electorate in an immediate general election to test their reaction to his "revolutionary speech".

The CP believes the "drastic announcements" Mr De Klerk made on Friday vindicate its own "warnings" on the consequences of the National Party's reform policy.

'WHITE SURVIVAL'

The official Opposition has promised to "intensify the struggle" for "white survival and freedom".

Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said last night he would focus on Mr De Klerk's reference to "universal franchise".

"There was not a word of elaboration in his speech about this. What he means by this is not what you and I mean."

Dr De Beer said he would not conduct his debate in a "nasty" way, but in a "constructive spirit".

Talks start

Tutu steps aside for returning exiles

Argus 5/2/90

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk and the government are poised for preliminary talks about constitutional negotiations, but renewed obstacles to the release of Nelson Mandela could cause delays.

Top government spokesmen maintained today that the release of Mr Mandela could signal the start of the second stage in the lead-up to negotiations: the "talks-about-talks" phase.

However, prominent UDF figure Mr Dullah Omar, who is close to the Mandela family, said there were renewed snags and that hope for Mr Mandela's release in the next week was fading.

Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu is said to be flying back to Cape Town from London tonight with a clear response from the ANC executive to Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday, but it is not clear whether he will meet Mr De Klerk immediately or whether he will first see Mr Mandela.

In government circles the impression today was that he would have discussions with Mr Mandela.

These government sources maintained that the government had now created the climate for pre-negotiations, that it had proved its bona fides and that it was serious about wanting to bring about a "new South Africa".

They said the Department of Constitutional Development had already had extensive consultations about the pre-negotiation stage with, among others, leaders of the black self-governing areas.

The next stage was the release of Mr Mandela, who had tried to act as facilitator for contact between the government and the ANC.

Hoping for pressure

Mr De Klerk has given the impression that only some administrative measures and, to some extent, concern for Mr Mandela's personal safety are now delaying his release.

His release may also have been delayed to allow Mr De Klerk's bold speech to sink in.

The government is now hoping for increased international pressure on the ANC to accept the offer of negotiation.

Mr Omar said today that obstacles to Mr Mandela's release appeared to hinge on the emergency not being completely lifted and on the definition of political prisoners.

Mr Mandela wanted the emergency lifted completely and he wanted all jailed ANC supporters, whether they had been involved in violence or not, to be regarded as political prisoners.

He had consulted the ANC on this issue.

"Not criminals"

Mr De Klerk said on Friday that people who had been involved in common-law crimes of violence would not be released.

Mr Omar said that while the expectation had been that Mr Mandela would be released by mid-February, this possibility was now receding — unless there was some intercession by Mr De Klerk.

Archbishop Tutu

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu will downgrade his high-profile political role as a result of the dramatic changes ushered in by President De Klerk on Friday.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament, Archbishop Tutu said the unbanning of political organisations, the release of jailed leaders and the return of political exiles changed his role in South Africa.

"I have said I am really an interim leader," he said on Friday.

"But now there is not going to be as much need for people such as me to be speaking out and saying things which others could not say because they were restricted, in jail or in exile.

CHURCH ROLE

"I am not saying that the church has no role in the political arena. It still has a role to speak the word of God on a socio-political dispensation.

"In the past I've had to step into a kind of vacuum because our political leaders were either in jail or in exile."

On the question of sanctions the archbishop said he and other church leaders had adopted the position that they would review their call for sanctions if the process of dismantling apartheid reached a stage where it was irreversible. He said this stage had not necessarily been reached but he indicated his wish to consult church leaders and his bishops on sanctions.

"When we (church leaders) met Mr De Klerk last year we said that if he met certain conditions we would be able to say that people should put everything on hold in terms of sanctions. He (Mr De Klerk) has met some of these conditions.

"I am going to be consulting with community leaders, with church leaders and with the synod of bishops of the Anglican Church about the issue."

Archbishop Tutu said the general resolution of the conflict in South Africa and a political solution could rapidly be reached, "given a measure of goodwill and some trust".

talk!

Hold!

FW delivered 'more than US expected'

AK64S 6/2/90

From DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington

30411

REACTION

PRESIDENT De Klerk's announcements on Friday went much further than the American government expected, the United States Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Hank Cohen, said in an interview at the weekend The South African government, he said, had now met some of the preconditions required by US law to modify or suspend sanctions.

If South Africa met more of the conditions, such as lifting the state of emergency in its entirety and releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, a stage could be reached where all but one of the requirements for lifting sanctions had been met.

That would be the stage when it was likely President Bush would consult with Congress on whether or not he should use his power to lift sanctions.

This is the text of the interview with Mr Cohen

Q: How soon can Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk expect to be invited to the White House after Mr Mandela's release?

A: I would say the President's invitation doesn't carry a time date.

As you know, the President has a very busy schedule, so does President De Klerk and we are quite sure Mr Mandela is going to be very busy at home for a while.

So therefore there is no time date What the President's invitation says is that it will be mutually convenient. Certainly we would like it to be sooner rather than later

Q: Is there any disappointment on your or the US government's part on the failure of Mr De Klerk to lift the state of emergency in its entirety?

A: Certainly we would like to see all the restrictions on normal political life abolished.

However, those steps that were taken were very sweeping, were far more than were expected and we think they go a long way toward normalising political life

I am particularly happy with the legalisation of political parties and political organisations, because having political leaders with the right to organise and to meet with their constituents, to publish and develop negotiating positions, is the absolute prerequisite to a negotiating scenario

After all, that is the main objective of the whole exercise. Having free political activity is what really counts

Q: Mr de Klerk continued to adhere to group rights in his speech What is the US position on this sticky issue?

A: We see it strictly as a negotiating element and what we are pleased about on that is that President De Klerk said it is a negotiating element.

It is not a prerequisite to negotiations That is all we like to hear. What the details are and how it is going to be handled is a negotiating problem we do not want to get into at all.

We want to stay out of negotiations.

Q: When you returned from South Africa recently, you said the US would start putting pressure on both sides to start negotiating Have you started doing this and if so, could you be more explicit?

A: Well, we have seen elements on both sides of the political spectrum who are opposed to negotiations. On the white side, it is obvious, it is the Conservative Party

But on the side of the black majority there are people such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness people and a number of people I met on my trip from the Mass Democratic Movement who would prefer a scenario that I'd like to call 'majority rule before negotiations'

I think we must send a message to both sides, whites and blacks, that this is not acceptable and that the only appropriate procedure is negotiations without preconditions where there are no losers

Therefore our policy is to encourage negotiations, and we will criticise any side that undermines negotiations or refuses negotiations

Q: How would the US react if now, after Mr de Klerk's speech, new preconditions for negotiations were introduced?

A: I said in my statement in Johannesburg there was a triple commitment needed on both sides

The three-part commitment by the government should be to normalise political life, make a commitment to fundamental change and make a commitment to negotiations

The reciprocal triple commitment on the part of the anti-apartheid side should be to engage in normal political life lawfully and in a non-violent way, make a commitment to negotiations without preconditions beyond those needed to create a climate and a commitment to a new constitutional system which is democratic.

In other words, we accept the creation of the climate as a legitimate precondition, but beyond that we ask for no preconditions

Q: You will be testifying later this month at hearings of the House of Representatives into proposed financial sanctions against South Africa Can you tell us what message you are likely to take to Capitol Hill?

A: My basic position is that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) already contains the sanctions and the incentives that we need I don't see there is any need for new legislation.

Q: The question being asked by some is: has Mr de Klerk now done enough to warrant the lifting of sanctions?

A: We are constrained by the language of our legislation Section 311 (of the CAAA) lists certain changes that must take place before sanctions can be lifted

The announcements of F W De Klerk have taken care of some of those. When Mandela is released and the state of emergency lifted, more wil be taken care of

So as of today, the legislation prohibits us from lifting any of the sanctions.

If all but one of the requirements are met, then the President has the authority to modify or suspend any sanction. If all the requirements are met, the sanctions are automatically rescinded

So it seems to me that at such time all but one of the requirements are met, and I think a couple of them have been met now, we would then consult with Congress to determine whether the President should move ahead and use his authority to suspend or modify sanctions

Q: Isn't one of those conditions the actual start of negotiations?

A: One is to enter good-faith negotiations Now, anybody who does not want you to suspend sanctions will say 'I don't think good-faith negotiations have started'. It is subjective.

The basic thing is we must watch the language of the negotiations, our hands are tied

Time now for serious talking (304A)

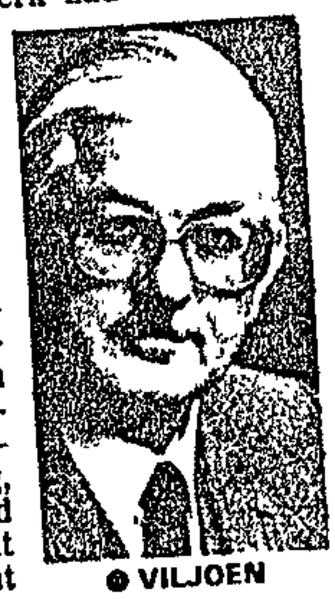
Viljoen urges ANC to take one small step

B/Day 6/2/90.

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday challenged the ANC to match the large number of steps government had taken with one small gesture to get negotiations going.

Addressing Parliament, Viljoen said government had taken a great risk in unbanning the ANC and other organisations. President F W de Klerk had announced these steps on the basis of the ANC's stated preference for negotiations, despite contradictory statements about violence that were even now forthcoming.



● VILJOEN

For the ANC to respond to government's initiative with an-all-or-nothing approach would be cowardly and carping, Viljoen said, and would demonstrate it was not serious about negotiations.

The ANC, he said, should relinquish violence and make its presence felt on the political terrain. When even the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been unbanned, the need for this kind of organisation should be reassessed. The belief that armed struggle was necessary to dismantle apartheid had been overtaken by events, he said.

Government had committed itself to removing the last vestiges of apartheid. Its challenge to the ANC was for the organisation to join it at the negotiating table.

Viljoen said the new SA De Klerk was creating would ensure its citizens full and equal franchise in an undivided, multi-party democratic state. It would guarantee its inhabitants equal treatment through constitutional protection of human rights and minority rights.

Viljoen said one of the most important shifts in NP thinking had been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided SA.

Earlier, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, asked what conditions government was placing on the return of exiles, said that those directly involved in commiting crimes would still be held liable for them. People indirectly involved in crimes that might have taken place would not be liable.

Van der Merwe said those exiles in doubt about what would happen on their return, should contact either SA embassies abroad or government for clarification.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that the ANC has summoned a plenary meeting of its full leadership in Lusaka next week to respond to De Klerk's invitation to enter negotiations without delay.

The Lusaka plenary was announced yesterday as a marathon four-day summit of the national executive committee in Stockholm, chaired by president Oliver Tambo, ended with no response to De Klerk, and amid rumours of dissent.

According to diplomatic sources in Stockholm, the meeting was split on the issue of the return to SA of senior exiles. But secretary-general Alfred Nzo scoffed at speculation, saying that after waiting 30 years to be unbanned, the ANC would not

☐ To Page 2

Viljoen

B/Day 6/2/90. (304A)

☐ From Page 1

be rushed by anyone.

Before he left Stockholm for Lusaka, Nzo said De Klerk's offer for exiles to return was a farce and like a "Damocles sword" hanging over former guerrilla fighters and dissidents. Both he and Thabo Mbeki indicated that without absolute guarantees no ANC "soldier" would face criminal charges, this would remain a critical obstacle to negotiations.

In an apparent response to being caught wrong-footed by De Klerk's unbanning of the organisation, Nzo said: "Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions. Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain their vigilance. We also call upon all sectors of the mass democratic movement to remain intact as before and together to continue to mobilise their respective constituencies."

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, long-time host to the ANC, said: "It is up to the ANC to decide whether they want to go back home. But the priority is now to bring all liberation movements to the negotiating table."

Walter Sisulu, leader of the seven-man internal leadership delegation, was flying to Johannesburg via Frankfurt last night and will report today to the "ANC constituency" in SA. He is also certain to be allowed to report directly to Nelson Mandela, especially on the issue of the security surrounding his release from prison.

Ball is in ANC's court

(304A)

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government was yesterday waiting to hear the ANC's official response to President De Klerk's initiatives on Friday. Sowetan 6/2/90

The response will determine whether the Government and ANC begin their first official contact to begin talks about setting up negotiations.

Government sources were unable to confirm today whether veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu - due to have flown into the country last night - would see De Klerk to deliver the organisation's response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Sisulu would see Mr Mandela and communicate the response to him.

Political problems

They said they believed that the "talks about talks" would begin with Mandela once he was freed.

However it appears that the talks about talks could be delayed by political problems - and not only administrative ones - which still appear to be holding up Mandela's release.

His wife Winnie saw him at the weekend and said it was out of the question that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency.

It seems that the Government is prepared to discuss these problems but may regard them as subjects for the agenda of pre-negotiations.

Six arrested after Jouberton attack

SIX white men were arrested and are to be charged with murder, attempted murder and assault after an attack on blacks in Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, on Saturday, police said yesterday.

On Saturday morning six men entered Jouberton in four cars and a bakkie, according to police. They allegedly picked up a number of blacks saying they had work for them cleaning the streets in Klerksdorp.

Sowetan 6/2/90

Kicked to death

The men then took the people to the police station and wanted to have them charged with minor crimes. Police said the whites had to make statements but were not prepared to do so and undertook to return the blacks to Jouberton.

They were dropped off on the Ysterstryd road, near Jouberton, and allegedly attacked with fists, feet and sjamboks.

One was allegedly kicked to death.

Six men, aged between 20 and 30, were arrested and are due to appear in court soon.

Police said there seeemd to be no political motives for the attack. - Sapa.

Hospital workers back

STRIKING workers at the HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria are all back at their posts and the situation has been "normalised".

Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman Jan van Wyk said yesterday all the 700 workers who went on strike last week had returned.

Sowetan 6/2/90

Protest

The workers - mainly kitchen, administration and cleaning staff - downed tools last week to protest against their low wages.

[illegible] had also demanded im-

How FW helped put the reins back into Bush's hands

(304A)

B/Day 6/2/90

SIMON BARBER in Washington

IF QUOTED correctly, the Rev Jesse Jackson has made an insightful analogy by comparing sanctions to Nato. No one is rushing to sunder the alliance because the Berlin Wall has fallen and the Warsaw Pact has become a de facto fiction. The West still needs an institutional framework to deal collectively with change in the East where the anti-communist revolution is in its infancy and may still get out of hand.

However wrongly, sanctions have become the one solid constant in the developed world's treatment of SA. Their sudden abandonment could, in its way, be as destabilising to the prospects of a negotiated settlement as the instant dissolution of Nato would be to Europe.

Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms have ensured that Nato will get no stronger in military terms. By the same token, F W de Klerk's epochal speech to Parliament last Friday effectively rules out any further tightening of the sanctions noose. Of that, all sides in SA should now be certain.

It has been agreed among the appliers that sanctions have served their purpose in bringing Pretoria to its present position, just as it is a slightly less debatable article of faith that it was Western resolve as embodied in Nato that confronted the Soviet elite with the impossibility of its grim Utopia.

Neither argument is satisfactory. The assessment of sanctions is, however, a fact of life, which is in no way incompatible with its being an outright lie, but, being a fact of life, it must be dealt with as such. There is little point in quarrelling with it in any other forum than a negotiation which will create new and truer facts.

It would be a grave mistake for De Klerk to seek relief from anyone other than his negotiating partners, a mistake he himself appears to have eschewed even if some of his colleagues and representatives have not. Sanctions, henceforth, must be seen not as the tool of intrusive, neo-imperial uitlanders — tempting and partly true though that may be — but as one of the cards in the hand of the parties on the other side of the table.

To plead with outside powers to pluck away or weaken that card unilaterally does several things, none of them helpful.

First, it preserves what finally seems to be an illusion: the idea that Pretoria would rather do business with white or yellow foreigners than its own people.

Second, it makes the card seem stronger than it is, thereby encouraging those who would strengthen it further and raising the price that will ultimately have to be paid for its abandonment.

Third, and equally important, it will get in the way of the helpful role at least some outsiders now envisage playing. Nobody wants to be seen to be doing Pretoria's bidding.

Furthermore, there can be little doubt that for all its odiousness in most respects, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act has had one potentially useful side-effect. This may have taken a while to show itself, but the CAAA has allowed a smart, interested American president to enter the action.

Without US sanctions, George Bush would not even have been able to consider inviting De Klerk to Washington last year, let alone actually announce an invitation as he did last week. Nor would he be in any position to engage in the sort of honest brokerage he evidently intends. "Even-handedness" is now his administration's watchword. To promote negotiation, pressure and incentive will be applied equally to both the government and the ANC in the manifestly correct belief that the door to SA's future has keys on both sides.

The acceptance of sanctions, as confusing and even alarming as it has sometimes seemed over the past year, has given Bush the political cover he needs to proceed in a manner that Randall Robinson, Congressman Howard Wolpe and their ilk will declare automatically to be biased and immoral since its purpose is peace, not the raw installation of the ANC in power.

Be assured that he will hold the line against new measures — just as he did in moving heaven and earth to prevent Congress seizing more of his foreign policy prerogatives over China two weeks back.

But do not expect him to blow his cover by suspending or repealing the CAAA's sanctions until Pretoria has so convincingly met the conditions laid out in Section 311 that his overall policy or objectives would not come under serious and debilitating challenge. Such a challenge would not only weaken the president's ability to do the right thing, it would also send confusing signals to SA itself with dubious consequences for negotiation.

When he senses the timing to be right, Bush is very much his own desk officer, short-circuiting all the layers of bureaucracy between policy development and implementation. He now has that sense on SA which is why, last Friday, he personally decided that De Klerk should be invited to the White House as well as Mandela. Just a few days earlier his Secretary of State, James Baker, had said the opposite to British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on the grounds that a De Klerk visit would still be too controversial.

Bush is a profoundly careful politician, both meticulous and cautious. While Baker and other advisers still agonised, he had been quietly consulting his Democratic friends on Capitol Hill as well as a broad array of black American leaders to gauge their response. In the case of the latter it was not so negative as to be prohibitive, especially with Jackson comparing De Klerk to Gorbachev. From the former, there was, as there had been last year, strong if quiet support. Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, even made it public in his formal reaction to The Speech. "I look forward to the release of Nelson Mandela soon, and hope that he and President de Klerk will be able to meet with President Bush in this country."

In his own reaction, Bush was at pains to use neutral words like "interesting", and while he raised the possibility of reviewing sanctions, he quickly stressed that this was a matter for consultation both with congressional and, importantly, SA leaders of all persuasions. Clearly, he has decided how he wishes to proceed but is determined to keep the avenue as free of political obstacles as possible as he heads down it.

Institutionally, he cannot proceed as fast as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, nor, under the special circumstances of American political life, would it be wise. A good guess is that he will not recommend any change to current sanctions law until early next year, after the November congressional elections. Even then, he is likely to measure carefully the effect on the course of negotiations in SA itself.

Once he is firmly back in control of this country's policy, Bush will have no little power to decide how substantial the ANC's sanction card is, particularly since much of the rest of the developed world and its bankers will be waiting on his lead. If he feels the ANC needs prodding, he can reduce the card's value. Likewise, he can keep it at par if he sees Pretoria needing a shove.

The best thing the government can do is to leave the matter in Bush's hands and get about its domestic business. One of the many merits of De Klerk's announcement is that it has helped return US policy to its rightful maker, the president.

LETTERS

B/Day 6/2/90 (304A)

FW must quit, says Treurnicht

CAPE TOWN — The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP was "absolutely outrageous" and President F W de Klerk should resign, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Opening his party's attack in the debate in Parliament on De Klerk's opening address on Friday, Treurnicht said the voting public had been misled, Sapa reports.

De Klerk had not asked for a mandate in last year's general election for the steps he had announced and the ANC had tied itself to a strategy of violence.

Treurnicht said it was "really the most revolutionary speech" he had listened to in 19 years in Parliament.

But it had, strangely enough, made him "more excited than ever before about the struggle".

Whereas the NP was saying it was "not obsessed with groups", the CP remained obsessed with them.

Therefore the party had decided to launch a national campaign, Action One Million, aimed at canvassing at least a million supporters.

The CP had decided to mobilise the population under the slogan A Free Nation in Its Own Fatherland.

Treurnicht said he differed from De Klerk's interpretation of events in Eastern Europe and Africa. Unlike De Klerk, he believed communism was alive and a threat to white SA.

Our Political Staff report that DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer yesterday scoffed at suggestions the party had become irrelevant because government had taken over parts of its policy.

Many delicate and difficult processes lay ahead because De Klerk's announcement was only part of the programme which had to be carried out to give SA peace and prosperity.

If the NP took over all the DP's policies it would be a cause for rejoicing because SA would be saved.

But, in the midst of the current euphoria, people should remember how far SA was from the DP's goal of a non-racial democracy.

"The President's speech attracted favourable reaction from nearly all quarters but, when everything announced in it has been carried out, we still will not have reached the negotiating table and even less, an agreement," said De Beer.

☐ Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday the period of hope which had dawned in SA had vindicated the party's decision to take part in the tricameral parliamentary system.

Speaking in the debate on De Klerk's address, he said the climate was suitable for negotiations.

☐ Sapa reports Solidarity Party leader and chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates J N Reddy said yesterday his party was elated with De Klerk's reforms which vindicated the party's decision to participate in the tricameral system.

Plan to intensify protests this week

STAR 6/2/90

No longer need for demos, says Dakin

Staff Reporters

The president of the South African Cricket Union, Mr Geoff Dakin, has called on anti-tour protesters to call off their opposition to the England XI's presence "now that there is no longer a need for demonstrations".

"The tour will not be called off, that's for sure, and events so far have proved that the Sacu were right in thinking that going ahead with it would not affect the Government's reforms.

"The latest sweeping changes are a marvellous launch pad for South African sport, in general, and for cricket to come back into the international fold," said Mr Dakin.

But he cautioned: "Until all vestiges of apartheid have disappeared and there is a government of the day which is acceptable to much of the overseas opposition, the unfairness of the situation regarding SA cricket's exclusion will continue."

It was announced last night that anti-cricket tour demonstrators would intensify their opposition to Mike Gatting's team by mounting placard demonstrations throughout the week.

Permission

Anti-Tour Committee spokesman Mr Moss Mashishi said in a statement last night the committee would apply for magisterial permission for the protests.

The committee called on President de Klerk to "demonstrate his good faith in his attempt at reconciliation" by cancelling the cricket tour.

Protest action begins today and a mass public protest meeting in Lenasia is planned for tonight.

Tomorrow, a demonstration will be staged at the Sandton Sun hotel, followed by further protest at the Wanderers sportsground on Thursday and Friday.

The rebel English team is scheduled to play its first test match against the Springboks on Thursday. Mr Mashishi said protesters would march on the Wanderers ground on Saturday.

Mr Krish Naidoo, secretary-general of the National Sports Congress (NSC), yesterday reacted to a statement from the English tour management in Maritzburg that future meetings between the anti-tour lobby and a representative of the team would only take place in a "formal manner" because of the safety factor. Mr Naidoo asked if the English cricketers would do the same for the protesters.

"When I said originally that we wanted the English cricketers to go home because we could not guarantee their safety, I was trying to convey the point that anger against the tour was so great that we — the NSC — didn't have the necessary control.

"What I want to know is will Gatting ask the authorities to guarantee our safety."

Mr Naidoo conceded that, in a statement in Bloemfontein, Gatting had said it distressed him that people were apparently injured on returning home from a demonstration and that it was the hope of the English team that demonstrators and spectators alike would be allowed to pursue their interests without coming to harm.

The rebels' management said leaders of the anti-tour movement would now be permitted to meet tour management only after matches. This followed the incident at Maritzburg's Jan Smuts stadium when Gatting had to make his way through a crush of demonstrators to get to their leaders, and was pelted with pebbles and an empty beer can.

In a controversial announcement yesterday, Mr Naidoo claimed he had proof that Sacu managing director Dr Ali Bacher had met a top official of the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, and offered to call off the tour provided the UDF gave the cricket union R3 million.

Dr Bacher admitted meeting Mr Morobe through the good offices of a third person — "an influential Johannesburg businessman" — but denied the claim about the R3 million.

Thousands returning to Republic

STAR 6/2/90 By Helen Grange (304 words)

Thousands of South Africans who left the country during the turbulent mid-1980s are returning home.

And with Mr F W de Klerk's reform announcements last week, the number of immigrants to South Africa, including badly needed professionals, is expected to increase dramatically.

These are the observations and predictions of several international removal companies countrywide. Statistics from Central Statistical Services (CSS) have confirmed this trend.

Mr Dennis Kaye, chief executive of the Laser group, which controls Stuttafords, Pickfords, Frasers and Van Nimwegan international removals, said there had been a dramatic increase in immigration to South Africa, including a significant number of South Africans returning home, mostly from Australia.

Mr Tom Ansley, chairman of Elliott International (Removals), said the number of immigrants to South Africa had doubled in the past three years.

One of the biggest contributory factors to the halt of the "white flight" had been the Government's decision to reduce military service to one year, according to commercial, industrial and academic sources.

CSS figures show that 2 230 people emigrated last year compared with 3 991 in 1988 and 6 765 in 1987. In the first quarter of last year, South Africa had its biggest three-monthly immigrant gain in a decade, with 2 757 immigrants and 1 507 emigrants.

Viljoen spells out the future

Full rights in an undivided SA on way

STAR 6/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The new South Africa which President de Klerk is creating will give full citizenship and political rights to all in an undivided multiparty democratic state.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen gave this assurance in Parliament yesterday during the first day of the debate on Mr de Klerk's speech.

Dr Viljoen said one of the most important shifts in National Party thinking had been the acceptance of the idea of one nation in an undivided South Africa. The new constitution would need to broaden nationhood to comprise all South Africans.

"This establishes an entirely new perspective and basis on which the demand for group or minority protection must be considered," he said.

Minority protection would have to comply with non-discriminatory requirements, or it would not pass the test of the negotiation process.

Mr de Klerk had stated clearly that protection of minority rights should not cause an imbalance in individual rights, or that any group, however defined, should be favoured.

This and other statements by NP members prompted Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer to ask later in the debate whether there had been a change in the party's attitudes on political rights. He called on the Government to make an unambiguous declaration of intent.

Interpretation

He said President de Klerk had committed himself to "universal franchise" in his speech. Interpretation of these words would determine the success or failure of negotiations.

During the election last year, the NP had said in a pamphlet that "each group will have its own voters roll to determine its leaders".

"The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs, by means of consensus," it had added.

That was a formula which had no chance of succeeding at the negotiating table, Dr de Beer said, and he asked whether there was now a shift from the view stated in the NP pamphlet.

Dr Viljoen also laid stress on group rights in his speech.

He said it was not practical to replace white-minority domination with black-majority domination under which whites would be reduced practically to powerlessness.

"The practical realities of our land demand an effective form of minority protection as a component of a new power dispensation."

The main component of minority protection was the ability to maintain an own identity and community life.

This mainly meant community values such as language rights, religion, and cultural education.

● See Page 11.

An African National Congress flag is placed
yesterday where the Yengeni terrorism trial
State advocates to consult the Attorney-G
unbanning the ANC and releasing those s

Labour protest h

STAR 6/2/90 Political Staff (304A

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party has brought
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The four committee meetings scheduled for yes

Labour protest holds up legislation

STAR 6/2/90 Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN. — The Labour Party has brought the passing of legislation in Parliament to a standstill by refusing to take part in standing committee meetings.

At present there are 33 Bills before the 15 joint standing committees.

The Labour Party has objected to the appointment of National Party MPs as chairmen of all the committees. To protest against this, it has refused to take part in the committee meetings, leaving them without a quorom.

The four committee meetings scheduled for yesterday were cancelled by the chairmen.

The four meetings set down for today were also called off.

A Democratic Party source said the impasse was raised when the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, met the Labour Party caucus last week.

He said the impasse needed to be sorted out before February 21, by which date the debates on appropriation and part appropriation matters would have ended.

The spokesman also said the legislation that was jammed up needed to come before the various Houses.

'Afrikaner tiger' awakened, says CP

ARGUS 6/2/90 (304A)

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk could bask in the approval of almost all the political parties yesterday, the first day of a joint debate on his speech at the opening of parliament.

Predictably, resistance came from the Conservative Party.

CP leader Dr A P Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk had "awakened the tiger in the Afrikaner" with his "most revolutionary" speech on Friday.

Roars of laughter

There were roars of laughter when he demanded that Mr De Klerk should resign.

There was more laughter when Dr Treurnicht referred to reports of a "Viva Comrade De Klerk" cry in the streets of Cape Town.

Dr Treurnicht maintained that Mr De Klerk did not have any mandate for a new South Africa that was open to African National Congress and communist leaders and that he had misled the voters.

The CP is to launch a campaign for "a free nation in its own fatherland" with the aim of rallying at least a million supporters.

Mr De Klerk's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, hit back by saying that the government was not indifferent to nationalism but that it could be served better by doing the right thing at the right time.

He said Mr De Klerk, with his impressive and brave package of reform measures, had placed the government and the National Party at the head of the march to a new South Africa.

With the 1983 constitution the nation had beyond doubt became multiracial with the inclusion of coloured and Asian citizens.

Now the final step was to replace this constitution with a new one that would complete the broadening of nationhood to include all South Africans.

It became clear from Dr Viljoen's speech that the President realised that his line on the need for the protection of minority rights could be one of the big sticking points in future negotiations.

There were attempts to soften this approach.

Dr Viljoen said that nation-building came first.

This established an entirely new perspective and basis on which the demand for group minority protection must be considered.

Within the new context, minority protection would have to comply with democratic and non-discriminatory requirements, otherwise it would not pass the test of the negotiating process.

Dr Viljoen called on those who wanted to become involved in negotiation to assess the approach to minority rights in this new context.

The Democratic Party leader in the House, Dr Zac de Beer, congratulated Mr De Klerk on his speech on Friday.

Since coming to parliament for the first time 37 years ago he had seen the development of apartheid and then its failure and decline. He hoped he had now seen the beginning of the end, Dr De Beer said.

Along with the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, he pointed out that problems such as the Group Areas Act remained.

Dr De Beer also took issue with the President on his aim of "universal franchise".

On the interpretation of these two words would depend the success or failure of negotiations for an apartheid-free South Africa.

"Open door"

The National Party should not "pussyfoot" around the issue of political rights and Dr De Beer called for a declaration of intent setting out its broad aims.

Mr Hendrickse welcomed what he called "the open door to the future".

He said the Race Classification Act remained the basis of apartheid laws.

At the same time he welcomed the President's willingness to break the chains of apartheid and to break with white domination and exclusive white decision-making.

FW had no mandate, says expert

(304A)

Sowetan 6/2/90

STATE President FW de Klerk did not have a mandate to unban the ANC and scrap apartheid laws, a political scientist claims.

Retired political scientist, Professor Willem Kleynhans, said on Monday he disagreed with De Klerk that he had a mandate from voters to carry out the measures announced on Friday.

He said De Klerk, in a television interview on Sunday, tried to justify the unbanning of the ANC by claiming voters in last year's general election had voted for negotiation.

However, voters' endorsement of negotiations could not be interpreted as a mandate to

● To page 2

'No mandate'

● From page 1

scrap the Separate Amenities Act and unban prohibited organisations, Kleynhans said.

"If you say you have a mandate, it means you have spelled out your intentions specifically," he said.

Sowetan 6/2/90

"Negotiation is a general term and nowhere in the National Party's 1989 election manifesto was the electorate asked to give the Government the authority to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to legalise the ANC, SACP or PAC."

(304A)

Kleynhans stressed he was not commenting on the merits of Government's decisions, but on De Klerk's interpretation of a mandate.

Education for blacks a priority — Stoffel

STAR 6/2/90

(304 A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Black education was one of the highest priorities of the Government and would receive extra money as it became available, the Minister of Education and of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Addressing a press briefing at Parliament, Dr van der Merwe pointed out that the budget for black education had risen from R143 million in 1978 to R1 952 million in 1989.

In 1978 there were 10 000 black pupils in matric, while in 1988 there were 132 000.

In the same years the number of Std 1 pupils had increased from 460 000 to 580 000.

In 1976 the number of school-leaving certificates issued were: whites 35 000, blacks 2 000, coloureds 1 000 and Indians 2 000. In 1988 the figures were whites 67 000, blacks 86 000, coloureds 14 000 and Indians 13 000.

SHIFT IN EMPHASIS

The budget increase for black education over the past few years "was not as dramatic as one would have liked to see, because the economy could not afford it".

Dr van der Merwe pointed out that the Government had shifted its emphasis from defence spending to social spending, but this would take a little time to be reflected.

Dr Wim de Villiers, Minister of Administration and Privatisation, said South Africa had to create employment opportunities for the rapidly expanding population in industry, agriculture, mining and construction.

Annoucements about this would be made in the Budget.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

At the same time, equal economic opportunity for all had to be created.

Dr de Villiers said sanctions had the effect of not allowing the country to create employment opportunities.

If sanctions were removed, the growth rate would be three to four times the average 1,4 percent growth since 1981.

Dr de Villiers saw privatisation as a way of allowing free market forces to operate and create employment opportunities.

He said 63,7 percent of the fixed investment in the past 15 years had come from the Government.

The first step in privatising parastatals was commercialising them, Dr de Villiers said, meaning that they had to become used to working on a return-on-capital, profit-and-loss basis.

SA shares rising fast in London

From DEREK TOMMEY

JOHANNESBURG. — South African industrial shares, shunned for several years by the world's investors, have at last come in from the cold.

Since President de Klerk's watershed speech on Friday foreign investors have been heavy buyers of top class South African industrials with listings on the London International Stock Exchange.

Since Friday morning the London price of Barlows has risen 28 percent from $13,10 to $16,77. The price of SA Breweries has risen also by 28 percent, from $9,57 to $12,26. Remgro's shares have risen 24,7 percent from $3,92 to $4,89 and Sasol shares have risen 20,5 percent from $3,71 to $4,47.

Differential

These price increases are larger than has been the case on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, where the strengthening financial rand has depressed prices.

In the two trading days since Thursday the financial rand has strengthened more than six percent, rising from R3,43 to the US dollar to R3,22, following heavy foreign buying. But for the foreign investment interest, this would have resulted in local share prices dropping by six percent.

Stockbrokers in Johannesburg said foreign investors were buying big in companies with London listings, with an established track record and whose shares were freely available.

Foreign investors are also showing interest in OK Bazaars and Iscor. But they are not getting the attention they should as OK Bazaars shares are not freely available and Iscor does not have a London listing.

At present, foreign investors are buying South African shares listed in London at prices equal to 12 times their earnings, and its is believed they could eventually pay a price equal to 16 times earnings, the same as they are paying for their own blue chips.

However because of the distortions caused by the financial rand, a P/E of 12 in London is equal to one of 16 in Johannesburg and this is disturbing local investors.

SA Breweries, in spite of the jump in its share price in the London market in the past two days, is still standing on a P/E of 12.

But in Johannesburg its P/E has reached 15.8, resulting in a claim that the share is now overpriced. Sasol's P/E in London is 13,1, while in Johannesburg it is 16,7. Barlows has a P/E of 6,7 in London and 8,5 in Johannesburg. Remgro's is 8,1 in London and 10,3 in Johannesburg.

The financial rand discount is also resulting in foreign investors getting better yields than local investors. Barlows is yielding 3,15 percent in Johannesburg and 3,99 percent in London.

These lower price-earnings ratios and higher dividend yields make South African shares attractive to foreign investors in spite of the remaining political risks.

Challenge to the ANC

CAPE TIMES 6/2/90

Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday challenged the ANC to meet the government's initiative with one small gesture to get negotiations going.

Addressing Parliament, Dr Viljoen said the government had taken a large risk in unbanning the ANC and other organisations.

The steps announced by President F W de Klerk had been risked on the basis of the ANC's stated preference for negotiations despite contradictory statements about violence which were still forthcoming.

For the ANC to respond to the government's initiative with an all-or-nothing approach would be "cowardly and carping", Dr Viljoen said.

His call came amid rumours of a foment in ANC ranks on how to respond to Mr De Klerk's offer of negotiations.

Yesterday the organisation announced a plenary meeting of its full leadership in Lusaka next week.

The announcement came after a marathon four-day summit of the national executive committee in Stockholm, chaired by the ailing president Mr Oliver Tambo, ended without an answer to the De Klerk offer.

Diplomatic sources in Stockholm said the meeting was split between moderates and militants on the key issues of whether exiles should return to South Africa and whether the armed struggle should continue.

A statement emphasising that the movement retained its "armed struggle" was greeted by international newsmen as unnecessary strategic rhetoric at this crucial stage in SA's history.

Yesterday the moderate ANC secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, scoffed at speculation of a growing split in the movement.

He said that after waiting 30 years to be unbanned they would not be rushed by anyone, least of all Pretoria.

In an apparent response to the now clear evidence that Mr De Klerk's decision to unban them caught the ANC leadership off guard, Mr Nzo added: "Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions.

"Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain their vigilance."

A reconciliatory Mr Walter Sisulu told a United States television audience last night that the ANC had moved to prevent a "disruptive element" in the townships from jeopardising progress toward negotiation with the government.

Appearing from Stockholm on the NBC "Today" show, Mr Sisulu was asked whether black South Africans "have a stake in ensuring" that President De Klerk "stays in power".

He replied: "We have taken steps that should be appreciated by the regime in SA ... we pitched that there should be order, precisely because we knew that there will be elements whose aim is to disrupt and therefore use that as an excuse for not doing anything or for resisting the process."

Dr Viljoen called on the ANC to relinquish violence and make its presence felt on the political terrain.

When even the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been unbanned, the need for this kind of organisation should be reassessed.

Dr Viljoen said the new South Africa Mr De Klerk was creating would ensure its citizens full and equal franchise within an undivided, multi-party democratic state.

He said one of the most important shifts in NP thinking had been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided South Africa.

● Govt, police split on exiles — Page 2

Transvaal's conservative far north shocked by FW's speech

Argus 6/2/90

304A

The Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — Most people in the far northern Transvaal have reacted with shock and disbelief to the sweeping measures announced by President De Klerk.

"It's an absolute sellout of the whites," said a Soutpansberg farmer, who claimed 100 other farmers shared his view.

And the warning from rightwingers in the Waterberg and Potgietersrus areas, regarded as the heartland of conservative Afrikaner nationalism, was: "The rights of whites are now being threatened. Don't push us too far".

Amid rumours of plans for huge rightwing rallies and protest marches in Pietersburg and Pretoria, CP supporters said they were just waiting for the word from Dr Andries Treurnicht to flex their political muscles.

Wait and see

But a Pietersburg businessman, who described himself as a moderate conservative, said Mr De Klerk deserved to be given a chance. "Either he is the most irresponsible leader we have had, or he really knows what he is about. Let us wait and see," he advised.

"Our people will just have to accept that these measures are neccessary to break the political logjam in this country," said Mr Renier Pieterse of Louis Trichardt.

Pietersburg NP chairman, Mr Schalk Schalkwyk, sent Mr De Klerk a telegram reading: "Bravo, thank you for a new South Africa", while the town's Chamber of Commerce chairman, Mr Jannie Moolman, said the government's action was long overdue.

But the overall mood expressed in pubs, on street corners and over garden fences in the far north was one of gloom and scepticism.

STAR 6/2/90

Minority protection 'part of new deal'

Voting rights for all on horizon – Viljoen

(304A)

The new South Africa which President F W de Klerk was creating would ensure all its citizens a full and equal franchise in an undivided multi-party democracy, Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education **Dr Gerrit Viljoen** said yesterday.

But an effective form of minority protection was needed "as a component of the new power-sharing", he added.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening address, he said the Government had taken a risk in making its announcements on Friday. Outstanding and unresolved problems could now be straightened out through negotiation.

"It would be petty to make further demands in terms of a 'shopping list'. To respond with an all or nothing approach would be fault-finding and cowardly."

Dr Viljoen challenged the ANC to relinquish violence unequivocally and to make its influence felt in peaceful politics.

"This new South Africa is no mere sweet-sounding rhetoric," he said. "The outlines and essential traits of this initially vague concept are becoming clearer and more sharply defined.

"This new South Africa broadens the basis of democracy so as to ensure to all its citizens full and equal franchise and other political rights within an undivided, multi-party democratic state."

The new South Africa was committed to the removal of the remainders of apartheid and guaranteed all its inhabitants equal rights and opportunities through constitutional protection of human rights and of groups and minorities.

Undivided

"One of the most important shifts in emphasis of the policy of the National Party has been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided South Africa," he said.

The concept of minority or group protection would have to comply with democratic and non-discriminatory requirements, otherwise it would obviously not pass the test of the negotiation process, Dr Viljoen said.

On the one hand was the legitimate claim of all the country's citizens, and in particular its black population, to full voting rights up to the highest level of government.

"This must be acknowledged and accepted," he said.

"On the other hand there is the justifiable need and demand of minorities, in particular the whites, for constitutional protection against domination and for guarantees of a meaningful share in political decision-making.

"And between these two aspects, through peaceful negotiation, by give and take, an acceptable compromise must be achieved by reconciliation."

The problem was compounded by demands for black majority rule in a unitary state, which was unacceptable to the NP.

"The practical realities of our country demands an effective form of minority protection as a component of the new power-sharing," Dr Viljoen said. – Sapa.

Shots fired at British Embassy

3044

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

A Far right-wing backlash emanating from the epoch-making opening speech by State President FW de Klerk on Friday, is feared after extremists on Sunday fired shots at the British Embassy in Pretoria. Sowetan 6/2/90

Shots entered an embassy window and the bullets hit a book case. Nobody was injured as the embassy was empty at the time.

Earlier in the day a right-wing flag was hoisted outside the embassy and on Saturday a right-wing slogan was graffitied on the walls of the building. The slogan read: "The Right Wing struggle has begun."

First Secretary for the Embassy Mr John Sawers, speaking from Cape Town, yesterday, said the embassy had never had police protection but after the weekend's incident has requested South African Police protection. "And they readily agreed," Sawers said.

Sawers at the weekend said: "All indications point to right-wing sympathisers. We can only assume that they believe we influenced the South African government in the measures they adopted last week.

A spokesman for the SAP, General Herman Stadler, yesterday could not predict a backlash, but said that the police force was prepared.

"It is our job to maintain law and order and we will do so at all costs. We will no allow any persons to take the law into their own hands." Stadler said.

Courts to end election disputes

STAR 6/2/90 (304A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Protracted court battles resulting from close contests in last year's general election will be decided this month.

The Conservative Party yesterday said it hoped the courts would declare the September election results in four constituencies null and void.

The official opposition in the House of Assembly wanted to test white voters' political feelings in the wake of dramatic shifts in National Party policy since the election.

If by-elections were to be held in Fauresmith in the Free State and the Transvaal constituencies of Vereeniging, Meyerton and Gezina, they could become the first indicator of voters' reaction to State President Mr F W de Klerk's dramatic policy announcements last week.

The Fauresmith case was completed on Friday, but judgment was withheld.

The Meyerton case is expected to be completed today. The Gezina case will be heard from February 7 to 9 and the Vereeniging case from February 22 to 28.

The unsuccessful CP candidate in Klerksdorp, Dr Manie van Dyk, brought a court action against Mr Amie Venter, the Minister of the Budget and of Local Government in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly. The case is scheduled for 12 to 21 February, but The Star was told that Dr van Dyk had applied for a withdrawal of the case.

The CP's chief secretary for the Transvaal, Mr Andries Beyers, predicted that if by-elections were held, his party would win all four by huge majorities.

"There has been a massive swing from the NP since the election. There were also the beaches; and now Friday's speech. We will walk them."

The NP's Transvaal director of information, Mr Piet Coetzer, said it was premature to speculate since the court proceedings had not been finalised.

The NP's Free State chief secretary, Mr Inus Aucamp, said the NP was prepared for a by-election in Fauresmith — where he drew with the CP's Mr Alex Danzfuss.

Suzman praises F W at the UN

The Star's Foreign News Service

GENEVA — Former Democratic Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman has asked the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to encourage fundamental change in South Africa by, for once, adopting an encouraging resolution.

In a message to the commission, Mrs Suzman praised President de Klerk for his "courageous speech" on Friday.

She said she was especially pleased by the imminent unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela because "only his authority will curb the extremists".

Mrs Suzman said the UN may soon be called upon to play a crucial role in the new thinking in South Africa.

"I hope the UN Commission on Human Rights will decide to give every possible encouragement to an ongoing attempt at mutual reconciliation in South Africa," she said.

"May your important commission lead the way by passing a constructive and progressive resolution, thereby indicating that it, too, wishes to contribute to this welcome wind of change that could well develop into a strong movement toward a non-racial society, based on justice for all," she said.

Star 7/2/90 (30cm)

Problems are on point of solution, say Cabinet sources

'Public safety' key to Mandela release

Star 7/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

Government concern about the public safety impact of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela seems to be the major snag still delaying his release.

Additionally, sources indicated that the Government was still trying to secure some assurance from Mr Mandela about the role he would play once released.

Cabinet sources have confirmed that some — unspecified — political problem is still causing a delay

They said, however, they expected the problem would be cleared away soon, leading to Mr Mandela's release.

It has now emerged that Mr Mandela is no longer placing any conditions on his release — despite a report to the contrary from his wife Winnie

UDF leader Dr Allan Boesak said this yesterday after visiting Mr Mandela at Victor Verster Prison.

He said Mr Mandela still believed the Government should lift the whole state of emergency and release all political prisoners.

But if he were released before these conditions were met "he would not hold on to chairs and tables kicking, but he would then have to state that his release was under circumstances that he himself would not have wished".

Returning exiles

It seems the Government is unlikely to budge from its stand on the return of political exiles before talks with the ANC begin.

The Government's insistence that amnesty will not be granted to militants guilty of ordinary crimes such as murder and sabotage — even if politically motivated — seems still to be a major sticking point obstructing ANC entry into discussions.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu returned to South Africa yesterday from the Stockholm ANC summit to say that the ANC would seek clarification from President de Klerk on the return of exiles before deciding whether to enter negotiation talks

Government sources have indicated that although they are prepared to discuss the position of exiles they cannot afford to budge now from their position It is likely that the Government's attitude is that ANC leaders will not be prevented from returning whatever their role in the planning of the armed struggle

However those responsible for the actual perpetration of a crime will not be granted amnesty.

The sources said they believe they have Western support for their stand

THe ANC on the other hand believes that crimes committed by their guerillas are acts of war which should be condoned.

But while the South African Government seems to be digging in its heels on the exile issue as a precondition for negotiations, some sources concede that eventually amnesty will have to be granted to all ANC operatives

This was the case with all the returning Swapo fighters under the UN-supervised Namibian peace settlement.

● See Pages 5, 10 and 11.

The new boys . . . South African cricket's newest Springboks were officially capped at a function in Sandton yesterday. Kepler Wessels (front), Richard Snell and Dave Rundle will be in the Bok side that takes on the rebel English cricket side in the first test starting tomorrow at the Wanderers. ● See Page 3, Page 6 and Back Page.

● Picture by John Hogg.

Fewer cars are stolen but insurance premiums rise

By Craig Kotze

Vehicle insurance premiums are to rise again soon, despite a significant drop in car thefts, the chairman of the South African Insurance Association (SAIA), Mr Ron Carter, said today.

The reasons were that replacement costs of vehicles and of repairs had shot up.

Premiums, Mr Carter said, were due to go up anyway because thay had not kept pace with inflation.

BURDEN

"Car theft has been reduced nation- ... part of the ... way below rates in Britain and America," Mr Carter said.

SAIA has in the past said rising car theft — which reached the proportions of a national crisis in the mid-80s — was one of the reasons for steep rises in premiums

Police confirmed yesterday that there had been a drop in car theft, although statistics were not available.

One source said car theft in Johannesburg had dropped from up to 60 cars a day to an average of about 30 or 40.

But police also conceded that the emphasis had changed in obtaining ... and hijack- ... ob-

Gun scramble over reform

304A

ARMS dealers in Pretoria have been besieged with enquiries for guns since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

Mr Pieter van der Walt of Bouwer Broers, Gezina, said he had experienced a sharp increase in demand for personal weapons, especially large-calibre hand-guns and pump-action shotguns, and ammunition of all types. Sowetan 7/2/90

Demand

Other dealers admitted the demand for arms and ammunition had escalated but were reluctant to link it to President de Klerk's reform measures.

The rush for weapons seems to be a countrywide trend. A Johannesburg arms wholesaler said he had been inundated with demands for "thousands of pump-action shotguns, big hand-guns or whatever I can supply."-Sapa.

Flasher fined

A MAN who "exposed his private parts" on Second Beach Clifton, has been fined R300 (or 60 days) suspended for three years.

Riaan Kock (19) of Thrush Road Greenshields Park Port Elizabeth, pleaded not guilty. According to the charge sheet on November 25 last year Kock "exposed his private parts" and "put his hands down his shorts and rubbed his private parts."

Kock said he had been under the influence of alcohol and could not remember what happened.

Judicial lag

MBABANE - An acute shortage of courtrooms, magistrates and interpreters in Swaziland, due to the rising crime rate, has caused a backlog of cases waiting to be heard in Mbabane.

Senior magistrate Anthony Cele said this week he had apologised to several awaiting-trial prisoners and witnesses, adding he had had to postpone their cases.

He said the situation would not improve until the shortage of courtroom facilities was eliminated.

Sowetan 7/2/90

Get rid of all discrimination, urges Labour

As long as the National Party clung to the group concept, suspicion about the sincerity of the National Party would remain, Mr Luwellyn Landers (Labour Party, Durban Suburbs) said yesterday.

"We must rid ourselves of discrimination rules," said Mr Landers. He was speaking during a debate on the State President's opening address in Parliament on Friday.

DEATH PENALTY

The LP welcomed the announcements about the death penalty as an option of sentence in extreme cases, the automatic right to appeal and the cessation of executions until Parliament has taken a final decision.

The party also welcomed the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Landers said South Africa had nothing to fear from the unbanning of the SA Communist Party because all races would now be able to judge for themselves what the SACP's ideology was about. — Sapa.

STAR 7/2/90 (304A)

PIK BOTHA

'Words put into Nelson's mouth'

THE public should not put too much trust in people who visited the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and put words in his mouth, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

He briefed the local and international press on issues affecting his portfolio and said it was important to understand that the decision to release Mr Mandela did not rest with the Government alone.

Questioned about further conditions attached to Mr Mandela's release Mr Botha said: "President De Klerk has said the release is unconditional and I appeal to you to accept that."

Important parts of the state of emergency had been withdrawn and it was the Governmment's urgent wish to withdraw the rest as soon as possible.

"We wish the ANC will help us now because what is left of it is not aimed at any particular party."

Mr Walter Sisulu's statement, if it was accurately, was helpful in this regard. "It means they are prepared to apply discipline."

"If we withdraw all the regulations and we are suddenly faced with an upheaval and disorder and have to reintroduce the state of emergency, the perception will be that things have got out of hand in South Africa.

"Then we will pay a far heavier price than testing the water step by step as we are doing," he said. - Sapa

Mandela lauds FW

CAPE TIMES 7/2/90

not moving quickly to simply fulfil the other conditions," Dr Boesak said.

Were he released before such conditions were fulfilled, Mr Mandela "would not hold on to chairs and tables, kicking, but he would then have to state that his release was under circumstances that he himself would not have wished".

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said the organisation's national executive would issue a definitive response to President De Klerk's watershed speech from Lusaka within two weeks.

He said the alliance between the ANC and SACP would continue.

Dr Boesak said Mr Mandela had held talks with government members since Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday.

Describing his visit to Mr Mandela as "the greatest experience of my life", Dr Boesak said Mr Mandela was a man of great intellect and a "great strategist, with the clear qualities one would expect from such a leader".

He had received the impression that Mr Mandela was in contact with the ANC, Dr Boesak said.

Meanwhile, controversy surrounds Mrs Winnie Mandela's purported quoting of her husband as saying that his release was dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency.

Head of the ANC's international affairs department Mr Thabo Mbeki contradicted her, saying he was sure Mrs Mandela had "misunderstood" her husband.

Mr Mandela was ready to leave prison immediately and had not made the lifting of the state of emergency a pre-condition, Mr Mbeki said.

● Twenty senior members of the UDF will visit Mr Mandela on Friday, the largest political group yet to do so. UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said discussions would centre on Mr De Klerk's speech and the subsequent talks Mr Mandela had held with government officials.

NP's new role

Cape Times 7/2/90 (304A)

Negotiations will end govt's power

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday conceded for the first time that it was likely to lose control of power by the turn of the century.

The bombshell statement, as the government's plans to enter negotiations for a new dispensation move into top gear, was made by the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at an international press conference.

Freedom

The two most senior ministers in the cabinet — Mr Pik Botha and Dr Viljoen — yesterday went further than at any stage in the past to lift the veil on the government's view of a "new South Africa" it hoped to achieve through negotiation.

In contrast, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned in Pretoria that "the Afrikaner people are not prepared to live under an ANC-dominated government".

"We will lead our people to freedom in their own fatherland," he said.

During yesterday's press conference, Dr Viljoen said: "in 10 years you would have not a single party in government but a coalition."

He also added pointedly: "The National Party is not very likely to be in control."

However, he would not rule out the NP playing a "very meaningful role" in the new government.

Asked whether the NP might form a coalition government with the ANC, Dr Viljoen responded: "My imagination would have to be very heavily taxed to foresee that."

Dr Viljoen's remarks are the most explicit indication to date that the government might be preparing to surrender white minority control of government once it had reached the milestone of half-a-century of rule.

Dr Viljoen's comments are of special signficance as he is very close to President F W de Klerk and has been given the task of overseeing the transition of South Africa into a new constitutional dispensation.

Responding to a question on the possibility of a black president in a new dispensation, Mr Botha said that "whatever happens" would have to enjoy the support of the majority of South Africans.

"You cannot be more democratic than that. Exactly how this is obtained is for South Africans to decide," he said.

Later Dr Viljoen, speaking at a separate briefing, said that politicians who committed themselves to timetables for change should have their "heads examined".

Important contribution

But he then stated that by the time of the next election black people would either have full political rights or "we must have reached a decision in terms of which the process is being implemented".

Dr Viljoen said he was confident that Mr Mandela, whom he found to be "certainly a leader of stature", would make an important contribution to the whole process of starting negotiation and negotiating a new constitution.

Giving his impressions of Mr Mandela after recent visits to the ANC leader, Dr Viljoen said that "his qualities and stature are quite clear".

REPORT BACK . . . Members of the media interview Dr Allan Boesak after his visit to Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday. **RIGHT:** Mr Walter Sisulu salutes underneath the flag of the South African Communist Party at a news conference after his return from the major ANC meeting in Stockholm.

Cape Times 7/2/90

Mandela lauds FW

(11A)

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela describes President F W de Klerk's reforms as courageous, bold and hopeful but says they have not yet created a climate for negotiations, according to Dr Allan Boesak, who visited him yesterday.

Speaking outside Victor Verster Prison after a visit of more than three hours, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches said the government should not tarry too long over Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Mandela wanted the government to fulfil two main conditions — the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners.

"He called Mr De Klerk's speech courageous and bold and hopeful, and he said it would be a pity if the mood was not kept — in the sense of Mr De Klerk

To page 2

Gun scramble over reform

304A

ARMS dealers in Pretoria have been besieged with enquiries for guns since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

Mr Pieter van der Walt of Bouwer Broers, Gezina, said he had experienced a sharp increase in demand for personal weapons, especially large-calibre hand-guns and pump-action shotguns, and ammunition of all types.

Sowetan 7/2/90

Demand

Other dealers admitted the demand for arms and ammunition had escalated but were reluctant to link it to President de Klerk's reform measures.

The rush for weapons seems to be a countrywide trend. A Johannesburg arms wholesaler said he had been inundated with demands for "thousands of pump-action shotguns, big hand-guns or whatever I can supply."-Sapa.

Right-wing anger mounts

CP plan big march

SOWETAN Wednesday February 7 1990 Page 5

RIGHT-WING anger against opening Pretoria amenities to all races - and the unbanning of the ANC - is gaining momentum with a mass meeting and protest march through the city planned by the Conservative Party.

Sowetan Reporter

Thousands of pamphlets are being distributed throughout Pretoria.

In a related incident a National Party city councillor has been threatened by an anonymous telephone caller "with a necklace".

Pretoria residents opposing the scrapping of bus and other apartheid measures have been urged in 130 000 pamphlets to phone National Party city councillors at home to demand the revoking of the resolution or their resignation.

The pamphlets, which have been distributed by the CP to all city households since yesterday contain the home telephone numbers of all 23 National Party councillors.

Residents are also called to a mass protest/information meeting to be addressed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in the Pretoria City Hall on February 15.

The CP leader in the city council, Mr Paul Fouche, said yesterday that at a special council meeting at 4pm on February 15, requested by his party, he would propose that the scrapping of the apartheid measures be referred back to the management committee, in order for the council's decision of January 30 to be reversed.

He would later that evening report to the meeting in the City Hall.

Fouche disclosed that his party had applied to the chief magistrate of Pretoria, in terms of the emergency regulations, and to the city council for permission to hold a mass gathering on Church Square at 6pm on the same day, followed by a march to the City Hall.

The acting chief magistrate of Pretoria, Mr M Boon, confirmed yesterday that the CP's application had been received. He said information must first be gathered and all facts considered before a decision would be taken.

Mr Justus van Zyl, NP city councillor for Hazelwood, Lynnwood and Menlo Park, yesterday said a man who did not identify himself left a message on his telephone answering machine that "if we find you in the street we will play with you like a ball".

He was accused of "selling out the Afrikaner to barbarism" and told not to be surprised if he got the necklace.

304A

After the Rubicon, FW faces the Ides of March

STAR 7/2/90 (304K)

President de Klerk is obliged to obtain an endorsement from the white electorate before changing the constitution to include blacks. His choice between a referendum or a general election will depend largely on the deal he strikes with the ANC. But whichever route he decides on, Mr de Klerk must beware — in the political sense — of Caesar's fate after he crossed the Rubicon in 49 BC. **By PATRICK LAURENCE.**

Where ex-President P W Botha got cold feet, President F W de Klerk — most observers agree — waded boldly across the Rubicon when he delivered his major policy speech last Friday.

But Mr de Klerk, having climbed up the far bank, faces the daunting task of defeating opponents who, instead of applauding, were aghast at his action.

When Mr Botha talked of "crossing the Rubicon" in his speech of August 1985, he introduced a historical analogy with an unfortunate ending into South African political folklore: Caesar crossed the River Rubicon in 49 BC, only to be assassinated five years later on the Ides of March.

The question thus is whether Mr de Klerk can avoid an Ides of March fate, not in the sense of the assassination but at the more mundane level of defeat at the polls.

Whatever happens, Mr de Klerk is committed to obtaining the approval of the white electorate before altering the constitution to accommodate black people.

The Conservative Party, which accused Mr de Klerk of announcing sweeping changes without obtaining a mandate for them from white voters, promptly challenged Mr de Klerk to hold a general election.

Dr Andries Treurnicht has accused Mr de Klerk of instituting sweeping changes without having a mandate from white voters and has challenged the State President to hold a general election.

Leeway

Mr de Klerk has a couple of years' leeway. But he must face the voters by 1994, either in a general election under the present constitution — which gives the dominant say to white voters — or in a referendum.

His ruling National Party committed itself to submitting any proposed new constitution to the electorate in the Five-Year Action Plan which it drew up for last year's general election.

It can do so in one of two ways: either by referring the proposed changes to the electorate in a general election in 1994 (or earlier) or by referring them to the electorate for approval in a referendum.

The NP Action Plan was addressed to white voters. Hence, even if Mr de Klerk takes the referendum option, he is obliged, morally if not legally, to give the whites an opportunity to endorse or reject the constitution.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid and one of Mr de Klerk's inner circle, agrees that any test of public opinion on constitutional changes will have to be under the existing electoral system. Hence, on his admission, whites will have one last, final say before the rules are alternated.

The CP, aware that time is running out, that its influence will be seriously diluted under a new constitution, is galvanising itself in an all-out effort to stop Mr de Klerk.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, is due to announce the start of the CP's "Action One-million" campaign on February 12.

Assessment of its chances of success must start with last year's general election.

The CP obtained 39 seats and 31 percent of the vote, against 93 seats and 48 percent of the vote for the NP and 33 seats and 21 percent of the vote for the Democratic Party.

Since then, there have been two by-elections — in Ceres and Vasco. In both the CP reduced the NP majority substantially; by nearly 950 votes in Ceres and more than 2 650 votes in Vasco.

The results confirmed the steady drift of NP voters to the CP; in the 1989 general election, NP majorities were reduced in 64 constituencies.

The drift to the CP was prompted by dislike and fear of NP reformist policies.

Mr de Klerk's "Rubicon" speech is likely to accelerate the trend. To that must be added the incalculable impact of the CP "now or never" rhetoric.

Given these factors, can the CP defeat Mr de Klerk when he submits whatever deal he can negotiate with black leaders to the whites for approval? Almost certainly not, if he opts for the referendum alternative.

In a referendum, anticipates Professor David Welsh of UCT, the DP will have no hesitation in encouraging its supporters to affirm Mr de Klerk's constitutional reforms.

He forecasts a result not unlike the 1983 referendum when Mr Botha obtained roughly two-thirds of the vote for his new tricameral constitution.

No guarantee

If Mr de Klerk is forced to take the election alternative, victory may not be so easy.

Many DP voters may choose loyalty to their party above support for Mr de Klerk.

Thus, assuming continuing desertion by the NP's conservative voters, there is no guarantee that the NP will be bolstered to the same extent by DP voters.

Much will depend on an imponderable factor: the nature of the deal that Mr de Klerk can formulate at the negotiating table. The tougher the negotiations, the more difficulties Mr de Klerk will run into trying to sell it to the white electorate.

The ANC, as the key black player at the negotiating table, has, ironically, become a potential determinant in Mr de Klerk's fate.

304A

Malan calls for 'direct' talks

Political Staff

ONLY direct exchanges between the ANC and the government would get the negotiation process going, Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said in Parliament yesterday.

President F W de Klerk's speech had loudly proclaimed the end of totalitarian government and firmly introduced a political era.

The ANC had also taken the initiative in its Harare Declaration to deviate from its demands that apartheid had to be dismantled before negotiation could begin.

"The ANC says in effect that the NP can — if it wants to — enter the negotiation process in the chains of apartheid," said Mr Malan.

"They also said they were not prepared to participate in negotiations in the leg-irons of authoritarian security management."

"The next step is contact. It is only through direct exchanges that the negotiation process can be freed and set in motion," said Mr Malan.

The process had to be arranged in conjunction with other parties.

Mr Kobus Jordaan, Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, said yesterday that once the dust had settled after Mr De Klerk's speech, apartheid would still be there.

Apart from the promised repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, he had deliberately refrained from giving any concrete details about the removal of the cornerstones of apartheid.

As an example of apartheid, Mr Jordaan cited the case of a school in a free settlement area in his constituency which had accepted the admission of two children who were later prevented from attending by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase.

Suzman pleads for UN realism

GENEVA. — Mrs Helen Suzman told the UN Human Rights Commission in a letter yesterday that it could promote genuine change in South Africa if it acted with realism.

Mrs Suzman said President F W de Klerk's "courageous speech" had established a foundation for fundamental reforms. — UPI

CAPE TIMES 7/8/90 (30KA)

FIERY LEADER . . . The founding leader of the Reformation Party, a new, yet unregistered right-wing party, Mr Patrick Kotze, believes that conservative Afrikaners need a newer, younger, more fiery leader, and demanded a "democratic re-election" within 30 days. Mr Kotze, 33, a Bellville salesman who "has turned to full-time politics", is seen arguing with a group of spectators at his solo demonstration in Adderley Street yesterday. Police later escorted him away.

Run SA as single entity, DP urges

(304A) Political Staff Cape Times 7/2/90

THE time had come for South Africa to be run as a single entity and it could no longer afford duplication of services and under-utilisation of facilities, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

South Africa was in a crisis situation in regard to education, provision of adequate health and welfare services and the maintenance of law and order.

Political reform was essential but it would lead to disillusionment and bitterness if it was not accompanied by the maintenance of basic standards for many and the improvement of standards for most.

A DP statement said money being spent on running 14 departments of health could better be used to increase the salaries of those providing essential services.

"We are particularly concerned that nurses should receive the remuneration they deserve."

Afrikaners 'will be tenants in SA' — CP

PARLIAMENT. — The Afrikaner people in the new South Africa would be mere tenants in their own land, Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal) said yesterday.

He said in debate on the State President's address that under the NP's proposals the Afrikaner would become dependent on the black man, and this was totally unacceptable to the CP.

The NP was committing political fraud against its own voters because it was carrying out these steps without a mandate.

It was true the NP's mandate in the September general election had been vague in certain areas, but there was no doubt about two specific aspects: The NP had said that an own white community life would be safeguarded; but now the government was abandoning this commitment; and as far as the ANC was concerned, the government had then not even been prepared to talk to the organisation. — Sapa

esday February 7 1990

STAR 7 (304A)

Road to talks could see more unrest – Malan

The road to negotiation could be filled with potholes and moments of conflict which could lead to an increase in unrest, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the State President's opening of Parliament address, he said political reconstruction had to be done from a position of strength and security.

The Government placed great emphasis on the need to maintain stability along with political, social and economic considerations.

"Unfortunately there are people in leftist radical circles who see the Government's initiatives at normalising the political situation as a free pass to the taking of power and the overthrowing of order."

He said it had been suggested recently in "leftist circles" that the "securocrats" had had their wings trimmed and had been put in their place. But nothing could be further from the truth.

General Malan said the SA Defence Force was willing to accept the new challenges facing the country and was keen to play a role in making the best of these opportunities.

He said accusations were being made against the SADF, especially now that the emphasis had moved away from security.

It was necessary to sound two warnings on this issue.

"Firstly, activities and actions that may have been necessary at a time of conflict and high tension should not be judged against the norms and standards which apply in more peaceful times."

Secondly, stability was necessary for the reform process.

"Even in these challenging times, we must be aware that there could be heightened unrest."

Referring to the unbanning of the ANC, he said the organisation had admitted that it could no longer win the military struggle.

"Its bombs and limpet mines are no longer in step with what is happening in reality."

The Minister said he trusted that the ANC would now stop making new demands and threats of further violence. Its leaders should now decide how far they were going to take the armed struggle. — Sapa.

STAR 7/2/90 (304A)

Minerals Bill consolidates 9 laws

A consolidating mineral laws Bill which charged the State to ensure minerals were optimally and safely mined and that the surface damaged by open-cast mining was properly rehabilitated was tabled yesterday.

The Bill consolidates nine mineral laws comprising 385 sections into a single Act with 70 sections. It provides:

- That Government privatisation and deregulation policy should be applied in the minerals industry.
- That the department's hierarchy be amended to replace the present nine levels with three: Minister, Director-General and Regional Director.
- For the de-proclamation of all proclaimed mining land and the removal of the diversity of permits, licences and permission in respect of precious metals, base minerals and precious stones.
- For the protection of freehold owners' rights against unnecessary damage to their property.

Comments from 14 Government departments and about 120 interested parties had been received. — Sapa.

FW's speech used in court

(304A)

STAR 7/2/90

A transcription of Friday's speech by President de Klerk was handed to the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday as evidence in mitigation of sentence for an ANC member.

Sipho Mokwena (24) was cautioned and discharged on a charge of being a member of the ANC, but magistrate Mr W J van der Bergh convicted Mokwena on a charge of terrorism and sentenced him to six years' imprisonment.

He was found to have undergone ANC military training and to have been in possession of a pistol and two grenades.

Mr van der Bergh added that although he took the changing climate in South Africa into consideration, the ANC had still not renounced violence. He said he was passing judgment in a cloud of uncertainty and the seriousness of the charge could not be ignored. — Sapa.

Stayaway plan 'totally irresponsible'

ARGUS 8/2/90 (304A)

By MARTIN CHALLENOR
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was being utterly irresponsible in threatening to stage a white stayaway to force a general election, according to the National Party.

MP Mr Koos van der Merwe told an international Press conference that his Conservative Party could be pushed into organising a white stay-at-home which would halt South African Airways, police, fire brigades, hospitals, buses and schools.

He said a general election should be held.

Mr Renier Schoeman, chief director of information-designate of the National Party, said the CP was being "totally, utterly irresponsible".

"It is disgraceful to see a party which has pretensions of being a parliamentary opposition resorting to extra-parliamentary militancy as bad as anything that has been seen on the radical left.

"This is a grave indictment of the CP's moral bancruptcy."

Responsible people would understand the conflict potential and would not allow themselves to be misled.

Mr Schoeman said the NP had asked for, and was given, an unequivocal mandate to create a new South Africa.

It had asked for a mandate to energetically pursue objectives that would show real progress in the next five years.

"It also undertook to eliminate obstacles on the road to negotiations."

If the obstacles were not removed there could be no progress, Mr Schoeman said.

The NP had undertaken to submit any new constitutional principles to the electorate before they were implemented, Mr Schoeman said, "and that is not in dispute in the slightest".

● Plans to mobilise conservative whites in Natal against President De Klerk's reform moves have been announced by the Conservatives.

The CP does not have an MP, elected or nominated, in Natal.

A party information officer in Cape Town said a regional conference would start the campaign at Illovo on February 24. Natal party leaders and MPs would speak.

Delegates would be chosen to represent Natal at a leaders' conference at the Pretoria showgrounds on April 6.

Another gathering would be held at Illovo on May 5.

Putco passengers in fight over high fares

Sowetan 8/2/90

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

IRATE Soweto bus commuters have threatened to take action against Putco if their demands for improved transport are not met within two weeks.

At a meeting called by the Putco Daily Passengers Committee in Pimville, Soweto this week, members decided that Putco be given an ultimatum to reply to grievances which they delivered to the company on January 22.

Their demands include:

* An 18 percent drop in the fares and that charges must be adjusted on some routes.
* Additional buses on all routes and vehicles to be kept clean.
* Training of bus drivers in the wake of a soaring accident rate.
* Weekly and monthly coupons must work when used, and
* the committee be recognised as the mouthpiece of the residents and the transport committee to be dissolved.

A spokesman for the company yesterday acknowledged receipt of the letter and said that the committee's delegation was scheduled to meet Putco executives on February 20 at 5.30pm.

"We believe that in modern times we need a modern transport system," said committee secretary Ms Adelaide Monana. "Putco has done nothing to improve its standards during its 50 years of existence."

She said that the committee had asked taxi associations to help them in the likely event of negotiations with Putco reaching deadlock.

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LOOK OUT FOR CHARLIE PARKERS' PRIZE BUSTERS STARTING FEBRUARY 12, 1990

S 3931

Soweto visit

SOWETO will today be visited by 30 Junior Mayors from all over South Africa.

The tour will start at the Oppenheimer Tower in Central Western Jabavu at 9.30am.

The tour will end at noon at the same venue.

Scramble legacy of apartheid

304m

By MOEKETSI MPHAKI

THE rush by whites to buy guns following the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP was a sickening war psychosis which indicates that a lot of work remained to be done in correcting people's attitudes in South Africa.

This was the reaction of several leaders yesterday after reports that arms dealers were inundated with inquiries for guns after the unbanning of the liberation movements.

A spokesman for the Black Consciousness Movement, Mr Muntu Myeza, said this was a reflection on how apartheid and racism have damaged people's thinking. Sowetan 8/2/90

"This aberration is reminiscent of the mistrust and distrust that the BCM has been warning against during its entire existence. Intergration and non-racialism can only be effective in a situation of equality," he said.

Mr Krish Naidoo of the National Sports Council, said this was a natural reaction by whites resulting from the black fear syndrome created by the Nats.

Mr Azhar Cachalia of the MDM, said this was a result of a propaganda wr waged by the regime.

Comment

Sowetan 5/2/90

By The Editor, AGGREY KLAASTE (304A)

THE shock waves from Mr FW de Klerk's speech are still reverberating around the world.

To South Africans who had become conditioned to receiving only bad news, De Klerk's courage and inventiveness came over like a bucket of cold water - both shocking and invigorating.

After three days of excitement and debate we should now wake up to the grim realisation that we are faced with a great deal of hard work. The ringing of the bells will come to an end. The gruelling work has to start.

Problems

South Africa has socio-economic problems that stagger the mind. That most of these problems are part of the daily life of blacks - the majority - presents formidable hurdles to continued peace and stability.

We will not have peace if black education is left in shambles. We have a housing problem second to none in the world. The health and general wellbeing of our people are in a parlous state.

Courage

The good news is that those who are willing to seek solutions will no longer experience the nightmare of having to look over political or ideological shoulders. Those who have lacked the courage to be creative can now use all their talents to help rebuild the nation.

The shame, indeed the pity, is that this news comes after so much pain, so many lives have been lost and wrecked, and after generations of children have been brutalised.

304A

Fr

Mandela f

16, say to

By TH

NELSON Rolihlahla
ruary 16, highly plac

State President FW de
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"Mr Mandela might even
after De Klerk's historic spee

But yesterday Mandela's
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of releasing him.

She told reporters she wa
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This was due to the obst
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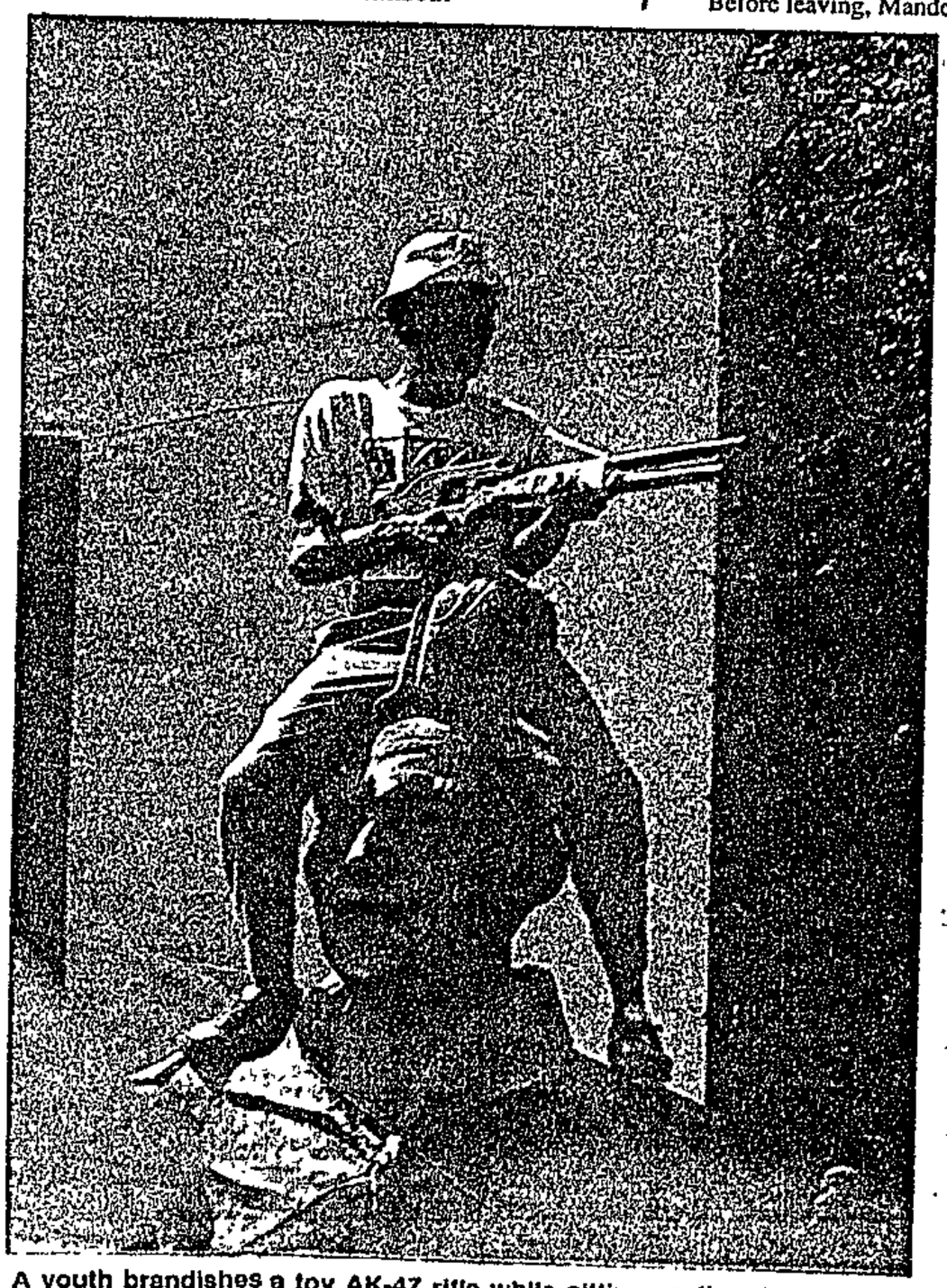
She said the onus was not
he would be released.

She added that she too h
be released, but Mandela w
be released soon.

She would not comment
but said the present State
other conditions stood in the

Winnie Mandela, dressed
companied by her husband
Omar, entered the prison ab
left about 3.45pm.

Before leaving, Mandela



A youth brandishes a toy AK-47 rifle while sitting on the statue of former South African premier Jan Smuts outside Parliament in Cape Town during the excitement that gripped the country after President de Klerk's historic announcements on Friday. (304A)

Sowetan 5/2/90

Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

Justice minister praises Mandela

3044A

Cape Times 8/2/90

Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday said that when the history of the present period was written it would be shown that Mr Nelson Mandela had made a significant and positive contribution to the development of a new South Africa.

Mr Coetsee was responding to Conservative Party spokesmen who in the debate on the State President's speech attacked the ANC leader as a communist.

He said Mr Mandela had never been a communist and that in his youth the ANC leader had broken up Communist Party meetings.

Mr Coetsee is the second cabinet minister to praise Mr Mandela. Earlier this week, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, said Mr Mandela was a man of stature who would would make a great contribution towards negotiating a new constitution.

Mr Coetsee said the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations had been made possible by a change in their attitude towards a negotiated settlement.

While the ANC was still issuing a variety of statements, it was clear at the end of the day that there was a preference for political solutions. However, this had not yet been made clear enough.

Responding to calls for the scraping of security laws, Mr Coetsee said these were necessary in a period of transition.

However, the government did not adopt an immovable stand on the retention of the laws and their continued existence could be negotiated.

Explaining the government's position on the return of exiles, Mr Coetsee said only those who had not committed offences would not be liable for prosecution on their return.

However, this, and the freeing of so-called political prisoners, was one matter that could be further investigated and be the subject of negotiations.

Cape Times 8/2/90

'Use force if needed in SA'

TAMPA, Florida. — The United States should use military force if necessary to help end apartheid in South Africa, Ms Maki Mandela, daughter of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, told a crowd of more than 1 000 in a 45-minute speech at the University of South Florida on Tuesday night.

Black South Africans had been kept in servitude for more than two generations, she said.

"According to the South African regime, we are savages, animals who don't know any decent standard of living," she said.

Ms Mandela, 35, said conditions were so morally bankrupt in South Africa that the US should consider military force, just as it did in Vietnam and Nicaragua.

"Why stop using that same foreign policy in South Africa?" she said. "That's what I'm asking." — UPI

ANC-Inkatha move mooted

LONDON. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has held out the possibility of joining the ANC in a broad coalition against apartheid, the London Guardian newspaper reported yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was reported as saying no approach had been made by leaders of the recently unbanned ANC for any coalition, but that relations with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela were warm.

The imprisoned leader had said he hoped meetings would begin to take place when the exiled leadership of the ANC was allowed to return to South Africa and he was out of jail.

The chief's effective second-in-command, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said the ANC should not dominate if there was to be any coalition.

"There must be collective leadership, equal responsibility and autonomy of the groups in a coalition." — Sapa

...age mountain blaze which destroyed hectares of fynbos above Constantia Nek on Tuesday night. Picture: GLENN SHERRATT ...der control yesterday.

CAPE TIMES 8/2/90 (304A)

Showdown

Right threat to wreck FW's plan

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday threatened to cripple the police, fire departments, hospitals and other strategic services in protest against the government's reform plans.

At a press briefing the CP, which drew 670 000 votes in the last election, disclosed that if necessary it could call on its supporters to stay at home for "two or three days" as part of a resistance campaign to force President F W de Klerk to hold another white election.

The party believes that white anger at the far-reaching changes announced by Mr De Klerk is so high that the party would sweep to power if an election were to be held now.

But as the right wing swung into action last night, the government, through Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, angrily warned of tough action against planned militant right-wing protests if they turned violent.

Dr Van der Merwe said Mr De Klerk had made it clear that the government planned to crack down on all acts of violence.

At the briefing Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's official spokesman and head of its information and strategy committee, said the Nationalist government had deceived voters and told newsmen: "That which is facing us, ladies and gentlemen, is nothing but black, ANC, communist domination in this country. They are trying to put us in chains and we say, 'no go'.

"You can only solve the political power struggle by dividing the land," he said. "If you go through this country you will find the graves of thousands of Afrikaners who have lived here, who have died for this country, for a part of it.

"We only want that part of South Africa which is legally ours, which we have fought for, which we have spilled our blood for."

In organising white resistance, the CP as a last resort was considering "a big stayaway" of Conservatives "of everything from the SAA, hospitals, the police, fire brigades, businesses, schools — the lot.

The campaign "to arouse the mood" of the white electorate would culminate on May 26 — the anniversary of the NP's coming to power in 1948 — at a mass rally in Pretoria.

Mr Van der Merwe said his party was not calling on its supporters to resort to violence, which the party rejected as a means to achieving poltical objectives.

In Parliament yesterday, senior CP MP Mr

To page 2

CP's Koos, 'donnered' but unafraid

Political Correspondent

"I HAVE never feared any black man and I have fought them to prove it," the Conservative Party's official spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said yesterday.

He admitted: "A black youngster donnered me very well when I was 12 years old in Vanderbijl Park."

Mr Van der Merwe was responding to a question on whether the CP's commitment to a separate white homeland stemmed from a fear of blacks.

He told journalist that the party neither feared black people in general nor individual blacks and went on to include Soweto community leader Dr Mthato Motlana and Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo among his "good friends".

P.T.O.

From page 1

Casper Uys said the party would mobilise the Afrikaner in every field. Cape Times 8/2/90 (30KB)

Mr Uys said that if the goverment wanted to implement its present policies it would have to suppress its Afrikaner nation with violence — with the aid of the ANC.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw, said in response that the remarks were an invitation to violence and wanted to know if Mr Uys associated himself with this.

Last night CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht reacted guardedly to a call by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder for CP public representatives to precipitate a crisis by resigning their seats.

Dr Treurnicht said: "The challenge before the nation is the question of an effective strategy in the struggle against National Party capitulation."

At a news conference in Pretoria, Mr Terre'Blanche, Mr Van Tonder, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais and, in absentia, Dr Piet Cloete of the Transvaalse Separatiste, had accused Mr De Klerk of not having a mandate for his reform announcements.

"Pretoria may become Mandelia," Mr Marais said.

● Right-wingers who respond to a possible call by the Conservative Party to stay away from work for "two to three days" will find themselves up against sophisticated strike-hardened managements, a snap survey showed yesterday.

Those in the police, transport services or city councils would face prosecution, no pay for no work or docked leave.

General Herman Stadler, head of the police public relations division, yesterday described Mr Van der Merwe's suggested call as "very optimistic".

"In the first place it's an offence for a policeman to do this. We are here to serve people; they can't expect us to break laws we are paid to uphold," he said.

General Stadler added that while he could not "vouch for every single policeman", he could not imagine any large-scale stayaway.

SATS spokesman Mr Leon Els said any of his organisation's 180 000-strong work force who stayed away would be treated on a "no work, no pay" basis. SATS had recently managed to keep services running in spite of a 13-week 26 000-member strike whose settlement affirmed that strikes were illegal in this essential service. The majority of SATS workers were also black, he added.

The case for social democracy in SA

TWO FUTURES FOR NATION — A THRIVING ECONOMY OR DISASTER

CAPE TIMES 8/2/90 304A

Extracts from the keynote address on economic policy by PIETER LE ROUX of the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape which was read to the recent Paris conference attended by ANC leaders and by South African businessmen, academics, unionists and politicians.

SOUTH AFRICA has two possible futures. Our country could be transformed into a democratic society with a successful and thriving economy, or it could become a disaster area.

South Africans will not, I believe, have the luxury of simply muddling through. Either we are going to get things right, and then there will be a great future for all of us, or we are going to make the same mistakes so many countries have made. And then, because of the explosive mix of political forces, we are going to destroy ourselves.

We will not simply stagnate a little bit, as England does when she makes the wrong choices. One day we will either be a Sweden, or we will be a Lebanon.

Which of these two possible futures await us, depends crucially on the choices we as South Africans make. The first choice will be whether we opt for a negotiated settlement, or for a drawn-out conflict. If there is a drawn-out siege, there will be very little chance to revive our economy at the end of the conflict, no matter what economic policy is adopted. We will be a nation in ruins.

Destructive conflict

If, in spite of formidable obstacles, there is a settlement soon, the type of economic mix chosen will be of crucial importance. If we choose a mix which, although not the same is akin to that which the communist countries of Europe had implemented, I predict that our economy will soon be in ruins in any case. On the other hand, if we choose a mix akin to that of the social democracies of the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Austria or Canada, then I believe that our great economic potential could be realised.

I am not confident that we South Africans will be astute enough to avoid a long and destructive conflict which is bound to irreparably damage our society. But this is not a forum where I have to argue the case for a negotiated settlement. However, I know that the case for a social democracy as the type of economic system which ought to emerge is more controversial. Some may consider this to be too socialist a system, whereas others are bound to regard it as too capitalist.

My contention is that it is the type of mix which has shown itself far more capable of meeting the aspirations of the people than either the traditional Marxist-Lenist or the out-and-out capitalist societies.

More radical socialist system

There are a number of reasons why we should take the social democratic vision seriously. Firstly, I am convinced that if there should be a negotiated settlement soon, it is most likely to be of a social democratic nature.

Those who have power today would rather enter a siege economy than to accept a more radical socialist system; the oppressed would rather continue their struggle than to settle for an economic system which does not alter the pattern of economic domination. A social democracy would thus constitute a compromise between right wing fears and left wing aspirations.

Secondly, and more fundamentally, social democracies, in contrast to Marxist-Leninist socialism and the capitalist systems, have the proven ability to rapidly enhance the political and the economic power of all those groups excluded under more exploitative and authoritarian systems.

'Life after death'

A social democracy, I would thus argue, is the only system which could rapidly eliminate the consequences of apartheid, where apartheid is defined as the system which has caused the radically-skewed distribution of economic and political power. Social democracy is the system which, under present circumstances, is by far the most likely to meet the aspirations of the poor and the suppressed.

Thirdly, it is important that we embark on the debate regarding the type of economic system at this stage, not only because it is necessary to plan ahead for future changes, but because our vision of a future society will in itself significantly influence whether South Africa will head for a destructive conflict or will find the route to political stability and economic prosperity.

As Breyten Breytenbach remarked the other day, there is dialectic between the visions of the future, and the choices made today. To think carefully now about the correct mix once one gets into power may in itself be an action which brings the settlement closer. A settlement is feared much less once it is realised that there is "life after death", to use a phrase Van Zyl Slabbert coined. The social democratic future constitutes a vision, I believe, which will enhance progress on the road to a negotiated settlement.

An unreflective adherence to old-style Marxist rhetoric, which stubbornly ignores recent developments in Eastern Europe, may have severe consequences for the future denouement. It may lead to actions which will destroy much of the productive capacity of our economy.

For not only will a drawn out conflict in itself be a tragic waste of South Africa's productive resources and leave scars which will be difficult to heal, but the continued flight of capital and skills might undermine the very productive capacity which needs to be re-directed to meet the aspirations of the poor.

Not strategically situated

During the past year or two more progressive social scientists have turned to an investigation of the question of how the goals of the Freedom Charter regarding housing, health, education, welfare and employment are to be met. Time and again the discovery has been made that cuts in the defence budget and an equalisation of welfare expenditure on all will not suffice to meet even the most pressing needs. Only rapid economic growth could provide the much-needed resources.

Given the fact that the Cold War is coming to an end and that South Africa is in any case not strategically situated, there is no chance whatsoever of receiving the massive aid given to countries such as Cuba and Taiwan. South Africa will primarily have to create the surplus for social expenditures itself.

Whether the South African government will be able to meet the just aspirations of the people of South Africa, as spelt out in the Freedom Charter, will thus in the first place depend on the rate of economic growth. Should South Africa grow at 4,2% a year, the National Income will increase by 50% in 10 years and 125% in 20 years.

On the other hand, should the economy grow at 7,2% it will double in 10 years time and quadruple within two decades. What is more, unemployment is likely to continue increasing, albeit slowly, at a 4,2% rate of growth, where as it will virtually all be wiped out at the end of 20 years at the higher rate of growth.

High rates of growth in themselves will, of course, not be sufficient to eliminate poverty and to redress economic inequities. There will have to be a significant redistribution if the crucial problems such as housing, education and health are to be dealt with successfully during the first two decades. The benefits of growth will have to be experienced primarily by those presently excluded.

High rates of growth

There are those who believe that policies attempting to redistribute out of growth would in the end destroy the growth potential of the South African economy. They argue that high rates of growth demand a limited government. To assure growth not much more than 20% of National Income must be spent by government.

I would argue that the reverse is true. Only if we continually invest more and more in the education, health and housing of our people, will it be possible to realise relatively high rates of growth. The history of social democratic countries such as Sweden, that started off with real per capita incomes similar to those of South Africa today, show that these types of social investments are soon beneficial for growth.

Only a social democratic economy, albeit one of the more radical nature than the Scandinavian model could, in the South African circumstances, overcome the structural obstacles to economic growth facing our country. It is the one socially just and truly democratic system which has proven its mettle in practice.

A political solution 'is SA's cement'

CAPE TOWN — Any fool could find a military solution to SA's problems, but in the end it would be a political solution which laid the cement on which to build the future, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening-of-Parliament address, he said the attitudes, quality of leadership, vision and inspiration of the various leaders would provide the solutions. B/Day 8/2/90

"It is going to be a tremendous test to take everyone with differing views to the negotiation table, and whether solutions will come depends on the degree of statesmanship displayed. 304A

He said the fundamental options were between danger and disaster. Maintaining the status quo was a recipe for disaster, he said.

Du Plessis said CP leader Andries Treurnicht should play a role in uplifting the people of SA. Instead "he entertains us with threats".

"I want to remind him that the government was chosen for the whole of SA and not only for the whites. When he talks about total self-determination for the whites he is giving a false guarantee to those who believe him." — Sapa.

'Not yet' a climate for talks

BDay 8/2/90

EAST LONDON — What was happening in SA now was not negotiation but the "removal of certain obstacles in the path of negotiation", Idasa executive director Alex Boraine said at a public meeting here yesterday.

Speaking to members of the UDF and East London city councillors, Boraine urged them to "move swiftly and decisively towards an open city".

He said, however, the climate for genuine negotiation "is not something which will be produced overnight".

Even when apartheid's crumbling walls were demolished, everyone faced the responsibility of building a new society, he said.

He urged South Africans to be patient with one another, without losing their sense of commitment and urgency.

"Whites will have to understand what it is like to have lived under apartheid and what it means to be in that situation now. Blacks are also going to have to understand that those whites who have been fighting for peace and for change are desperate for statesmanship from the black community...." (304A)

Obstacles in the way of a new society included the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the scrapping of apartheid legislation.

He said he was surprised the President had made no reference to the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, but he expected this to be remedied during this week's No Confidence debate.

He expected a "very sharp and perhaps violent reaction from the extreme right wing", and said there would be "a variety of responses" from black as well as white South Africans. — Sapa.

CP threatens stayaway to cripple services

B/Day 8/2/90. (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The CP yesterday threatened to cripple strategic services — including the police, hospitals and schools — as part of a defiant strategy to wrest power from the government.

The CP disclosed it was considering calling on its estimated 900 000 adult supporters to stay at home for "two or three days" as part of an elaborate resistance campaign to force President F W de Klerk to hold another white election.

The party believes white anger over the far-reaching changes announced by De Klerk is so high that the party would sweep to power if an election was held.

Koos van der Merwe, the CP's official spokesman and head of the party's information and strategy committee, vowed to work up "white resistance" to government until De Klerk gave white voters a chance to judge the NP's latest reform moves.

Van der Merwe told a Cape Town media briefing the CP did not envisage stayaway action taking place on "a continuous basis" but rather as a "one-time" demonstration of its support.

Other protest strategies being planned or considered by the party included protest marches, between 500 and 1 000 public meetings, rallies, and the distribution of thousands of pamphlets exposing the NP's "crookery".

Van der Merwe said his party was not calling on its supporters to resort to violence, although government — "through its crookery and by jumping on the white electorate" — was creating a climate in which "violence can become a possibility".

Last night government promised to take tough action against planned militant right-wing protests if they turned violent.

Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said De Klerk had made it clear government planned to crack down on all acts of violence.

GERALD REILLY reports that the right-wing grouping of the AWB, HNP and Boerestaat Party has said it will use every

☐ To Page 2

Stayaway

B/Day 8/2/90 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

constitutional device available to force government into a general election.

HNP leader Jaap Marais appealed to the CP at a media conference in Pretoria yesterday to co-operate in the fight and persuade MPs and town and city councillors to resign and fight by-elections.

Asked what his reaction would be if the CP spurned his advances, Marais said alternatives would have to be considered.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, also present at the conference, along with Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder, said the HNP, AWB and BSP offered the CP its full, unqualified co-operation in the struggle that lay ahead.

Last night CP leader Andries Treurnicht reacted guardedly to the call for CP public representatives to resign their seats.

He said: "The challenge before the nation is the question of an effective strategy in the struggle against National Party capitulation," which it would decide on and announce in due course.

Jesse Jackson, left, arriving at a media conference yesterday with Walter Sisulu, centre, and Allan Boesak. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

304A

Jackson arrives in SA for widespread talks

B/Day 8/2/90

CHARLENE SMITH

THE Rev Jesse Jackson, US presidential hopeful and civil rights campaigner, said on his arrival in SA yesterday he had no plans to see Nelson Mandela in prison, but "I hope to see him walking down the streets of Johannesburg".

He planned to meet people from the widest spectrum of SA society including leaders of the NGK, the Pan Africanist Movement, Azapo, the UDF and business leaders.

Massive security ringed Jan Smuts Airport for his arrival, and all cars were searched.

Members of the AWB were prevented from displaying rolled up swastika-style flags by a strong police presence and regular airport announcements saying "banners and posters may not be unfurled in the airport according to government regulations".

Jackson neither confirmed nor denied he had supported an end to sanctions in conversations with the SA government, but said he did not want to conduct dialogue with government through the news media.

"Apartheid is racial sanctions. For those who cannot vote it is political sanctions. The Group Areas Act is land sanctions.

"End apartheid and sanctions will leave with them. Sanctions are a non-violent stimulus to negotiations and a viable alternative to bloodshed."

Jackson said President F W de Klerk's speech to Parliament had given hope, but there was also caution because the structure of apartheid remained in place and Nelson Mandela remained in jail.

"Apartheid must be dismantled. It must take place in the context of sharing power and no bloodshed. There is no security in a future with apartheid. We must encourage the president of this country to seize the moment and rise above uncertainty in the name of history."

Embassy

Jackson is here at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches, ANC and UDF leaders Walter and Albertina Sisulu, SACC secretary general the Rev Frank Chikane and World Alliance of Reformed CHurches leader Dr Allan Boesak.

He consulted US embassy officials yesterday afternoon before dining with the Sisulus. Tomorrow morning he will meet church leaders in Johannesburg. He is expected to travel to Cape Town at the weekend to meet anti-apartheid leaders.

hursday, February 8 1990

Power for the poor a 'precondition' for development

B/Day 8/2/90 LESLEY LAMBERT 304A

CAPE TOWN — Political empowerment of SA's poor people was a necessary precondition for future social development and economic growth, Francis Wilson, UCT economics professor and member of the second Carnegie Inquiry into poverty, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Western Cape Regional Development Association (RDA) congress, Wilson said recent signals that SA was beginning to negotiate the inclusion of all its people in the political arena had enormous economic implications.

The aim of the two-day congress, which started yesterday, was to determine regional development strategies for achieving a level of annual economic growth in the western Cape which would at least prevent current unemployment figures rising further.

Cape Peninsula Regional Development Association chairman Clive Keegan said the congress hoped to have agreed on strategies by the end of today.

Wilson said regional development associations had a role to play in pushing for the abolition of the Group Areas Act and the 1913 Land Act and the granting of full democratic rights.

But, he warned that it would not be enough merely to remove the laws of apartheid because, like scaffolding that was taken away, they would leave structures behind them.

New institutions and structures would have to be developed to encourage economic growth in the political environment, he said.

He presented a model applied by the Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, city council. The council had decided after many years spent trying to solve the problems of unemployment and housing shortages by teaching its school-leavers superficial technical skills, to shift its focus to training job creators.

Apart from the technical skills, school-leavers were also taught to run financially viable co-operatives. The council set up a revolving loan fund allowing each person in a co-operative to borrow a maximum of R500 for tools. The co-ops were commissioned to build homes on land allocated by the councils, with building societies required to invest up to 25% of their funds in low cost housing projects.

Other obvious priorities on RDA's lists were education and AIDS, Wilson said.

Mayor of Soweto praises De Klerk

WILSON ZWANE 304A

THE unbanning of political organisations by President F W de Klerk last Friday was the first major step towards genuine negotiations about SA's new constitution, Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi said yesterday.

In a statement, Mkhwanazi said he and his council supported the move by De Klerk — particularly the release of political detainees.

"I commend the President for this bold step and I place on record our support for all those initiatives from beyond our country's borders designed to peacefully bring about a just, non-racial and democratic constitution for our country," said Mkhwanazi. B/Day 8/2/90

However, he said the question of what would happen to black organisations formed by the state during the apartheid era was problematic.

It was his belief that the local authorities, although created by the state, had a vital role to play in the short-term.

Mr Kobie Coetsee

Mr Harry Schwarz

Mr Jan Hoon

Nat love of freedom a recipe for conflict — says CP

CAPE TIMES 8/2/90 (304A)

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

WHILE the National Party proclaimed its love of freedom on the third day of the parliamentary debate on President De Klerk's speech, the Conservative Party said it could not believe what was happening before its very eyes.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, said the steps Mr De Klerk had announced illustrated the National Party's love of freedom.

Features of the new South Africa would be freedom of speech with people's right to assert themselves politically.

PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS

The Supreme Court would be the bastion of the rule of law and at the same time law and order would be maintained.

The situation had changed because some of the organisations which had now been unbanned had started indicating a preference for peaceful solutions and history would show that Nelson Mandela had played a great and positive role in this.

The African National Congress should now spell out more clearly that it preferred a peaceful solution to a military one.

Referring to the release of political prisoners, Mr Coetsee said people who had merely belonged to banned organisations were welcome but, as the president had said, this decision did not mean that terrorism and violence would be condoned.

The freeing of political prisoners was something on which there could be further negotiations.

Mr Jan Hoon, MP for Kuruman and Cape leader of the Conservative Party, said Mr De Klerk's proposals were a recipe for conflict.

He accused the government of throwing overboard the assurances it had given to the whites as recently as the general election last year.

As an ex-Nationalist, he could not believe what was happening before his very eyes.

Everything that had been predicted as things that would happen under a Progressive Federal Party government were now beginning to happen under a Nationalist government.

The government was trying to make the political power of the white man irrelevant, but it would not succeed in making the CP irrelevant.

Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, said the president had seized the initiative in respect of the movement towards talks and negotiations.

QUALITY AND VISION

The nature of South African politics would and could never be the same. The road ahead was still long, and might be stormy, but South Africa was on it.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said only a fool would try to set the country alight. The biggest challenge was to try to find a political solution.

A lot would depend on the quality of leadership and the attitudes and vision of the negotiators. The choices were between danger and disaster: one lay along a road which held certain dangers, but to maintain the status quo was a recipe for disaster.

STAR 9/2/90 ( ) (304A)

'Bittereinders' will have to be reckoned with – Hartzenberg

(304A)

We'll sacrifice all, warns CP

The Afrikaner nation would not allow itself to be led to the abattoir by the Government, **Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg** asserted yesterday.

He said in a debate on the State President's vote that the CP would mobilise the majority of whites for their fatherland.

"The nation (volk) will make itself free in its own country, the country to which it has title.

"The march of freedom begins next week on Thursday in Church Square in Pretoria, and it will get slowly and steadily under way."

The hour of the CP had come because all that stood between whites and an ANC government was the CP.

"This is what the CP was born for — to take this standpoint and to prevent it."

The Government no longer either cared for its people or knew what went on in their hearts. "It no longer realises that in the past the Afrikaner nation sacrificed literally everything on the altar for its freedom and its fatherland — and that it will do so again."

Referring to the Anglo-Boer wars at the beginning of the century and the spirit of Paardekraal, Dr Hartzenberg said a foreign government had never been acceptable to the Afrikaner.

"The fact is, it was not with the joiners and the hensoppers that peace was concluded then. It was with the bittereinders. And it's with the bittereinders that you will have to reckon with if you want to give away the freedom of the Afrikaner. This nation will not be led to the abattoir."

While Eastern Europe was throwing off the yoke of communism, the SA Government had done more for the furtherance of communism than the KGB had done.

The SA Government had propped up a shaky communist government in Mozambique and handed over South West Africa to Swapo, thus creating a new communist state on South Africa's borders.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha; the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe; and the SACP had found the weak spot in South Africa's armour and were working on it. That weak spot was the State President, Dr Hartzenberg said.

The Government reacted predictably to violence and threats of violence — it took fright and gave way. Its norm for success in talks was simply whether the ANC took part or not.

Meanwhile, the ANC had not shifted its position. — Sapa.

Minister justifies emergency

The instruments of the emergency regulations were still needed to control the continuing violence, particularly in Natal, **Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok** said yesterday. Star 9/2/90

Speaking in debate on the State President's opening-of-Parliament address, Mr Vlok said the facts showed that violence was still taking place on a large scale. A situation of emergency still existed which could best be controlled by the emergency measures.

"On top of that, the revolutionary climate is still unnaturally high.

"The State President has removed all their excuses for propagating violence. If there are still matters which worry, they can now be solved in a peaceful way — and this goes for everyone from the AWB through to the PAC and everyone in-between.

"In reality, it is these people who are responsible for the state of emergency still being in operation.

"I blame them directly and I challenge them to stop the violence and prove to the country that they want peace and are responsible citizens who deserve to be fellow rulers of the country. Anarchists will not be permitted to rule us," Mr Vlok said. — Sapa.

Vlok warns both Left and Right

There would be no winners, and South Africa and the ordinary citizens would be the losers, if radical groups from the Left and Right got stuck into each other, **Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok** said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the State President's opening-of-Parliament address, Mr Vlok said confrontation which led to violent clashes between groups would not solve a single problem, it would only worsen the situation.

The Conservative Party was supported by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and it had come to his notice that AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche had threatened to take part in a march to the Union Buildings.

"Mr TerreBlanche is apparently trying to blow some life into the dead remains of the AWB. This is foolish.

"We have heard similar ominous sounds from the radical Left. They are also beating the drums of violence and revolt and they are trying to hide behind the pretty words of 'the armed struggle'. (304A)

"I want to make it clear that if these two groups get stuck into each other, there will be no winner. The country and the ordinary citizen will be the ones to suffer most.

"I appeal to these groups to choose their words carefully and not to play reckless games with people's emotions. Don't capitalise on the natural fears of people. It is natural for people to be concerned about the future, but please do not take advantage of this for personal political gain."

Star 9/2/90

Mr Vlok said what was needed now was calm.

"We will not hesitate to act firmly against anyone perpetrating violence, and if that happens they must not cry and accuse us of violence." — Sapa.

STAR 9/2/90

PARLIAMENT 1990

Govt 'must take initiative'

Although there were risks in trying to achieve government by consent in South Africa, there were greater risks in trying to maintain government by force, Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the State President's opening address, Mr Eglin said there was now the possibility that South Africans could talk to one another across the table "instead of glowering at one another across the ramparts of the laager".

The State President's speech was essentially about strategy and how to get the process of negotiation for a new constitution under way.

"While there are still certain issues arising out of the State President's statement that still have to be resolved — the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the state of emergency — this is not the time for carping criticism or political grandstanding."

Mr Eglin said the day of Mr Mandela's release could be declared to be a "day of national reconciliation".

The Government should not stand still on negotiations, but should take the initiative to get rid of apartheid once and for all.

SOCIALISM

Mr Eglin said the State President should also take the initiative in negotiations on the economic system most suited to the needs of a new South Africa "and certainly not wait for the advocates of socialism to do so".

Members of the Conservative Party were angry and frustrated at the realisation that history was passing them by.

The Democratic Party would press for the abolition of apartheid and would promote, among all sectors of the country, democracy based on the recognition of basic human rights. — Sapa.

Appeal for a clear policy on prisoners

STAR 9/2/90

The Government had to state a clear policy regarding all political prisoners, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives Mr Abe Williams said yesterday.

Speaking during the joint debate on the State President's opening address, he said the danger existed that if only the leaders were released, they could be seen as sellouts.

He raised laughter when he said that if white South Africa did not want the State President, Mr de Klerk would feel very much at home in the LP. — Sapa.

Parties may have to dissolve – LP

Existing political parties may have to pay the price of disappearance as an investment in the future of South Africa and all its people, the chairman of the House of Representatives' Ministers' Council, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday. Star 9/2/90

Speaking during the debate on the State President's opening speech, he also called for the three Houses of Parliament to be scrapped as separate entities.

"Let us in future meet as one House."

He asked how a new South Africa could be born if the old one did not die.

He said the National Party might have to dissolve to form something new. — Sapa.

be permitted

FIM 9/2/90 (304A)

DE KLERK'S CAPE TOWN SPEECH IN A NUTSHELL

Negotiation is government's highest priority. It's aimed at a new system, giving all citizens equal rights in the constitutional, social and economic spheres.

To facilitate negotiation, government has:

☐ Unbanned the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the PAC; freed those jailed merely because their organisations were banned; scrapped nearly all the emergency media restrictions; lifted restrictions on 33 organisations, including the National Education Crisis Committee, the UDF, Cosatu and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging; lifted restrictions on 374 former detainees; and limited detention-without-trial to six months;

☐ Nelson Mandela will be released unconditionally; a date will be set soon;

☐ The State of Emergency is still justified because of the conflict in Natal and indications that radicals are trying to disrupt negotiation. But the emergency will be terminated as soon as possible;

☐ Government's aims in creating the climate for negotiation are: a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on private enterprise; programmes for better education, health and housing;

☐ The death penalty needs reforming. Government proposes to limit it to extreme cases only, broaden judicial discretion and allow automatic right of appeal. Meanwhile, there's a moratorium on executions;

☐ Existing socio-economic strategies are being reviewed. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act will be scrapped;

☐ There are new opportunities for southern Africa. Countries in the region must set aside conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme to attract foreign investment and loan capital;

☐ A new SA is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound, growing economy. Particular emphasis is on the creation of jobs;

☐ Government's point of departure is to reduce the public-sector role in the economy. Preference will be given to market forces and a sound competitive structure;

☐ Restricted capital expenditure in government corporations; privatisation and deregulation; and lower government spending have substantially reduced government's role in the economy. It will continue on this path;

☐ Special attention will be given to the supply side of the economy;

☐ Fundamental factors which will help restructuring are: gradually reducing inflation to that of SA's main trading partners; encouraging personal initiative and savings; subjecting all government economic decisions to stringent financial discipline; rapid reform of tax systems; and encouraging exports to boost industrialisation and foreign exchange earning;

☐ Such adjustments, which will require sacrifices, are essential for sustained growth in the Nineties;

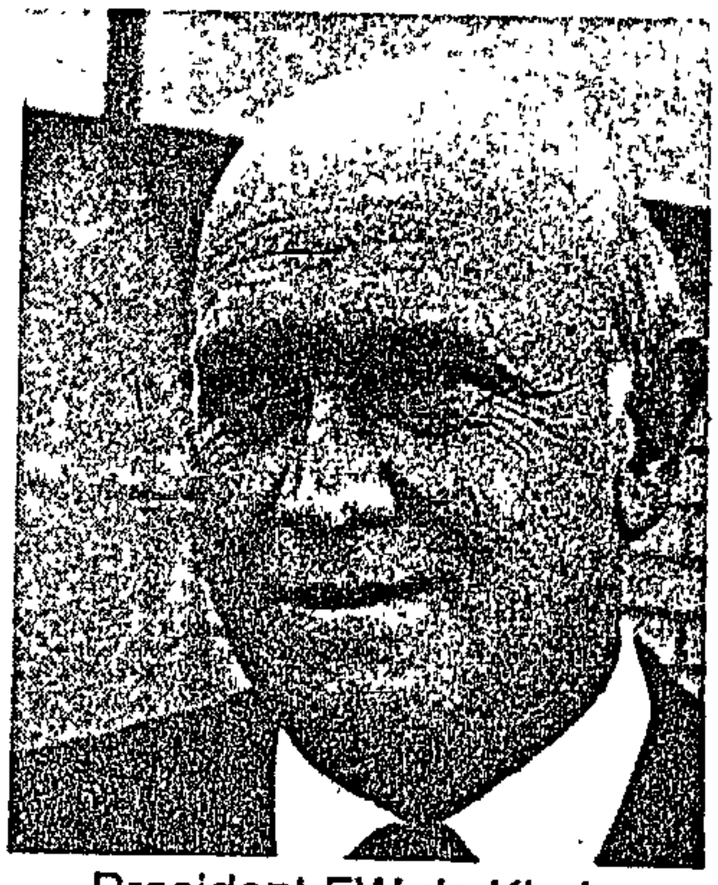
☐ Government has met most of its economic aims in the past year. The Budget will show that: government spending is under control; the normal financing programme has not exerted significant upward pressure on interest rates; and the year will close with a surplus, not counting the cash from Iscor; and

☐ In the new financial year government will co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy to achieve: a soft landing from the present downturn to cushion adjustments; economic consolidation before the next upward phase, so the economy can grow from a sound base. There will be structural adjustments for easing the tax burden, sustained generation of surpluses on the current account of the BoP and the reconstruction of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

De Klerk 'didn't go far enough'

3041

WHILE the ANC has welcomed its unbanning, it has stated President FW de Klerk did not go far enough in meeting the demands of the



President FW de Klerk

Kobie Coetsee

Harare Document

The Harare Document was drawn up after consultation with groups such as the UDF, the trade unions and the churches. The ANC was involved in the discussion. In the end a document was produced which was placed before, and passed by, the ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on August 21, 1989.

The main feature of the declaration revolved around the question of negotiations. It says the government should create a climate for negotiations by, "at the very least";

- Releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally (De Klerk has promised to do this);
- Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons. (There are conflicting reports, some saying the Internal Security Act consolidated list has been scrapped, others that the names of some ANC members have not been removed from the list);
- Removing all troops from the township. (De Klerk did not mention this in his speech last Friday);
- Ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation, including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity. (This basic condition has also not been fulfilled).
- Ceasing all political trials and political executions.(This point is also not clarified through De Klerk's statement).

De Klerk in his speech to open parliament made much play of the fact that through his concessions, the armed struggle was no longer justified.

The Harare Declaration, however, states that only *after* these conditions to create a climate for conditions are met, discussions should take place between the ANC and Pretoria to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.

F/M 9/2/90 (304A)

DE KLERK SPEECH

Fragile bubbles

The ripple effects of President F W de Klerk's historic speech to parliament on Friday are already being felt in certain sectors of the economy — including property.

His dramatic announcements, paving the way for negotiations with the now unbanned ANC, immediately injected vigour into the stock market as business confidence soared.

Property also reacts to rising confidence but most experts believe reaction to the news in this market will be delayed.

Allied MD Kevin de Villiers believes it could take 12-18 months for increases in property values above the rate of inflation to filter through.

Most commentators predict that, initially, there's likely to be a growing demand for offices and, further down the line, dwellings.

Eskel Jawitz maintains the impact on the housing market is already being felt but adds there's no guarantee the bubble won't burst because the newly created confidence hangs on two slender threads — political and economic.

"One can't divorce the political and economic situations and we still have a long economic path to tread. It could be five to 10 years before we get things right."

De Villiers cautions that high interest rates will continue to depress house prices in the short term. The exception will be homes in the R400 000-plus bracket.

However, he adds, the prospect of interest rates falling in the second half of the year are extremely good.

"When that happens properties below R400 000 will become more affordable and there will be no shortage of willing buyers. That will buoy up prices. One could see property prices rising by 2,5%-3% a month."

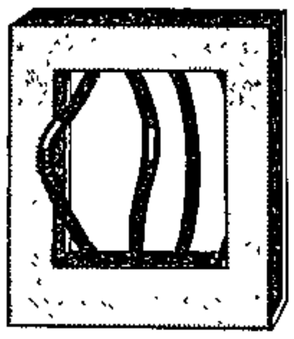
Not everyone is as enthusiastic about the impact of De Klerk's speech. Ampros leasing director Grahame Lindop cautions there is a long way to go before meaningful change.

"Until sanctions are lifted, and there is normalisation of international communications, there will be little change in the property market. The really big change must be in line with what is happening in south-east Asia and Australia. That means massive injections of foreign capital. Until that happens property values and prices won't rise dramatically." ■

FM 9/2/90 (304A)

Waiting for the response

■ The debate around nationalisation will be a key to the ANC's credibility



Only a few months ago, the extent of any reforms announced by a Nat State President would have been judged by the depth of chagrin on the Right. However, after President F W de Klerk's profound and far-reaching statements on Friday, what Andries Treurnicht had to say in parliament this week appeared both predictable and irrelevant.

De Klerk has freed the National Party — if not the whole Afrikaner tribe — from the confines of its own ideology. He has not so much emancipated the unenfranchised blacks as prepared the way for his own people to use their considerable skills, talents and resources for the benefit of the whole region.

The response that matters, and is still substantially being awaited as the *FM* goes to press, is the considered view of the ANC and what it plans to do now. For it, too, if it chooses to be magnanimous, could by clever use of the greater freedoms now open to it lift the whole southern African region on to a plateau of peaceful prosperity which would have seemed an impossible dream only a short time ago.

Southern Africa has abundant natural resources, the exploitation of which requires technical skills and capital. SA has the industrial and financial infrastructure that could enhance this exploitation to the substantial benefit of people of all races and cultural backgrounds in the region.

There has been economic decay, partly as a result of Nat policies here and the collectivist ideals of the liberation governments to the north. But there has been nothing like the economic devastation that 70 years of communism has brought to Soviet Russia and, since World War 2, to eastern Europe. Simply put, a peaceful southern Africa — stripped of its political fantasies — could offer private foreign investors some opportunities far more lucrative and secure than much that might be found in eastern Europe.

Indeed, it might well be argued that while the ANC may be capable of disrupting and delaying this prosperity, it is unlikely to be able — even if it were so inclined — to thwart the process entirely.

For the ANC, slow and unimaginative as it has shown itself to be, is losing — and could lose faster — its credibility and support in the developed world. If it adheres to violence and scorns the opportunity to seek democratic justification openly and peacefully, it will nurture the seeds of its own destruction.

Its weapons supplies and tactical support systems are already in jeopardy as a result of the explosion of the Marxist myth of equality and plenitude through collectivism in eastern Europe and Russia. The Nordic countries, which have given support naively and unstintingly, have some economic problems of their own to face and have already shown some impatience at African political intransigence.

But the country with the wild cards could be the US, for it is capable of turning the threat of removing sanctions into a powerful inducement to the ANC and other black bodies to negotiate seriously with Pretoria.

Conversely, the developed world has little else with which to belabour SA, even if it wished to. The real sting to this economy

Greeting the news ... but the eastern models don't work

came from the 1985 capital freeze and subsequent disinvestment. That is not only incapable of repetition but the process is being reversed. Disinvestment is but a trickle and capital inflows, while still small, are gathering momentum.

Trade sanctions, as we have argued for some time, are no longer really an issue. They are unlikely to be tightened — especially after De Klerk's reforms — and the economy has shown itself to be remarkably resilient in finding new markets. Sanctions are an unnecessary impediment to growth but they are incapable of strangling it.

Nor are the developed countries, which control substantial aid flows, likely to be impressed by economic policies in Africa that have been shown to reduce self-sufficiency, encourage poverty and uphold dictatorships. They no longer regard the extent of their charity to the Third World as a measure of virtue. Those who have been instruments of their own impoverishment are not popular in the West.

The ANC has more than the eyes of anxious SA whites on its policy utterances. It has the developed world as well as the eastern European, whose own experience belies the economic sense of much of what the ANC has been saying about a post-apartheid society.

Take, for instance, what Comrade Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, has to say about nationalisation: "The nationalisation of key elements is necessary to get resources for the democratic government to carry out its programmes ... (It) could not allow its plans to be thwarted by lack of resources." The truth is that nationalisation deprives government of the resources it requires.

Nzo, who clearly has no grasp of elementary economics, has only to look at the shortages of food and other basic commodities and sad queues of disappointed customers in eastern Europe to see the manifest deprivation of nationalisation. As British Liberal Prime Minister W E Gladstone found by chance in the last century, rising government revenues come from lower taxes and excises that encourage private commercial and industrial endeavour.

Moreover, if the mines, banks and what the ANC calls monopoly industries here were nationalised, more than 60% of the companies quoted on the JSE would be owned by government, which would have to run them. If that were to happen, foreign investment capital and technical skills would simply not flow in our direction. The press would be effectively nationalised and the flow of commercial information frustrated and distorted.

Scarce economic resources would, in consequence, be wasted through misallocation by a pricing system that received the wrong signals. Price controls, hyperinflation and a concentration of wealth into fewer hands would be the inevitable outcome.

Economic history has shown repeatedly that a rising level of prosperity comes from governments that foster private initiative and aim for the fastest possible economic growth rate that is capable of being sustained. Those that sacrifice growth to income or asset distribution inevitably end up with a poorer populace, offering fewer jobs and declining real incomes.

No matter how sound these economic arguments, we suspect the ANC will require some form of heroic economic gesture from government and business before it leaves the negotiating table — regardless of what poli-

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F/M 9/2/90 (304A)

tical agreements may have been reached.

It is an unfortunate and hard fact of life — especially after the exclusion of blacks for so long from free enterprise here — that gestures such as these all have economic and social costs which could be quite severe in the short run. In the longer run they amount to very little for the recipients. Economically they do more harm than good.

For this reason the economic aspects of De Klerk's speech are of substantial importance and require rapid implementation. Deregulation must be continued at a cracking pace so that blacks are able swiftly to benefit from their own informal commercial activities. State corporations need to be privatised, not only to provide tax revenues and once-off sale profits to government, but to foster a share-owning democracy.

Deregulation of the financial system is as important as that of the commercial system. For, among other benefits, it will provide further conduits for black savings to be channelled into the financing of black housing.

The shortcomings of the education and health systems, which have been created partly by apartheid and partly by a past tendency towards collectivist solutions, need to be addressed urgently. It is not logical that white schools and hospitals should be underused while the equivalent black institutions are overcrowded and inadequate. They require bold and creative solutions, not just more money.

If De Klerk moves swiftly with reforms such as these, much of the economic sting will be drawn from the political and constitutional negotiations. For blacks will have a better perspective of the fruits and freedoms of free enterprise. The inevitable hollowness of the heroic redistribution of resources from whites to blacks will become more evident. The unrealistic economic expectations will be moderated.

De Klerk

What is becoming increasingly clear is that when negotiations over a new dispensation get under way, the ANC is going to have no monopoly on moral fervour and economic righteousness. It is going to have to negotiate from a standpoint weakened by the desire of both the West and Soviet Russia for a negotiated settlement; by harsh economic reality which it has been avoiding; and by increasing censure from abroad if violence and intimidation persist.

Moreover, the ANC will increasingly now come under the influence of a new and — for it — strange phenomenon: it will become the focus of newspaper analysis, comment and criticism. Nothing tests the devotion to democracy as much as that. It will give the West and the whites here something of the flavour of the ANC's commitment to freedom of expression.

New-found freedoms, as well as the austerity and rising unemployment that curbing inflation is going to make inevitable, will give the ANC substantial opportunities to exploit violent protest in front of seductive world television cameras. It should weigh very carefully the likely judgment of its benefactors if it gives way to this temptation.

The need for violent protest has been removed. There can be no justification now for the disruption of university gatherings because radical black students cannot express their views.

If the ANC allows this sort of thing to continue, it will progressively alienate its support.

Last Friday, De Klerk not only gave greater freedom to the expression of black aspirations, and restored to his own party and people the freedom to confront, persuade and understand the political motives of black fellow countrymen, he gave all community leaders the opportunity to seek responsible government and rising prosperity in a new and more equitable society.

It is not an inconsiderable challenge to which they must now respond. ■

over the world. It's very competitive. ■

FW's SPEECH FM 9/2/90 (304A)

Business reaction

The predictably optimistic business reaction to President FW de Klerk's speech on Friday has been tempered with more cautious views.

While the long-term outlook has improved markedly business leaders say stability, economic reform and real negotiations are preconditions for breaking out the champagne.

"Business has a pivotal role in ensuring the president's initiatives are followed through to a successful conclusion," says Johannesburg Consolidated Industries CE Murray Hofmeyr.

He adds that future political and economic systems will be vital in influencing foreign investors to return.

"SA business must continue to argue the case for moving away from the obsession among some white South Africans with groups and group rights. They must also insist with equal forcefulness on the need to ensure that the process of wealth distribution is achieved through sound economic measures and not on the basis of reward and punishment."

Ron Haywood, Deputy Director-General of the SA Chamber of Business, says the improved foreign climate could encourage overseas companies already invested in SA to proceed with expansion plans. But, while new investment will undoubtedly be a longer-term option, of more immediate concern is re-opening export markets.

"The door is now open for serious negotiations. The world will be watching and stability will be a major factor in investment decisions," he says. Haywood remains convinced economic mismanagement played a major role in the disinvestment of many US companies.

"We have been perceived as a risk area. In addition, the Sullivan Principles and US tax legislation made it too costly for many companies to stay in SA."

Wayne Mitchell, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, maintains De Klerk's speech has created "an aura

FM 9/2/90 (304A)

of optimism" among US businesses still in the country.

He speculates that President George Bush may now be in a position to lift some restrictions, such as the suspension of SA Airways' US landing rights and the double-taxation legislation.

New US investment would benefit blacks. Mitchell says that with about 160 US companies left in SA (141 have pulled out since 1986), the current value of American investment stands at about $1,6bn.

Since 1976, US companies have contributed about R700m to social responsibility programmes benefiting blacks. Last year the remaining US companies invested R83m — about 12% of their total payroll.

"Once all restrictions are lifted the debate can focus on reality, including the best use of SA's limited resources, and the ANC's views on nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth," says Anglo American executive Michael Spicer.

"We will have to look at the examples of eastern Europe and African economies to see which way SA should go. We must prevent the mirror image of 40 years of statist Nat government to form part of a future SA, as this deleterious example has cost us dearly in lost economic opportunities."

Nonracial corridors

He is encouraged by the "pragmatism" of Sam Nujoma's Swapo government in Namibia, where ideological rhetoric has now made way for a level-headed approach to economic issues.

"The example of Botswana seems to carry more weight now than the disastrous one-party socialist experience of Zambia," Spicer says.

Mike Clark, CE of a soon-to-be-listed venture capital firm, New Company Investment, says SA's capital-rich financial institutions can help to "democratise" the often misunderstood free enterprise system by making more of their capital available to small entrepreneurs with lots of enthusiasm, bright ideas but no capital.

George Negota, acting president of the Black Management Forum, says the business world must "declare its corridors nonracial and ensure that blacks are also placed in decision-making positions." He calls for a united front of black business and political interests to meet the challenge set by De Klerk.

SA Chamber of Business president Leslie Boyd says that with eastern Europe now opening up to massive Western investment, care should be taken to ensure that the investment climate remains attractive and competitive. "This means that we need the right economic policies."

Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman says the business sector must continue with its effective, behind-the-scenes role of influencing opinion here and abroad.

"There is still pressure for sanctions, which means there is still a lot of work to do." ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY-ANC F/M 9/2/90 (304A)

Pitching new tents

Intense backroom discussions are going on among various MPs of the Democratic Party about its relationship with the ANC. A well-informed source tells the *FM* that some MPs have indicated they are seriously considering joining the unbanned organisation.

The strategic planning committee of the party has apparently met to discuss the issue of DP-ANC co-operation. A meeting of the committee (chaired by Robin Carlisle, MP for Wynberg) took place two weeks before President F W de Klerk's speech on Friday. Other MPs on the committee are Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Tony Leon (Houghton) and Louis de Waal (North Rand).

Malan

De Waal

Momberg

Gastrow

A DP MP tells the *FM* the committee has been looking at the party's role. "De Klerk's announcement has strengthened our belief that a repositioning vis-à-vis the ANC is now imperative," he adds.

It seems a group of MPs, led by DP co-leader Wynand Malan, intends joining the ANC. Other names being mentioned — purely speculatively — by sources in the DP are Natal MPs Peter Gastrow, Pierre Cronje (both left the former PFP to join forces with Malan) and Jordaan, as well as De Waal and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town). In discussions with various MPs this week it became clear that the list could be much longer. Decisions to join the ANC may be taken within a year or 18 months, according to one source.

MPs approached for comment say that policy gaps between the ANC and DP are not unbridgeable and consensus would be enhanced by the NP's reluctance to abandon entirely its race-based group concept. They also feel that the DP has already crossed the psychological barrier of negotiating with the ANC because of its encounters with the organisation when it was banned.

These MPs believe the economic differences between the free marketeers in the DP and the ANC's proponents of nationalisation could be resolved by co-operation in the pre-negotiation phase. "We would at least be in a better position than the NP to exert any influence on the ANC," one believes.

On Tuesday, in his first speech in parliament in 10 years, Jordaan (a former Nat senator) briefly raised the issue. De Klerk, he said, had correctly indicated that an important change in emphasis, visible in statements and viewpoints by the ANC, had already taken place. "During our interaction with extraparliamentary organisations, we have experienced that, despite differences in strategies, we are sharing more and more the same principles (*beginselstandpunte*)."

Jordaan spoke glowingly of his former political boss, Chris Heunis, whom he served when Heunis was minister of constitutional development.

From Jordaan's opening remarks in his speech it became clear that the meetings with the ANC had the blessing of Heunis. Referring to the unbanning of the ANC, Jordaan said: "I am convinced that this was also a day of great joy to my ex-colleagues and minister at the Department of Constitutional Development. These are people with whom I share many ideals."

In his speech, Wynand Malan said that he had always, in private conversations and in public, tried to put pressure on the NP and ANC to start the political process. "The next step now is the contact," he said. "I am an Afrikaner in the DP. I share my language and cultural interests with Afrikaners in the AWB, the CP, the NP and the ANC ..."

The DP believes in free elections on one voter's roll, said Malan. "We also accept that the majority of representatives in parliament and in government will be black. We believe that we will be part of the parliament and do not believe we will not be part of the government."

It has been clear to political commentators that De Klerk's announcement, while lauded by the DP, has placed the left-of-centre party in a position where it will have to prove its relevance to the voters.

Parliamentary leader Zach de Beer in his speech reacted with indignation to any suggestions that his party has become irrelevant. "When you have fought through the years for your values and policies, and others are converted (to those values), how on earth does that make you irrelevant?"

However, a formal link with the ANC, which has yet to reject violence completely, and is still intent on nationalising mines and banks, is clearly a risk to take for a new party which made electoral gains through compromise.

Many of its supporters may not like the new link. ■

THE LEFT F/M 9/2/90

Struggle on

Will the United Democratic Front (UDF) disband and fall in with the ANC, now that it's legal? After all, the UDF has always proclaimed allegiance to the Freedom Charter and hailed Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as "our leaders." It has maintained the distinction between it and the previously banned organisation — mainly to evade prosecution.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia says: "The matter must obviously be discussed, but disbanding won't be automatic." There seems no reason for disbanding UDF affiliates such as civic organisations, housing action committees and so on. But the issues are somewhat different when it comes to the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and its Natal counterpart.

Cachalia argues that UDF activity, since its formation in 1983, "resulted in a quantitative and qualitative leap forward in the struggle which brought government closer to unbanning the ANC." The way in which the ANC, UDF and Cosatu operate at this stage, he added, is through "consultation on major issues ... When the ANC is back, debate will centre on what role the party will play." There is, however, "no question" of the UDF seeking a place for itself at the negotiating table, if and when it comes to that.

At an executive committee meeting on Monday night, the TIC resolved to continue until there was "clarity" on aspects of President De Klerk's dramatic announcements on February 2.

For example, says TIC president Cassim Saloojee, there's still the question of whether normal political functioning is possible while the emergency remains. This meant that the ANC was "quite rightly" being cautious about returning. According to Saloojee, one

Financial Mail

F/M 9/2/90

(304A)

THE DE KLERK BREAKTHROUGH

The next step to freedom

The claims which the black majority will make upon the commanding heights of power in this country are exactly what they were 30 years ago — before the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the ANC and PAC. In this sense, F W de Klerk has merely restored the *status quo ante* — and there is a lot to be forgiven and forgotten. Perhaps, for some, too much.

But that De Klerk is a leader in a radically different mould to his predecessors is evident in the variety of responses his speech elicited: from anger and frustration on the Right, to a numb sense of having been outflanked on the Left.

It was Verwoerd who once said: "I do not have the nagging doubt of ever wondering whether, perhaps, I am wrong," and, in so saying, cast SA into the fatal experiment of apartheid. De Klerk gives no evidence of such messianism — he is in accord with the temper of the times.

He is the first Afrikaner leader since Smuts to address himself to the problems of the entire nation. And like Smuts — though in wholly contemporary terms — he is prepared to alienate elements of his own *volk* by carrying through essential reforms for the sake of a wider polity. Those elements will vilify him — but he is right.

With such momentous events under way, there is no point in dwelling on what might have been, on a wasted decade or the sorry history of the past 40 years. Everyone now has to adjust to what the expanding horizons of freedom mean, not least those who have been calling for just such steps as De Klerk took last Friday. Many expectations have been exceeded.

We can now think the previously unthinkable: of the ANC and the Communist Party free to organise and demonstrate support countrywide; of power-sharing to the highest levels of government; even of the prospects of majority rule.

It is no coincidence that De Klerk felt himself free to normalise the political process at precisely the time that events in eastern Europe are underscoring the bankruptcy of collectivism; and that the independence process in Namibia has shown how old foes can turn swords into ploughshares.

The political claims of the black majority, therefore, could be met sooner than anyone thinks. This has passed into the realm of possibility with the stroke of a pen. Who doubts that now? One of the accused in the old Treason Trial asked: "What treason was there? Is it treason to ask that black and white should live together as brothers, countrymen, equals?" Finally, unequivocally, government has accepted that.

The social claims, however, represent perhaps the real minefield ahead. For while the Group Areas Act and, further down the line, race classification are vulnerable to political bargaining or moral suasion, the great divide between black and white — the enormous disparities in wealth and the expectations these breed among the poor — is likely to endure beyond any political settlement.

This is where a claim on power becomes a claim upon the economy. And while the benefits of political freedom will have a direct bearing on the national ability to create wealth and attract fixed capital investment (**see next page**), there will be those for whom no amount of reallocation of scarce resources to education and social services will ever be enough. They will choose the State equity route, so to speak.

The chimera of wholesale redistribution — not just of taxes, but of land, property and enterprises — will be pursued by ideologues. That is their *raison d'etre*.

The *FM*'s position on this is well known — and we reiterated it last week in relation to Nelson Mandela's statement on nationalisation of the banks and mines. The expropriation of these sectors of the economy is mooted precisely to redress social inequality, to fund what would amount to social welfare programmes on a massive scale.

Faced with the clamour for material advancement which will persist for decades — and which will be blamed on the structural inequalities of apartheid — there will be many who argue for social tinkering and centralist planning, whatever the putative lessons of eastern Europe.

Barring the demonstration effect of market policies — which have hardly begun to take, thanks to those very structural inequalities of apartheid — the best way to address this misperception is for government to again act decisively in the political sphere. It would be disastrous if it made group rights, rather than individual ones, a chip on the negotiating table.

By paying proper constitutional attention to *individual* rights to life, the rule of law, property and the fruits of legitimate enterprise — and by doing so now — government, acting for the white minority, will circumvent the colossal dangers of achieving a short-term entrenchment of political privilege.

This after all was the route chosen by Ian Smith in Zimbabwe — specifically, a fixed representation in parliament — and now that expropriationist thought is again on the rise, the system has crystallised into what is in effect a dictatorship. There is little defence against that.

The Namibian experience again should have a strong bearing on our fortunes. If Dirk Mudge had held out for group rights, where would he be today?

The time to jettison the notion of group rights (as if people have ever needed group definitions to fit in) is now, while the nation as a whole is spiritually buoyed by the eagerness to change. For its part, the ANC should be aware that it must positively contribute to a subsidence of violence — making it easier for De Klerk's major emphasis on human rights to become common cause.

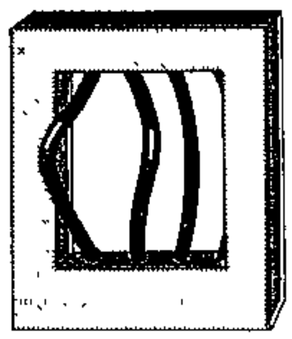
For the first time since the Nationalists took power, what we have in common is becoming the basis on which to construct a safer, even enviable, future. ■

REFORM AND THE ECONOMY

FM 9/2/90

Waiting for the response

■ The debate around nationalisation will be a key to the ANC's credibility



Only a few months ago, the extent of any reforms announced by a Nat State President would have been judged by the depth of chagrin on the Right. However, after President F W de Klerk's profound and far-reaching statements on Friday, what Andries Treurnicht had to say in parliament this week appeared both predictable and irrelevant.

De Klerk has freed the National Party — if not the whole Afrikaner tribe — from the confines of its own ideology. He has not so much emancipated the unenfranchised blacks as prepared the way for his own people to use their considerable skills, talents and resources for the benefit of the whole region.

The response that matters, and is still substantially being awaited as the *FM* goes to press, is the considered view of the ANC and what it plans to do now. For it, too, if it chooses to be magnanimous, could by clever use of the greater freedoms now open to it lift the whole southern African region on to a plateau of peaceful prosperity which would have seemed an impossible dream only a short time ago.

Southern Africa has abundant natural resources, the exploitation of which requires technical skills and capital. SA has the industrial and financial infrastructure that could enhance this exploitation to the substantial benefit of people of all races and cultural backgrounds in the region.

There has been economic decay, partly as a result of Nat policies here and the collectivist ideals of the liberation governments to the north. But there has been nothing like the economic devastation that 70 years of communism has brought to Soviet Russia and, since World War 2, to eastern Europe. Simply put, a peaceful southern Africa — stripped of its political fantasies — could offer private foreign investors some opportunities far more lucrative and secure than much that might be found in eastern Europe.

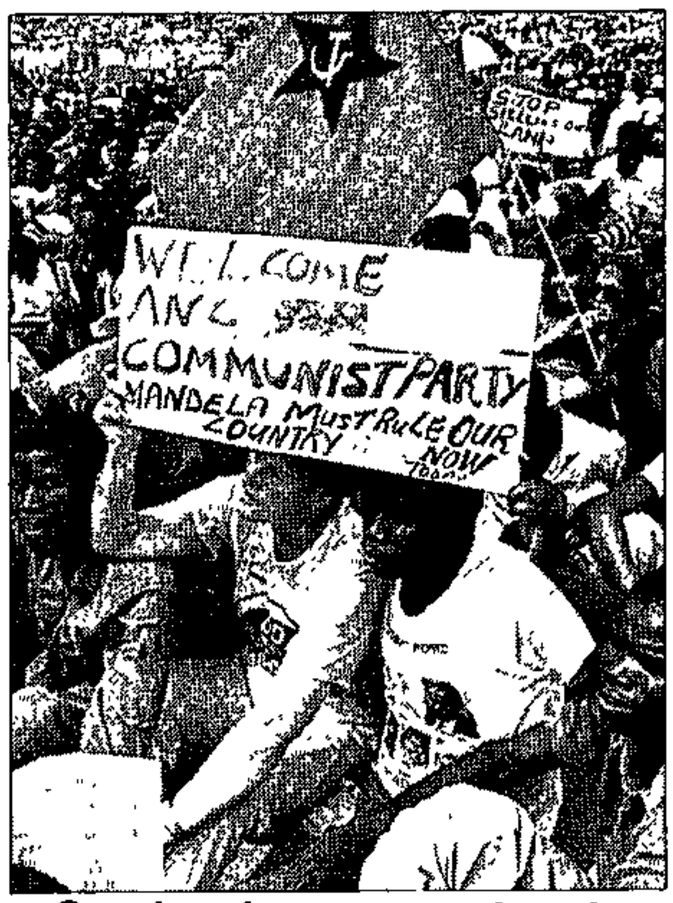
Indeed, it might well be argued that while the ANC may be capable of disrupting and delaying this prosperity, it is unlikely to be able — even if it were so inclined — to thwart the process entirely.

For the ANC, slow and unimaginative as it has shown itself to be, is losing — and could lose faster — its credibility and support in the developed world. If it adheres to violence and scorns the opportunity to seek democratic justification openly and peacefully, it will nurture the seeds of its own destruction.

Its weapons supplies and tactical support systems are already in jeopardy as a result of the explosion of the Marxist myth of equality and plenitude through collectivism in eastern Europe and Russia. The Nordic countries, which have given support naively and unstintingly, have some economic problems of their own to face and have already shown some impatience at African political intransigence.

But the country with the wild cards could be the US, for it is capable of turning the threat of removing sanctions into a powerful inducement to the ANC and other black bodies to negotiate seriously with Pretoria.

Conversely, the developed world has little else with which to belabour SA, even if it wished to. The real sting to this economy came from the 1985 capital freeze and subsequent disinvestment. That is not only incapable of repetition but the process is being reversed. Disinvestment is but a trickle and capital inflows, while still small, are gathering momentum.



Greeting the news ... but the eastern models don't work

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Sir, you outdid yourself, but ...

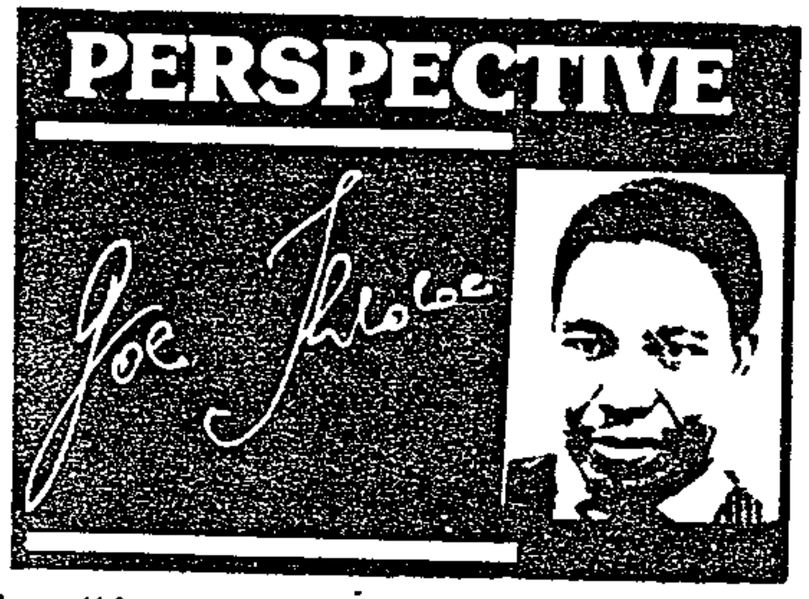
Dear Mr de Klerk,

WOW. So you said exactly what I said you would not do - give South Africa a vision for the future.

Remember last week's letter said the world expected you to pronounce the death sentence on apartheid and to announce the beginning of a new era. It expected you to talk about the dismantling of a system that was started by your forefathers, both English and Dutch, and codified by your party in 1948.

I remember my heavy words: "Sadly, I know you are not going to say it.

"What most of the world expects you to do today is to provide a vision - to spell out in unequivocal language that your goal is to create a one-person-one-vote democracy where the colour of the voter or the texture of his hair is completely irrelevant," the letter said.



Separatist

Congratulations for doing exactly that.

There are some people who are still worried that you have not completely outgrown the "group rights" separatist mentality. They point out that you are still talking about "the protection of minorities" and that in your speech you still referred to "national entities" and "nations".

They expect you to be talking about the South African nation.

They might be right, but at least you are the first leader of the National Party to provide a vision. And that vision appears to be getting clearer by the day.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the man in your Cabinet responsible for creating the new constitution, still sees the National Party in power for up to 10 years, and that gets many people nervous. But he does acknowledge that exclusive white rule is fading away and dying.

The vision is getting into focus, but you will still be attacked because the state of emergency is still in place, because Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners are still behind bars, because the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, and other apartheid laws are still on the statute book.

You will be attacked because your security legislation, including Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, is still in place.

It appears you have the unenviable task of looking at a short-term programme - and that will open you to accusations of being a gradualist, of trying to reform apartheid rather than scrapping it - as well as at the long-term programme.

Assembly

Can I suggest that you declare your Government an interim one until a constitution hammered out by all the citizens of this country is drawn up?

You could then call a one-person-one-vote election for a constituent assembly. All South Africans irrespective of colour should have the right to participate in creating that constitution.

In this way you will avoid the problems of who to invite to the negotiating table. South African will be sending their representatives to that assembly.

In that way we will be on our way to becoming a non-racial democracy.

Your tricameral Parliament could quietly go about its business while the constituent assembly is looking at the long term solutions.

Of course when you do this, you will have to grant amnesty to all political prisoners and to South Africans who are in exile and want to come back to be part of this history-making.

By the way, why did you not use your powers as President to grant that amnesty and avoid the confusion that has now arisen?

Umlazi fight will spotlight white reaction

Mr Con Botha
. . . outgoing MP

Argus 9/2/90

Political Staff

INTERNATIONAL attention is already focussing on the pending Umlazi by-election as it will be the first test of white political opinion after President De Klerk's unbanning of the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and the South African Communist Party to normalise South African politics.

The seat falls vacant on April 2, when Mr Con Botha MP becomes Administrator of Natal and it looks as if there will be a four-way fight to fill it.

The National Party has chosen attorney and President's Council member Mr Piet Matthee as its candidate.

He has fired his first salvo by accusing the CP of "selling out the white man" because its policies offered only anarchy and choas, while the NP offered a prosperous and secure future for everyone in the country.

COUNTRY-WIDE BATTLE

The Conservative Party definitely would field a candidate in Umlazi and was set to build its election battle into a country-wide fight to force the government to resign and call a general election.

Durban city councillor Mr Dave McNaught seems set to stand as an independent, campaigning on local issues.

The Democratic Party has four people from whom to choose and will announce its candidate by month end.

Political observers say the outcome could have a bearing on President De Klerk's plans to consult the electorate on a future constitution, forged at the negotiation table.

Mr Renier Schoeman, chief director-designate of information for the NP, said: "The most persistent question from foreign journalists now is whether we are taking our voters with us. There is an historic responsibility on the voters of Umlazi."

Political prisoners: Call for clear policy

THE government had to state a clear policy regarding all political prisoners, said Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Abe Williams.

He said the danger existed that if only the leaders were released, they could be seen as "sell-outs".

The Labour Party also would ask the State President to send out a bigger message of reconciliation.

Negotiations should not be conducted in the dark and there should be more freedom for the Press, he said.

Mr Williams caused laughter when he said that if whites did not want the President, Mr De Klerk would feel very much at home in the Labour Party.

Mr Abe Williams

Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, Mr Piet Marais, said that after last year's disappointing black matric results, it was time to reflect with honesty about what could be done.

Stability and prosperity could not be established if black education was not successful.

The whole system of black education had to be decentralised, Mr Marais said. — Sapa.

R26m 'went up in smoke'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — SA exported tobacco at a loss of R26,8m during the 1987/88 financial year, former auditor-general Joep de Loor reported yesterday.

This was disclosed in his report on the accounts of the Tobacco Board, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

De Loor also reported that the board paid R1,1m as an ex gratia payment to tobacco producers in respect of 75% of the domestic value of unmarketable chlorine-contaminated tobacco from the 1987 crop.

"During the year financing amounting to R20 119 882 was granted to co-operatives in respect of tobacco that could not be absorbed by the local market immediately.

"Portions of this and of the stocks carried forward from previous seasons were sold abroad during the year at a loss.

"At 31 March 1988 surplus stocks to the value to the value of R8 118 363 were still on hand at co-operatives."

De Loor said the Agriculture Minister granted standing approval for the available funds of the board to be used for advancing to tobacco co-operatives, immediately on submission of invoices, the full local value of packed tobacco supplies intended for export.

Advances amounting to R13,3m were made during the year, but these were repaid by March 31 1988.

"Losses on tobacco sales abroad amounted to R26 765 119 during the year and were written off against the price stabilisation account."

GERALD REILLY reports that figures released yesterday show that South Africans spent a huge R3,064bn on tobacco products last year.

Spending

Speaking at a tobacco industry seminar at Gordon's Bay, Agriculture Minister Jacob de Villiers said this represented 6,7% of total spending on food, liquor and tobacco. The total smoked amounted to 40,5-million kg.

Tobacco was planted over 26 000ha, which produced around 36,8-million kg a year with a gross value of about R350m.

De Villiers said the "fairly heavy" excise duties levied on tobacco products earned the state R552m last year.

Stressing the importance of the industry as a work provider, De Villiers said that, including the two cigarette factories and 10 other factories producing tobacco products, it employed 58 500 workers.

Politics blurring gold's destiny

LONDON — Political uncertainties in the world's two largest gold producers will cloud investor sentiment for some time, say analysts.

"Gold may be a halfway house at the moment if you're not sure where to go," said Andrew Smith of UBS Phillips and Drew here.

The reformist package by President F W de Klerk and the Soviet Union's move to end monopoly communist rule have blurred perception of future price trends. Furthermore, traders remain concerned about gold loans and possible sales by central banks. SA mining houses believe sweeping concessions to blacks will significantly ease tensions in labour relations with black miners.

"We see De Klerk's speech as very positive. Hopefully there will now be a climate more conducive to normal industrial relations," said Gary Maude, head of the gold and uranium division at Genmin.

The speech had raised hopes that dealings with trade unions will now focus more on workplace and wage issues rather than political matters, he added. B/Day 7/2/90

Swiss analysts see reforms benefiting SA's economy by increasing the likelihood of foreign investment, although cheaper capital could lead to increased production and lower prices.

De Klerk's statement would have little short-term impact, brokers Warburg Securities said in a London review. But if nationalisation were adopted, the effect on gold could be disastrous, Warburg noted.

It "would lead to a rapid decline in gold output ... and give an enormous boost to the price". — Reuter.

Soweto council told to collect debt

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Soweto City Council has been directed by the Provincial Administration to collect monies owing for services.

In October last year the council was hauled over the coals by the administrator for failing to "perform its duties". B/Day 7/2/90

In a joint statement yesterday, MEC in charge of local government Oulas van Zyl and Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi said the council had been given statutory directives "requiring it to take specfic actions within a specific time".

It was pointed out the council's new tariffs, which come into operation on March 1, have been simplified and are substantially lower than cost.

The council has been told to "reconcile" amounts owing, "taking into account their validity and affordability", and submit proposals to the administrator within five months.

It was stressed the new tariffs were temporary and the council had been instructed to review them, particularly the bulk services from Eskom and the Rand Water Board.

FW's reforms steal the DP's limelight

WEEKLY MAIL, February 2 to February 8 1990

By GAVIN EVANS

TODAY'S opening of parliament marks one of the biggest challenges facing the Democratic Party since it was formed a year ago.

Caught in a time of negotiations, the DP is striving to assert itself as a major political force and forge a new role as an intermediary between the main protagonists.

DP leaders acknowledge that State President FW de Klerk has at least temporarily eroded some of their support by taking up causes once considered their own preserve.

The prospect of the African National Congress being unbanned within the next six months may remove some of the sting from the DP's role as an opposition party.

In the five months since their impressive general election performance, the media hype surrounding De Klerk's reforms and the ANC's return to visibility have reduced the DP to a largely backstage role.

The current parliamentary session offers the possbility of a more vigorous presence, and the DP is determined to seize the advantage.

"The new parliamentary session will provide us with a fresh and important opportunity to make it clear to the public exactly where we are and to show the limitations in the government's plans," said the DP's national chairman Tian van der Merwe.

"The media tends to pay more attention to the debates in parliament than to our activities between sessions. I think we can now help make it clear that De Klerk has no clear intention to end apartheid."

The DP sees it as "vitally necessary to push the government to keep pace with the rising expectations which they have created and the media have praised".

One of the party's opening shots will be to challenge the government to launch a judicial commission of inquiry into the death squad allegations.

"Their failure to deal with this question reflects badly on their bona fides. Their current approach could well soil the negotiations process," Van der Merwe said.

"Unless the government begins to take a lead in this process it's not impossible we could find ourselves in a situation where people are getting picked off in the course of the negotiations process."

He said they would also be using the parliamentary forum to push the government towards the rapid removal of all apartheid measures and a more flexible approach to negotiations by exposing "their hidden preconditions".

DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer said they would be pressing for urgent measures to deal with the crises in black education, Transvaal hospitals and the police force.

"We will also be giving considerable attention to economic issues. While business confidence is high at the moment we still have a situation where GDP is growing by less than one percent but the population is growing by two and a half percent.

"The result is rising unemployment and a lower standard of living. What we will be arguing is that the remedy lies in the political sphere."

De Beer said he saw the current moves towards negotiations as a "fairly delicatly balanced process".

"The Democratic Party will play whatever part we can to assist.

"What does appear to be emerging is some sort of intermediary role for us which will not be headline-making."

Van der Merwe expects the DP to win back "much of the support lost to De Klerk, though maybe not all of it".

He said he did not believe the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela would have a major effect on DP support.

"There is no reason to believe this will change things. For one thing, there is no immediate prospect of the ANC attracting major white support."

FORWARD *to* DEMOCRACY

IDASA rejoices at the recent dramatic progress towards our goal of a non-racial democratic South Africa and salutes all who have struggled so hard and long to achieve it.

■ We look forward to welcoming home the exiles and to celebrating the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, so that real democratic debate can begin to take place in our country. In particular, we look forward to seeing Nelson Mandela take his rightful place as a key figure in this process.

■ At the same time we note the shadow of grief cast by decades of unnecessary suffering and injustice, whose enormous cost should not be underestimated. We look forward to the public expression of remorse that would add moral depth to steps taken by the government, whose courage has been justly applauded.

■ IDASA recognises that there is still a long road to travel before peace and justice are established in our country, and we re-dedicate ourselves to the task of helping to build a truly democratic future.

(Issued by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa)

WM 9/2 – 15/2/90

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THE COUNTRY REACTS TO THE DE KLERK BOMBSHELL ...

Not my government, said the minister. It's a new one now

FW de Klerk has turned the rituals of white politics inside out. As one minister said, explaining his way out of a tight corner: 'That wasn't my government. This is a new government'.

SHAUN JOHNSON reports

THE government is making the most of having successfully turned two traditional National Party tactics upside down.

In doing so it has gained for itself a new legitimacy as a "sincere negotiator"— an image which has been assiduously built upon during this crucial first week of parliament. The question now being asked is how long it can be sustained, and through what sorts of mechanisms.

Where PW Botha built up expectations and disappointed them, FW de Klerk dampened hopes only to exceed them. And where the NP of Botha floundered on the detail of dismantling apartheid, De Klerk's government has simply bypassed the problem by making a larger, more abstract concession.

At a stroke South Africa's political psychology has been changed. Itt might be the same old National Party, but it is acting like it isn't.

Little-known Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister, Hernus Kriel, summed up the unrestrained bullishness which has come in the wake of the De Klerk speech when answering a question on Monday about the Lawaaikamp removal saga. "That wasn't my government," he said sharply. "We're the new government now!"

For the entire week, the government has ridden the wave of undefined optimism created last Friday, and indeed acted as if it was newly in office, freed of the sins of the past.

With attention firmly concentrated on immediate issues like the Mandela release and the implications of the unbannings, it was perhaps predictable that the more mundane — but crucial — indications of policy which emerged from this week's series of parliamentary briefings received lesser publicity.

A close look at ministers' various departmental plans for the year provides important pointers toward areas in which radical change will *not* take place in the near future. Once the initial excitement is over, these on-the-ground factors will become increasingly central, and the government will come under intense pressure to "deliver" more in order to feed the climate of optimism.

The issues of black education and the Group Areas Act are examples of government rigidity on a micro level, temporarily obscured by flexibility on the macro.

Education Minister Stoffel van der Merwe conceded, for example, that the government's ambitious "10-year plan" to bring about parity in education has effectively been scrapped. This, he said, is due to the economically restrictive effect of sanctions and the consequently poor growth rate. "Now the only thing we can say is that we will do as much as possible each year."

Moreover, Van der Merwe made it clear that the "freeing up" of the political process at the national level would not necessarily be fully echoed on localised matters. The integration of state schools is still ruled out: "This is not something which is acceptable in South African society at this time, he said. "If we throw open and integrate everything, it would create tremendous chaos, politically and economically."

His sentiments were echoed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who said: "If we move too fast (on all levels), we might be forced to reintroduce the State of Emergency ... (and) there would be the perception that the thing had got out of hand."

Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers served notice that the Group Areas Act was not about to be repealed, as some speculation had it.

Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, in a separate briefing, warned that on these and other issues — indeed, on the broadest level of "negotiations" — "people will have to exercise a lot of patience". He also reiterated that while the NP might not be ruling South Africa by the end of the decade, he and his colleagues were certainly not considering majority rule as an option.

But for the moment it is patience — lots of it — that the government has won through its extraordinary initiative to start the new decade. It is not limitless; a fact of which De Klerk and his confidantes are clearly aware.

(304A)

THE FAR-RIGHT BACKLASH IS THE COUNTRY'S GREATEST DANGER ...

Now it's open war, says the furious far-right

The official Opposition is taking to the streets, the Kappiekommando is going underground ... the far-rightwing has been galvanised into action by De Klerk's reforms. GAVIN EVANS *reports*

Eugene Terreblanche

STAYAWAYS, calls for resignations from parliament, appeals to police to join the struggle, vows to cripple essential services, threats to take up arms ... such was the stuff of extra-parliamentary groups this week.

So what's changed? What's changed is that the calls are coming from an angry and desperate far right, incensed with the scale of F W de Klerk's concessions and ready to go to war.

The Conservative Party (CP) responded cautiously to a call from a loose coalition of far-right groups for it to resign from parliament and for town councils to force by-elections for these structures.

"The challenge facing the *volk* is the question of an effective strategy in the struggle against NP-capitulation," CP leader Andries Treurnicht told the *Weekly Mail*, in answer to the question of whether his party would leave parliament to force an election.

"The Conservative Party will consider a strategy in a responsible manner and in time will make its decision known."

The party has made clear that it has every intention of entering the extra-parliamentary terrain in a big way.

Faced with the real possibility that there will never again be another all-white general election, the CP has little option but to join its erstwhile extra-parliamentary allies in the realm of street politics.

Among the actions announced by the CP are the following:

- A call for 900 000 adult supporters to stay at home for "two or three days" as part of a campaign to force De Klerk to hold a white general election. The stayaway action would be a "one-off" demonstration of right-wing support rather than a continuous action;
- A call for supporters in the police, fire brigades, schools and bus services to join the stayaway;
- A plan to hold between 500 and 1 000 public meetings, culminating in a mass rally in Pretoria on May 26;
- The distribution of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets;
- A series of protest marches around the country.

CP information head, Koos van der Merwe, said the CP was not calling for violence, although "through its crookery and by jumping on the white electorate" the National Party was creating a climate where "violence can become a possibility".

At another press conference Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terreblanche threatened that he and his supporters would resort to violence "to save the *volk*".

"If the constitutional door is closed, we will fight," he said.

Terreblanche was joined at a press conference on Wednesday by Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Jaap Marais and Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party.

The AWB and Boerestaat Party are planning a march in Pretoria tomorrow afternoon to deliver to the Union Buildings a letter of protest against the unbanning of the African National Party, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress..

Earlier this week a representative of the marchers, Piet Rudolph, said they were expecting 5 000 to 10 000 people to join.

The three groups, which over the past year have drawn closer together and become increasingly isolated from the CP, called for a strategy to force a white general election.

The thrust of their complaint was that the government had deceived the *volk* prior to last year's election.

"Before the election Mr De Klerk did not say he was unbanning the ANC or SACP. He did not say he would allow them to open offices throughout the country, including the in capital of the *Boerevolk*, and show the hammer and sickle in our streets," said Terreblanche.

Earlier the CP's Koos van der Merwe called the NP "a lot of political crooks" because last year it told the electorate there was no place for the ANC in a South Africa governed by the NP, and now it had capitulated.

"There is no way De Klerk can drag the Afrikaner into his new South Africa," said Van der Merwe, adding that he would not be satisfied with "a smallholding in the Karoo".

Van Tonder said the CP could not effectively fight the government through the winner-take-all Westminster parliamentary system, and would have to look towards other strategies.

But in a less confrontational tone, he told the *Weekly Mail* he was not implicitely opposed to the release of Nelson Mandela and wished to participate in negotiations.

"If South Africa was a normal dispensation of independent states, neither Mandela nor Barend Strydom would ever have been jailed. But instead it's a concoction of states and that's why they're in jail, and why we need to unravel this mixed-grill through negotiations."

Van Tonder said he would be present at the negotiating table representing the Boerevolk Party in a bid to have a Boer Republic "reinstated".

The Kappiekommando has promised to unleash its "underground", while the "New AWB" (one of several breakaway groups) has declared "open war" on the government and the ANC.

"Now the fight becomes open war and the best man must win," said Eddie von Maltitz, the group's leader.

The restless soldiers lurking in the background

WMail 9/2 – 15/2/90

There are signs of growing turmoil in the security forces that could threaten government reforms. EDDIE KOCH *reports*

ALLENDE's Chile, the Second Republic in Spain ... history is haunted by governments that experimented in democracy without effective command over the colonels.

Long before FW de Klerk's dramatic lurch to the left there were signs — police death squads, army special forces, covert links between officers and neo-fascist groups — that the country's civilian rulers did not have complete control over their soldiers and policemen.

And in the seven days since the president's speech the reflex reactions of the police have resurrected the spectre of a right-wing revolt in South Africa's security forces.

But both academic analysts and anti-apartheid activists believe there is more likely to be a low-key war of attrition than full-scale rebellion by its members.

"The instruments of defence and coercion available to the South African state are among the most varied and diffuse in the world," says Mark Phillips, researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg.

"The security establishment includes the Department of Defence, the various intelligence services (Military Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, the National Intelligence Service and Security Police) and the Directorate of Security Legislation.

"The police force's security arms are the riot squad, 'reaction units', *kitskonstabels*, a special guard unit, a special task force. Other components are the municipal police, mine police, military police, traffic police, private security companies."

The Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging and other far-right groups have made it a point of policy to infiltrate these units. According to one estimate, at least three out of four white policemen in the Transvaal align themselves with the Conservative Party.

The fear of a police revolt was clearly uppermost in De Klerk's mind when in early January he called a counsel of police officers from the rank of colonel to explain the need for the dramatic course he was about to embark on and to plead for their loyalty.

There are doubts, however, that the politics of persuasion are enough to curb the immense power these forces wield.

Policemen have been accused of extreme brutality in dealing with street marches that greeted news about the

the police to blunt any coherent political initiatives by the securocrats:

- At least 12 policemen a day are resigning from the force. Many of these are senior officers.
- The Harms Commission, appointed to look into political assassinations, clearly means business. De Klerk, if he wishes, will be able to use the evidence they collect as a Sword of Damocles against those security agencies most likely to defy him: units in the police and military that were established for covert counter-insurgency work.
- There is growing discontent among black policemen within the force. Late last year municipal police staged a strike against poor conditions of work in townships on the East Rand.

"I have come across black policemen who say they are happy with De Klerk's changes because now there

The restless soldiers lurking in the background

WMail 9/2 – 15/2/90 (304A)

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Policemen have been accused of extreme brutality in dealing with street marches that greeted news about the unbanning of the African National Congress in the streets of Johannesburg as well as protests over the townships of Tembisa and Thokoza on the East Rand.

Said a union press release that described a strike at a Unilever factory in Wadeville this week: "Police were brandishing knobkieries with a clear intention of provoking workers so as to attack them."

And this week Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe, who led the police officers in their parley last month with De Klerk, implicitly contradicted cabinet ministers' claims that, for the ANC's top leadership, it was safe to come home.

"From a police point of view, people against whom we can bring cases of terrorism, subversion and sabotage will — unless amnesty is granted — still face prosecution," he said.

Human rights lawyer Azhar Cachalia, who is also treasurer of the United Democratic Front, believes the general's intervention was carefully designed to blunt the impact of the president's reforms.

"If this was the measured response of the most senior officer in the police, then we can surely expect to see less-measured action, either maverick or co-ordinated, by those lower down the ranks of the police and the SADF," he says.

"But, at the same time, De Klerk clearly has the support of many senior officers in the security forces, with the exception of the security police."

There are developments which suggest that there is enough turmoil in the police to blunt any coherent political initiatives by the securocrats:

- At least 12 policemen a day are resigning from the force. Many of these are senior officers.
- The Harms Commission, appointed to look into political assassinations, clearly means business. De Klerk, if he wishes, will be able to use the evidence they collect as a Sword of Damocles against those security agencies most likely to defy him: units in the police and military that were established for covert counter-insurgency work.
- There is growing discontent among black policemen within the force. Late last year municipal police staged a strike against poor conditions of work in townships on the East Rand.

"I have come across black policemen who say they are happy with De Klerk's changes because now there will be the opportunity for equality in the force," says Cachalia.

- A small but significant group could follow dissident police captain Dirk Coetzee and his handful of colleagues who have defected to the other side with highly sensitive information.

Phillips believes the very range and diversity of security agencies is another source of comfort for the Nationalist government.

While the generals in the air force and the navy may not be all the president's men, they are predominantly professional soldiers who take their jobs more seriously than their politics.

Says Phillips: "The integration of the Rhodesia intelligence forces and Zanu's intelligence units in independent Zimbabwe shows that this ethic can have some positive effects."

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VIVA the ANC !
Forward to democracy !
-Welcome home exiles-

Matters of Fact

IN the *Weekly Mail* of December 22 1989, it was mistakenly reported that artist Sue Williamson had described Leon Louw's *Let the People Govern* as one of her best books of the year.

This was not the case. The statement was erroneously attributed to Ms Williamson.

- The book by psychologist Lloyd Vogelman in last week's *Weekly Mail* was given the wrong title. The correct one is *The Sexual Face of Violence: Rapists on Rape* (Ravan Press).

CP walks out of Parliament

3040

Sowetan 9/4/90

THE Conservative Party walked out of the Chamber of Parliament yesterday after the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, had ordered the CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, to leave the Chamber.

Mr van der Merwe had objected at being ordered to withdraw a remark that the State President had "dagga in his head", after an NP member had allegedly said this to the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, while he was making a speech.

As Mr van der Merwe left the Chamber, all CP members, with the exception of the leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, also walked out.

*It was the second time this session that Mr van der Merwe was ordered to leave the Chamber. -Sapa.

Mandela can sway SA whites — Economist

(304A)

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela may be the only man who can persuade South African whites to "take the way of courage" and abandon apartheid, says the *Economist*.

And, judging by the speed with which he is moving, it could now be weeks rather than months before blacks and whites negotiate a new constitution, says the journal in its leading editorial this week.

"Only the assassin's bullet can rob (Mandela) of a starring role in his country's retreat from apartheid."

The editorial says it is no surprise that Mr Mandela is a man of conscience and principle. "The surprise is that he has emerged from jail as such a remarkably skilful politician. The real, free Mandela is a practical politician who intends to sit at the peace table in the name of the ANC and negotiate the end of apartheid with President de Klerk."

No precedent in history

The politician, the influential journal says, is likely to be a lot more useful than the symbol ever was.

With luck, says the editorial, SA "is about to make a U-turn that has no precedent in history".

But it warns that while yesterday's Leninist rulers "are being replaced by people who think differently but look the same", it is harder, in practice, to hand over to people of a different colour.

Mr Mandela's first job, says the *Economist*, is to make sure he is the movement's unchallenged leader — and that means staying loyal to ANC policy.

Mr Mandela, it believes, will drop the armed struggle in exchange for an end to the state of emergency.

"At this rate it may be weeks rather than months before blacks and whites sit down to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa."

FM 9/2/90 (304A)

GROUP RIGHTS FM 9/2/90 (304A)

Kriel in a pickle

Hernus Kriel, Planning & Provincial Affairs Minister, epitomised the National Party (NP)'s dilemma when he faced newsmen at a briefing in Cape Town this week.

Grilled about the Group Areas Act, Kriel became embroiled in a tortured defence of "group rights" and "own community life" that seemed somewhat out of kilter with President De Klerk's vision. Kriel conceded in the end that the Act "is on the table" for negotiation. He could have saved time by acknowledging that the widely despised law will almost certainly be dumped in the near future. It has no role in the "new SA" and the Nats know it.

Acknowledging as much in public is the dilemma. Kriel and other senior Nats know that the Act will have to go — just as they knew some time ago that the ANC, the SACP and the PAC would have to be unconditionally unbanned to facilitate negotiation.

But it's politically unwise to say so. This would upset many white voters who are still trying to cope with the shocks of De Klerk's speech. Nat leaders also appear to believe that such a statement would pre-empt negotiations; it's another card to be played when the bargaining gets under way.

The NP still sees "group rights" as negotiating chips. They're not high cards, but the Nats seem determined to hang on to them for the time being. To his credit, perhaps, Walter Sisulu seems to be playing along. He has indicated that the Act can be a subject for negotiation and need not necessarily be scrapped before talks begin. He knows as well as the Nats that the Act won't last long when weighty constitutional matters are on the table.

In the meantime, Kriel has to administer the Act, along with similar discriminatory measures. He insists that the Act is not being enforced as "rigidly" as in the past and that his officials are helping people affected by the law to find alternative accommodation.

But in the next breath he concedes that scrapping the law would probably *not* lead to a "mass movement" of people into different residential areas. Then why not scrap it and let the market decide who lives where?

Because it's a card to play at the right time. Kriel says "areas for minorities" may play a role in constitutional negotiations and scrapping the Act now will remove from the table the option to take action on the law at some later stage — though he adds that doing away with the Group Areas Act does not necessarily mean abandoning the concept of "group rights." ■

F W's speech recalls the granting of Union

STAR 9/2/90 (304A)

By RAMSAY MILNE, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — By common consent from Lusaka to Stockholm, Boksburg to Bangkok, President de Klerk has placed South Africa's future squarely in the melting pot of history.

To anyone who knows anything at all about South Africa's tortured past, President de Klerk's speech last Friday has to be considered the most courageous act of statesmanship since a British government, in what is still regarded as one of the most generous political acts of this century, conferred independence — unity — on the as-yet unformed Union of South Africa.

That concession gave Britain's defeated enemies — the Boers — a 50-50 stake in the future of a young and wonderfully rich and bountiful land.

There was no international compulsion. No sanctions. No rowdy priests. No stick-wielding rightists.

Britain had won that war. What followed was a moral concession to time and circumstance.

Now South Africans — and the world — are witness to the phenomenon of a latter-day Afrikaner beneficiary of that great British benevolence writing a new chapter in history that is almost an exact replica of those times.

What President de Klerk is conferring on South Africa's blacks is what the government of Campbell-Bannerman at the turn of the century conferred on the defeated Boers: an equal share of a part of the continent on which they live.

What is different between then and now is that the victorious British government of those times was lucky enough to have in two defeated Boer generals, Jan Smuts and Louis Botha, true and faithful upholders of the concepts of detente and forgiveness — men ready to devote their lives to the notion of a new country based on a new unity between divided people.

Those of us a little older than most know what that was. It was Union — a union of people formed in the best and most responsible way by proven men of their times.

From the moment of his release, it seems certain that Mr Nelson Mandela will help to write a new chapter in South African history.

There may be only one real question that should bother President de Klerk in these pulsating moments of history: Is there a Smuts or a Botha among the Nelson Mandelas, the Oliver Tambos or Walter Sisulus of these times?

FW 'could save SA' — Jackson

Cape Times 9/2/90

JOHANNESBURG. — President FW de Klerk, by the sheer strength of his courage, could save South Africa, the Rev Jesse Jackson said after a day of meetings and visits in Johannesburg and Soweto.

Speaking after a visit to the Orlando Children's Home, the Dlamini squatter settlement and the Funda Education Centre in Soweto, Mr Jackson said: "Rarely has a man been as able to do as much as President De Klerk has done towards change."

He said Mr De Klerk's speech to Parliament on Friday — in which he unbanned the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations, lifted certain press curbs and spoke about the release of political prisoners — had gone a long way towards giving a new sense of purpose to life in South Africa.

Mr Jackson said he would like to see more whites with that same sense of purpose.

In speeches throughout the day Mr Jackson referred to a "new" South Africa which would be embraced by the world community.

"The world community awaits South Africa's participation.

"The world community is waiting for South Africa to become a free and fair democracy, where whites and blacks will be sharing respect and power."

The visiting US politician and former vice-presidential hopeful had a full day, starting with a prayer breakfast with his hosts, the SA Council of Churches, which was also attended by members of the Council of Independent African Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference.

After breakfast Mr Jackson went into a closed-door meeting with SACC members before meeting a PAC representative, who pressed the American cleric to push for stiffer sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Jackson's party — which included his wife Jacky, his son Jesse and the Rev Beecher Hicks of Washington — then headed for Soweto, followed by a large contingent of both US and local security guards and local and foreign media crews.

At the Funda Education Centre, a privately-funded teachers' training institution, Mr Jackson was met by recently-released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Dr Ellen Khuzwayo.

He said he was looking forward to a free and democratic South Africa that will feed, clothe, and house its children.

"Here in Soweto you may be teaching a new South African president or a possible minister of justice. You are teaching the architects and builders of a new South Africa," he said to tumultuous applause.

Introducing Mr Jackson, Mr Sisulu told the crowd the ANC had made education a top priority for the year. — Sapa

304A

CP urged 'not to play reckless games'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BOTH the National Party and the Democratic Party appealed yesterday in Parliament to Conservative Party MPs to refrain from using inflammatory rhetoric to whip up the emotions of conservative whites.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok appealed to groups on the left and the right to "choose their words carefully and not to play reckless games with peoples' emotions".

Mr Vlok said that AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche had threatened to take part in a protest march on the Union Buildings to "blow some life into the dead remains of the AWB".

This was a foolish action and he appealed to CP MPs to dissuade the AWB leader from a course of confrontation.

What was needed now were calm people who "think and act with their minds and not their blood, people who would not allow their fears and emotions to dominate reason".

DP frontbencher Mr Colin Eglin said it was the CP's right to mobilise supporters but he urged them to "think long and hard about how you are going to do this".

The CP should not put the short-term interests of the party ahead of the longer-term interests of South Africa and should avoid intensifying antagonisms.

However, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenburg told Parliament that the Afrikaner nation would not allow itself to be "led to the abattoir".

"The march of freedom begins next week on Thursday in Church Square in Pretoria and it will get slowly and steadily under way," he said.

Earlier, Mr Moolman Mentz (CP, Ermelo) said the government was making a mistake if it thought the Afrikaner would "go meekly to the slaughter like a lamb".

Mr Vlok

Dr Boraine

Boraine: 'New dynamic in SA talks'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE unbanning of political organisations had introduced a dynamic into the negotiation process that had been absent for 30 years, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said this week.

There would inevitably be a "very sharp and perhaps violent" reaction from whites on the extreme right to Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech, because they saw it as an act of betrayal, Dr Boraine told a public meeting in East London attended by members of the UDF and city councillors.

"There will also be those who, because of powerful government proganda in the past, will be extremely confused and bewildered at the changes announced."

Dr Boraine said: "The climate for genuine negotiation is not something which will be produced overnight, even with far-reaching and significant shifts and moves.

"It is something which is going to have to develop over a fairly long period of time."

Dr Boraine said that conservative blacks might wonder if Mr De Klerk was mlving too fast, particularly those who have been part of the system. There would be those on the extreme left who would feel that he had not gone nearly far enough.

Angry CP walks out of Parliament

CAPE TOWN — The CP walked out of the Chamber of Parliament yesterday after the Speaker, Louis le Grange, had ordered CP Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe to leave the Chamber.

Van der Merwe had objected to being ordered to withdraw a remark that the President had "dagga in his head", after an NP member had allegedly made the same remark to the CP's deputy leader, Ferdie Hartzenberg, while he was speaking in the debate on the President's vote.

All CP members, with the exception of leader Andries Treurnicht and Chief Whip Frank le Roux walked out with Van der Merwe. B/Day 9/2/90

Hartzenberg said earlier that the Afrikaner nation would not allow itself to be led to the abattoir by government.

He said the CP would mobilise the majority of whites for their fatherland.

"The nation (volk) will make itself free in its own country, the country to which it has title.

"The march of freedom begins next week on Thursday in Church Square in Pretoria, and it will get slowly and steadily under way." (304A)

The hour of the CP had come because all that stood between the whites of SA and an ANC government was the CP.

"This is what the CP was born for — to take this standpoint and to prevent it."

Government no longer cared for its people nor knew what went on in their hearts.

"It no longer realises that in the past the Afrikaner nation sacrificed literally everything on the altar for its freedom and its fatherland — and that it will do so again."

Referring to the Anglo-Boer wars at the beginning of the century and the spirit of Paardekraal, Hartzenberg said a foreign government had never been acceptable to the Afrikaner.

"The fact is, it was not with the joiners and the hensoppers that peace was concluded then. It was with the bittereinders.

"And it's with the bittereinders that you will have to reckon if you want to give away the freedom of the Afrikaner. This nation will not be led to the abattoir." — Sapa.

B/Day 9/2/90 (304A)

Eglin proposes SA reconciliation day

Political Staff

THE government should declare the day of Nelson Mandela's release a "day of national reconciliation", Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) proposed yesterday.

The release of Mandela could include an act of reconciliation involving the President and the ANC leader, he told Parliament during the debate on the President's speech. The government should bear in mind that reconciliation was as much an emotional as an intellectual exercise.

Eglin said De Klerk should also have regard to the "strong emotional attachment" that black South Africans have for the prayer and anthem, N'kosi Sikelel' iAfrika, and "there should be sympathetic understanding of the constitutional thrust of the Freedom Charter".

Eglin said the President should take the initiative in negotiations on the economic system most suited to SA's needs.

The winds of rhetoric blow long and hard

W/Mail 9/2 – 15/2/90

(304A)

The standard American response was a three-phase one: a declaration of victory followed by scepticism, followed by wary caution, reports **MARK GEVISSER** *in New York*

Delight at the top, demands on the ground ... New York activists and South African exiles wrap up warmly for a march down 42nd Street indicating their response to the state president's speech

Picture: KARINA TUROK

THE events of the past few months have thrown the American media machine, hyperbolic even in dry seasons, into perpetual ecstasy over the export of such fine American products as freedom to Panama, democracy to the Eastern Bloc and Big Macs to Moscow.

And last week even Jesse Jackson invoked, like a latter-day Harold Macmillan, a "wind of freedom that has been blowing through Eastern Europe" and that "has now made it to South Africa".

Addressing a Mandela Reception Committee rally outside the South African consulate here on the day of FW de Klerk's speech, Jackson used his evangelical rhetoric to articulate a line that has emerged as the standard American anti-apartheid response to news of the unbannings: a declaration of victory tempered with a note of scepticism and followed by a call for caution.

Jackson, now in South Africa, gave De Klerk more than most: he pleaded with Americans to "give the South Africans time to meet and organise a process for negotiations".

Perhaps most startling was his use of De Klerk as a stick with which to beat President George Bush: quoting statistics proving that the United States gives as much in foreign aid to Unita as to all the SADCC states combined, he said that "just as Mr De Klerk has made a major statement envisioning a new South Africa, Mr Bush must make a major statement envisioning a new American policy for South Africa!"

Most anti-apartheid activists have been more circumspect than Jackson, tagging De Klerk's speech as a public relations ploy to re-enter the international community. Richard Knight of the American Committee on Africa, maintains that De Klerk's initiative confirms the power of international censure: "De Klerk's actions prove that a policy of sanctions and disinvestment did not send whites back into the laager, as the Reagan administration claimed it would. It seems to have done exactly the opposite — it's pushing them towards change." Taking its lead from the African National Congress, the powerful anti-apartheid lobby is calling for more sanctions even as De Klerk goes about his programme for reform.

Nevertheless, the consensus among lawmakers and administration officials seems to be to tread a line that is, in the words of a high-ranking congressional source, "both flexible and vigilant" Existing sanctions will remain in place, and De Klerk's government will be given at least until this parliamentary session ends in June to prove its good faith and thus preclude more stringent measures.

"This is not a time for euphoria," said Congressman Howard Wolpe, chair of the House Subcommittee on Africa and an important pro-sanctions voice, "and if the (South African) government delays the process of negotiation, we'll have to consider the intensification of sanctions. But at the moment, however, I think the more appropriate posture is to wait and see if the government will follow through."

This position, from a left-leaning House Democrat, is exactly that of the right-leaning Republican Administration. As he left South Africa two weeks ago, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen reconfirmed the administration's stance: "Take no further action for the time being." Bush's personal grand gesture has been to invite both De Klerk (whom he snubbed last year in favour of Albertina Sisulu and other United Democratic Front representatives) and Mandela to the White House on the latter's release.

According to an American law passed in 1986, the President may propose a modification or suspension of existing sanctions if the South African government releases all political prisoners and does three of the following: lifts the State of Emergency, repeals the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Acts, "agrees to enter into good faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority", and not only unbans political parties, but allows them to participate freely in the political process

Since terminology like "participate freely" and "good faith" is open to interpretation, even if De Klerk does satisfy all other conditions and Bush does decide to support South Africa as Ronald Reagan did, anti-apartheid legislators can keep sanctions in place indefinitely. "Basically," admits the congressional source, "we take our cue from the democratic movement As long as the South African people see the need for sanctions, we will uphold them."

IN WASHINGTON AND LONDON, A WARM RECEPTION FOR FW'S SPEECH ...

Thatcher revels in her role as FW's most willing suitor

Margaret Thatcher was quick to come to the defence of FW de Klerk, even supporting him over the cricket row, reports **ARTHUR GAVSHON** *in London*

PRIME Minister Margaret Thatcher this week lost no time in rewarding State President F W De Klerk for his package of security reforms.

She has launched an international campaign for an immediate relaxation of sanctions against South Africa beginning with a cancellation of the voluntary ban on new investment and with other measures to follow.

In doing so, her government would effectively be repudiating accords with its European Community and Commonwealth partners because, whether they agree or not, she intends to go it alone. In fact, most of her partners are resisting Britain's proposal on grounds that the structure and the more offensive features of the apartheid system thus far remain untouched by the changes announced by De Klerk.

Since De Klerk's declaration last Friday, the British leader, seemingly revelling in the role of South Africa's principal overseas ally, has initiated several moves.

In the European Community, Douglas Hurd has called on his 11 fellow foreign ministers to join in lifting existing curbs on investment and trade as a way of acknowledging the pace of reform in the Republic.

But Hurd encountered stiff opposition. Colleagues insisted the lifting of sanctions could be considered only when Pretoria has made "irreversible" progress towards dismantling apartheid. This, in practice, would mean repealing the Population Registration Act, Group Areas and the Land Act, along with various security laws.

In the Commonwealth, parallel British proposals circulating informally are also being resisted. Secretary General Sonny Ramphal has made it publicly clear that all Commonwealth member-states except Britain consider the pressure of sanctions must be maintained until all the conditions set forth in the 1985 Commonwealth Accord are fulfilled.

These include "meaningful action" to dismantle apartheid, ending the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners and anti-apartheid activists, a suspension of violence on all sides and the start of negotiations for "a non-racial and representative government".

For all the resistance she is facing, Thatcher appears nevertheless to persist in identifying her fortunes with those of De Klerk and his government. Her invitation to the South African president to visit her soon has been accepted in principle, but whether Mandela will take up the parallel invitation she intends issuing to him when he is free, is another matter.

A decision on that will be the collective decision of the African National Congress executive, according to members who have lately passed through London. ANC leaders are unlikely to look kindly on a Mandela/Thatcher meeting at a time when the British prime minister is being portrayed by some of her political opponents here as being an apologist for the South African government.

That charge against her surfaced on Tuesday when she went out of her way in the House of Commons to read out the South African official explanation for the expulsion of two journalists covering Mike Gatting's cricket team tour. The expulsion itself, a few days after De Klerk's speech, was in public relations terms a self-inflicted wound. For Thatcher to give currency and a degree of credibility to the South African explanation, was a shot in her own foot.

Thatcher's controversial views on the sanctions issues have not obscured the more positive elements of De Klerk's initiative in the eyes of her critics. There is a general recognition that he has gone a great deal further than any of his predecesssors in opening doors to a long-awaited negotiation across the racial divide. But equally there is a recognition that he has given a promise that has still to be redeemed, first to end the State of Emergency, then to begin talking about realities and not merely about what should be talked about.

Politics blurring gold's destiny

LONDON — Political uncertainties in the world's two largest gold producers will cloud investor sentiment for some time, say analysts.

"Gold may be a halfway house at the moment if you're not sure where to go," said Andrew Smith of UBS Phillips and Drew here.

The reformist package by President F W de Klerk and the Soviet Union's move to end monopoly communist rule have blurred perception of future price trends. Furthermore, traders remain concerned about gold loans and possible sales by central banks. SA mining houses believe sweeping concessions to blacks will significantly ease tensions in labour relations with black miners.

"We see De Klerk's speech as very positive. Hopefully there will now be a climate more conducive to normal industrial relations," said Gary Maude, head of the gold and uranium division at Genmin. (304A)

The speech had raised hopes that dealings with trade unions will now focus more on workplace and wage issues rather than political matters, he added. B/Day 9/2/90

Swiss analysts see reforms benefiting SA's economy by increasing the likelihood of foreign investment, although cheaper capital could lead to increased production and lower prices.

De Klerk's statement would have little short-term impact, brokers Warburg Securities said in a London review. But if nationalisation were adopted, the effect on gold could be disastrous, Warburg noted.

It "would lead to a rapid decline in gold output ... and give an enormous boost to the price". — Reuter.

The Great Inte

STAR 10/2/90 (304A)

'Apartheid is not dead, we've only issue

PATRICK LAURENCE

IT TOOK the silver-haired guru of the Cabinet, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to spell out the full implications of President de Klerk's momentous February 2 speech.

Responding to an invitation at a press briefing to look ahead to the end of the century, he said: "In 10 years time we won't have a single party of government but some kind of coalition."

Then came the startling admission: "The National Party is not likely to be in control, although I wouldn't rule out a very meaningful future role for it in a future dispensation."

These deductions were, of course, implicit in Mr de Klerk's watershed speech; after more than 40 years of NP rule, however, it was hard to envisage the NP relinquishing power.

But Dr Viljoen, a former chairman of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond and perhaps the most influential man in the Cabinet after Mr de Klerk, boldly and publicly drew the above conclusions from Mr de Klerk's speech.

Earlier Foreign Minister Pik Botha was asked whether a black man could be elected President under NP policy.

Four years ago, he replied affirmatively to the same question and was promptly and severely chastised by ex-President Botha and forced to admit that he was speaking for himself and not for the Government.

He chose his words carefully this time round, even in the invigorating atmosphere of Mr de Klerk's new South Africa; there was, however, no mistaking their drift. They endorsed Dr Viljoen's remarks.

Talking of the pending negotiations for a new constitution with newly legalised opposition organisations, as well as those movements which had escaped banning during South Africa's "dark ages", Mr Botha said: "The end result will have to have majority support of all South Africans ... What does it matter who is the head of government as long as it enjoys majority support and all the people identify with it."

Dr Viljoen's and Mr Botha's words signalled that the NP was taking the penultimate step in its long retreat from the doctrine of apartheid — which won it a mandate in the general election of 1948.

The final step would have to be a giant one; it would have to include the surrender by the NP of its monopoly on power to a government chosen by the majority of the people and the scrapping of last remaining legislative pillars of apartheid.

The unbanning of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, and the undertaking to free Mr Nelson Mandela "soon" and unconditionally, were in part NP withdrawal from its own doctrinal past.

These organisations were outlawed and Mr Mandela jailed in defence of apartheid, in the sense of a bid to establish white hegemony in all of South Africa outside of designated "black homelands".

The retreat from apartheid — or what the NP prefers to call "renewal" — began a long time ago. One important stage in the process was the election of Mr B J Vorster as Prime Minister after the assassination in September 1966 of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the "high priest" of grand apartheid.

In recent years, however, the retreat speeded up markedly as the NP sought to escape its past. To cite four important steps on the way:

- Disavowal of the belief that coloured and Indian people could be accommodated in separate political institutions and, consequently, inclusion of them from 1984 in the tri-racial Parliament.
- Repeal of the "Nuremberg" laws, prohibiting inter-racial political association, inter-racial sex and inter-racial marriage.
- Scrapping the pass laws which sought to control the movement of blacks from cradle to grave and, more specifically, to corral them in their designated "homelands".
- Abandonment of the objective of depriving black people of their South African citizenship and bestowing on them, whether they liked it or not, the citizenship of an allotted "homeland" once its leaders were coaxed or coerced into accepting "independence."

> 'In 10 years time we won't have a single party of government but some kind of coalition.'

But for apartheid to be excised completely the remaining apartheid laws have to be abolished: the Separate Amenities Act, the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, and the matrix of laws providing for compulsory segregation of state schools.

Mr de Klerk gave an explicit commitment in his February 2 speech that the Separate Amenities Act — which specifically empowers local authorities to provide separate and unequal public facilities for the different races — would be repealed during the present parliamentary session.

The Land Act — which, excluding the urban townships, restricts black ownership to barely more than 13 percent of South Africa — is being scrutinised by a Cabinet committee, Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, told journalists at briefing after Mr de Klerk's speech last week.

Mr Kriel, who weighed his words carefully, did not commit himself to abolition of the Land Act. But, Saturday Star learnt reliably, the Land Act is destined for the historical dustbin.

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STAR 10/2/90 (304A)

ɔt dead, we've only issued the death warrant'

STADIG OOR DIE KLIPPE: Drawing conclusions this week from the State President's watershed speech, Dr Gerrit Viljoen — the most influential man in the Cabinet after Mr de Klerk — spells out the possible future, after apartheid is dead and buried.

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Together with the pass laws, the Land Act was for a long time targeted by black nationalists as a prime grievance; its centrality in black political thinking was — and still is — summed up in the Pan Africanist Congress slogan "Izwe Lethu" — the land is ours.

Mr Kriel offered little hope of immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act. "We do not intend scrapping the Group Areas Act at this stage," he said.

The Act would, however, be put on the agenda at the negotiating table, where its abrogation or modification could be discussed, he added.

In the interim his department would push ahead with plans to introduce "free settlement areas" for people who preferred racially open or free areas to segregated "own" areas.

Dr Viljoen expressed essentially the same view; the Group Areas Act would remain on the statute book, he said, until an "alternative arrangement to protect community life" had been negotiated.

The Population Registration Act was passed in 1950 as the legislative foundation for the spate of early apartheid legislation. This Act was — and still is — the bedrock on which apartheid rests.

Its primary purpose was to classify all South Africans by race so that they could be treated differently according to their position in the racial hierarchy.

Whites occupied the top tier, blacks the bottom rung, and coloureds and Indians the intermediate echelons.

At the same time the Act tried to prevent upward movement from lower to higher places in the hierarchy by "borderline" cases.

The Act, Dr Viljoen argued, was integral to the present triracial constitution, with its racially segregated chambers for whites, coloureds and Indians. Its life was, therefore, tied to that of the constitution.

"It is accepted that the Population Registration Act will have to lapse together with the present constitution," Dr Viljoen averred.

"The prescriptive and racially defined descriptions of groups in the Act are not acceptable and, therefore, it has to lapse."

His view was later endorsed by the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the majority Labour Party in the coloured House of Representatives. He called for the immediate unification of the three uniracial chambers into a single house and the abrogation of race classification.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Training, shied away from the notion of racially integrated schools. He argued that, until the gap in per capita state spending between white and black education was closed, the present system was in the interests of everybody.

Noting that the amount spent on a white child was fivefold that spend on a black child, he said: "One sits with this huge differential between white education and black education ...

"If one were to immediately throw the systems open and integrate everything, it could create tremendous chaos in the total education system."

> 'It is accepted that the Population Registration Act will have to lapse together with the present constitution.'

He hoped, however, that cuts in defence expenditure and an easing of sanctions would enable more money to be spent on education and thus bring parity closer and, by his logic, the ending of segregated schooling with it.

One huge apartheid edifice remained virtually unscathed: the quartet of nominally independent black states, Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, "the illegitimate progeny of apartheid" as they have been called.

Mr de Klerk, however, accepted that these four quasi states — which were excised from South Africa during the five years between 1976 and 1981 — might return to South Africa. It was, he said, "one of many possibilities".

Mr Botha spoke of a possible "larger indaba" between South Africa and its misbegotten offspring after scheduled negotiations for a constitution on a truncated South Africa — that is, minus Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, and Venda — had been finalised.

These pariah statelets were established after the outlawing of the ANC and the PAC in April 1960.

Their legitimacy was therefore challenged right from the word go as apartheid polities which were imposed on blacks without their consent.

By unfettering the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr de Klerk opened the way for an intensification of the struggle to dismantle these putative states and consign them to the dustbin of history, alongside the notorious Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo

Mr de Klerk, in summary, signed the death warrant of apartheid; its death, however, might still be some time off.

STAR 10/2/90

Superspy's olive branch to ANC

(304 A)

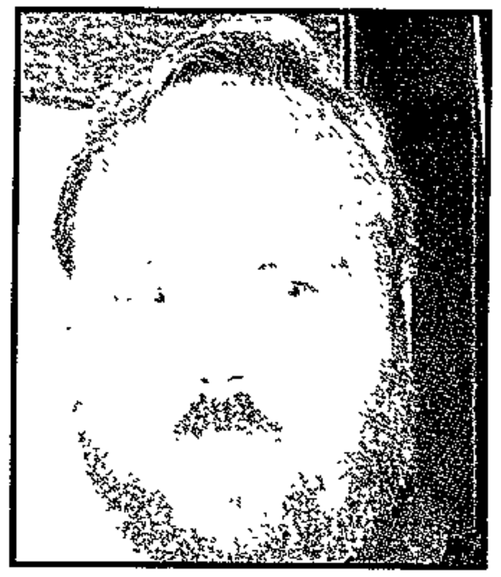
FORMER superspy Mr Craig Williamson has written an emotional letter appealing to the three ANC men he betrayed to bury the bitterness of the 30-year war and work towards peaceful solutions in this country.

In the controversial letter addressed to "Mac, Aziz and Ronnie" the ANC "comrades" he worked closely with during his three year infiltration of the movement, Mr Williamson said: "I wonder what on Earth our country is going to do with us, the hard men, the warriors?"

After working as a police agent within student politics under the code name Newman, Mr Williamson, was sent to Europe in 1977 to infiltrate the ANC from Geneva. Three years later he blew his cover and returned to South Africa as this country's best known "superspy".

Opposite end

Now in the National Party President's Council Mr Williamson is at the opposite end of the political spectrum to his former comrades, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Aziz Pahad, both executive members of the ANC based in London and Lusaka, and to Mr Ronnie Kasrils, now intelligence chief of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.



CRAIG WILLIAMSON: feels he could be ANC target.

But in his letter he tells the three: "We have all seen too much bloodshed and suffering ... people such as you and I need to reflect deeply about our political work and our war.

"There is no glamour or romance in a dirty war. We have buried too many of our friends for that."

He then goes on to add: "But we need to rise above the evil done by us all, on both sides in the name of our different definitions of freedom."

Asked this week about the letter, Mr Williamson said: "I wrote that letter prior to President de Klerk's speech because I knew that the prickly nettle of talking to the ANC was going to have to be grasped sometime this year so I began to prepare some contact.

"I sent the letter to 'Sechaba' the ANC's monthly journal be-

Williamson writes to the men he betrayed

PAT DEVEREAUX

cause I believe we are either going to stop fighting or end up in a Beirut-type situation. I believe if those who have been doing the fighting in this war can find each other then everybody else in this country can.

"The ANC must believe we are sincere and that the De Klerk speech was part of a deep political process ... A war isn't — that is why I left the frontlines. I decided the solution would be a political one.

"At present I'm deeply involved in the military and security studies being done by the President's Council.

War criminals

"It doesn't help to have Idasa talking to the ANC, we must have the NP talking to the ANC. If the ANC rejects the NP's initiatives and decides to have such a thing as the 'Bloemfontein trials' in which they try so called war criminals it will feed right-wing radicalism."

Asked whether he believed the ANC might retaliate against him for his part in betraying its cause he said: "Yes I believe I could be a target.

"I realised these ANC operatives will have to come back if this (peace) process is to succeed.

"I believe that the political solution will be similar to that of Zimbabwe. When the war ended there the security forces on both sides were merged together and had to end up working with each other after they had spent years and years trying to kill each other.

"But I don't see that there will be a Nuremberg trial situation for people like me. I believe that the ANC's reasonable attitude and remarkable lack of bitterness will surprise everyone and the future will come a lot quicker than we think.

"If I were the ANC I would naturally have started looking for the trick behind De Klerk's announcement.

"But what I was trying to put across in that letter to the ANC is that (it) must not underestimate the cathartic change in the NP's attitudes — this includes my own.

"Of course we in the NP recognise we have to go much further than we've gone but we also have a political constituency we have to keep with us other wise we could end up with a disaster on our hands.

De Klerk boosts tourism in Cape

Cape Times 10/2/90

3044A

MORE FOREIGN VISITORS EXPECTED IN SA AFTER FW'S SPEECH

After the disclosure that South Africa's foreign exchange reserves have already increased by R1,5 bn this month comes news of "very positive" indications that President De Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament last week has given a significant boost to tourism prospects. ROGER WILLIAMS reports.

TOURISM authorities and economists are expecting a significant increase in the number of foreign visitors because of President De Klerk's speech in Parliament a week ago.

Captour chairman Louis Kreiner says an increase of at least 30% in foreign visitors can be expected this year over last year, when a total of 218 000 tourists came to South Africa.

"With a fast-increasing proportion of foreign visitors coming to the Cape, we must lose no time in getting our accommodation act together in this region," he says.

"We already have excellent hotel booking figures right up to the end of April and we must ensure now that our tourism infrastructure is capable of coping with what could be a significant increase in the inflow of visitors."

Spencer Thomas, chief executive of Satour, says from Pretoria the corporation has had "very positive" feed-back from its overseas offices "and the indications are that we can expect a significant increase in the volume of visitors from abroad this year".

Laboured so long

"Our marketing atmosphere has never been better, with positive perceptions of this country replacing the very negative image with which we have laboured for so long."

And Professor Brian Kantor, director of the school of economics at UCT, says: "As long as we don't have violence, there is every reason to believe the De Klerk speech is going to open the tourism doors wider than ever.

"And what one would like to see now is the international hotel groups investing in this country."

Dr Okkie Stuart, director of the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch, predicts that the De Klerk speech, which brought an enthusiastic reaction from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, will boost the inflow of tourists from Britain in particular

Improved image

Stuart says President De Klerk's moves could, and shoul', impact "very favourably" on the economy generally, in the longer term.

South Africa's improved image, he adds, should make it easier for exporters to find markets, and it will also make it more possible for capital to flow into the country.

"The balance of payments situation may thus improve and the external value of the rand may become more stable."

Stuart says internal tensions may, for a while, run high and the need for a bigger police force will become clear. Fortunately, though, matters which were formerly handled by the army will now be dealt with by the police and the judicial system — and this should also bolster confidence.

"And economic prosperity turns out

NEGOTIATION: WHO, WHAT, HOW?

W/E ARGUS 10/2/90

FOCUS 2

304A

By MARINUS WIECHERS
Professor of Constitutional Law
at the University of South Africa

SINCE the announcement of the unbanning of the ANC, the SACP, the UDF and other political organisations last week, many people, especially whites, are experiencing the rather euphoric feeling that it is now a case of "all systems go".

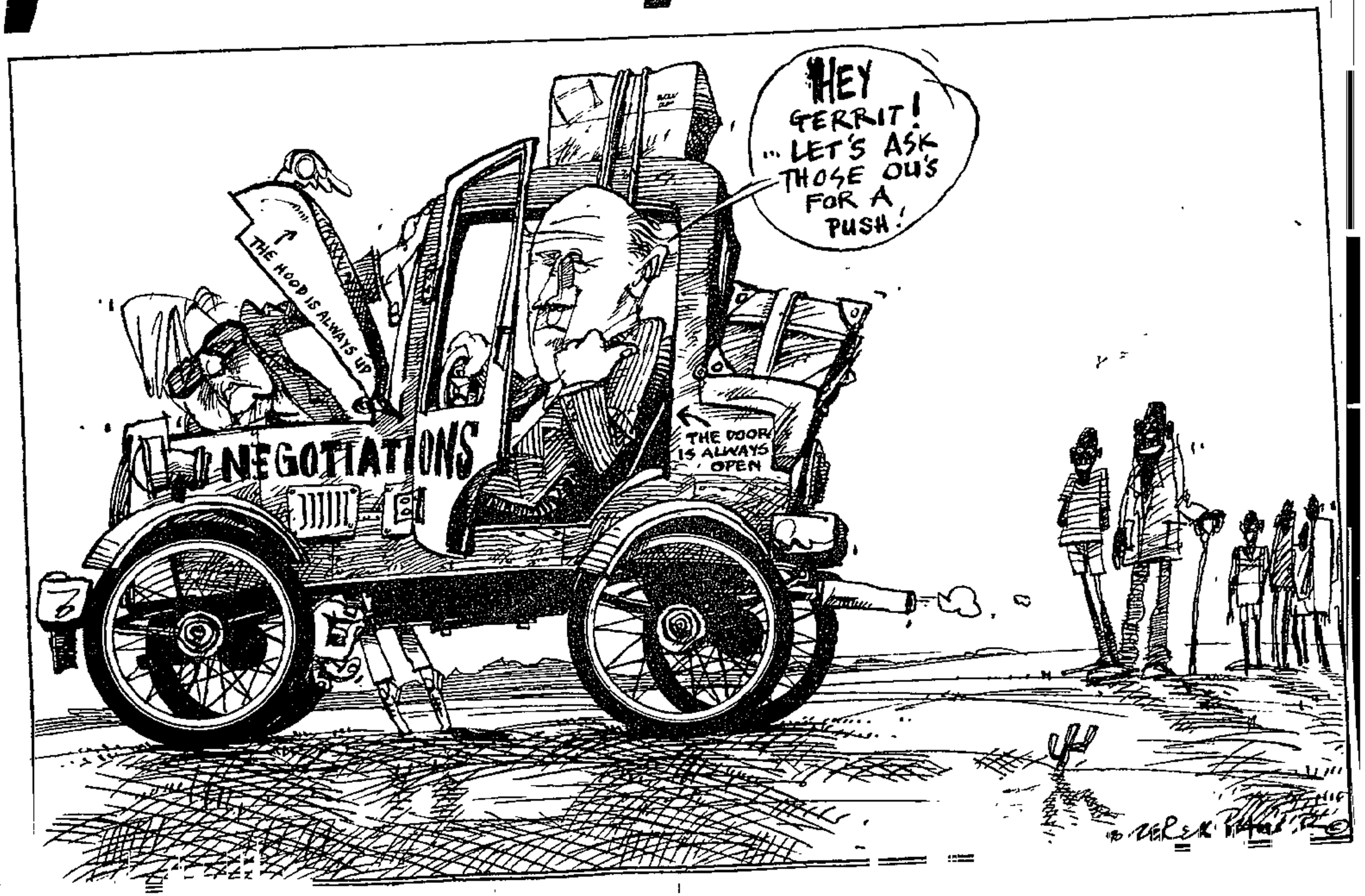
The buzzword is "negotiations". All our constitutional problems, so it is thought, are going to be solved and indeed our whole future constitutional dispensation is ready to be settled by negotiation.

All dressed up for negotiation. Not only in the austere halls of parliament and the high offices of government, but also on the streets where the protest marches and peaceful demonstrations have for many become the heralding signs of a new dawn.

Yet, when the issue of negotiations is viewed dispassionately and objectively, many worrying thoughts creep in.

How is the process to be initiated? By whom and with which parties?

Unlike states in Eastern Europe where regimes have been toppled or have had to resign and transitional governments of national reconstruction have been hastily formed to call for election [illegible] the adoption of new con-



stitutions, our gov[illegible] much in place.

Also, nothing has changed as far as the basic tenets of our constitutional structures are concerned. What is more, the security situation is still tenuous and extra-parliamentary politics are still in the hands of groups wielding well-organised resistance and defiance and displaying very little sign of constructive thinking about the actual mechanics and processes of negotiation.

One has the distinct feeling that all our rejoicing might just have been a little premature.

In Namibia, long years of constitutional bargaining came to an end only this week with the adoption of the final independence constitution.

Those years have been marked by elections, referendums, interim governments, prolonged constitutional debate and planning and massive international supervision.

It is hoped that we in South Africa will be spared the agony and strife of Namibia before we finally arrive at the stage where a fully representative and legitimate constituent assembly can work out and adopt our future constitution.

HOWEVER, even though our constitutional restructuring may be much smoother, one should not be too over-optimistic and believe that the ultimate phase of constitution-making is just around the corner.

The fact of the matter is that political forces are at present still too disparate, political leadership too diffuse and institutions of government so severe in their positions of control that it is simply unrealistic to hope for an immediate, decisive moment and event from which our new constitution and a restructured government will emerge.

How then, is it possible to start a constructive process of negotiation?

In this regard, the central role of government and that of President De Klerk cannot be overlooked.

Constitutionally, it is only the government that can give a start and effect to negotiations.

As a starting point, government will, as it has already started to do, have to conduct general discussions with parties and leaders on the topic of negotiations.

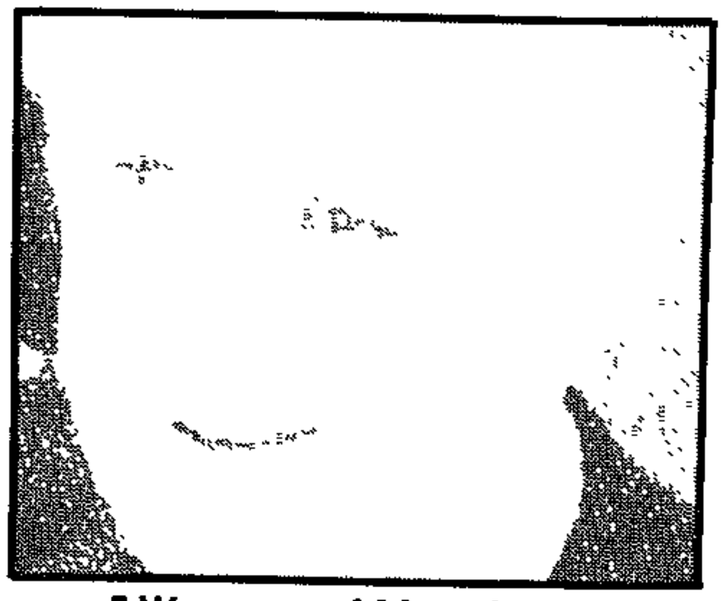
From these discussions, government will have to host a meeting of eminent leaders and influential persons, not to negotiate our constitutional future, but to debate the course and procedures of the negotiation processes.

It will simply not be enough, as in the past, to pass An act of parliament and prescribe the composition and powers of a national negotiating body.

What will be necessary, first of all, is to persuade eminent leaders across the whole political spectrum to form a kind of steering body to plan the process of negotiation.

A planning or steering body of that nature will have to reach consensus on issues such as parties to the actual negotiation forum, the way in which these parties will be elected, nominated or appointed, the manner in which the forum will be convened and, most important, how the forum will implement its decisions and proposals.

Of course, the most crucial aspect of this process will be to ensure that the members of the initial steering or planning body are such leaders and persons of influence as to persuade all relevant political parties to join the actual negotiation forum.



F W. . . . mould-breaker

It is only when the national negotiation forum, whether in the form of a national indaba or a national council of reconstruction, has been established through the influence and persuasion of the initial steering body, that true negotiation will commence.

Furthermore, it is foreseeable that only at that stage will the full array of party political views, options and models for constitutional reform and a new dispensation be put on the table, discussed and implemented.

It might happen, depending on its representativeness and general support, that the national negotiation forum will assume the character of a true constituent assembly carrying the ultimate task of writing a new constitution.

However, it is more probable that the national negotiation forum will be more in the nature of a advisory body which will pave the way for the final installation of a constitution-making assembly.

IT would be naive to think that any negotiation process will be conducted and carried through in a political vacuum or a situation in which the status quo simply prevails.

The very fact of negotiation will create new circumstances and bring about new political grouping and alliances.

New government institutions will be created as a result of negotiation, which, in turn, may deeply influence further negotiations.

Also, it is certain that the path of negotiation is not going to be free of obstacles. Indeed, it may happen that the process of negotiation will seem to break down at a given stage since it is an undeniable fact that there are still a number of groups and leaders who want to push their demands for reform or increase their support through popular uprising and international pressure before they will be prepared to commit themselves to meaningful negotiation.

Other leaders, especially those with rightwing ideologies, resent the very idea of negotiation and reject out of hand any implication of sharing or transferring of power.

They, together with other anarchist elements, may instead of merely slowing down or postponing negotiations, set themselves the task of wrecking the process.

The path of negotiation is not going to be strewn with roses. On the other hand, negotiations and even negotiations about negotiations, create their own dynamics. What remains vitally important at this stage is that political leaders of all persuasions should be given full support in coming together and starting to plan the process of negotiation.

FW: White power a recipe for chaos

Cape Times 10/2/90

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

KEEPING power in the hands of a minority was "a sure recipe for revolution", President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

In a wide-ranging attack on the Conservative Party during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly, Mr De Klerk said the CP's bid to keep power soley in white hands would evoke fierce resistance.

Speaking in his capacity of NP leader rather than that of State President, Mr De Klerk said efforts over the past 40 years to find an own fatherland for the Afrikaner had not succeded.

Mr De Klerk said that after five, 10 or 20 years the NP would still "be there" to effectively look after its supporters' interests. "We will be there playing a decisive role in good and fair government."

The CP's threats to organise strikes and boycotts showed that the party was aligning itself with the methods of the radicals.

'Our 40 years of striving to create a fatherland for whites did not succeed and we decided to change direction, to accept the realities facing us.'

The CP was aligning itself with "racist aggression" and if the party came to power it would plunge the country into a "destructive race war".

The NP would not allow anyone or any party to "set the country alight".

Mr De Klerk said that previous methods of fighting communism and the politics of violence had begun to be counter-productive.

"The continuing prohibition on organisations had the effect of drawing attention away from their faults and their indefensible policies. At the same time it was a stumbling block on the path of the politics of negotiation."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said Mr De Klerk's speech to the opening of Parliament had reduced the ANC to "just another political party".

During the past two weeks it had become clear that the ANC did not have a military option any more.

Mr Coetsee said the ANC was now "embarrassed and confused" while the State President was leading them to the negotiating table.

Introducing a motion of no confidence in the cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said it appeared that the CP's supporters were now regarded not only as the political opponents of the NP but as enemies against whom the police and SADF should act.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach said yesterday that it was totally untrue that commandos in the Western Cape had been told to regard the Conservative Party and not the ANC as their foe.

Cape Times 10/2/90

Press aborted FW Mandela meeting?

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE scheduled meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela last Thursday was apparently aborted because journalists got wind of plans for the secret meeting.

The meeting was arranged to try to iron out problems about the ANC leader's release and discuss Mr De Klerk's opening-of-Parliament speech.

However, the meeting was apparently aborted when Mr Mandelaand his party spotted a large contingent of journalists staking out Tuynhuys early on Thursday morning.

Mr Mandela later met the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at another venue.

The text of Mr De Klerk's speech was apparently finalised after the meeting and senior cabinet ministers received the final draft only in the early hours of Friday morning.

The latest disclosures follow the visit by Mr Eddie Daniels, a friend of Mr Mandela, who visited the ANC leader for three hours at Victor Verster Prison earlier this week.

Mr Daniels told a Cape Town newspaper after the visit that Mr Mandela had confirmed that the meeting with Mr De Klerk was due to take place last Thursday.

He said Mr Mandela was fetched at Victor Verster at 4.30am, but that when the party reached Tuynhuys "they saw so many reporters waiting outside that the car drove off".

A statement issued last Thursday by the State President's office did not confirm or deny that the Tuynhuys meeting had been planned, but said that it had not taken place.

SUNDAY TIMES
Perspectives

THE NEWSPEAK

THE END of white civilisation as we know it is at hand. No matter that it was never very white nor even very civilised (or that the awful, patronising phrase was largely used in self-mockery) — the truth is that President De Klerk has not only changed the rules of the game: he has changed the game itself.

It was difficult to find "The New South Africa" as one moved about the precincts of Parliament this week. The President has launched a new brand-name, but the product itself has yet to be displayed on the shelves of the political marketplace.

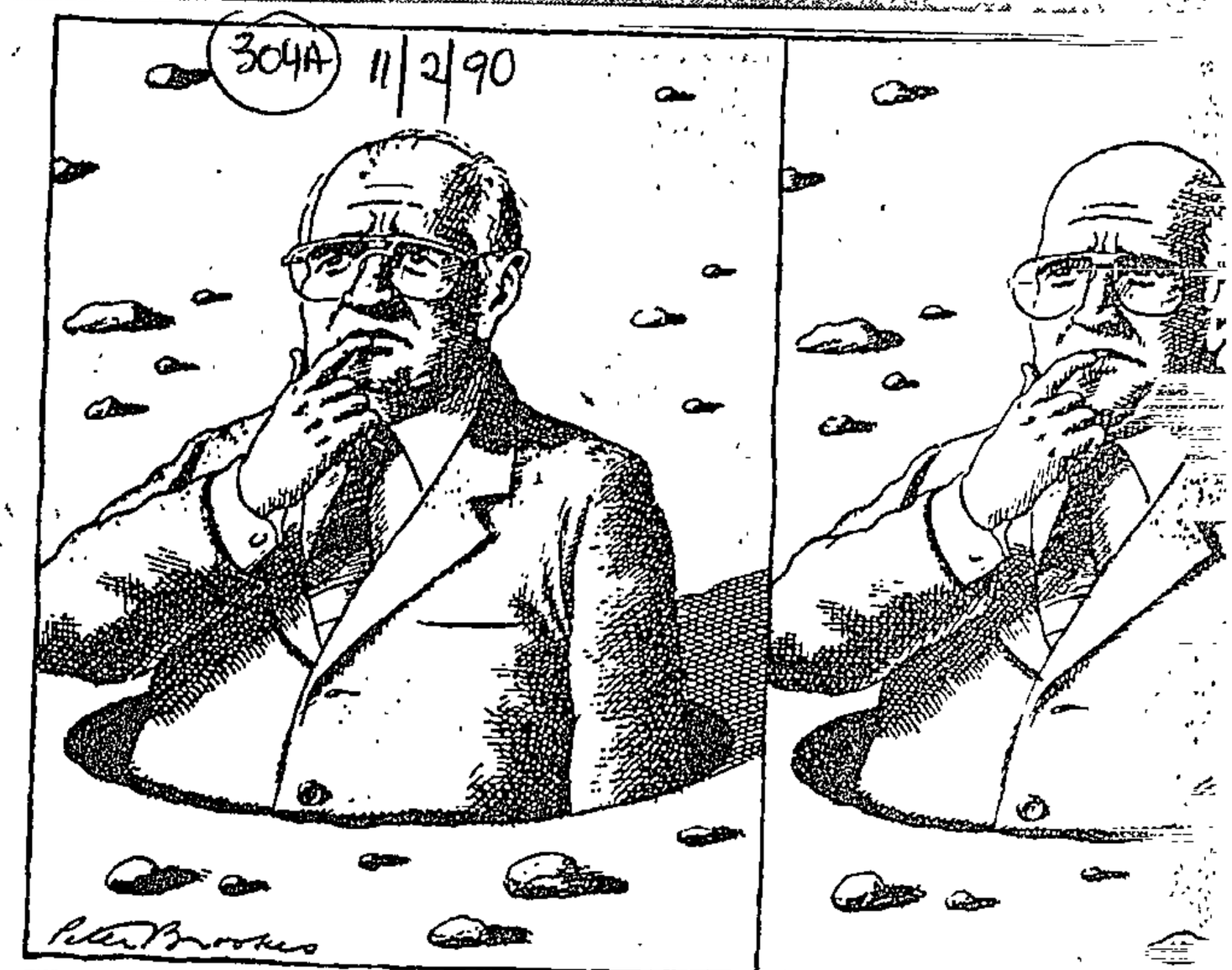
Nevertheless, politicians have taken aboard enough of the meaning of That Speech to realise that public affairs — and their lives — have been changed irreversibly.

Government members have vaulted into the new politics with astonishing ease. Visibly relieved at shedding the burden of defending positions which all but the most dense among them knew in their hearts to be wholly untenable, the new and unfamiliar language of negotiation and democracy falls from their lips with astounding fluency.

Just as, in Mikhail Gorbachev's Moscow last year, I found it difficult to meet a true believer in communism, so in F W de Klerk's Cape Town this week one had to search very hard to find a *ware* advocate of yesterday's apartheid.

For such recidivism one needed to approach members of the Conservative Party. It was for this moment that they had been girding their loins all these years; the day when perfidious Nationalists would "lead the Afrikaner nation to the abattoir" in the farmyard metaphor of Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

by Tertius Myburgh



SPOT THE DIFFERENCE: BOERS AND BOLSHEVIKS *(from this week's cov*

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Backlash

They'll huff and they'll puff. They'll even do their best to imitate the tiger Dr Treurnicht claims has been awakened and they may even march a little, but somehow one feels a CP-led backlash is unlikely to interfere terminally with the historic process that is only just getting under way.

Among Democrats there are mixed feelings: on one hand, the sense of satisfaction that comes from vindication for what they have stood for all these long years; on the other, apprehension about finding a place for themselves on the train that is about to leave the station.

How to position themselves in the months ahead remains a problem for individual members of the DP, although one can't help feeling that the gifts, and experience, which some of them have in the conciliation business could be useful in the months ahead.

MPs in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates face the most uncertain future of all. As the newest members of the now doomed institution which the tricameral Parliament has become, they will probably have to choose sides as best they can as the line-up for negotiations slowly takes shape.

What, then, is one to make of events so far?

It is a big penny and it's going to take time to drop. Politicians will not be alone in struggling to get their minds around the idea that political discourse can no longer focus on the exclusive interests of about 6-million whites. Henceforth we will all have to talk in terms of South Africa's whole population of 30-odd million

The problem is no less pressing for the ANC, whose peripatetic leaders have so far been unable to assemble in one place long enough to formulate a coherent response to the De Klerk initiative which took them completely by surprise.

Early responses from that quarter suggest that they, too, will take time to adapt to the newspeak which the moment requires and that they will have no less difficulty than Nationalists in de-demonising their adversaries.

Still, a few threads in the arguments ahead are already beginning to emerge.

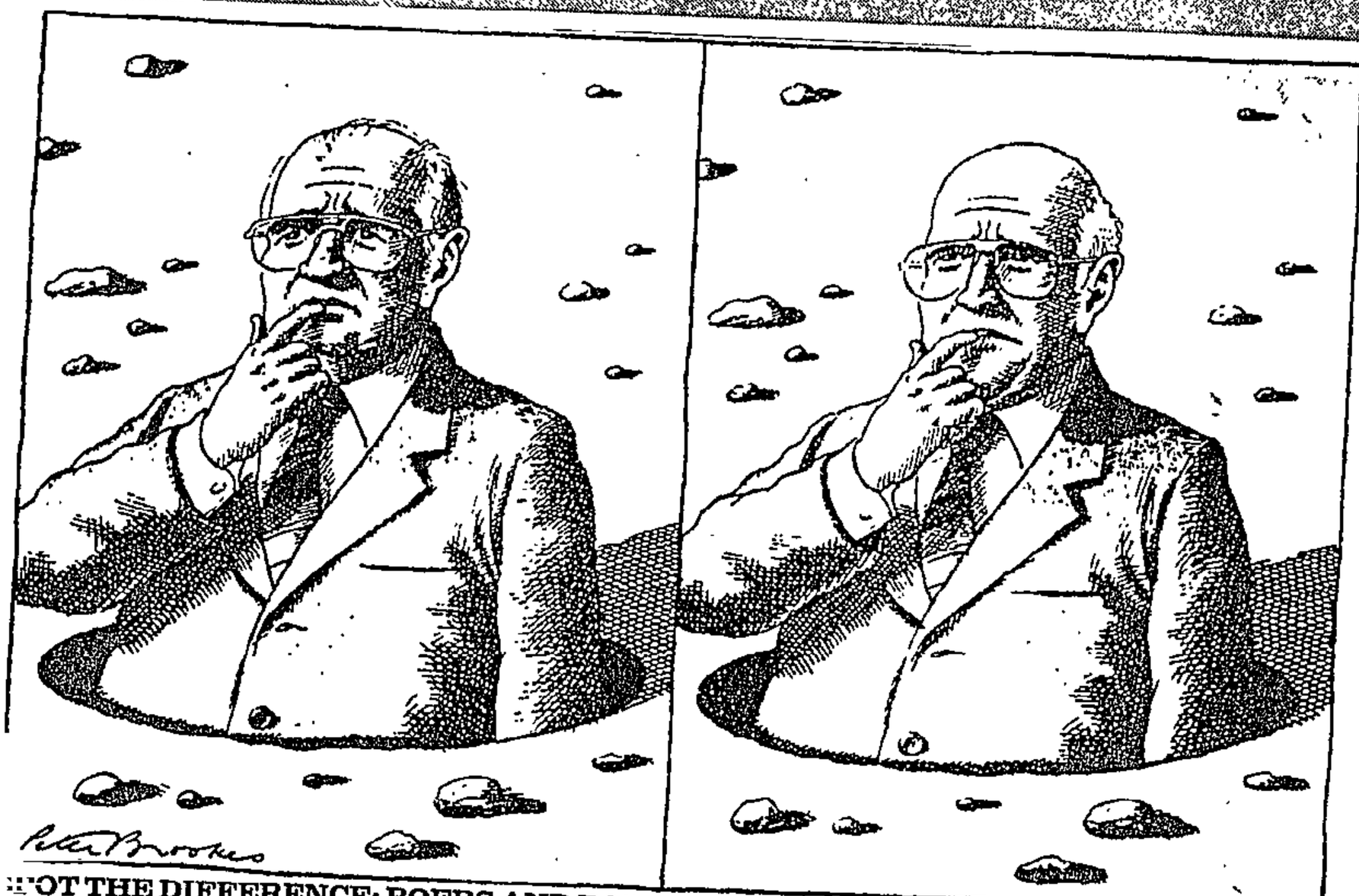
One of the most important concerns the ANC and explains its somewhat confused reponse. Accustomed, for decades, to being the aggrieved party in a patently unjust system, it has never really been required to compose an agenda for the governance of South Africa.

Now, with the playing field levelled by Mr De Klerk, it will be expected to produce something more than an agenda for protest. Its agenda, as well as the manner in which it is presented, will be closely scrutinised by the international community — a community (including the USSR) whose support it can no longer take for granted.

All the parties in the South African dispute will henceforth be judged on their merits and, at this early stage, Mr De Klerk has taken the high ground by presenting himself as the reasonable party willing to entertain all proposals at the negotiating table. In terms of risk-taking, Mr De Klerk has so far

LOSE CENTIME SLENDER
WE GUARANTEE REDUCED

EWSPEAK NATS



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All the parties in the South African dispute will henceforth be judged on their merits and, at this early stage, Mr De Klerk has taken the high ground by presenting himself as the reasonable party willing to entertain all proposals at the negotiating table. In terms of risk-taking, Mr De Klerk has so far done more than any of the leaders of the ANC.

Therefore those who insist that an "armed struggle" remains necessary in such circumstances are in danger of being branded as spoilers.

Moreover, unlike, say, Sam Nujuma's Swapo in Namibia or Robert Mugabe's Zanu in Zimbabwe, the ANC does not take the stage in the role of a glamorised, long-wronged liberation movement come to lay claim to the political spoils it has fought for in the bush.

The newly legitimised ANC will have to spend a long time in mainstream politics, its every deed and argument publicly observed and weighed for statesmanship both at home and abroad according to its merits. Time will tell whether the ANC has the ability to adapt to this new role.

Similarly, questions abound concerning the NP. What is its fall-back position if the present initiative fails? If the ANC remains uncompromising, will it press ahead regardless by fashioning some kind of "alliance of moderates"? If it does, could real peace ever be attained?

Heady

Or, failing the attainment of an inclusive democracy, are there plans to address the only other logical alternative: genuine, equitable, physical partition?

These are early days and there is really only one thing one can predict with any certainty. It is that the mating dance is likely to last a long time.

It will also be a grave mistake to assume that the transition to a new South Africa will be painless. It may even be that the two main sides are not yet sufficiently scared of each other. Another punch-up or two may be necessary before "bottom lines" are reduced to realistic levels and the point is finally driven home that only the apocalypse awaits us all if there is eternal conflict.

For the moment, however, let us savour this heady moment. After all, hope is not something we South Africans have had plenty of and this is a time for optimists. I fervently believe they will yet prevail.

LOSE CENTIMETRES WITH SLENDER LINE

WE GUARANTEE REDUCED MEASUREMENTS

MANDELA GOES FREE TODAY

(304A)

C/Press 11/2/90.

State President FW de Klerk.

BY ZB MOLEFE and LEN KALANE

NELSON Mandela, South Africa's world-famous political prisoner, will be freed today, State President FW De Klerk announced yesterday.

A stunned South Africa heard De Klerk announce the release of the man who is often seen as the country's last hope on its road to democracy

Joining South Africans when the news were broken yesterday were some of the world's biggest television and radio networks, who have been in the country since last week for "the story of the decade".

De Klerk's announcement was made at a snap Press conference called in the HF Verwoerd building next to Parliament.

De Klerk said he had discussions with Mandela on Friday night and as during discussions with him last year he had come to the conclusion that Mandela was committed to a peaceful future and peaceful process.

"Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter," De Klerk said.

He said Mandela's release was ensured when he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions. He expressed the wish that Mandela's release would take place in a dignified manner.

Facing a battery of reporters, photographers and TV cameras De Klerk started reading his announcement at 5.05 yesterday afternoon. Looking calm and relaxed, he said he would not be present for the release at Victor Verster Prison today.

Government officials were working out details of Mandela's release with interested parties at the time of the Press conference. One is Adv Dullah Omar, a close friend of Mandela and also his legal adviser.

Asked about Mandela's safety, De Klerk said that he would return to his own circle of friends and he was certain they would see to it, just as they had done in the case of Walter Sisulu.

He declined to comment on blacks being given the vote in a one-man one-vote political system. More details would be disclosed at Press conference to be held sometime next week.

National Reception Committee member Popo Molefe expressed his "absolute pleasure" at De Klerk's announcement.

New light on Stanza's mystery flight

By SOPHIE TEMA

INFORMATION in the hands of a firm of Johannesburg lawyers could solve the strange disappearance without trace of Johannes Maisha "Stanza" Bopape.

Black film actor Johannes "Dr Chaucer" Mampuru, 32, an awaiting-trial prisoner on fraud charges, this week provided lawyers with information that could solve the mystery.

Mampuru is being held at the Johannesburg Prison near Diepkloof.

In 1983 he played the lead role in the film series *Di-millione Tsa Kiriri* as the character Mafutha.

Mampuru claims to have been the last person to have seen and spoken to Stanza Bopape, in bush near the Botswana border

The mysterious circumstances surrounding Bopape's disappearance cannot yet be given as affidavits are still to be sworn in and signed.

Mampuru also claims to have information relating to two other detainees, George Modiba and one known only as Sithole, who he claims were held at John Vorster Square.

In a note written on a piece of toilet paper smuggled from the Sandton Police Station and handed to his attorney Godfrey Pitje, Mampuru begged: "Please save me. I need help. I'm in a very bad condition. Beaten by security police

"Please help me. I live in danger. If I die you must know the following: security police killed me . . ."

Mampuru claims electric shock treatment was used to put pressure on him so he would agree to work for the police as a spy

His claims are backed up by numerous sjambok weals on his back.

Pitje said Mampuru is now wearing glasses to assist his sight which was also damaged in an assault and he cannot walk properly.

Mampuru was charged in the Randburg Magistrate's Court on Friday last week with defrauding the Sandton Sun Hotel.

Bopape, who was general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association and a member of the Community Resource and Information Centre (Cric), was detained with a colleague on June 9, 1988.

Police alleged he escaped on June 12 – three days after his detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act – while being transported to Vereeniging

They claimed he escaped from the custody of three armed policemen while handcuffed and with his feet manacled.

A report said the three policemen who accompained Stanza that night were changing a burst tyre on their vehicle when he found their keys, unlocked his shackles, got out of the police vehicle and escaped.

According to Bopape's lawyers, his family, friends and colleagues were never questioned and the lawyers were not informed of his escape until July 4, 1988.

Racing

Yesterday's payouts at Gosforth Park:
PICK SIX: R3 159,10
JACKPOT: R203,90
PA: R77,00

AWB on Pretoria rampage

By DES BLOW

(304)

MOVE TO

FREE TODAY

BY ZB MOLEFE and LEN KALANE

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Reports yesterday said Winnie Mandela, who had obviously heard the news, remained behind closed doors in her Orlando West home in Soweto where a massive media contingent had gathered outside in the street, including TV teams with their own satellite dishes for immediate transmission to the rest of the world.

Sources said Mandela's release had been timed to coincide with the European Economic Community meeting next week.

"What better way of influencing the meeting to lift economic sanctions than presenting a free Mandela? It almost worked with the Commonwealth Conference when Sisulu and others were released," said one.

Black activists have begun arrangements for a mass rally to be addressed by Mandela, who was jailed 27 years ago for plotting to topple white rule.

ANC flags have been hoisted on his Soweto home. "Welcome Home Our Leader Nelson Mandela" T-shirts and sweaters are already on sale in the townships.

Foreign television networks have organised contingency plans. One of the largest US networks has sent more than 130 staffers to South Africa.

Some networks have reserved chartered jets. Satellite dishes have been erected outside Mandela's Soweto home. One network has booked an entire Cape Town hotel for its production, technical and editorial staff.

Another, some reports say, approached the Mandela family, offering millions of dollars for sole rights to his story. The family rebuffed the approach and the National Reception Committee, formed to co-ordinate the affairs of released political prisoners, said it was opposed to money-making making money out of Mandela.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen said earlier in the week the government was worried about Mandela's safety from both the right wing as well as people from within his organisation who, he claims, may want to kill him.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told a Bureau for Information Press briefing this week the personal safety of Mandela was a serious consideration which had to be taken into account with his release.

The scene that could be re-enacted today when ANC leader Nelson Mandela is freed from prison after 30 years.

Stevie Wonder appears in court for a song.

Blind singer fights for hit-song rights

POP STAR Stevie Wonder, on trial for copyright infringement, said this week the idea for his Oscar-winning song *I Just Called To Say I Love You*, came as he was going home from a visit to his mother in Los Angeles in 1976.

Wonder, blind since birth, testified at the start of the Los Angeles copyright infringement trial stemming from a claim by songwriter Lloyd Chiate that he and a collaborator, Lee Garrett, wrote the song in September 1976.

Chiate has alleged that Wonder sold the song as his own for the 1984 film *The Woman in Red* for which it won a Hollywood Oscar for best original song.

Wonder, said he created enough of a working idea for a verse and a chorus to make a recording in 1976.

Wonder said various changes followed through the years. "I never felt it was complete until I recorded it in 1984," Wonder said.

Dodell said in his opening statement that Chiate and Garrett, a friend of Wonder since both were teenagers, wrote the song and that Garrett played it for Wonder in 1977. – Sapa

S/Times 11/3/90

Maggie's gung-ho on new SA, but confused by Reds

304A

NOEL MALCOLM, writing in the Spectator, analyses Britain's responses to events in South Africa and the Soviet Union

WE are living in momentous times.

One of the last remaining countries to be built on the principles of white colonialism has opened a new chapter in its history. The small ruling minority announced some important concessions which will make it easier for representatives of the majority to compete for power.

And, to everyone's surprise, these changes were pushed through by a President who, less than a year ago, was still publicly committed to the continuation of minority rule.

I refer, of course, to the Soviet Union, with its colonial empire (almost the last and incomparably the greatest of the European colonies in Asia) and its system of minority rule, the Communist Party. But the news from Moscow has indeed been confusingly similar to the news from Cape Town and Pretoria during the last week.

Short-sighted people switching on their televisions may have had some difficulty in telling the two baldheaded and rather nervously smiling Presidents apart.

Every detail seems to conspire to remind us of these parallels; when all the newspapers printed the same photograph last weekend of the ANC supporter perched on the head of a giant statue of Jan Smuts, I was startled to see that General Smuts was beginning to bear an uncanny resemblance to Lenin.

Mr Gerald Kaufman, Labour's Forign Affairs spokesman, was quick to spot a connection:

"Just as the brave people of Eastern Europe brought about the destruction of authoritarian government in their countries, so the brave people of South Africa are making progress towards the destruction of racialist government in their country. No one else deserves the credit, and no one else should have the effrontery to claim the credit."

This must count as an historic declaration by a Labour Party front-bench spokesman. It is the first time the party has completely repudiated the argument that sanctions were playing a role — any role at all — in forcing the South African Government to change its policies.

So the "Sanctions Report" issued by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa, which describes the sanctions imposed so far as "a partial success", goes into the waste-paper basket.

The report's prediction that no change would occur in South Africa unless massive new sanctions were imposed has been (like so many of the sanctions it recommended) busted wide open.

Have I misrepresented Mr Kaufman's argument? It is difficult to tell — the argument shifts slightly each time you look at it. Here is another of his official pronouncements for last week:

"When we have revolution in Eastern Europe ... Mrs Thatcher says we mustn't relax our guard. But when we have the first chink of light in South Africa, she tumbles over herself to relax what small pressure we're putting on."

As Mr Kaufman has conceded that this small pressure has made no difference, it is hard to see what can be wrong with relaxing it. Or is he, perhaps, making a more abstract point about symmetry and even-handedness? In which case this declaration too is historic, since it must be the first time that a Labour spokesman has called for stronger sanctions againt the Soviet Union.

The contrast between Mrs Thatcher's reactions to these two different sets of events is not without interest. In both cases she has claimed that her policies have been "vindicated", and in both cases that claim (if modestly interpreted) is true. But there is already a great difference in spirit between her reactions to the changes in South Africa and Eastern Europe.

On the former she has always been clear and forthright about her position, and now there is a new spring in her step. On the latter she has wavered uncertainly between caution and enthusiasm, and now she seems to have lost her way.

But, assuming that the Soviet Union has halted its plans for expanding its empire, the political future of South Africa is of comparatively little relevance to the vital interest of Britain. What happens in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is 10 times more important.

And here the ultimate reason for Mrs Thatcher's dithering is her fear of a united Germany. Everyone who talks to her about this comes away with the impression that her underlying concern is the one shared by many ordinary people of her generation — the fear that a united Germany is a Germany which goes to war. That, we are constantly told, is "the lesson of history".

History's real lessons are a bit more complicated, however. History suggests that countries do not go to war just because they are strong; they do so because they estimate that they can gain a special advantage or redress a special grievance thereby.

Germany will not become bellicose just because she is united; you might as well say that if Britain had a stronger navy we would go round the world again invading coastal areas of Asia and Africa and setting up colonies. Strength is a condition but not a course of action.

And while Mrs Thatcher wavers on Eastern Europe, important opportunities will pass her by. There is the chance to seize the initiative on the future of the EEC by urging the eventual inclusion of the Eastern European countries in what would be a much looser, more purely commercial association — in other words, the sort of Europe she wants.

● See Perspectives pages

Can Jesse Jackson help to heal our wounds?

Once regarded as one of "white" South Africa's arch enemies, United States civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson who arrives here today, with an entourage of 17, seems to have toned down his acerbic rhetoric in favour of a more conciliatory approach. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

When United States civil rights leader and former Democratic presidential candidate, the Rev Jesse Jackson arrives in South Africa today, he will probably be reminded of the last time he was in this country more than 10 years ago.

Mr Jackson was in South Africa in 1979, and during his two-week stay here he angered many people and had many others spellbound.

It was then that he called South Africa "a terrorist dictatorship" for the first time, and he has since tried hard to get the "terrorist state" label to stick.

But the outspoken Baptist minister, who is no stranger to controversy, returns to South Africa a much friendlier man. Since Mr F W de Klerk took office as State President last year and embarked on a number of reforms, Mr Jackson has been somewhat conciliatory towards this country, and has even publicly complimented Mr de Klerk for releasing political prisoners.

After a meeting with South African ambassador Dr Piet Koornhof in Washington early in December, Mr Jackson thanked Mr de Klerk for releasing political prisoners and later allowing them to hold a rally.

Mr Jackson comes to this country at the invitation of South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane.

The SACC asked Mr Jackson to acquire first-hand knowledge of the political situation in the country "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the US . . . to force this regime to negotiate with the authentic leaders of the people".

The undisputed black American leader, the last person to talk to assassinated civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King jun before his death, hopes to meet President de Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders.

Dr Koornhof was reported as saying he believed Mr Jackson, a long-time personal acquaintance of his, seriously wanted to play a conciliatory role in this country.

After a meeting in 1979 with Dr Koornhof, then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Jackson was full of praise for Dr Koornhof. He describe Dr Koornhof as "fresh air in Nationalist politics (who) raises issues which should be heard and which will mandate an agenda for liberation".

Fiery Jesse Jackson . . . belief that he will play a conciliatory role.

The two men have been relatively close since then.

A founder of People United to Save Humanity (Operation Push), Mr Jackson was the first black man to make a serious attempt for the US presidency. He had never held elective office when he made his first bid for the presidency in 1984, and his candidacy brought increased voter registration among black Americans.

Mr Jackson won about 3,2 million votes during the Democratic primaries, calling for a "Rainbow Coalition" of voters of every race to defeat then President Ronald Reagan.

In 1988 Mr Jackson was the only rival of Massachussetts Governor Michael Dukakis at the end of the campaign. The final convention count on July 21 1988 was 2 876 250 for Governor Dukakis and 1 218 500 for Mr Jackson.

While in South Africa in 1979, Mr Jackson tried to bring together feuding black political groups, arguing that unity was essential. A number of people, including Black People's Convention founder-member and then member of the Soweto Committee of 10, Mr Tom Manthata, slammed Mr Jackson saying his unity idea "was conceived abroad with the sole aim of pushing Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi as a leader because he is perceived as such overseas".

The then influential black newspaper, *Post*, came to Mr Jackson's rescue, stoutly defending him in an editorial:

"The spectacle of white South Africans across the political spectrum, with the dubious support of a few black allies, in condemning the Rev Jesse Jackson, is sickening.

"He (Mr Jackson) has been attacked from an unexpected white quarter as "a loud mouth" simply because has the courage of his convictions. He has also been condemned — also from an unexpected black quarter — as having imperialistic designs, simply because he dares focus on the importance of black unity as a prerequisite to achieving the things we are all fighting for.

"Jesse Jackson's views about this country are so relevant it hurts. He is, in spite of the concerted effort by South Africans to prove the contrary, a very important man. No amount of denigration by white South Africans and their black satellites will alter the fact . .

"For our part we would like to say to Jesse Jackson: do not despair. You were good. You did your thing well. You gave us hope and pride . . come back again."

At last the NP has hit upon the right formula

304A

S/Times 11/2/90

by Willem de Klerk

former newspaper editor and brother of President F W de Klerk

IN no way is current government policy cosmetic. It is neither a plot nor is it intended to cheat anyone. There is no unholy, obscure agenda.

It is not a flash from out of a clear blue sky, nor is it an about-turn. What happened on February 2 was an unavoidable consequence of the way policy has always evolved in the National Party.

This meant that NP policy was constantly confronted by a wall of unfeasibility and unacceptability. The fact that the party realised this (albeit sometimes almost too late), and had the common sense to change direction, counts in its favour.

Changes of direction have nothing to do with instability or opportunism. They reflect healthy realism and a willingness to make responsible choices in order to get around obstructive walls in search of new avenues. After all, the task of government is to seek solutions and not to become bogged down in problems.

When master-and-slave apartheid failed, a shift was made towards parallel development. When when this, too, proved to be white domination, the NP opted for power-sharing in a tricameral Parliament.

Undivided

This also failed, among other things because it eliminated 80 percent of the population from the State's decision-making processes. Then the Government opted for a racial federation in which equal authority was extended to each of the four race groups in common affairs, while each group managed its own affairs.

However, this policy also bumped up against the wall of unfeasibility and unacceptability.

It therefore became essential, at the begining of 1990, to find yet another new direction. The accent must fall increasingly on voting rights for all citizens, an undivided state with one parliament, a representative government reflecting majorities and protecting minorities, and a shift away from racial classification as a building block for political structures.

The situation in South Africa demands that apartheid be replaced by representative government; that race-group definitions in politics be replaced by group formation through free association and common interests and that the State as an instrument of domination must be replaced by a constitutional state founded on a charter of human rights.

This brings the NP in line with the current world movement towards democracy. Another international trend is towards the protection of minority groups, which is primarily a function of democracy.

To travel this road it is essential to stop conflict and that the widest possible space be created for negotiation. The perspective on the ANC therefore also has to change — instead of being the enemy, the ANC must become the partner, otherwise there will not be any progress.

Everything that happened on February 2 was logical. It is not a mutation or a leap out of court. It is merely another step towards a phase of compromise.

It is one-sided to claim that the Government had no choice but to react to international pressure and the exertions of internal extra-parliamentary groups. Naturally, severe and dangerous pressure was exerted on the Government, to which it had to respond. But there were other motives for the change: a way had to be found to cross the obstructive wall.

How is it possible that people who served under Mr P W Botha for so many years could change direction so suddenly? It is because they were clear-headed and admitted that they could not get any further with the old policy.

Of course the ANC, with its current policy, also finds itself facing a wall of unacceptability and unfeasibility. Inevitably it will also have to shift — even if, at present, it is trying to pretend not to.

There are no winners or losers now. There is a rearrangement of political forces and policies, so that the steep road towards compromise can be attempted.

The real test, and a significant breakthrough, will only occur once serious negotiations are under way for the achievement of five compromises:

- About protection of groups and minorities;
- About the form which a new state will take;
- About what is understood by democracy;
- About the economic system;
- About the pace of transition and transition measures.

Chess

I am hopeful that we will ultimately find these compromises.

We must not allow ourselves to be discouraged by the reaction of the ANC. The political rhetoric of rejection, of threats and new demands, didn't come as a surprise. The ANC was caught offside and needs time to reorientate itself.

In his speech, the President suggested that the ANC is in a process of collapse, which makes it necessary for it to show its fist. This is all part of the chess game. We can expect many more confrontations. Where there is negotiation, parties usually place Plan A on the table and settle for Plan B — or even Plan C — later.

It would be unwise for anyone to be impatient. Everyone must now concentrate on keeping the process going. The process itself will take care of many things.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, wife Leah and a friend do the toyi-toyi as they celebrate the news

S/Times 11/2/90

Tutu: A time to say 'Yeah!' and a time to celebrate

304A

LOCAL reaction to the release of Nelson Mandela:

■ ARCHBISHOP TUTU, head of the Anglican Church: "F W, you have done well. We want to congratulate you for the things you have done and the things you are going to do. We were hoping there was going to be a general amnesty and all political prisoners would be released. (But) today is not a day to be churlish. It is a time to say 'Yeah!' It is time to celebrate"

Archbishop Tutu referred to the announcement as "mind-boggling", adding that he needed a large dictionary to seek words for his joy.

"We want to say thank you to our friends in the international community. Your concern has paid off. It looks like we will be able to invite you soon to celebrate a new South Africa."

■ HELEN SUZMAN, former MP: "Oh, my God! I'm absolutely delighted. I believe it's long overdue. I thought he should have been released years ago.

"I have no doubt that this man is going to play an enormously important part in the whole negotiating process which we all hope will begin shortly.

"I have a high regard for the intelligence, integrity and moderation of this man."

■ GAVIN RELLY, chairman of Anglo American: "Mr Mandela's return to public life creates opportunities for all parties to engage in reasoned debate about how to structure democratic politics in a future SA. We hope his release will also help to create an environment in which political differences do not lead to violence and the loss of lives, as is particularly evident in Natal at present."

■ ZACH DE BEER, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party: "The stakes are desperately high: if whites are selfish or blacks are vengeful, we shall endure decades of misery. But if whites are generous and blacks are forgiving, the sky is the limit for SA.

"Above all, blacks and whites will sink or swim together. Neither can succeed without the co-operation of the other."

■ HARRY OPPENHEIMER: "How very exciting! I hope it all goes off with peace and dignity." He said the news could mean "a new beginning for SA" and would have a "positive effect" on the economy, but it was unlikely that sanctions would be lifted immediately."

■ CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, head of Inkatha: "Whatever conflict there was between his organisation and my organisation must now be set aside so that we put the good of the State before the good of political parties."

He called on Mr Mandela to address the issue of the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. He said he respected Mr Mandela and had great faith in his leadership qualities.

Chief Buthelezi added that he did not fear political conflict between himself and the released ANC leader.

■ FATIMA MEER, author of Nelson Mandela's biography, said his release concluded for the Government the fulfilment of the most important remaining condition to negotiation.

Mrs Meer said she could see very few problems now facing South African leaders to work towards negotiation.

"There are many who still have misgivings and who do not trust the Nationalists. This is understandable, but we owe it to our people that we give negotiation a try."

■ KOOS VAN DER MERWE, Conservative Party information spokesman, who attended the Press conference: "It's a complete capitulation."

■ REV FRANK CHIKANE, SACC general secretary: "I am convinced Mr Mandela's quality of leadership and stature will instantly make it easier to resolve the problems of this country. It is quite clear Mr De Klerk is committed to creating conditions in which to negotiate a settlement in SA."

■ KRISH NAIDOO, leader of the National Sports Congress: "This is tremendous news, and I am very pleased to hear he has been released at last."

■ GEORGE SEWPERSAD, president of the Natal Indian Congress: "All oppressed people are overjoyed that Nelson Mandela will be released. He has been a tremendous inspiration to the oppressed, and we hope he will assist in resolving the country's problems."

■ J N REDDY, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates: "All South Africans must welcome with satisfaction the release of Mr Mandela. He carries on his shoulders an immense responsibility that SA goes forward in a spirit of reconciliation to resolve the political impasse."

■ LESLIE BOYD, president of the SA Chamber of Business: "This is an important event in South African history and, while many South Africans will want to mark the occasion, the chamber hopes workers will do so in a peaceful and responsible manner."

PERSPECTIVES 3

S/Times 11/2/90

304A

Let's have REAL radio, REAL TV

by Donald Woods

former editor of the Daily Dispatch, who went into self-imposed exile in Britain after he was banned in 1977. This article appeared this week in his old newspaper

AS I was saying when I was interrupted on October 19 1977, the killers of Steve Biko must be prosecuted, and there will be no lasting peace in South Africa until real democracy is established.

The interruption was a banning order signed by the then Minister of Justice and Police, Mr J T Kruger, in the days when governments could still get away with such things in places like Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rhodesia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia, the Philippines, Paraguay, Chile and South Africa.

A lot has happened since then. Today, totalitarian systems all over the world are in tatters, for two main reasons.

One is that majorities are no longer prepared to be pushed around by minorities, and the other is that the international community is no longer prepared to finance oppression.

Hardships

Tyrants find the financial taps turned off and their state treasuries going broke.

Economic sanctions helped to smash communism in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe: economic sanctions helped to undermine dictatorships in Pakistan, Paraguay, Brazil and Chile and even the limited sanctions initiated by America have been instrumental in encouraging reforms in countries like Mozambique, Hungary and South Africa.

Because of the real hardships involved, the governments in each of these countries were able at first to represent these measures as attacks on the people rather than against their systems, and few commentators inside these societies suggested that asking whether sanctions hurt or helped might be rather like asking whether the dentist's drill hurt or helped to cure toothache.

Be that as it may, the ball is now in the court of each of these countries and one of them, South Africa, now has the chance to rejoin the free world by instituting real democracy, while the international community directs its ire against China, Albania and North Korea.

The next to fall foul of international opinion will be those countries that have moved towards freedom but have not yet shed notions of one-party rule — Zimbabwe and Zambia, for instance — on the obvious basis that there can be no such thing as a one-party democracy. But if democracy is to come to South Africa there is one vital ingredient South Africans must demand — complete freedom of information.

It took me a year of living outside South Africa to realise the extent to which all South Africans — myself included — have for so long been deprived of real radio, real television, real national debate and real discussion of real issues in the public domain.

Not long ago, Peter Hain paid a controversial visit to South Africa to make a short television film. If South Africa had had a proper, independent television service the Hain film would have been shown on South African television, with Hain himself in the studio being challenged by Ali Bacher or Danie Craven.

Then the South African people could have judged for themselves what was right or wrong. Instead, there was the same old hysteria I remember from a dozen years ago, with all sorts of talk about a film few were allowed to see

It was the same with the film Cry Freedom some years ago. We who were involved with the making of it claimed it was an honest film depicting a true story, and would have welcomed any challenge to its accuracy.

Instead, what happened?

The South African people were not allowed to see it for themselves — not allowed the chance either to recognise its truth or dispute its authenticity for themselves.

At one stage, the Botha government tried to give the impression that the film would not be banned in South Africa, while privately it was threatening to arrest cinema managers who screened it.

Victims

When the cinema managers bravely defied threats and screened the film, police marched in and confiscated it.

Maybe those days are truly over. We'll see.

I, for one, will be very interested to hear when South Africans will be allowed to see Cry Freedom and other films about South Africa, such as A World Apart, Mapantsula, A Private Life and A Dry White Season, that the entire world has seen, but not the people of South Africa.

Certainly, if such screenings are permitted it will be a sign of a new maturity — a signpost along the way to proper democracy.

Ironically, most of the victims of official lies and evasions have been whites. Most blacks have known instinctively what the truth was, since most have had the longest experience of official deceit whereas whites, too trusting of an authority they saw as being on "their" side, have tended to swallow the most extreme misrepresentations and distortions.

So if democracy is truly to be considered, let all the facts and arguments be available and let people stop deceiving themselves and allowing wishful thinking to mar their judgment.

Professionally, I would like a job on South African television or radio — real television and real radio, that is — working for a service that would have all the finest programmes available instead of fourth-rate stuff that is left over from the boycotts.

Another nice job, too, would be helping to plan the first real rugby and cricket Test matches. What wonderful Springbok teams we'll have, drawn from all the population with the support of all the population.

Presumably, the only change in the national rugby colours would be the substitution of black shorts for white ones. The green and gold are there already.

Or maybe there will be a job at the South African Embassy in London, allowing frequent returns home to the Wild Coast and facilitating visits between Wanderers and Lord's, Kingsmead and The Oval, Newlands and Twickenham...

That's the kind of wishful thinking I enjoy.

For more serious long-range forecasting, however, I favour the notion of a liberated South Africa one day forming part of a large federation of southern African states, including Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia and maybe even Mozambique and Angola.

Votes

Given the mineral wealth, agricultural potential and development aid such a federal union would attract, it would be a political power on the world stage.

I remember suggesting this while running for Parliament in East London North in 1957 at the enthusiastic age of 23, and the sum electoral total for me was 728 votes.

Still, you never know. Today's unthinkabilities are often tomorrow's certainties. Not too long ago South Africa was ruled by the likes of P W Botha — *en kyk hoe lyk hy nou.*

The racism battle must still be won

S/Times 11/2/90. 304 A

Zach de Beer

parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, outlines the role of his party in the new era

THIRTY years ago some of us formed the old Progressive Party, the first of the streams which ultimately flowed into the Democratic river.

We had a clear vision of a single, democratic nation. We knew then that this would demand policies and structures acceptable to all South Africans.

We never made a statement or framed a policy without first considering its impact upon everyone. We operated as though the electorate included all groups.

At that time, politics was fought on the battleground of white loyalties, and the ammunition was very often prejudice and fear.

It cost us a lot of potential support to stick to our non-racial principles; but to the best of our ability we did so.

Now, we have the Nationalist leaders saying that within five years black people must either have full political rights or be in the process of getting them.

In other words, we really shall soon be dealing with a non-racial electorate.

The Democratic Party will at last be able to operate in the kind of atmosphere it has always wanted. That is why we are saying that we are now in our element for the first time.

We have to congratulate the State President on his speech. We welcome the considerable degree of liberalisation, of opening up our society, which he has brought about.

But this speech, and the actions which follow it, represent only the first step on a long, steep road.

Liberalisation is the first step. Democratisation must follow. To put it another way: repression was one side of the apartheid coin, racism the other.

Mr De Klerk has moved a long way towards removing repression; but the task of taking racism out of our society has only just started.

The existing, tricameral Parliament is plainly doomed. There is no way it can meet the requirements of the new South Africa. Yet, ironically, many of the debates which will lead to its demise will take place within its own walls.

No one should expect President De Klerk to turn himself into a doormat for the ANC just to get them to the table; but nevertheless he hasn't got unlimited time on his side. Clearly it is the duty of the Democrats to contribute what we can to the expedition of the whole process.

It is here that the eradication of apartheid measures from our statute book is so essential.

Without wishing to diminish the importance of Mr De Klerk's speech last week, it surprised us that he was so sanguine about unbanning the militant organisations and releasing the prisoners before opening the schools and hospitals, before scrapping the Group Areas Act and before guaranteeing to take race out of the constitution by repealing the Population Registration Act.

For now he has arranged matters so that active politicians in the extra-parliamentary movements will have real, daily grievances and injustices to exploit. This is not going to make the way ahead any easier for anyone.

As for the Democrats — we campaigned for the repeal of the Pass Laws when most whites regarded them as an essential cornerstone of society.

Similarly, we fought for black workers to get trade union rights, and for the elimination of job reservation; we condemned the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, and called long ago for the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

The Democratic Party is about to play the most important role of its life in contributing to the creation of a single, just and therefore harmonious nation.

Our clear future vision, based upon our own history, equips us for the task. We look forward to it intensely.

Because of our long commitment to non-racial democracy, because of our contacts over many years with extra-parliamentary groups, because of our experience in discusions with black leadership, we are going to be far better equipped for the parliamentary debates than the Nats are.

It is already clear that the Conservative Party is going to do everything in its power to wreck Mr De Klerk's initiative. Chiefly, this will take the form of political agitation at the grassroots of the white electorate.

To the extent that this succeeds, it will lead to unhappiness among rank-and-file Nationalists, who in turn will exert a retarding pressure on their MPs through the party machine.

Momentum

The DP must work very hard to ensure that there is a countervailing pressure on the Nats to keep up the momentum of reform.

I have described the speech of February 2 as the first step on a long steep road. Where does that road lead?

Clearly, if we are to succeed, two great events have to take place. First, there will have to be a negotiating conference, indaba or convention broadly representative of the people; and, secondly, that conference will have to agree on a constitution.

In regard to the setting up of negotiations, it may be assumed that the parliamentary parties and most homeland leaders will be available, and that Inkatha will participate provided that certain prerequisites are met.

At this stage, it seems likely that the Black Consciousness Movement and the Pan-Africanist Congress will decline to take part. This means, of course, that the attendance of the ANC and its allies in force is essential.

Essential

There is no doubt that there will be stress and strain within the ANC alliance. Some will believe that by holding out they can extract a higher price for their participation from the Nats. Others will want to get on with the negotiations before the Pan-Africanists can make too much trouble.

Half-hearted

We have played our part in bringing down all these pillars of apartheid and we have no doubt that the remaining ones will come down too.

But it is a pity that we are going to have to prod and shove the reluctant Nats into doing what is obviously necesary and urgent.

On Wednesday evening, Press reports quoted Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying that universal franchise in a unitary state does not mean a common roll. "That would mean black majority rule and we do not believe in that," he is reported to have said.

There lies the evidence that, despite the ringing phrases of February 2, the Nats remain timorous and half-hearted about changing the society to the required extent.

Separate rolls have no chance of acceptance at the negotiating table. The Nats will just have to be convinced of that.

Who will call foul when the Great Indaba kicks off?

S/Times 11/2/90.

304A

by Pierre du Toit

associate professor in the department of political science at the University of Stellenbosh and an expert in the politics of bargaining and negotiation

THE retention of certain aspects of the emergency regulations by the Government is apparently being used as a pretext by the ANC to refrain from delivering a *quid pro quo* to the dramatic moves made by President F W de Klerk.

The ANC's insistence on the complete scrapping of the state of emergency ties in directly with the role of the State in the negotiating process.

It is generally accepted that negotiations for an entirely new constitution require a force which must act as a guardian and caretaker of society during the negotiations — a force which must act as an umpire or referee for the negotiating process itself.

Three options are generally available. The first is for an internationally assembled force to act as guardian and/or referee.

In the case of Namibia, the Untag force — under the auspices and authority of the United Nations Resolution 435 — acted as referee while the internal parties negotiated a constitution.

The Administrator-General acted as caretaker, ensuring that the day-to-day affairs of government were dealt with.

Divided

A second option is for a foreign power to assume one, or both roles. This was done by Britain when the constitutional negotiations at Lancaster House were conducted prior to Zimbabwe's independence.

The third option is for the internal partes to adapt, revise, or even create a completely new constitution under the auspices of their own State, together with the incumbent government.

This process of constitutional change is the norm in most Western democracies, including divided societies such as Belgium.

International forces and foreign powers can only play this role when special circumstances demand it, such as the status of the territory itself: Namibia was a mandated territory and Rhodesia a British colony.

South Africa is an internationally recognised sovereign State.

Yet the ANC invokes the language of international politics when dealing with the Government — as if it can lay claim to some special status which places it on an equal footing to a sovereign State.

It is almost as if the ANC claims it represents and embodies an alternative South African State. Hence its claim for the need for an "armistice" before negotiations can begin and its insistence on an "interim government" as caretaker during the negotiating process.

Such claims make sense, and can be justified when an organisation is banned and cannot legally conduct politics within the society. It also justified ANC members to move into exile, to establish missions abroad and to conduct armed resistance.

President De Klerk's speech on February 2 masterfully undercut any such claim to special status by the ANC.

Why does a legal organisation have to conduct politics in exile, why does it need foreign missions, why does it need armed conflict and, above all, why can it claim the right to an armistice with the State when the State itself declares the ANC legal and legitimate?

The fact of the matter is that we do need a guardian during the negotiating process and we need a referee. The South African State is the only conceivable contender for both these jobs.

REFEREE: Negotiations need a referee to ensure that everyone plays to the rules. For the ANC to negotiate with other parties, including the NP, inside South Africa under the auspices of the South African State with all its coercive instruments (including aspects of the state of emergency) obviously presents the ANC with a highly unequal contest loaded against the organisation.

It is almost like Western Province taking on Northern Transvaal in a Currie Cup final at Loftus Versfeld, thus conceding home ground advantage, and then allowing Northerns to elect a referee from their own ranks!

The dice is loaded and it is loaded against the ANC. But there is one important check on the referee. In a Currie Cup final, a biased referee will not and cannot get away with cheating.

Each and every spectator, on the stands and in front of the TV sets, is there to scrutinise every move made by the referee.

As a referee, the South African State, will also be scrutinised in a similar fashion by the global audience and the world media — not to mention the South African media.

Of course, the crucial difference between rugby matches and this type of constitutional negotiation lies in the fact that a cheating rugby referee can walk away from the match leaving the (unfair) final scoreboard intact — without enraged spectators being able to do anything about it.

However, the international community has got an indirect, informal, yet decisive veto over the constitutional referee in South Africa.

By granting or withholding legitimacy to the final agreement, the world can effectively control cheating by everyone — including the referee.

GUARDIAN: An even more important role for the State (and one which cannot be undertaken by any other force, not even a fifty-fold Untag-equivalent) is that of guardian of the society during the negotiation process.

The State as guardian needs to ensure that governing the country on a day-to-day basis proceeds on an even keel, with the maintenance of continuity, civil order and stability. In a divided society such as ours this is an awesome task, especially during times like these.

To illustrate the point: it was reported this week that the army withdrew from Mpumalanga township in Maritzburg last Saturday.

Vacuum

The following day rival forces took advantage of the resulting power vacuum and went for one another in a no-holds-barred, free-for-all which left between three and nine people dead on Sunday. (The Legal Resources Centre, it is reported, then contacted DP MP Peter Gastrow to try to get the SADF to return to Mpumalanga.)

This is the effect that a power vacuum, created by the withdrawal of State authority and control, can and will have in many parts of our country.

State control cannot and should not be dismantled, as that in itself cannot deliver lasting peace and stability.

The most important role of the State as guardian, however, is to protect the negotiators. In our divided society there are powerful forces which have the strongest conceivable vested interest and the most deadly intent to destroy this negotiating process.

The lives of individual negotiators may even be at stake. State control, with special emergency measures at its disposal, will be needed to keep these political entrepreneurs of violence — from both the radical left and the reactionary right — out of the game.

This is why Mr Pik Botha's suggestion that prospective negotiators meet and discuss these emergency measures is so important.

The first and foremost item to negotiate is for mutually acceptable emergency measures with which the State can, and should, protect the negotiators.

(304A)

MANDELA FREEDOM DAY

Tears and whoops in Soweto

NELSON MANDELA'S release was greeted with tears and whoops of joy by a massive crowd which gathered outside his Soweto home yesterday.

By MANDY JEAN WOODS and EZRA MANTINI

"Hooray! Hooray!" yelled Archbishop Desmond Tutu, driving past Mandela's house shortly after the news broke.

The air among the 300-strong crowd was electric as car radios and the car phones of foreign news crews brought the joyful news to neighbours and curious onlookers.

Danced

The ground shook to the beat of the toyi-toyi.

Moments before Mr Mandela's release was announced in Cape Town, a smiling Winnie Mandela left her Diepkloof home wearing a smart khaki outfit decked with the ANC colours of green, black and gold. She wore a jaunty peaked khaki cap.

As her car pulled into the street a group of chanting, dancing and ululating women started bouncing and banging on the car. The group danced up the street chanting "Buya Mandela" (Come Mandela).

National Reception Committee member Popo Molefe, who made a surprise appearance at the Orlando West house, said Mr Mandela would be expected to address a series of rallies countrywide.

Many of the crowd outside the Orlando West home were primary school children, who sang and danced throughout the afternoon.

Cars blasting their horns drove by the house, the drivers giving the symbolic clenched-fist salute.

Nearby, shebeen patrons were entertained to free drinks in honour of the occasion.

It is expected there will be huge parties around the country's townships today as the news spreads.

The crowd outside the Mandela house grew as the news filtered out.

Dozens of foreign television crews — armed with microwave dishes, communication vans, caravans, smart cars, portable telephones and step ladders — and journalists clutching notebooks swarmed over the area surrounding the Mandela house eager to get every bit of news and reaction possible.

Almost every house next to, behind, across the road and down the street from the Mandela house has been rented by journalists for use as communications centres.

A minibus-load of white tourists, all clutching cameras, hopped out at the house and took pictures of the crowds and the home.

Sunday Times reporter Victor Khupiso broke the news of Mr Mandela's release to people waiting at a Johannesburg taxi rank.

One passenger jumped with joy in the back seat and said delightedly: "I knew Mr F W de Klerk meant business when he said he was to be released before the end of the year."

Another said: "This is a major breakthrough. Most of the firms that have disinvested will now come back. I have not been working for the past four years.

"Now I can get a job. My children will get jobs. Mr Mandela was a stumbling block for South Africa's future and progress.

"Countries that had a negative attitude towards South Africa will now change.

"The black nation is proud of what is happening in the country. Mr F W de Klerk is a true man.

Leader

"He is a man of great calibre. We are going with him to a new history for the country.

"Our children will learn about F W de Klerk in school as a man who rescued the country from apartheid laws."

Among honours to be bestowed on Mr Mandela is the honorary life presidency of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers.

A spokesman said yesterday Mr Mandela could now take his rightful place as the leader of the liberation struggle along with other released leaders.

He said the union would ask Mr Mandela to preside as honorary life president at an extraordinary central committee meeting.

Release 'stuns' ANC's leadership

By DRIES van HEERDEN
Lusaka

NEWS of Nelson Mandela's release caught the ANC leadership in Lusaka completely by surprise yesterday.

"I am stunned," ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said when the Sunday Times broke the news to him.

"For us it is very, very welcome news. It is what we have been calling for for so long.

"I believe it is another step Mr De Klerk has taken towards creating conditions for negotiations," he said.

"The ANC has always insisted that Mr Mandela must be part of the negotiating process. We would not have been able to do it without him."

However, Mr Sebina said that even though the release was an important step there remained a number of matters that Mr De Klerk had to address before the process could start — most importantly the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all other prisoners.

"Hopefully, he'll tackle these questions soon. And after that we will go together on our way forward," he said.

Asked whether Mr Mandela would soon visit the exiled ANC leadership in Zambia, Mr Sebina said that this would be discussed with him soon after his release.

"We would want to give him some time to settle down and take in his new surroundings outside the prison. However, the whole world is ready to receive him," he said.

PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

Violence is not the solution

304A

IN AN apparent effort to restore her image as Mother of the Nation, Mrs Winnie Mandela has found herself recently in the front line of protest marches, writes *Beeld* in an editorial.

Last Friday she clenched her fist in Cape Town and on Sunday in Alexandra. This is fine.

But on Sunday she went a step further by giving the mayor of Alexandra a choice: join the ANC immediately or resign.

It bears testimony of intolerance and the misconception that only people who join the ANC qualify as true and sincere opponents of apartheid. Not only whites but also black people will have to start questioning how democracy can be reconciled with this kind of intimidation.

In another editorial, *Beeld* says the government's new reform plans in a wink succeeded in doing what others have tried to do for years – to unite the right and far right under one umbrella.

One's reaction to this was to hope that this – artificially – united group would have the courage to state their case at the negotiating table, but nothing has come of this hope.

Since Dr AP Treurnicht described the State President's courageous announcements as "revolutionary", rightwingers have sung only one tune. For them it is not only protest marches and petitions but stayaway actions and even violence.

In this way South Africa's problems will not be solved. Violence only postpones the solution, it is not the solution.

Metro says winds of change are blowing

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

METROPOLITAN Life has expressed "deep concern" that State President F W de Klerk's reform policy had lost momentum, but noted some events which it said were signs of hope for justice in Southern Africa.

In his chairman's report, Mr P J F Scholtz said it was pleasing that key changes in the South African leadership had created real hope on the road to building a more just country.

He noted the following events are particularly relevant in the broader Southern African context:

* An internationally acceptable agreement bringing Namibia to independence.

* The rapid process of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola and some prospects of an internal accord in that strife-ridden country.

* A revival of the true spirit of the Nkomati Accord and tentative steps towards internal accommodation in Mozambigue. Sowetan 1/2/90

* Increasing acceptance of the economic and infra-structural interdependence of the countries of Southern Africa.

Internally, he noted the following:

* The Group Areas Act is increasingly shedding its relevance, especially in the major cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg. This trend, he said, could well result in the removal of all racial constraints on the ownership and occupation of land. (304A)

* Government is identifying much more land for black housing and a dynamic housing process for blacks is clearly seen as an urgent priority.

* There is an increasing acceptance by white leaders and their constituencies that blacks must be incorporated into political institutions at all levels of decision-making.

* Explicit recognition of the right to peaceful protest.

* The release of key political prisoners, regarded by many as some of the true leaders of the black people, and

* The pro-active economic enablement of black South Africans and their increasing stake in the economy.

Scholtz said a new wind of change was blowing over the region. A climate existed in which real opportunities would arise to move away from the precipice of racial conflict and economic stagnation to reach prosperity for the region as a whole and for South Africa as a nation.

S/Times 11/2/90 (304A)

More good news from De Klerk

Sunday Times Reporter

THERE'S more good news in the pipeline.

President F W de Klerk is scheduled to give a second major Press conference this week and indications are that full citizenship rights for black South Africans will be one of the subjects he will deal with.

However, he has already said: "Our aim is to give full class-A citizenship to all South Africans, regardless of colour."

Presidential Press liaison officer Casper Venter said Mr De Klerk was planning a "broader" Press conference later this week.

When asked about full citizenship rights for blacks, Mr De Klerk replied that the NP had just won an election stating that as one of its goals.

The President said: "It is no longer a question of whether all South Africans must get full citizenship rights."

The question was: What structure would accommodate the diversity of SA's society in a non-discriminatory manner?

HERE HE IS!

S/Times 11/2/90

Mandela after 27 years — the first picture

304A

THIS is the first picture of Nelson Mandela for 27 years. He is now a lean, trim and healthy 71.

Standing side by side with him is the man who yesterday announced his release from prison, President F W de Klerk.

The historic photograph was taken on Friday night at Tuynhuys in Cape Town when Mr De Klerk told the ANC leader that he would be freed today.

The picture was released by the President's office last night.

In their few brief meetings the two men — key figures in South Africa's future — seem to have struck a harmonious chord.

At his news conference yesterday, Mr De Klerk described Mr Mandela as a "friendly and dignified" man.

Rally

"But I'm also a friendly man," President De Klerk told more than 300 newsmen who were summoned to Cape Town's H F Verwoerd building for the dramatic announcement.

At 3pm this afternoon, Mr Mandela will shut the door of his prison bungalow for the last time, climb into a waiting car, and be driven to freedom in an ANC motor cavalcade.

Acclaim

He will be whisked to a welcoming rally on Cape Town's Grand Parade where he will speak in public for the first time since being jailed.

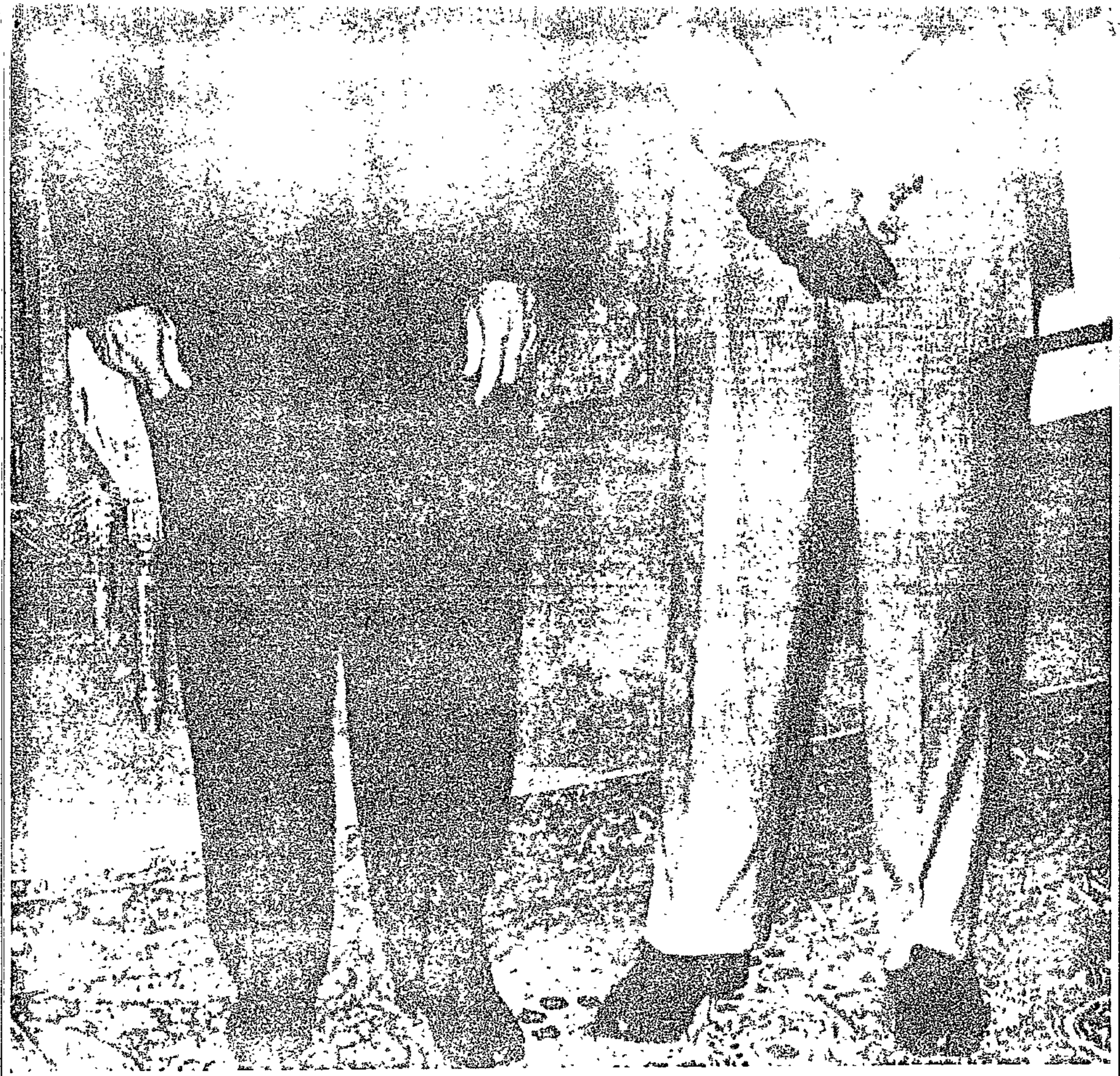
South Africans will join millions around the world in watching Mr Mandela's first public appearance — live on television.

SATV announced yesterday that it was gearing up to provide live coverage of the rally.

As Mr Mandela packed his bags last night, President De Klerk basked in international acclaim.

President George Bush telephoned him to congratulate him on his bold move and to invite him to visit Washington soon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher was overjoyed.

FULL STORY See Page 2 and Page 4



HISTORY IN THE MAKING . . President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela pictured together. This afternoon at 3 o'clock Mr Mandela will walk free after 27 years behind bars

MANDELA'S LIFE, LOVE AND POLITICS: See Pages 16, 17

dignified" man.

Rally

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FULL STORY See Page 2 and Page 4

England's Luxury Cigarette

BACK IN TINS

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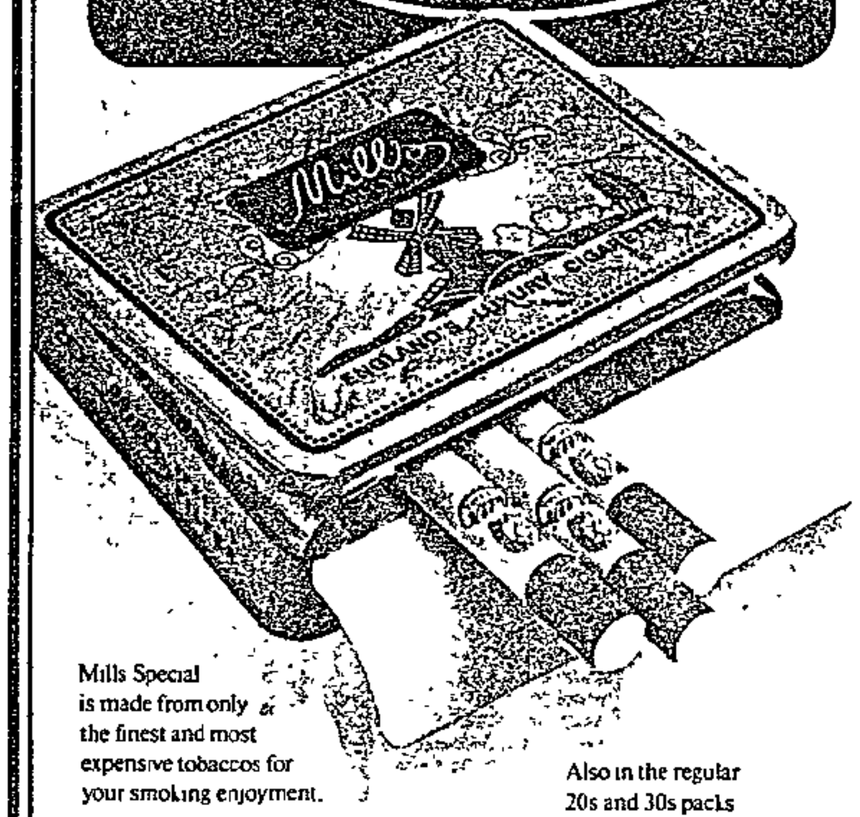

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Mandela rally today

S/Times 11/2/90. (3049)

Thousands will be at gathering to welcome Mandela back to freedom

NELSON MANDELA will return to public life at a massive public rally on Cape Town's historic Grand Parade today.

Late last night the Mandela Reception Committee said it would start at 3pm — the time he is scheduled to be released from prison in Paarl.

The reception committee has organised a motorcade around Paarl, which will then head straight to the Parade.

There, Mr Mandela will address a crowd expected to run to many thousands.

After the rally he will conduct a Press conference.

The reception committee was last night furiously organising buses and trains to bring the anticipated crowds to the Parade, lying in the lee of Jan van Riebeeck's Castle.

At the rally the world will have its first sight of the 71-year-old ANC leader

During 27 years in prison he has been elevated into a legend.

His release has aroused unprecedented international attention and, at home, it will cause widespread jubilation.

Yesterday the announcement of his release was applauded by world leaders and universally welcomed by all shades of South African opinion — except representatives of the extreme right.

President George Bush telephoned President F W de Klerk in Cape Town to congratulate him on his bold move and to invite him to visit Washington soon.

From today, together with President De Klerk, Mr Mandela will take his place at centre stage of South African politics

The announcement of his release launches the second phase of Mr De Klerk's audacious campaign to totally restructure the political process.

Secret

Many black leaders have been astonished by the breakneck pace of his sweeping reforms.

The first step was taken 10 days ago when the State President announced the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the partial lifting of the state of emergency and the release of some political prisoners.

The two men met secretly on the eve of the announcement of Mr Mandela's release.

At a snap Press conference in Cape Town yesterday, Mr De Klerk told about 300 local and foreign newsmen that he believed Mr Mandela was committed to a peaceful future and a peaceful process

"Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter," he said.

Expressing his hope that the release would take place in a dignified manner, he said details of the release — including the place where Mr Mandela will first meet his family, his political comrades and the world media — would be worked out between officials and representatives of the committee formed to arrange his reception.

Yesterday the Government took elaborate measures to ensure that world leaders were informed in good time about the decision to free the celebrated prisoner.

South African ambassadors conveyed the news to President George Bush of the United States, Mrs Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Mr Helmut Kohl of West Germany.

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK ... personally invited by President George Bush to visit the US soon

At the Press conference was the British Ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick.

A number of African leaders, including President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, were informed directly.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, telephoned President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who is said to have become highly emotional on receipt of the news.

At his Press conference yesterday, President De Klerk said that from the moment Mr Mandela stepped beyond the gates of the prison he would decide on his own programme, make his own arrangements for his security and decide on the role he would play in making a reality of the negotiations Mr De Klerk has proposed.

First news that he was about to become a free man was conveyed to Mr Mandela at the meeting between the two men on Friday night.

When asked to say what Mr Mandela's reaction was upon hearing the news, President De Klerk smiled and said: "I don't think I would like to try to do that."

The President said he had not asked Mr Mandela to make a call for peace once he was released. However he seemed concerned to emphasise that Mr Mandela was "committed to a peaceful solution".

Mr Mandela offered, while in custody, to act as a "facilitator" between the ANC and the Government. Had President De Klerk discussed the continuance of this role?

No, said Mr De Klerk — but Mr Mandela was "welcome" to continue playing it.

The President said the Government was concerned about Mr Mandela's safety. The State's responsibility for his security extended only to the time he was in custody.

He appealed to the world to play "what supportive role it can" to help SA along its new path.

Dignified

President De Klerk said that while all preconditions for lifting international sanctions had been met in detail, the "most important" ones were now out of the way.

He said Mr Mandela had struck him as a "dignified, interesting and friendly man" — and he added: "I like to think that I am also a friendly man".

At the meeting (also attended by Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Justice Minister, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Constitutional Development Minister) two issues had been discussed — the lifting of the state of emergency and the status of people convicted of "politically motivated crimes", including those who were at present outside the country.

Mr De Klerk said "further discussions" would be on the issue of prisoners exiles found guilty crimes, and he that these discussions be held over until negotiations got under way

On the state of emergency, Mr De Klerk appealed Mandela to help create a climate in which it could be lifted in its entirety.

"The eyes of the world are on all South Africans," he said.

"All of us now have the opportunity and the responsibility to prove we are capable of creating a new South Africa."

From today, observers at home and abroad will watch closely to see whether Mr Mandela can establish his paramountcy as leader of the ANC, a body that has hitherto preferred a cumbersome system of collective leadership.

His first challenge will be to unify disparate factions within the broad ANC alliance. Next, he must formulate a reponse to Mr De Klerk's invitation to leaders of all political stripes to begin negotiations.

Many expect Mr Mandela to travel overseas quite soon, with his first stop likely to be Lusaka, main base of the ANC's exiled leadership.

Thereafter he may travel more widely to meet reception committees in nearly every important country of the world

Already the governments of the United States, Britain and West Germany have said both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk would be invited on official visits.

The timing of Mr Mandela's release was one of the country's most tightly protected secrets.

Information even to Cabinet Ministers was treated on a strictly need-to-know basis and only four advisers to Mr De Klerk were involved in the planning, according to Government sources.

They were Mr Coetsee, Dr Neil Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, General Johan van der Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, and Lt-Gen W H Willemse, the Commissioner of Prisons.

The world-wide acclaim that followed Mr De Klerk's speech on February 2 laid the foundation for an early release.

Impact

Reaction inside SA to the unbanning of the ANC also gave security forces an opportunity to assess the impact of Mr De Klerk's unprecedented moves.

Cabinet sources disclosed that a decision was made to keep some emergency powers as a safety measure until after Mr Mandela's release.

Earlier this week, Dr Viljoen gave a public commitment that the state of emergency would be lifted "within weeks" after Mr Mandela's release.

ls clash while awaiting Mr Mandela's arrival in Cape Town yesterday. ı stop violence in central Cape Town as a policeman fires his shotgun.

F W expected to visit Zaire again

STAR 12/2/90 (304A)

KINSHASA — Mr F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zairese President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa shortly for talks made possible by Mr Nelson Mandela's release, Zairese officials said yesterday.

The talks could go beyond political issues to cover trade and security, the sources said.

They did not say when Mr de Klerk would arrive.

Mr de Klerk visited Zaire last August shortly after becoming acting president.

The visit was part of a drive to end Pretoria's diplomatic isolation in Africa.

Mr Mandela's release has been the main obstacle to diplomatic links with South Africa for Zaire and other moderate African states such as Ivory Coast and Gabon.

Zairean officials said the freeing of Mr Mandela had opened the way for a wider dialogue.

Gabonese President Omar Bongo yesterday urged black African countries to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa because of Mr Mandela's release.

"African countries ... should review their relations with South Africa ... through the restoration of diplomatic ties," he said in a radio broadcast.

Zaire, like many other African states, trades with Pretoria despite an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ban. — Sapa

Dialogue must continue, says Swiss ministry

STAR 12/2/90

BERNE — Switzerland invited Mr Nelson Mandela on an official visit hours after the South African black nationalist leader was released.

The World Gold Commission, an anti-apartheid group that lobbies for an end to gold trading with South Africa, estimates that Swiss banks buy more than half of the 600 tons of gold South Africa produces each year.

"The Foreign Ministry would like to receive Mandela to continue the dialogue it has been having in recent years with the South African Government and representatives of other interested parties," a ministry statement said.

"By his example and the long sacrifice of his freedom, Mandela has made a substantial contribution to the fight against apartheid in South Africa," the ministry said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Man shot dead in Ciskei march

STAR 12/2/90

MDANTSANE (Ciskei) — A celebration march for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, by thousands of people in Mdantsane, Ciskei, was marred when a man was reportedly shot dead and several others wounded yesterday afternoon.

The head of the Ciskei Police Community relations, Brigadier Avery Ngaki, said he had no information and would comment when he obtained details today.

COMMOTION

The medical superintendent of the Cecilia Makiwane hospital, Dr I Harris, said he was aware of a commotion which caused people to be admitted, but he was not permitted to give information before he reported to the Ciskei deputy director general of foreign affairs and information, Mr Headman Somtunzi.

Before the alleged incident, thousands of people marched peacefully through the town's main streets with the police at first maintaining a low profile.

Then a disturbance was reported in Zone 14 where a man was allegedly shot dead, several people wounded and teargas used to disperse the large crowd.

Marches in Dimbaza, Zwelitsha and other parts of the Ciskei were reported to have taken place without incident.

During the marches, flags of the ANC, which is still a banned organisation in the homeland, were hoisted aloft. — Sapa.

Dogs set on airport crowd, says witness

Staff Reporter STAR 12/2/90

Several people waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport last night were injured when police used dogs to disperse a crowd of about 300, an eyewitness told The Star.

A young woman waiting at the airport said police set dogs on the crowd and several people were injured.

She said the crowd was peacefully toyi-toying outside the airport when the dogs attacked.

Passport application to get swift attention

STAR 12/2/90

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An application by Mr Nelson Mandela for a South African passport would be given "immediate attention", said Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw.

Mr Louw said he had not yet had such an application. Passports were issued to Mr Walter Sisulu and his former prison colleagues "within 24 hours".

The President's Press conference

ARGUS 12/2/90 (304A)

(Cont from page 6)

you have crime and we go to great lengths to draw the necessary distinctions between ordinary and politically-related instability.

Q: Mr President, when you talk about a fair and just preliminary to negotiations, will you go beyond the state of emergency, and discuss as well the negotiation process, the establishment of full citizenship rights for the black people of South Africa?

A. Thank you for that question. We have just won an election stating that as our goal. That is the mandate that my party asked of the electorate and that is the mandate that we received. There is a misconception that we do not want to give full citizenship rights to all South Africans, also to black South Africans As a matter of fact, we have already received such a mandate from the white electorate in an election in 1987 It is no longer a question whether all South Africans must get full citizenship rights. The question is how to structure it, how also to accommodate the diversity in a non-discriminatory manner, of our total population The fact that we have minorities, but nonetheless that clear commitment is that the system must give full class-A citizenships to all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour.

Q: Is it your impression that Mr Mandela shares with you your view about how you are going to arrange that and does he have a positive attitude to accomplish that?

A: Once again, I do not want to speak on his behalf.

Q: Mr President, while in custody, Mr Mandela indicated that he would act as an intermediary or facilitator between the government and the ANC. Do you expect to continue to deal with him now on that basis?

A· I follow an open-door policy and should he come forward and should he be prepared to play the role of facilitator, to interest himself in promoting a climate for negotiation, should he interest himself in promoting talks, even talks about talks, yes, that open door is also open to him

Q: President De Klerk, I was wondering whether the presence of Reverend Jesse Jackson here in South Africa had anything to do with the release of Mandela? (Laughter).

A: As far as the release of Mr Mandela is concerned, his presence is totally irrelevant.

Q: President, can I ask you: Did Mr Mandela give you any assurance that he would call for peace in this country?

A: I did not ask him.

Q: President, from your last reply, when you said he is prepared to act as a facilitator, does that mean he has not given you his agreement to enter negotiation?

A· His willingness to act as a facilitator has been published widely and over a fairly long period now. I did not discuss it with him as such again last night.

Q: Mr De Klerk, could you possibly describe Mr Mandela's reaction when you told him he would be released tomorrow?

A: I do not think that I would like to try to do that.

Q: Returning to the question of the lifting of the state of emergency and the stability required, does this imply that you will wait until there is complete peace in the Natal province and do you think that realistically will happen within the few weeks time some of your ministers have given as a time span for that lifting?

A: There is an element of uncertainty, obviously, with regard to everything which lies in the future. None of us can exactly say what will happen tomorrow and the day after. It is really our hope that with the steps which we have taken, that it will make a contribution and that it will bring us soon to the situation where it can be considered. We revise this situation almost on an ongoing basis, almost on a day-to-day basis, and we are as anxious as anybody else to have the state of emergency uplifted as soon as possible.

Q: You said that the lifting of the state of emergency would be a matter for negotiation. With whom do you propose to negotiate? Mr Mandela, the ANC, who?

A· No, I did not say that is a matter for negotiation. I said that the question of political prisoners is a matter for negotiation. The state of emergency was imposed by the government because of a state of instability throughout the country. It will be a goverment decision to uplift it, and the test will be whether the stability has been restored sufficiently so that we can do so.

Q: But you did say that you have discussed it with Mr Mandela, didn't you?

A: Yes, obviously, because it is a matter which is being raised from many quarters as also being a stumbling block, and in that sense it was discussed.

Q· Mr President, may I ask you: Have you already or are you about to inform world leaders, and if so, whom?

A· I have informed our Minister of Foreign Affairs a few hours ago and in all probability he has undertaken an exercise so that they will not just read it in the Press. It is general custom, which we adhere to, and that I am sure he has done. I did not speak to anybody.

Q: Are you, sir, concerned at all for the safety of Nelson Mandela, and if so, how?

A: Yes, in my opening address, or rather, in another statement I indicated that, yes, I think there is reason for concern about his safety. There are all sorts of people who might threaten his life. I think radicals from the very far left might be tempted to do so and I think there is also a risk that it might come from radicalists from the right Many public figures are being threatened throughout the world almost in all countries, and with him having such a high profile, I think, yes, there is a real risk and one must take every precaution to ensure that nothing happens to him But when he leaves prison, then he will be moving to his own circle of friends, and in all probability, as in the case of Mr Sisulu and the other prisoners which we released, there was no request to the State to give any assistance with regard to their security.

Q: Mr President, I wonder if I may ask you to define the mandate? How do you define full constitutional rights? Is that one man, one vote?

A Can we save that for the Press conference of next week? That is the type of thing I would like to address then. Thank you very much.

Four killed, 3 hurt in bowling-alley robbery

LAS CRUCES (New Mexico). — Robbers shot seven people in a bowling alley office at the weekend, killing a man, his two young daughters and another girl before setting a fire to try to cover up the crime, police said.

"What we have here is a very vicious crime, the assassination of kids," said Las Cruces police Captain Fred Rubio. "A whole family was assassinated"

The three survivors and residents living near the Las Cruces Bowl lanes gave police a description of two men believed to have committed the robbery and shootings — Sapa-AP.

Much has changed since then

(304A) 12/2/90

WHEN Mr Nelson Mandela went to jail in 1962 blacks were expected to call whites *baas* (boss), South Africa had no television service and no black policeman would have dared arrest a white person.

He was imprisoned in a land where it would have been illegal for him to marry a white woman and almost impossible to eat out with white friends.

Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the high priest of apartheid, was pressing for further racial segregation.

Now, South Africa's reform-minded President FW de Klerk says he is committed to scrapping apartheid and has pledged to give blacks some say in national government.

But reform has a long way to go.

The black majority - three quarters of the population - still has no parliamentary vote and Pretoria shows no sign of getting rid of its ideological cornerstones of residential apartheid and birth registration by race.

Erosion

Fitful erosion of petty apartheid began in the late 1960s but it was in the early 1980s that a tide of change occurred.

De Klerk's election as president to replace PW Botha.

* 1979 - Government lifts ban on black trade unions.

* 1980 - Robert Mugabe wins elections in

VERWOERD ... assassinated

neighbouring Rhodesia-Zimbabwe and leads the country to black majority rule.

* 1983 - Coloureds and Indians gain a place in the tric-cameral Parliament with the creation of separate chambers.

partial state of emergency.

* June 1986 to date - National state of emergency imposed. Police given sweeping new powers, thousands detained without trial, 22 anti-apartheid groups banned and press restricted.

* 1986 - Abolition of Pass Laws, one of the mainstays of apartheid, which controlled blacks' movements.

* February 1988 - Government tightens grip on dissent, banning 17 organisations including the United Democratic Front (UDF), the anti-apartheid coalition with close links to Mandela's outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

* December 1988 - South Africa signs accord with Angola and Cuba, under which Pretoria agrees to grant the neighbouring desert territory of Namibia its independence

Botha after leading the National Party to victory in parliamentary elections on a platform of apartheid reform and a pledge to start talking to recognised black leaders.

* October 1989 - De Klerk releases eight of Mandela's closest comrades, including former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu, in a move seen as a dry run for Mandela's own release.

* December 1989 - Mandela requests, and is granted, an interview with De Klerk at presidential offices in Cape Town.

* February 1990 - De Klerk lifts 30-year ban on ANC and 40-year ban on its close ally the South African Communist Party, ending years of official propaganda depicting the two organisations as bloodthirsty terrorists. He also lifts the media and education sections of the emergency regulations. The stage was set

FREED BEFORE MANDELA . . . Rivonia trialists Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Wilton Mkwayi.

MUGABE ... won

1989 parliamentary elections, which saw a rise in the fortunes of the anti-apartheid Democratic Party, triggered further moves away from petty apartheid.

The black population of South Africa has more than doubled since Mandela went to jail and there have been two major uprisings against white rule.

Here are some major events Mandela missed during his captivity:

* 1966 - Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, architect of apartheid, is assassinated in Parliament by a white messenger.

* 1975 - Portugal pulls out of Angola and Mozambique. New, radical governments in both countries change the balance of power in southern Africa.

* 1976 - Over 600 blacks killed in Soweto uprising. It begins as a protest against the use of Afrikaans language in black schools and develops into bitter national protest.

* 1977 - Black leader Steve Biko dies of brain injuries while in police custody.

* 1978 - "Muldergate" scandal rocks Government, with revelations that public money was used to buy influence over the South African press. John Vorster resigns the presidency in disgrace and is replaced by Prime Minis-

subversion [illegible] more than 3,000 dead, victims of white security forces and black-against-black violence.

* 1985 - United Nations draws up an international convention against apartheid in sport, which prohibits direct sporting contacts with South Africa.

* 1985 - Government repeals laws forbidding racially-mixed marriages and sex across the colour line.

* July 1985 - Declaration for seven months of a [illegible] of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola, Namibia's northern neighbour.

* January 1989 - PW Botha suffers a mild stroke, signalling the end of his political career.

* July 1989 - Botha summons Mandela for a 45-minute meeting over tea at the presidential offices in Cape Town, prompting speculation that his release was imminent.

* September 1989 - FW de Klerk is elected president to succeed

Amandla

Nelson Mandela free after 27 years

Two men who shook the world. President FW de Klerk and a trim Mr Nelson Mandela, photographed at Tuynhuys on Friday night. More pictures and stories inside.

IN recognition of the historic events that gripped the country's imagination yesterday, the Sowetan has postponed the publication of your favourite columns and features. The sports pages also had to be given less prominence for this, your souvenir copy of the *Sowetan*.

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Viljoen sees 'black' future

Cape Times 12/2/90

By FRED BRIDGLAND
of the Sunday Telegraph

SOUTH AFRICA'S Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is a private man not fond of grabbing easy headlines.

But this week he demonstrated in two devastating sentences why he is regarded by many as the second most powerful man in the government after President F W de Klerk.

"De Klerk tells white South Africans what must happen now," said one Afrikaans newspaper editor. "But it is Viljoen who is planning the future."

The future for whites, according to Dr Viljoen, is a black one. By the year 2000, he told them last week, it is doubtful whether the National Party will exercise government control and the Population Registration Act, the legislative pillar of apartheid which classifies citizens by race, will be long dead.

Dr Viljoen was a prominent academic till, at 53, he was asked to become administrator-general of South-West Africa.

It took him just over a year there to soothe Afrikaner fears (about the road to Namibian independence) and restore their unity, and he returned home to claim a cabinet post, but was given the poisoned chalice of black education.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

At this ministry he realised that the grand apartheid ideal was impossible in South Africa's highly complex situation. Logically, therefore, it would be necessary to integrate and the role of Afrikaner nationalists would be to secure for themselves an important role in the new society.

Dr Viljoen applied himself to black education with energy and rigour. A cabinet colleague recalls: "He was an intellectual giant . . . P W Botha felt really intimidated by him."

Between 1982 and 1989 expenditure on black education increased tenfold. Dr Viljoen realised the necessity of educating black people for democracy.

In 1989 Dr Viljoen, with the (now liberalised) Broederbond behind him, was the obvious man to take over the constitutional affairs portfolio when Mr De Klerk wrested power from Mr P W Botha.

Persuading suspicious black opponents that the National Party is serious about achieving change has brought him into contact with Mr Nelson Mandela, whose directness and constructiveness in argument he admires.

He believes the veteran ANC leader is capable of playing a highly constructive role in designing a new South Africa.

Shrill Boesak keeps it all together

Cape Times 12/2/90

By JOHN SCOTT

FOR many, after rioting broke out on or near the Grand Parade yesterday, the sole source of information about events in front of the City Hall was the shrill voice of Dr Allan Boesak.

Dr Boesak, standing on the City Hill portico in front of the microphone, could see. Thousands of us, who had positioned ourselves on the station deck and elsewhere to escape the violence, couldn't.

We relied on the broadcast commentary of the president of the World Alliance of Churches.

Interspersed with gunshots, the roar of circling helicopters and the sirens of ANC-flag-bedecked minibuses, Dr Boesak pleaded, cajoled, shouted and screamed from about 6pm.

It went like this:

"Please, comrades, get off the car, get off the car, get off the car, move the car. Comrades, Mandela is going to speak to you . . .

"Don't move *this* car, don't move this second car . . . Comrades, please don't do that, please don't provoke, please don't do that, don't provoke. Comrades on the other side, please don't do that . . .

"Now don't run round the car, don't run round the car, keep the road open. Thank you, comrades . . . Oh, my God! Don't, don't, stop that right now, stop that right now . . .

"Oh dear, my throat has gone . . .

"Comrades, please come back. Comrades, please have patience, where is your discipline? Who is this, who is this? Look here — no, no, no, please . . !

"All ready, comrades, let's keep it cool . . .

"This is the last car, this is the last car, get this car out of here. Don't do that again. Let that car through here . . .

At 6.45pm, when there was still no sign of Mr Mandela, Dr Boesak came on the air again:

"Mr Mandela is coming to speak to you. Amandla! Amandla! Will you please keep quiet. Please listen, please listen to me! Take my word for it, he is coming. We will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, that's right, we will see Mandela.

"Let me hear it, let me hear it — we will see him . . .

"Just take my word for it, he is coming. We are bringing him out. When I appear on this platform again, it will be with Mandela. I am not kidding, I am not kidding. It will not be long now, my brothers and sisters . . .

"No, no, please, no, no, please! Please, comrades, don't push . . .

"The tower is going to fall over in time. It will fall over in time. No, no, no, don't hurt anybody, please . . ."

At 7.15 pm there was still no sign of Mandela but, thanks, to Dr Boesak, we had a shrewd idea of what had been going on in that seething mass outside the City Hall.

Archbishop Huddleston future.

Cape Times 12/2/90

UK bells ring out for freed ANC leader

LONDON. — Church bells rang out across Britain yesterday to mark the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison.

Thousands of people gathered outside the South African embassy in central London for the biggest of several parties hurriedly planned across the country by Mr Mandela's supporters after President F W de Klerk announced his release on Saturday.

And Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday said the "die is cast" for peace and progress in South Africa and the world should immediately end sanctions, which she described as "meaningless".

After attending a church service in London, she said the time had come to encourage, not further damage reform.

"The way is open for peaceable negotiations. What is the use of trying to hit out? Why not help the process?" she said.

But outside the SA embassy, where thousands of people had gathered to celebrate Mr Mandela's release, anti-apartheid leaders, who have maintained a non-stop night-and-day picket for 1 395 days, decried Mrs Thatcher, saying sanctions should continue.

Demonstration leader Mr Andre Schott said sanctions had to remain till apartheid was completely eradicated and all South Africans were free and equal.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement (BAAM), who preached at a special service relayed by the BBC, said Mr Mandela's freedom marked the beginning of a "new stage in the struggle to end apartheid and to secure freedom for all the people of South Africa".

But he added: "We wish to stress that Mandela leaves behind him thousands of prisoners and returns to a country under a state of emergency with a police force with a licence to kill." — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

Bush phones FW to offer congratulations

Cape Times 12/2/90

(30KB)

CAMP DAVID, Maryland. — US President Bush praised President F W de Klerk in a telephone call on Saturday for arranging the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and invited Mr De Klerk to visit the United States, the White House said.

Mr Bush also told Mr De Klerk he intended to keep his earlier promise to invite Mr Mandela separately to the White House "to exchange views on how best to move rapidly toward a negotiated solution" to South Africa's racially segregated policy of apartheid.

Mr Bush

Praising Mr De Klerk for "bold and imaginative" leadership, Mr Bush said the release of Mr Mandela was "another significant step on the road to the non-racial, democratic South Africa we all desire".

White House spokesman Mr John Herrick said Mr Bush's congratulatory phone call lasted five minutes.

"The two presidents discussed the challenges that face all South Africans in this time of impending transition," Mr Herrick said.

Observers expect Mr Bush's administration to use the meetings with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela to encourage negotiations on a new constitution.

"We'd like to talk to them before negotiations begin," said a US official who asked not to be named.

The United States was instrumental last year in facilitating the peace settlement that tied an end to Angola's civil war to independence for Namibia and it seems eager to try its hand as a mediator again in South Africa.

Observers believe it will be some time before sanctions are lifted.

● Mr Sipo Mzimela, an Episcopal priest in Atlanta who is a former staff member of the ANC office in New York, said that with Mr Mandela's release "the legend ends and the human being comes out".

The ANC would now be transformed from a liberation movement to a political party and he predicted it would split into three ideological wings espousing Marxism, social democratic thought and free-market theories, complicating its role as an opposition force. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

FW: Mandela is committed to peace

Cape Times 12/2/90 (KAP) (304A)

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk said at the weekend that following two discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela he had come to the conclusion that the ANC leader was "committed to a peaceful solution and a peaceful process".

Speaking at his first international press conference to announce Mr Mandela's release, a relaxed and confident Mr De Klerk said the ANC leader's release became "a certainty" the moment he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release would "bring us to the end of a long chapter" of a process that had been started by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha.

"Since the moment Mr Mandela met him at Tuynhuys, and since the moment that Mr Mandela clearly stated his commitment to peaceful solutions, it was a certainty that he would be released."

Mr De Klerk called upon Mr Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contribution towards creating a positive climate for peace and negotiations.

Asked if Mr Mandela now "officially rejects violence", Mr De Klerk said: "I do not intend this afternoon to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela."

Facilitator

Dealing with Mr Mandela's role in negotiations between the government and the ANC, Mr De Klerk said he followed an open-door policy.

"Should he come forward and be prepared to play the role of facilitator ... to interest himself in promoting talks about talks, the door is open to him."

Giving his impressions of the ANC leader, based on their two meetings, Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela struck him as a friendly man.

He told journalists that his talks with Mr Mandela had taken place in a very civil atmosphere.

"He's an elderly man, he's a dignified man, he's an interesting man," he said.

Asked to describe Mr Mandela's reaction to the news of his release date, Mr De Klerk said he did not think he would like to comment on that.

Mr De Klerk said that during his meeting with Mr Mandela he had "stressed the importance of creating conditions which would enable me to lift the state of emergency without jeopardising the maintenance of law and order.

"Regarding the position of persons involved in politically motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, exploratory discussions could take place in the meantime."

Asked by a questioner about full citizenship rights for blacks, Mr De Klerk replied that it was a misconception that the government did not want to give full rights to black South Africans.

The question was how to structure them to accommodate the diversity of SA's total society in a non-discriminatory manner

Mr De Klerk said his government was committed to bringing about a constitution that was fair and just to all the people of South Africa.

He said he had indicated in his address at the opening of Parliament and in another statement that there was reason for concern about Mr Mandela's safety once he was out of jail.

The state would secure Mr Mandela's safety while he was in the custody "but when is he is released he becomes a free man".

"I hope now this chapter is ended that the world and all the people of South Africa will grasp the opportunity and play a supportive role in bringing to a conclusion the process that has been started."

Asked whether he believed his announcement would meet United States pre-conditions for lifting sanctions, Mr De Klerk replied: "We are not working against checklists We are doing what we believe to be in the best interests of South Africa "

Asked if the presence in SA of US presidential hopeful the Rev Jesse Jackson had anything to do with the timing of the relase, he said: "As far as the release of Nelson Mandela is concerned, his presence is totally irrelevant."

Asked if Mr Mandela was unhappy about being released before the lifting of the state of emergency and finality over political offenders had been reached, Mr De Klerk said: "I will not speak on his behalf. I went to great lengths to explain to him what the situation is with regard to the state of emergency."

FIRST PICTURE . . . President F W de Klerk with Mr Nelson Mandela at their meeting on Friday. This was the first picture the world has seen of Mr Mandela since he was imprisoned in 1964.

All in SA must work 'for common destiny'

B/Day 12/2/90 (3049)

CAPE TOWN — Shortly before his release Nelson Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny.

Unity, he said in an interview, could be achieved only through a non-racial society and was the "critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country".

He had always been committed to creating harmony in SA and in exploiting any opening that offered hope of a non-racial and democratic country.

"Unfortunately whites fear the reality of democracy," said Mandela.

Any impression that he had now accepted government's concept of freedom and its agenda to end apartheid was a distortion of his desire to work towards justice and peace for all.

He said negotiations would have to address two basic issues: majority rule in a unitary state and the insistence on the protection of the whites' political position.

The protection of individual rights in the ANC Freedom Charter protected everyone without resorting to the protection of group rights.

He said the unbanning of political organisations and their members, freeing of certain political prisoners and the lifting of other restrictions was a positive move towards creating a positive climate but that this was a result of the struggle and international pressure.

The beginning of the end of the liberation struggle, launched by the ANC, was now in sight, but he emphasised: "Not until my people have achieved political equality, economic equality and social equality can we begin to relax the struggle."

He said the youth of today were carrying on the struggle and giving it "fresh impetus, not a new direction".

Promises

He added that "everyone" remained committed to the Freedom Charter and its recent endorsement ... represented in the Harare Declaration.

He said to talk of a programme of gradual reform only benefited the white, politically dominant group.

Government should know by now it could no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

He added this was a time of reconciliation and not recrimination, of pursuing all positive moves and not dwelling on past broken promises, and to concentrate on constructing a new SA.

On the issue of the armed struggle he said this was only one element, albeit an important one, in the overall liberation strategy.

Only after the failure of decades of peaceful demonstrations to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws, which sought to destroy the dignity of black South Africans, did certain members of the ANC resort to the armed struggle.

Concerning violence in Natal, Mandela said it was a glimpse of what could happen in SA if all South Africans did not resolve to work constructively ... with commitment and discipline towards a non-racial and democratic SA.

It was absolutely essential that every individual group seeking a solution to the problems in SA, by whichever means, should subordinate themselves to a common aim.

"But as long as whites insist on a preferential political position there can be no peace in our country."

Mandela added he was more hopeful now than he had been for many years, but he warned of the necessity for commitment and a unified thrust. — Sapa.

Bush wants to meet SA leaders

WASHINGTON — President George Bush's administration is expected in the next few months to use separate meetings with newly-freed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk to encourage negotiations on a new constitution.

Repeatedly, the US has expressed willingness to do whatever it can to further a non-racial and democratic SA.

The release of Mandela yesterday after 27 years in jail will test that commitment.

Although Bush hailed as "bold and imaginative" De Klerk's decision to free Mandela, it may be some time before US sanctions against SA are lifted. (304A)

Mandela's release still does not satisfy the demands of US law, which calls for freedom for all political prisoners, the repeal of anti-apartheid laws and the lifting of the state of emergency, among other things.

"Certain things have to be done before President Bush can modify or reverse the sanctions legislation; and those things have not happened yet," a US State Department official said.

"I welcome this move and view it as another significant step on the road to the non-racial democratic SA which we all desire," Bush said in a statement from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, after De Klerk announced his intention to free Mandela.

Bush also reiterated his desire for separate meetings with De Klerk and Mandela "in the coming months as part of my continuing dialogue with the SA leadership".

Policy towards SA has split the US in recent years. The US Congress in 1986 passed economic sanctions against Pretoria over President Ronald Reagan's veto. Bush and his top aides have indicated they would like to avoid such divisiveness and forge a more bipartisan approach to Pretoria.

They seem more willing to work with the anti-apartheid group in Congress and elsewhere. Even with Mandela's release, the anti-apartheid lobby has cautioned against revoking prematurely the sanctions that many view as effective in forcing De Klerk to move towards reform. B/Day 12/2/90

Beyond the US reaction to Mandela's release is the question of how the ANC, legalised by De Klerk only last week after a 30-year ban, will handle itself now that the way has been cleared for serious talks with the SA government. — Sapa-Reuter.

African states laud SA struggle

TUNIS — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat yesterday hailed the release of black nationalist Nelson Mandela and said Palestinians and most South Africans were fighting the same battle.

"The struggle of the people of Palestine and South Africa is a common struggle against racism, colonialism and oppression for one just cause — to win the right to self-determination," Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, said in a message to Mandela. (304A)

Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Tunis-based Arab League, said in a statement: "The Arab peoples, who never ceased supporting and admiring him (Mandela), hail his fight for freedom and equality between the races and wish him complete victory over racial discrimination."

The Tunisian newspaper La Presse said that with the release of Mandela, SA's future depended on his and F W De Klerk's ability to persuade whites and blacks to abandon the politics of "all-or-nothing".

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on Saturday also congratulated Mandela. "The decision to release you is a victory for human rights everywhere," Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), told Mandela in a telegram. B/Day 12/2/90

Mandela's release marked the start of "the total liberation of our brothers in South Africa", Mubarak said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Keep celebrations peaceful, plead business leaders

B/Day 12/2/90

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS and ZILLA EFRAT

30cm

BUSINESS leaders have unanimously applauded Nelson Mandela's release as a crucial step towards the peaceful creation of a new SA.

SA Chamber of Business (SACB) president Leslie Boyd said it was a major move towards a new political dispensation in SA. The SACB hoped Mandela's public presence would strengthen a climate in which political differences were settled through peaceful negotiation and not violence or coercion, he said.

Workers should celebrate the news in a "peaceful and responsible" manner, and the organisation appealed to employers to facilitate recognition of the occasion.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut also urged employees to behave in a responsible manner and report for work as its members would adopt a "no work, no pay" approach.

Chairman of Fabcos's marketing company Gaby Magomola said Mandela had shown support for black economic empowerment and this was "encouraging from a man who had been isolated from the day-to-day business development". He hoped black businessmen would take their place with other leaders to confer with Mandela to create wealth in the black community.

Barlow Rand vice-chairman and CE Warren Clewlow described Mandela's release as "another major step forward on what I think is the right road. This doesn't mean to say the road's going to be easy, but I'm convinced we're on the road to negotiation and I want to express my strong support."

Federale Volksbeleggings CE Johan Moolman said: "I've just watched his release on TV and it was a very moving moment to see him being freed. As a white man, I am certainly rejoicing as much as my fellow black South Africans."

SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) GM Anne Moore said all moves which had recently taken place, including Mandela's release, contributed to a "much more" favourable export environment for SA. However, growth in SA's exports did not depend purely on political factors as the commitment of SA exporters and the availability of products played a crucial role.

According to JSE president Tony Norton, Mandela's release — already "substantially discounted" in the market — would lead to more confidence in the country.

TOTAL	1481	85	22	0	1374	TOTAL	3790	1521	96	0	2173		11.31	344.12	83.92	ERR	30.41

4-way Umlazi tussle in the offing

By-election will be test of voters' mood

STAR 12/2/90 (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Attention is already focusing on the pending Umlazi by-election — the first test of white political opinion since President de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

The seat falls vacant on April 2 when Mr Con Botha MP becomes Administrator of Natal, and it looks like being a four-way fight to fill it.

Already the National Party has chosen attorney and President's Council member Mr Piet Matthee as its candidate.

Durban city councillor Mr Dave McNaught seems set to stand as an independent, campaigning on local issues.

The Conservative Party will definitely put up a candidate and build its election battle into a countrywide fight to force the Government to resign and call a general election.

The Democratic Party has four people to choose from, and will announce its candidate by the end of the month.

Political observers have pointed out that the outcome of the Umlazi by-election could have a bearing on President de Klerk's plans to consult the electorate on a future constitution forged at the negotiation table.

NP chief director-designate of information Mr Renier Schoeman says the President has gone for a mandate for progress and to bring about total changes in South Africa which are significant and visible.

Secure future

"The international spotlight will be on Umlazi," he said at the weekend. "The most persistant question from foreign journalists today is whether we are taking our voters with us.

"There is a historic responsibility on the voters of Umlazi."

Mr Matthee accused the CP of "selling out the white man". Its policies would bring only anarchy and chaos while the NP was offering a prosperous and secure future for everyone, he said.

DP Natal coastal region chairman Mr Mike Ellis MP said that by the time of the by-election, people would have an indication of the real direction Mr de Klerk was moving.

"We acknowledge the fact that he has made an excellent start."

But President de Klerk still had to say whether he was talking about universal franchise in a unitary state or whether he wanted a fourth chamber, and he had still to reveal the fate of the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act.

The DP was excited "because the Government appears to be moving in the direction we have been advocating for years".

This gave the DP greater relevance, Mr Ellis said, and the party wanted to continue to show the way ahead.

It was not clear that the Government was able to get the real leaders to the negotiating table, he said, so the DP could play a vital bridging role between the two groups as it had greater credibility with black leaders than the Government had.

The NP and DP have offices in Umlazi and have already started canvassing voters.

It is now up to the ANC to act fast

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Now that Nelson Mandela has been freed, the ANC would be well advised to act quickly in response. Government's fears of a right-wing backlash are real, and it will risk no more without some flexibility from the ANC.

The NP is desperately awaiting a signal from the ANC that will transform President F W de Klerk's spectacular break with the past into a tenuous negotiation process.

All that is needed, according to government's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, is "for the ANC to be willing to start pre-negotiations without conditions".

Differences

If the flexibility is forthcoming the first step to be addressed will be the ending of the state of emergency. On this issue there are clear differences in government thinking.

Viljoen said last week it could be lifted in a matter of weeks; Foreign Minister Pik Botha wants the ANC to co-operate with government in creating conditions in which it will be possible to drop the emergency; and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok says it cannot be dropped while the revolutionary climate prevails and the slaughter in Natal continues.

A second issue is the status of political prisoners and exiles. Government says it is prepared to be flexible, but whether this will extend to a general amnesty remains to be seen.

In the period from initial contact to sitting down around the negotiating table, Viljoen sees Mandela, De Klerk and perhaps Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi playing a vital role.

"An informal working group of highly distinguished leaders understanding each other and working together will play an important part in the pre-negotiation phase," he says.

The working group will to a large extent sort out just who sits at the negotiating table.

Government's preferred option for a negotiating forum is an informally constituted body consisting of about 30 or 40 leaders. Viljoen says such a body can be constituted with the least difficulty. Authority for decisions taken by this body will flow from the perceived legitimacy of those taking part.

The question is just how far the NP would be prepared to go once at the table. Viljoen says the Population Registration Act must lapse and be replaced by negotiated measures in which the definition of groups will be based on freedom of association.

There is an acceptance by government that its desire for protection of groups will not get off the ground if it is seen as protecting white privilege. Access to land is at the core of this problem, and the way government thinking appears to be heading is to create large areas in which all people can live.

Viljoen is heading an investigation into the Land Act. So far he says there has been opposition from homeland governments to opening up land in these territories. If black people require protection of land rights, then other groups must get similar protection, he says.

Government's answer to the imbalances in access to land in urban areas is twofold. Firstly, more land will be made available for black housing, but more importantly Viljoen foresees a spectacular increase in free settlement areas. "The latter is the thing that has got to happen quickly. We would like spectacular movement."

One possibility that government is investigating is declaring entire cities open areas.

Schools

The likely result is a situation where most land in urban and rural areas will be open to all, while pockets will be reserved for particular groups.

Opening of schools to all races will also be linked to free settlement areas.

All the above fall under what the NP is now calling protection for minorities, which is likely to be the most heatedly debated aspect of negotiations as its proposals on land, schools and hospitals fall far short of what the DP, ANC, Inkatha and other groups advocate.

Viljoen and other Ministers hasten to add that what they are now proposing is just the vague detail of the blueprint they will take to the table. While they do not expect to get everything accepted, they are confident they will be able to get as much as they give.

One issue on which there now appears to be a broad level of consensus is a bill of individual human rights.

De Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee have both endorsed the idea in principle. The Law Commission will submit its final report this year and while it will have to be placed on the negotiating table it is quite likely that a bill of rights could be introduced during this parliamentary session.

Government spokesmen have been loath to put a timetable on negotiations except to say that basic principles, if not the entire constitution, have to be in place before the next election in five years' time.

De Klerk, Viljoen and other NP leaders are displaying flexibility on almost every issue. At the same time, however, the NP is nowhere near abandoning its insistence that there be some kind of protection for groups or minorities. Reaching compromises is going to be an arduous task, especially as the ANC, by insisting on strict adherence to the Harare Declaration, has limited its scope for flexibility.

What the final package will look like is anyone's guess. What is not in doubt now is government's commitment to negotiations. The ball is in the ANC's court if it wants to play.

Part of the huge crowd that gathered outside Nelson Mandela's Soweto home yesterday. PICTURE: ROBERT BOTHA

The question SA now asks

STAR 12/2/90

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — What political role will Mr Nelson Mandela play as a free man?

That must be the largest question in the minds of the country as Mr Mandela steps out of prison after 27 years.

His position looks fraught with uncertainty.

Much is expected of him from the white side. He has been built up as a moderate saviour who could in some way ameliorate the worst excesses of ANC policy.

Yet the mostly second-hand opinions that one has thus far been forced to rely upon to fathom his thinking have not made it absolutely clear where he stands, and it will take more than his remarks immediately after his release to get a full picture of his attitudes and approach.

He has not renounced the armed struggle, which he could almost certainly not afford to do if he wanted to retain his constituency.

Yet President F W de Klerk seems confident after two meetings that Mr Mandela is "committed to a peaceful solution".

No firm undertaking

At the same time it emerged from Mr de Klerk's press conference on Saturday that Mr Mandela has given no firm undertaking yet that he will play a role in negotiations.

The indications are, though, that he will be prepared to do so once his remaining conditions are met — the complete lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiles.

He has been given part of the responsibility for meeting the first of these conditions.

If his release does not increase unrest, the emergency is likely to be lifted within weeks.

The question of the exiles and prisoners could be more difficult. Mr de Klerk said on Saturday this was negotiable, although Government sources have suggested the Government may yet make some unilateral concession.

Assuming that these obstacles are cleared away, the big question will be whether Mr Mandela is more prepared than his ANC comrades to compromise on their demands.

Referring to his recent statement of intent to nationalise the mines, those who know him say he could do nothing but stick to the party line while in prison and they believe he will be prepared to budge at the negotiation table.

On the larger question of majority rule there is no uncertainty.

Unconfirmed reports have it that he presented a 10-point plan to Mr de Klerk at their December 13-9 meeting, expressing his readiness to accept a transitional period of power-sharing with the National Party before full majority rule.

All those years ago . . . Mr Nelson Mandela (left) and Mr Nana Sita of the Transvaal Indian Congress in the 1950s.

If this is so then the question must arise whether he can take his constituency with him.

It might be unrealistic to expect him to carry the ANC with him into any constitutional arrangement that is based on group representation.

ANC-watchers suggest this is as unrealistic as to expect Mr de Klerk to lead his National Party voters into black majority rule.

And they point out that both leaders have uncompromising extremists breathing down their necks to mop up any disaffected supporters.

Mr de Klerk's spectre is, of course, the Conservative Party. The ANC's is the PAC.

Yet it is clear that both leaders will have to make compromises. Mr de Klerk's Cabinet colleague Dr Gerrit Viljoen has already conceded that the NP will not control the Government in 10 years' time. Is the ANC prepared to make a similar commitment and will Mr Mandela help them to do it?

Fellow Rivonia trialists caution that not too much should be expected of him. They point out that he was actually junior to Mr Walter Sisulu in the ANC hierarchy at the time of their arrest.

And it is clear Mr Sisulu and the others released last October have virtually been swallowed by the MDM.

Yet there is little doubt that Mr Mandela has grown larger than anyone else since then.

He also has by all accounts an independent streak which will not allow him easily to submit to the party line.

(304A) 12/2/90 STAR 12/2/90 (304A)

'Government sincere about creating just dispensation'

FW's faith in Mandela to be tested

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela from jail, convinced Mr Mandela was committed to "a peaceful solution and a peaceful process".

This belief will be tested in the coming weeks as Mr Mandela gets opportunities to speak publicly and to consult ANC colleagues on future tactics and strategy.

Mr de Klerk told a press conference on Saturday, in which he announced the release, that the Government had "addressed the most important stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation".

Asked if he thought Mr Mandela could play the role of facilitator between the Government and the ANC, Mr de Klerk said he followed an open door policy.

"Should he come forward and should he be prepared to play the role of facilitator to interest himself in promoting a climate for negotiations in promoting talks, or even talks about talks, yes, that open door is also open to him," he said.

Final test

Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela's willingness to act as a facilitator was widely known. But he had not discussed it with him at their Friday meeting.

The final test for lifting the state of emergency would be the situation on the ground and everything would depend on whether there was an increase or decrease in unrest.

Asked if it was realistic to expect the Natal violence to subside soon, to allow the emergency to be lifted, Mr de Klerk said there was "an element of uncertainty".

"Regarding the position of persons involved in politically-motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, exploratory discussions could take place in the meantime."

"I want to emphasise that there can no longer be any doubt about the Government's sincerity to create a just dispensation based on negotiations."

Mr de Klerk stressed that Mr Mandela had not been released to ease international sanctions pressure, but because it was "in the best interests of South Africa".

"The Government is committed to negotiations, the Government is committed to bring about through negotiations a new constitution which is fair and just to all the people of South Africa.

"I hope now that this chapter has ended, the world and more especially all the people of South Africa, will grasp the opportunity and play whatever supportive role can be played towards a peaceful conclusion to the process which has started."

Time's up . . . For Conservative Party MP, Mr Koos van der Merwe (top right, looking at his watch) time was obviously of the essence at Saturday's press conference called by President de Klerk to announce Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

De Klerk has been knocked out, says CP's info boss

STAR 12/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela had "won a knockout victory and President de Klerk has been carried away on a stretcher", the Conservative Party said.

CP information chief Mr Koos van der Merwe, speaking after attending Mr de Klerk's announcement on Saturday — he was the only other politician at the news conference — said the release of Mr Mandela proved that it was he who was really governing the country.

"What he wants, goes. He has got everything he wanted and Mr de Klerk has got nothing."

Mr van der Merwe said he thought the state of emergency would be lifted when Mr Mandela wanted it lifted.

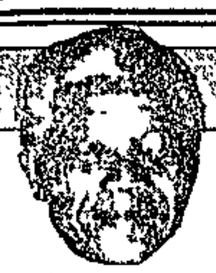
He said it was clear that Mr Mandela had not renounced violence before being released.

Mr van der Merwe said he was sure that Mr Mandela would not abandon his demands such as for a one man, one vote system and the nationalisation of mines, monopolies and banks.

Asked if he would call on CP members not to react violently, Mr van der Merwe said of course he would.

"We are absolutely against violence. Our bullet is the ballot."

MANDELA: Free at last



Orlando West celebrations over Mandela's release

He will work for peace, says FW

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said he freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela doubly convinced that he was committed to a peace for South Africa.

This was his impression of the world's most legendary prisoner after two meetings, the first in December and the second on Friday night in Cape Town.

De Klerk was speaking at a packed news conference at Parliament. Looking calm and assured, he answered questions easily but very carefully after making his momentous 5pm announcement of the release awaited around the globe.

Mandela's freedom after 28 years had become a certainty after his meeting last year with former President PW Botha who had started the process of his release.

There Mandela had committed himself to a peaceful solution for the country.

Describing Mandela as "an elderly man, a dignified man, an interesting man". De Klerk said there had been a positive chemistry in his own meetings with him.

"Yes, the discussion really took place in a very civil atmosphere, and he is a friendly man I like to think I also am a friendly man.

"Yes, the discussions really took place in a good spirit," he said.

De Klerk said his door was open to Mandela, and others, if the ANC leader wanted to involve himself in facilitating a climate for negotiation, or even talks about talks.

Yesterday's release brought South Africa to the end of a long chapter, he said: "I hope that now that this chapter has ended, the world and especially all in South Africa will grasp the opportunity and play whatever support role can be played towards a peaceful conclusion to the process that has already started."

He called on Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contributions towards a positive climate.

"The eyes of the world are presently focused on all South Africans," De Klerk said.

"All of us now have an opportunity and the responsibility to prove that we are capable of a peaceful process in creating a new South Africa."

De Klerk said by this move and those 10 days ago, he believed the most important obstacles to negotiations had been addressed.

On foreign demands for reform including those from the US, he noted that the Government was not working to a checklist. "We're doing what we sincerely think is in the best interests of South Africa."

Turning to the state of emergency, De Klerk said the final test of how the Government viewed it was the situation on the ground.

"Everything will depend on the question of whether we get an increase in unrest or whether we get a decrease in unrest."

The State President said the Government was reviewing the emergency situation almost daily.

But it was not an issue for negotiaton. The government had imposed it because of the lack of stability. "It will be a Government decision to uplift it And the test will be whether stability can be restored sufficiently," he added.

Stability meant a condition where people could feel safe, go to work if they wanted, a normal life without threat or intimidation, free of arson, where political strife did not cost lives.

The Government went to great lengths to draw the distinction between plain crime and politically-related violence, he noted.

De Klerk was asked whether the end of the emergency would have to wait until violence stopped in Natal, and about the realism of Government estimates of the emergency lasting a few more weeks.

He said there was obviously an element of uncertainty - "none of us can exactly say what will happen tomorrow and the day after".

It was the Government's hope "that with these steps we have taken it will make a contribution and that it will bring us soon to the situation where it can be considered.

"We are as anxious as anybody else to have the state of emergency uplifted as soon as possible," he said.

On Mandela's personal safety, De Klerk said there was cause for concern: there are all sorts of people who might threaten his life. I think radicals from the very far left might be tempted to do so and I think there is also a risk that it might come from radicalists from the right.

"Many public figures are being threatened throughout the world almost in all countries.

"And with him having such a high public profile, I think yes, there is a risk. I think one should take every precaution that nothing happens to him.

"But when he leaves prison then he will be moving to his own circle of friends and will in all probability, as in the case of Mr Sisulu and the others who were released, there was no request to the State to give assistance with regard to their security."

When Mandela was released, he became a free man. "He doesn't owe it to me to inform me of his programme, and I didn't ask him about it either."

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East Germany considers re-establishing ties with SA

EAST BERLIN — East Germany, pleased at the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison, said yesterday it might consider ties with South Africa.

"The dismantling of apartheid opens the possibility of ties in several areas between East Germany and a changed South Africa," according to a Foreign Ministry spokesman. (30 44A)

East Germany and the other East bloc states have no ties with Pretoria. Star 12/2/90

Acting head of state Mr Manfred Gerlach sent a telegram to South African President F W de Klerk, saying Mandela's release was "a step towards a discrimination-free world".

In Poland, Solidarity leader Mr Lech Walesa said in a telegram to the veteran black nationalist: "Your release is an act of justice long awaited by the international community."

Referring to political upheavals in Eastern Europe, he said: "The experience of recent months has shown there is no room in the world for regimes that hold human rights in contempt."

Mr Walesa, a tireless campaigner for political reforms and trade union rights, spent 11 months in detention after martial law was declared in Poland in 1981 and the free trade union he helped to found was outlawed for eight years.

Times have changed in SA in the past 28 years

Cape Times 12/2/90

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — When Mr Nelson Mandela went to jail in 1962 blacks were expected to call whites "baas" (boss), South Africa had no television service and no black policeman would have dared arrest a white.

He was imprisoned in a land where it would have been illegal for him to marry a white woman and almost impossible to eat out with white friends.

Prime Minister Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, the high priest of apartheid, was pressing for further racial segregation.

Now, reform-minded President F W de Klerk says he is committed to scrapping apartheid and has pledged to give blacks some say in national government.

But reform has a long way to go.

The black majority still has no parliamentary vote and Pretoria shows no sign of getting rid of its ideological cornerstones of residential apartheid and birth registration by race.

Fitful erosion of petty apartheid began in the late 1960s but it was in the early 1980s that a tide of change occurred.

Mr De Klerk's election as president to replace Mr P W Botha after September 1989 parliamentary elections, which saw a rise in the fortunes of the Democratic Party, triggered further moves away from petty apartheid.

Speculation over Mr Mandela's release, which reached a crescendo when eight political prisoners were unconditionally released from jail last October, ended on Saturday when Mr De Klerk announced he would go free yesterday.

Here are major events Mr Mandela missed during his captivity:

1966 — Mr Verwoerd is assassinated in Parliament by a white messenger.

1975 — Portugal pulls out of Angola and Mozambique. New, radical governments in both countries change the balance of power in Southern Africa.

1976 — More than 600 blacks killed in Soweto uprising. It begins as a protest against use of Afrikaans in black schools and develops into bitter national protest.

1977 — Black leader Mr Steve Biko dies of brain injuries while in police custody.

1978 — "Muldergate" scandal rocks the government, with revelations that public money was used to buy influence over the South African press. Mr John Vorster resigns the presidency in disgrace and is replaced by Prime Minister P W Botha.

1979 — Government lifts ban on black trade unions.

1980 — Mr Robert Mugabe wins elections in neighbouring Rhodesia-Zimbabwe and leads the country to black majority rule.

1983 — Non-whites gain place in Parliament with the creation of chambers for coloured and Indian representatives.

1984-86 — Black insurrection leaves more than 3 000 dead, victims of white security forces and black-against-black violence.

1985 — United Nations draws up convention against apartheid in sport, which prohibits sporting contacts with South Africa.

1985 — Government repeals laws forbidding racially mixed marriages and sex across the colour line.

July 1985 — Declaration for seven months of a partial state of emergency.

June 1986 to date — National state of emergency imposed. Police given sweeping new powers, thousands detained, 22 anti-apartheid groups banned and press restricted.

1986 — Abolition of Pass Laws, one of the mainstays of apartheid.

February 1988 — Government tightens grip, banning 17 organisations including the UDF, the main anti-apartheid coalition with close links to the ANC.

December 1988 — South Africa signs accord with Angola and Cuba, under which Pretoria agrees to grant Namibia its independence in exchange for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

January 1989 — Mr P W Botha suffers mild stroke, signalling the end of his political career.

July 1989 — Mr Botha summons Mr Mandela for a 45-minute meeting over tea at the presidential offices in Cape Town, prompting speculation that his release was imminent.

September 1989 — Mr De Klerk is elected president to succeed Mr Botha after leading the National Party to victory in parliamentary elections on a platform of apartheid reform.

October 1989 — Mr De Klerk releases the eight political prisoners, including former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu, in a move seen as a dry run for Mr Mandela's own release.

December 1989 — Mr Mandela requests, and is granted, an interview with Mr De Klerk at presidential offices in Cape Town.

February 1990 — Mr De Klerk lifts 30-year ban on ANC and 40-year ban on its close ally, the South African Communist Party. The stage was set for Mr Mandela's release. — Sapa-Reuter

A greeting in the name of peace and a call for struggle to continue

304A

B/Day 12/2/90

CAPE TOWN — The majority of whites and blacks in SA realised that apartheid had no future, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a large crowd from the balcony of the Cape Town City Hall last night.

In his first public speech since being released, Mandela greeted the people of SA in the name of peace.

"I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all," were the opening words of his first public address for more than three decades. His appearance on the balcony was greeted by an enormous roar of "viva" from the crowd.

Only a normalised situation in SA, which allowed for free political activity, would allow leaders to consult with their people to obtain a mandate, Mandela said.

He said President F W de Klerk had gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation.

"However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration, before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin."

These were the immediate ending of the state of emergency, the freeing of all and not only some political prisoners.

Mandela said he remained a loyal member of the ANC, subscribing fully to all its strategies and policies. This included the armed struggle.

Mandela said the ANC's resorting to the armed struggle with the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe in 1960 was a "purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid".

The ANC had no option but to continue the armed struggle as some of the factors for embarking upon it still existed.

"The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue.

"We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon so that there will no longer be the need for an armed struggle."

The future of SA could only be settled by a democratically elected body.

"There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of

☐ To Page 2

Cape Times 12/2/90

'Don't rob Boerevolk of country'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ultra-right-wing Boerestaat Party (BP) yesterday said it granted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela his freedom as a Xhosa.

BP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said Mr Mandela would be making a "deadly mistake" if he thought he could "rob" the "Boerevolk" of their rightful land and freedom, by involving himself in President F W de Klerk's government.

"It also follows logically that (convicted Wit Wolf killer) Barend Strydom should be immediately released because Mr Mandela's ANC organisation has killed many more people than Strydom ever could have dreamed of killing," Mr Van Tonder said.

The chief information officer of the Conservative Party, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said that by taking this step the government had capitulated, because Mr Mandela had not acceded to a single demand. — Sapa

CROSS KOOS ... CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe accuses President F W de Klerk of capitulation following the announcement that Mr Nelson Mandela was to be freed.

Release is a double payout

THE release of Nelson Mandela is a high-stakes gamble by President FW de Klerk for a double payout - giving voteless blacks a say in Government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority.

"If the ANC pulls back from negotiations now, it will damage the image of the anti-apartheid movement. The process must go forward," said Professor John Barrett, political scientist with the University of the Witwatersrand's Institute of International Affairs.

"The release of the ANC leader after 27 years behind bars ensures that, after only five months in office, De Klerk has done more to resolve the apartheid deadlock than predecessor PW Botha did in over a decade.

"This time, the Government sees itself as having crossed the Rubicon. But whether or not they have depends on the reaction of the forces on the other side - the anti-apartheid movement," said political analyst Mike Hough.

Sowetan 12/2/90

Reaction

Hough, of the University of Pretoria, said neither the Government nor anti-apartheid leaders were likely to halt the political momentum created by Mandela's freedom and the release without restrictions last October of seven of his comrades.

Barrett said a lot was riding on the reaction of the anti-apartheid movement to the long-awaited liberation of the world's most famous political prisoner. (30441)

"Much will depend on the part Mandela will play, how he will assert himself as a leader after having had the benefit of such a great symbolic role," he said.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has a fluid and often cumbersome leadership which has made it difficult for it to respond quickly to De Klerk's rapid-fire reform programme.

If Mandela manages to crystallise an effective leadership, readily identified abroad, the anti-Pretoria forces may be better able to offer a cohesive reaction to De Klerk, analysts said.

Max Coleman, a veteran anti-apartheid campaigner who headed a group monitoring detentions without trial until it was banned by Pretoria, forecasts a huge outpouring of emotion that could become explosive.

"Pretoria's problem is to show that it is moving forward and at the same time maintain control," Coleman said. - Sapa-Reuter.

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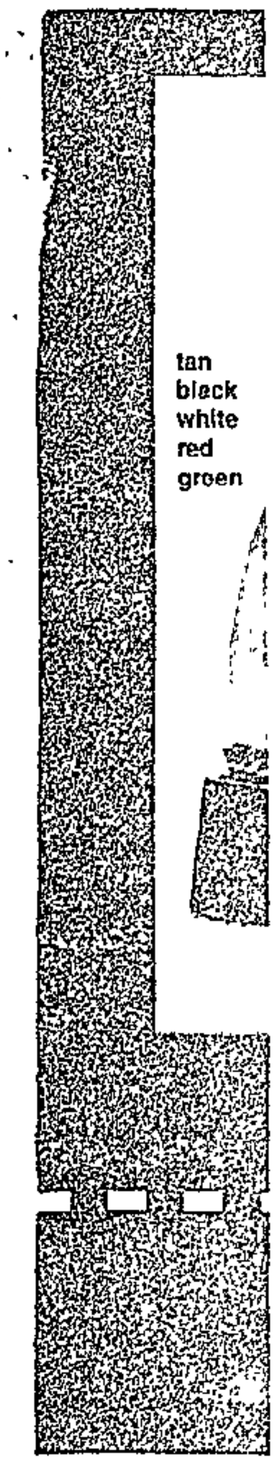

MANDELA: Free at last

Orlando West celebrations over Mandela's release

He will work for peace, says FW

304A

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"The eyes of the world are presently focused on all South Africans," De Klerk said.

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De Klerk said by this move and those 10 days

[illegible] important obstacles to negotiations had been addressed.

On foreign demands for reform including those from the US, he noted that the Government was not working to a checklist. "We're doing what we sincerely think is in the best interests of South Africa."

Turning to the state of emergency, De Klerk said the final test of how the Government viewed it was the situation on the ground.

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He said there was obviously an element of uncertainty - "none of us [illegible] happen tomorrow and the day after".

It was the Government's hope "that with these steps we have taken it will make a contribution and that it will bring us soon to the situation where it can be considered.

"We are as anxious as anybody else to have the state of emergency uplifted as soon as possible," he said.

On Mandela's personal safety, De Klerk said there was cause for concern: there are all sorts of people who might threaten his life. I think radicals from the very far left might be tempted to do so and I think there is also a risk that it might come from radicalists from the right.

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When Mandela was released, he became a free man. "He doesn't owe it to me to inform me of his programme, and I didn't ask him about it either."

How the drama unfolded

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

A HOPEFUL sign for negotiations is that President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela seem to get along well.

Friday night saw the second meeting between the two main players in the unfolding drama.

The first indication of a further stage in the drama came on Friday when it was announced that Mr De Klerk was unable to attend the afternoon session of the no-confidence debate in the Assembly.

Inquiries at Tuynhuys failed to throw any light on what he was doing but liaison staff said there was no special Cabinet meeting. There was also a hint that Mr De Klerk might have a Press conference, possibly in the coming week.

That evening Mr Mandela was brought to Tuynhuys in secret for talks with Mr De Klerk, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Mr Mandela first met Mr De Klerk in December last year, having earlier met then President, Mr P W Botha.

On Friday night he was told that he would be released on Sunday.

One of the minor conditions be apparently put was that he should be released at Paarl to come to Cape Town.

It had been expected that, as in the case of Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders last year, he would unexpectedly be brought to his house in Soweto and that there would be a transition period before he would appear at rallies.

According to sources close to him he would also not give any undertaking about how he would act if he was released because he wanted the state of emergency lifted completed and all ANC political prisoners released, regardless of whether they had been involved in violence.

Some of these differences between him and the government appear to have been smoothed out so that he could return to the house at Victor Verster prison with the assurance he would be freed unconditionally yesterday.

Mr De Klerk called a Press conference in the H F Verwoerd building at 5pm on Saturday where he announced the decision.

Meanwhile the Department of Foreign Affairs went into action to notify leading Western countries of the decision. In Washington the ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof sent a message to President Bush.

Swift reaction

There was swift reaction from all over the world welcoming the decision. In South Africa only the Conservative Party condemned the step, saying that it showed that Mr Mandela now ruled the country.

At his press conference Mr De Klerk said that there could no longer be any doubt about the government's sincerity to create a just dispensation based on negotiations. He called on Mr Mandela and all interested parties to make their contribution towards a positive climate for negotiations.

The Tuynhuys discussions took place in a good spirit. A picture issued afterwards showed Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela in the president's office, both smiling slightly.

Mr De Klerk said the discussions were conducted in a civil atmosphere and in a good spirit.

The ANC leader was a friendly man, Mr De Klerk added that he liked to think that he was, too.

He said Mr Mandela was an elderly, dignified and interesting man.

The government had presented concerns about Mr Mandela's safety as one of the reasons for the slight delay in his release. Concern about how he would act after he was freed was in fact one of the main considerations.

By allowing the arrangements by which he could go to Cape Town to address a rally on the Parade immediately after his release in Paarl, the government conceded a point to which it had attached considerable importance at one stage.

The arrangements were made in negotiations between government officials and "parties concerned" as Mr De Klerk described them, mainly representatives of the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.

Although Mr Mandela may not have given any firm undertakings, Mr De Klerk was clearly satisfied that he was committed to a peaceful search for constitutional solutions.

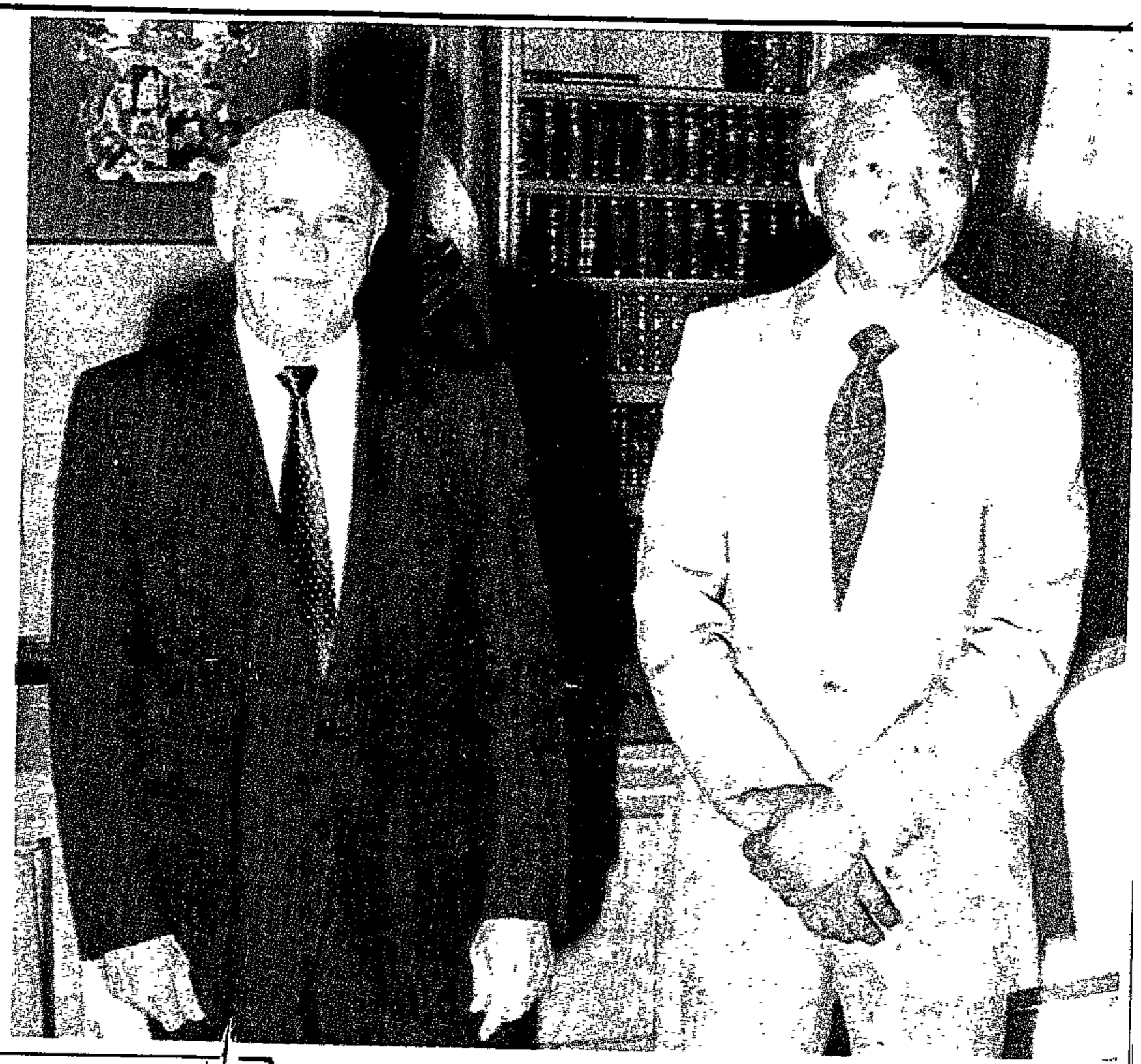
He said his door was open if Mr Mandela wanted to continue to act as facilitator for negotiations between the government and the ANC.

While the government had expressed concern about Mr Mandela's security Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela would now be going out among his own followers and gave the impression that he had not asked for police protection. This was also the impression in UDF circles.

At the same time Mr De Klerk referred to a threat to Mr Mandela's safety from radicals on the far left and the far right.

In a pre-release interview Mr Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny.

He said that a common destiny could only be achieved through a non-racial society and not one in which whites demanded special treatment.



MAIN MEN: President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela smile slightly for the camera in an official photograph taken after their meeting at Tuynhuys on Friday evening.

The President's Press conference

IN pursuance of my opening address to parliament, I am now in a position to announce that Mr Nelson Mandela will be released at the Victor Verster Prison on Sunday, 11 February 1990 about 3pm.

Yesterday evening (Friday) I met with Mr Mandela in Cape Town, together with Ministers Viljoen and Coetsee. During the meeting Mr Mandela was informed of the government's decision regarding his release.

We would all like Mr Mandela's release to take place in a dignified and orderly manner. To attain this, government officials are at the moment involved in discussions with parties concerned in order to afford them the opportunity to make suitable arrangements.

Two issues were also raised during the discussions between me and Mr Mandela, namely the state of emergency and the position of persons serving sentences for politically motivated crimes, as well as those who have committed such crimes and who are now outside the country.

I stressed the importance of creating conditions which would enable me to lift the state of emergency without jeopardising the maintenance of law and order. Regarding the position of persons involved in politically motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, exploratory discusions could take place in the meantime.

I want to emphasise that there can no longer be any doubt about the government's sincerity to create a just dispensation based on negotiations. I call upon Mr Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contribution towards a positive climate for negotiations.

The eyes of the world are presently focused on all South Africans. All of us now have an opportunity and the responsibility to prove that we are capable of a peaceful process in creating a new South Africa

parties by officials of the government. The State will secure the position of Mr Mandela while he is in custody of the State. As regards the rest of your question, when Mr Mandela is released he becomes a free man and he does not owe it to me to inform you of his programme. I have not asked him about it either.

Q: Mr President, you said that Mr Mandela has committed himself to a peaceful solution in South Africa. Does that mean that he now officially rejects violence?

A: I do not intend to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela this afternoon. He will be able to do so tomorrow.

Q: A number of people who have met with Mr Mandela since your original meeting, have spoken about it very positively and about the chemistry that exists between you and him. I wonder if you can tell us about your impressions of him and give us some kind of idea of the exchanges that you have had.

A: The discussions really took place in a very civil atmosphere. He is a friendly man. I would like to think that I am also a friendly man. Yes, the discussions really took place in good spirit. He is an elderly, dignified man and he is an interesting man.

Q: Mr President, the Minister of Constitutional Development said that the State of emergency could be lifted within weeks. Is that a fair assessment on your part now after meeting with Mr Mandela?

A: As it is clearly stated in my statement, the final test is the situation on the ground, and everything will depend upon the question whether we get an increase in unrest or whether we get a decrease in unrest.

Q: Mr President, Mr Mandela has made clear over the past few weeks that he was uncomfortable being released in a situation where the state of emergency was still in force and not all political prisoners had been freed. What was his reaction to your

This announcement and tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter. What I have announced today was started by my predecessor a number of years ago.

Since the moment that Mr Mandela met him at Tuynhuys, and since the moment that Mr Mandela also clearly stated his commitment to peaceful solutions, it has become a certainty that he would be released. Also, in my two discussions with him late last year and last evening, I came to the conclusion that he is committed to a peaceful solution and a peaceful process.

The government is committed to negotiation. The government is committed to bring about, through negotiation, a new constitution which is fair and just to all the people of South Africa.

I hope that now this chapter has ended that the world, and especially all the people of South Africa, will grasp the opportunity and play whatever supportive role can be played towards a peaceful conclusion for the process which has started.

Q: Do you believe this now fulfils all the preconditions for the United States and other countries to lift sanctions against South Africa?

A: We are not working against checklists. We are doing what we sincerely believe to be in the best interests of South Africa. Obviously, there are still some of the preconditions which have been set by various sources which have not literally been met, but the most important stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation, in the way of positive developments to create a climate for negotiation, have now been addressed, to my mind.

Q: Mr President, will the State lend security personnel and apparatus to ensure Mr Mandela's safety, and secondly, do you expect that he will depart tomorrow for his home in Soweto?

A: The question of security and the actual process of release is that which is being discussed now with interested

informing him of his release into those conditions?

A: Once again, I really do not want to speak on his behalf. I can only give impressions and I went to great lengths to explain why the situation is as it is with regard to the state of emergency and that particular question you must ask him tomorrow.

Q: Mr De Klerk, how are you going to release Mr Mandela? Are you going to release him from the prison straight into freedom or are you going to take him away?

A: That is part of the process that is being discussed by officials now. I won't be present and I do not intend to interfere in the detail.

Q: You spoke of an increase or decrease in violence. What judgment or basis are you going to use for determining whether you feel there has indeed been the right climate established for doing away with the regulations?

A: Well, obviously, any government has sources of information available to it. It is official sources, reports from its security forces, its police wherever they are, factual reports which come in regularly, which are all assimilated at one central point, analysed and studied. We deal with such things in a very scientific manner and we know what is going on in every corner of our country.

Q: What I meant, sir: You know that you are going to be subjected to some considerable scrutiny. Is there some sort of norm that you have established that you can set out for us now as to what would constitute stability?

A: Stability is stability. Stability is a situation where people can feel safe, where people who want to go to work can do so, where people can live a normal life without intimidation, without threat. Stability is a situation where you do not have arson in a country because of political debate and differences. Stability is a situation where you do not have deaths as a result of political strife. That is the sort of stability we are striving for. Obviously, in any country at all times,

(Turn to page 8, col 3)

Lone CP hits out at Mandela speech

CAPE TIMES 13/2/90 30VA

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was the only strident voice in Parliament yesterday about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and his speech to thousands on the Grand Parade on Sunday.

Several speakers during the Part Appropriation debate referred to the momentous events but, as was expected, only the CP was critical, attacking the government for having sold out the Afrikaner.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said events surrounding Mr Mandela's release — "and on a Sunday" — showed he had not given and inch and that he wanted to carry out the full programme of classic Marxism.

"Mandela does not promise moderation, but the intensification of the struggle," said Dr Treurnicht.

He had promised the typical Marxist reconstruction of the economy and demanded majority government even before negotiations had taken place.

"His so-called non-racial election is an arrogant rejection of the Afrikaner volk, and all other people. It spells the destruction of all the rights of our nation."

The government was capitulating and would not achieve anything at the negotiation table.

Dr Zach de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, hit out at the right-wing demonstration in Pretoria at the weekend against government reforms at which a Star of David flag was burned.

The country could no longer tolerate racism, and especially not anti-Semitism.

Referring to Mr Mandela's speech on Sunday, he said there could have been more flexibility and a willingness to recognise the changes that had taken place in South Africa and the rest of the world in the past 28 years.

"I think however, the speech must be seen as a move by Mr Mandela to ensure that he has the loyalty of members of his movement.

"I think he was in fact placing himself in the middle of that movement," Dr De Beer said.

"I believe that with yesterday's events we concluded one phase of our history and started with another."

Dr Treurnicht.

Dr De Beer

Political fresh air will

CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with treason

ARGUS 13/2/90 304A

Dr Andries Treurnicht shares a joke with a supporter at the Parow meeting last night.

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

THE Conservative Party has laid charges of treason against ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Seph Mothopeng at the start of its "Action One Million To Save SA" campaign.

Announcing this at a packed rally in Parow last night, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the campaign was directed at gaining more CP seats, founding a newspaper, and putting the CP's case to "leaders of other peoples".

"We will form an almighty front of conservatives," Dr Treurnicht said to cheers.

A national rally of mobilised Afrikaners would be held in Pretoria on May 26.

"We will give F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are numbered," he said.

"Simple people"

"We are simple people, but will not be oppressed and we refuse to accept Mandela. Who would think we live in a Christian country when F W de Klerk chose a Sunday to free Mandela?" he said.

Mr De Klerk had allowed a communist flag to fly on a Sunday, over chaos and plundering.

The State President had released a "display picture" showing the two leaders of South Africa.

"F W de Klerk talks of Mandela as a friendly old man — a man who talks of armed struggle and smiles as if he is already ruling the country," Dr Treurnicht said.

Since Mr Mandela had been released, there had been an increase in ideological and ethnic conflict.

There had been "Mandela fever and an orgy of capitulation".

Dr Treurnicht said the government had no mandate for the "revolutionary unbanning of the ANC, SACP, and PAC and does not represent the majority of our people".

Indignant crowd

The government had "thieved" from whites by scrapping separate amenities. "It seems public indecency on beaches is the new South Africa," he said.

He told the indignant crowd that a Boland army commando had been told the ANC was no longer the enemy but the right wing was.

He quoted extracts from speeches by Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, and Mr Mothopeng that were allegedly treasonous.

"We demand urgent investigation of criminal charges we laid this afternoon," Dr Treurnicht said.

He accused the National Party of trying to sell a "policy of suicide" to whites.

Reforms to date had been a softening process before the Group Areas Act would be scrapped, he said.

FW a 'traitor'

STAR 13/2/90 (304 A)

Classic Marxism — CP

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that events surrounding the release of Mr Nelson Mandela showed that he had not given in one inch, but wanted to execute the full programme of classical Marxism.

He added in a statement that Mr Mandela had already made distressing progress in advancing the communist programme.

Referring to events since Mr Mandela's release, he said a ideological and ethnic unrest and conflict had already started to escalate.

Mr Mandela did not promise moderation, but intensifying the violent struggle.

His purported commitment to peace was a transparent deception: he promised typical Marxist reconstruction of the economy; he demanded acceptance of majority rule even before negotiations started, therefore wanting cowardly surrender to intimidation; his so-called non-racial election was a presumptuous negation of the Afrikaner nation.

The Government was beset with a psychosis of capitulating before the revolution, said Mr Treurnicht.

The CP was determined to prove that the Government had no mandate for its legalisation of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

Slovo: Only democracy can work

Cape Times 13/2/90

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa must become a multi-party democracy — and the chaos caused by Eastern Europe's "dive" into nationalising and land-grabbing socialism will not happen, says Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Interviewed by BBC radio's Africa Service, Mr Slovo dismissed fears that some form of mindless communism would try to impose itself on the country.

"No single party, communist or not, has a right to rule, except under the processes of democracy for the South African people," he said.

Dismissing panic as unnecessary, he said: "I dont't believe that nationalisation, or a change in legal ownership, changes anything."

He said the SACP had learnt from the hard lessons of Eastern Europe's economic chaos.

"You have had in South Africa for a long time state ownership of some very basic sectors of the economy which has by no means meant an advantage for the people or socialism."

He said the SACP alliance with the ANC had "grown firmer over the years and will continue into the future".

"Of course, as a party, we stand for an ultimately socialist South Africa (although) the ANC does not embrace that as an ideology.

"It (the ANC) is a sort of multi-class organisation which welcomes all within its ranks whether communist, non-communist or socialist.

"But in the immediate perspectives for a post-apartheid society, there is hardly anything which divides the SACP from the ANC."

On land, he said the present position by law was that blacks could buy land in only 13% of the land area. "That has to go," he said.

"That does not mean necessarily that every piece of land that a white man has owned will be confiscated, or that there will be no compensation if redistribution takes place. These things have to be worked out."

Mandela supports policy of nationalising mines

Cape Times 13/2/90

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he fully supported the ANC's policy of nationalising the mines and other sectors of the economy.

But in an interview with the BBC at the weekend, SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo called for the whole issue of nationalisation to be the subject of negotiations as he believed it was not necessarily the answer to redressing economic imbalances in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, asked at a press conference whether he had modified his views on the redistribution of wealth, said: "No. My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should support it."

Indicating that the whole question of the ANC's economic policy was undergoing re-examination, Mr Slovo said that while any democratic government would have to address the whole issue of redistribution, this did not necessarily mean that sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised.

He said that in SA there had been state ownership of basic sectors of the economy for some time, but this did not mean advantage for the people or socialism.

The approach towards generating resources to address injustices of the past would have to be negotiated.

If redistribution of land took place this would not mean that all land owned by whites would be confiscated or that there would be no compensation, said Mr Slovo.

Cape Times - 13/2/90

Stoffel sees future govt with ANC

(304A)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa's Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was asked on British TV yesterday about the possibility of a coalition between the ANC and the National Party some time in the future.

Speaking on the BBC programme "Newsnight", he said: "We believe that the future government of SA should be composed in such a way that all the parties that make a difference to the future of the country, should be represented in such a government.

"Now if that includes the ANC and that includes the NP, then one hopes that a future government will be so composed."

On whether a black election would be held prior to negotiations starting, he said: "What is clear is that at the negotiating table, all the people of SA will have to be represented.

"What the right way is to select those leaders, whether it should be done through a universal black franchise or through whatever means, that is something that should be negotiated before the time. But the point is that eventually all the people must be represented and must feel themselves represented."

He said negotiations would still "take some time" to get under way.

Speaking on the same BBC programme, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's support for the lifting of sanctions has been slammed by Mr Thabo Mbeki, international secretary for the ANC.

Mr Mbeki backed Mr Mandela's call for international pressure to be retained till apartheid had been completely eradicated.

Mrs Thatcher, who has written to European and Commonwealth leaders calling for a "more positive" approach to encourage the ending of apartheid, yesterday released a statement reaffirming this standpoint.

Britain's voluntary ban on new investement in SA has already been ended.

Mr Mbeki said Mrs Thatcher had "always been opposed to any struggle against apartheid. It is therefore not surprising that she has wanted to remove even those little sanctions that this country has imposed.

"I don't know if she has any respect at all for the ANC — for the leadership of our people."

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd yesterday acknowledged that sanctions had played a significant part in Mr Mandela's release — but added that British support for positive moves had also been beneficial.

While US President George Bush was not prepared to discuss sanctions yesterday, White House sources quoted here said Congress was unlikely to soften sanctions, with the possible exception of reinstating landing rights for SA Airways in recongnition of Mr Mandela's release.

● In the same programme, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche verbalised right-wing threats after footage was shown of the march in Pretoria on Saturday, including a white man who was badly beaten up for opposing the AWB. Mr Terre'Blanche said the "capitulation" of the government would result in war.

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STAR 13/2/90

Dutton 'had control of a R100-m trust'

By Anna Louw, East Rand Bureau

Former Interboard managing director Mr Edward Isaac Dutton (34) had the ability to control the Mary Gibbs Trust, the assets of which amount to about R100 million, with a further R13 million available in ready cash, a Germiston magistrate heard yesterday.

A chartered accountant, Mr Caspir Venter, gave evidence before Mr J J B van Zyl in a bail application by Mr Dutton's defence counsel.

Mr Venter said he was requested by the police and the Reserve Bank to investigate foreign currency contraventions.

He said during his investigation it came to light that the trustees administering the Mary Gibbs Trust acted in terms of a letter of wishes from the settler.

After inspecting the letter of wishes and other documentation Mr Venter deduced that the trustees acted on direct instructions from Mr Dutton.

Mr Venter said the person nominated in the letter of wishes was Mr Dutton.

He said Mr Dutton had the ability to transfer assets. He had control over the actions of the trustees and could make and withdraw investments, transfer funds and act on bank accounts.

He said the trust was formed in 1980/81 allegedly on the instructions of Mr Dutton.

The hearing continues.

Masses against Bantustan concept

Protest to FW over homeland threats

STAR 13/3/90 (304A)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Several communities under threat of being incorporated into homelands have called on President de Klerk to intervene.

A delegation from the Stop Incorporation Campaign delivered a memorandum setting out their demands to President de Klerk yesterday. The campaign is co-ordinating resistance to legislation which will strengthen the hand of those advocating incorporation — the Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Bill.

A national petition representing all the communities involved in the campaign, and containing about 43 000 signatures, mostly from those affected communities, has been presented to the President. Smaller petitions from the majority of the people of Hanover and Silverdale in the East London/Ciskei area have also been presented.

Communities under threat of incorporation into homelands include East Peelton, Thornhill, Hanover, Silverdale and Needs Camp in the Border/Ciskei region; Braklaagte, Leeuwfontein, Hartebeesfontein and Tshikota in the Transvaal; and Botshabelo in the Free State.

Harassment claims

The campaign had been launched against a background of turmoil in the affected communities, said a spokesman for the delegation, Mr Bahle Sibisi.

"Many have been detained, assaulted, subjected to harassment and oppression," he said.

Claiming that they were never consulted about the planned moves, they demand the immediate ending of incorporation; the return to South Africa of those communities already incorporated; compensation for those who suffered loss as a result of incorporation; and the withdrawal of the proposed legislation.

They also demand the removal of security forces from the areas affected, the provision of pensions and other services by South Africa and the scrapping of the Bantustan policy.

Asked what the group would do in the event of their demands being rejected, Mr Sibisi said it would not be in the interests of the Government to respond negatively, especially in the present political climate.

Contingency plans would be discussed, according to another member of the delegation.

Police chief's wide command

STAR 13/2/90 Crime Reporter

Brigadier Floris Mostert, commander of Johannesburg's Brixton murder and robbery squad, has been promoted to command all specialised police units on the Reef.

Brigadier Mostert confirmed this yesterday.

His appointment came into effect on February 1.

He now commands all the murder and robbery squads on the Reef, the narcotics bureaux, vehicle theft branches and the robbery reaction unit.

However, Brigadier Mostert said he would still personally investigate Dr David Webster's murder.

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Zac sad but not surprised

The parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, yesterday expressed disappointment at the reference to the armed struggle and support for sanctions in the speech made by Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on Sunday night.

Reacting to the speech, Dr de Beer said he was not, however, surprised because it was the standpoint of the ANC.

He said there was reason to believe there was not much capacity to continue the armed struggle.

The tone of the rest of the speech was favourable and Dr de Beer said he was pleased Mr Mandela had insisted white South Africans had an important role to play in a new South Africa. — Sapa.

STAR 13/2/90 (304A)

From page 1

Cape Times 13/2/90

30KA

appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country."

Mr Mandela emphasised that he did not see a conflict in his stated commitment to peace and his pledge to intensify the armed struggle.

"I have committed myself to the promotion of peace in the country, but I've done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns which have been taken and launched by the ANC. There is no conflict whatsoever.

"There is not a single political organisation in this country inside and outside Parliament which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peace.

"The armed struggle is merely defensive — its a defensive act against the violence of apartheid, but we remain committed to peace.

"If the government gives us the opportunity — if they normalise the situation — we are ready to make a positive contribution towards a peaceful settlement of the problems of this country."

Other points made by Mr Mandela yesterday were that:

- "It is still too early to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions." SA was still "very far" from the demand that the country become a non-racial society.
- Nothing would please the ANC more than for the homelands to "join us in the struggle".

Yesterday in Johannesburg, hundreds of people had to be treated for heat exhaustion and minor injuries as people packed Orlando Stadium waiting in vain for several hours for the arrival of Mr Mandela.

The crowd, which eventually numbered about 60 000, began gathering from early morning.

Early in the day, dozens of young schoolchildren were crushed against fences ringing the field and trampled on as thousands more tried to enter the stadium.

Thousands of Soshanguve high school pupils, under the impression that Mr Mandela would arrive at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon, hijacked buses, taxis and trucks leaving the township in an effort to get to the airport.

All high schools in Soshanguve closed early to allow pupils to be at the airport to welcome Mr Mandela.

Schools in Soweto and Alexandra townships near Johannesburg were deserted, the regional director of the Department of Education and Training, Mr Peet Struwig, confirmed yesterday. — Political Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

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SOUTH AFRICA RESPONDS . . . While more than 60 000 people thronged Orlando stadium in Soweto yesterday to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison, 3 000 Capetonians packed the Parow Civic Centre last night to protest against the government's decision.

Talks 'soon'

Cape Times 13/2/90 (304A)

MR Nelson Mandela believes obstacles to power-sharing negotiations in South Africa will be removed "very soon".

On his first full day of freedom, Mr Mandela spoke with reporters during a 45-minute news conference in the garden of Bishopscourt, the official residence of Archbiship Desmond Tutu.

Mr Mandela also said the African National Congress was aware of the fears of SA's whites. Hours later about 3 000 whites packed the Parow Civic Centre at a Conservative Party meeting called to protest against the release of Mr Mandela.

Yesterday a relaxed and confident Mr Mandela said he believed President F W de Klerk would "very soon" remove the remaining obstacles to negotiation "and it will be possible for us (the ANC) to sit down and talk".

Mr Mandela spoke against a background of increasing violence — and some deaths — related to his release.

The latest incident came in Johannesburg yesterday when a security guard fired on ANC revellers. A man was killed and four were wounded, police said.

In Ciskei 10 people were believed to have died on Sunday night when police allegedly fired on an Mdantsane crowd celebrating the release. The Border Council of Churches and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers have called for a judicial inquiry, but Ciskei police have declined to comment.

Police confirmed that two boys had been shot dead in Barkly East during a Mandela celebration.

Reports of the deaths of two boys and the wounding of a 16-year-old girl in a shooting in Whittlesea, were not confirmed by Ciskei police.

At his press conference, Mr Mandela said the ANC was concerned to address white demands for structural guarantees preventing black domination.

Mr Mandela also took a conciliatory line on black unity, arguing that the ANC should play a leading role in increasing the momentum for unity among rival political groups like the PAC and Inkatha.

He also made it clear that he did not intend assuming the mantle of ANC leader unless he was elected as such by a national conference of the ANC.

In the meantime, he would go to Lusaka "at my earliest possible convenience" to establish what role the ANC wished him to play.

Mr Mandela noted that during his last three years in prison he had been acting as a mediator "because I believe that the first step towards the solution to our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government.

"So I have been playing that role, but now that I am released, it is for the ANC to determine what role I should play."

Asked if he could tell, on the basis of the talks he had been holding with government ministers, how close the government was to having a meeting with the ANC, Mr Mandela responded: "Well, I am very confident that that day is not very far."

He had found President De Klerk to be "a man of integrity", "very flexible" in disucssions, and he was confident that the NP leader could carry the rest of the party with him in normalising the political situation by lifting the state of emergency and freeing political prisoners.

The ANC was "very much concerned" about addressing the concerns of whites over demands of one person one vote and calls for structural guarantees "to ensure that this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks.

"We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the black and the whites of this country."

Mr Mandela also said the ANC was "fully aware" of white fears of majority rule "and it is one of our most important duties to address this problem.

"Whites are fellow South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we

To page 2

INSIDE:

- STOFFEL SEES FUTURE GOVT WITH ANC— Page 4
- SLOVO: DEMOCRACY IS THE WAY — Page 4
- LOOTING DISTRESSES TUTU, OMAR — Page 5
- MANDELA MEETS THE PRESS — Page 13

Youths free 13 prisoners

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of youths returning home from a Soweto rally where they hoped to see ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday — but did not — forced a police lock-up truck to slow down and freed 13 awaiting-trial prisoners, police said.

The 13 prisoners were being transported from Orlando police station in Soweto to Diepkloof Prison. — Sapa

cil concluded its consideration of the report on 17 November 1989 and its comments have recently been received and I have requested the National Energy Council to evaluate all comments during its meeting of 13 February 1990 and to make recommendations to me as soon as possible for consideration and submission to the Cabinet.

(2) No. The report contains classified information in terms of the Petroleum Products Act, 1977 (Act 120 of 1977) which makes general distribution impossible. After the report has been considered by Cabinet, the decisions will be implemented and naturally announced. A full summary of the report which will not contain classified information will also be released.

Presidential Guard in the Comores: financing

*10. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether any funds of the South African Government were used to finance the so-called Presidential Guard in the Comores; if so, in respect of such funds, (a) over what period of time were they used, (b) what did they amount to in total, (c) to whom were they paid, (d) what conditions were attached to the payment thereof and (e) what control did the South African Government have over their disbursement?

Hansard 13/2/90 304A

B11E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

All funds that were placed at the disposal of the Comores by the Department of Foreign Affairs, were at the request of the late President Abdullah and as far as the Department of Foreign Affairs is concerned, account was given of such funds. If the Honourable Member should require more information I am prepared to provide this to him. At this stage, however, I do not consider it in the interest of relations between South Africa and the Comores to reply to this question more fully in public.

Black townships: public swimming pools

*11. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

Hansard 13/2/90

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(1) Whether there are any public swimming pools in Black townships in the Cape Peninsula; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many and (b) in which townships;

(2) whether these swimming pools were open throughout the summer months of the past three years; if so, what total number of persons used these swimming pools; if not, (a) why not, (b) when were they closed and (c) what is being done to ensure that these swimming pools remain open?

B12E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) Yes, 3.

(b) Langa 1.

Guguletu 2.

(2) (a) and (b) Yes, the three swimming pools were open throughout the seven summer months, except the Langa swimming pool which was closed during February 1989, and one of the pools in Guguletu which was closed for two weeks during December 1989 for reparations.

The total number of persons who used these swimming pools in the past three years is 806 000.

(c) No problems are experienced in keeping the swimming pools open.

Black schoolchildren: expenditure

*12. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

What was the expenditure *per capita* on Black schoolchildren at State schools in the 1988-89 financial year (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature?

Hansard 13/2/90 B13E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

(a) R764,73.

(b) R655,96

McNally Committee: recommendations

*13. Dr D J WORRALL asked the Minister of Justice:

Hansard 13/2/90

Whether the McNally Committee recommended the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate allegations regarding the activities of so-called death squads in South Africa; if so, with what result?

Hansard 13/2/90 B16E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No. The Honourable Member is, however, aware that the State President has appointed a Commission of Inquiry on 2 February 1990 to investigate and report on, *inter alia*, the alleged incidence of murders and other unlawful acts of violence committed in the Republic of South Africa (including the self-governing territories) in order to achieve, effect or promote constitutional or political aims in the Republic of South Africa. The full terms of reference was published in the *Government Gazette* (No. 12286) of 2 February 1990. The Honourable Member is also referred to my speech during the Joint Meeting on Wednesday 7 February 1990.

McNally Committee: report

*14. Dr D J WORRALL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether the report and recommendations of the McNally Committee will be made public; if so, (a) when and (b) by whom; if not, why not?

B17E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No, not at this stage. The findings of the report may form part of evidence on which a court of law will have to make a judicial decision. The Attorneys—General concerned have informed me that it would therefore not be in the interest of justice to subject the report to public scrutiny. I share this view and any responsible person who wants the administration of justice to follow its course, will endorse this view.

McNally Committee: SAP contact with publication

*15. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether a lieutenant-general in the South African Police, in his capacity as a member of the McNally Committee, made any contact with editorial staff members of a certain publication, the name of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) with whom, (b) when, (c) for what purpose, (d) with what result and (e) what is the name of this publication; if not, why not?

Hansard 13/2/90 B18E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) to (e) Fall away.

The committee was instructed to investigate the allegations of a condemned prisoner and not the allegations which later appeared in the publication concerned.

Military service: cuts

*16. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Defence:

How will the cuts in military service announced by him affect (a) conscientious objectors, (b) religious objectors and (c) persons placed in alternative service who are (i) currently serving and (ii) due to begin their service in February 1990?

Hansard 13/2/90 B19E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) (i) and (ii)

The sentence for all persons refusing to render military service, remains unchanged. The Minister of Justice has, however, acceded to a request to amend the Prison Service's release policy for these persons in order that they can, as other prisoners, be considered for remission of their sentence on grounds of good conduct.

(b) (i) and (ii)

Religious objectors who, on 1 February 1990, have already completed half the total number of days community service which they were obliged to render, were exempted from the remaining period. Religious objectors who, after 1 February 1990, complete 50% of their service, will be exempted with effect from the date on which the half-way mark has been reached. The period of community service is continuously considered in relation to the period of national service.

Mandela's views are 'balanced', says Pik

ARGUS 13/2/90 (BC43)

LONDON. — The speech and Press conference given by Mr Nelson Mandela subsquent to his release on Sunday amounted to a "moderate and balanced statement for a man who has not had freedom for 27 years", said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Speaking in a live BBC television panel discussion last night, beamed to London from Johanesburg, he was giving the government's first unofficial reaction to Mr Mandela's pronouncements so far.

Acknowledging the different standpoints of his National Party government, the African National Congress and others at this stage, Mr Botha said he accepted that the ANC needed time to formulate strategies.

But "we will eventually establish a framework for negotiations".

GREY AREAS

"That framework will have grey areas, such as the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners ... to be negotiated within the framework.

"I believe that reality will dawn on all of us — the blacks will have to learn that there are genuine white fears as a result of the mess in Africa to the north where there is no apartheid, and whites will have to get rid of their prejudices."

He had not been disappointed at Mr Mandela's words or expected more concessions.

He had "basically committed himself to a peaceful solution" and was "against white, as well as black domination".

Mr Botha was participating in a panel discussion with representatives of the ANC, PAC, UDF, former MP Mrs Helen Suzman, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and black and white South Africans from across the political spectrum.

The Conservative Party declined to take part as it refused to sit next to members of the ANC, but its media spokesman, MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, contributed via a video inset.

His question was only that the government should say "yes or no" on the demand by black nationalists for "one man, one vote in a unitary system."

Mr Botha said he was tired of this CP question. Whatever constitution was eventually agreed on, it had to have majority South African support.

The panel discussion dealt extensively with the ANC's declared policy of a redistribution of wealth and whites' fears that it would introduce socialist policies as in Eastern Europe before those systems collapsed.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada, one of the ANC prisoners released last year, said South Africa's wealth was presently in the hands of a few whites only and he could not see the black majority penetrating that "without major redistribution".

"This is, at the moment, the ANC standpoint. We are discussing our whole policy at present."

A white businessman said Mr Kathrada's statement was the "first ray of hope" he had seen in the whole argument about nationalisation.

He interpreted Mr Kathrada as having clearly indicated that the ANC's stance on nationalisation now was a negotiating standpoint to be dealt with at the talks table.

Mrs Helen Suzman, former Democratic Party MP and veteran anti-apartheid and human rights campaigner since the early '50s, disputed Mr Kathrada's claim that nothing had changed in South Africa, beside the removal of some petty apartheid.

STARTLING MOVES

The NP government had made "startling" moves in the last few weeks, and removed many apartheid laws since the late '70s. Black trade unions had been a "major advancement for black empowerment".

Mr Jeff Masemola, a senior PAC leader also released from jail last year, said his organisation was not interested in "negotiations" but in a "taking-over of the country by the people who own it."

Mr Kathrada, Mr Popo Molefe, and other panelists representing the ANC or its affiliated organisations maintained steadfastly throughout the discussion that the government's reform moves so far were still "not adequate" for negotiations on a new South Africa to start.

Mr Botha said President De Klerk had removed "almost all" of the obstacles. — Sapa.

How can a constructive negotiating process begin?

(304A) STAR 13/2/90

Central role of Govt cannot be overlooked

Many people believe negotiations on the future of South Africa are just around the corner, but **PROFESSOR MARINUS WIECHERS,** of the University of South Africa, warns that all the rejoicing may be a little premature.

Since the announcement of the unbanning of the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party, the United Democratic Front and other political organisations last week, many people, especially whites, are experiencing the rather euphoric feeling that it is now a case of "all systems go".

The buzzword is "negotiations". All our constitutional problems, so it is thought, are going to be solved and indeed our whole future constitutional dispensation is ready to be settled by negotiation.

It's as if everybody is all dressed up for negotiation — not only in the austere halls of Parliament and the high offices of government, but also on the streets where the protest marches and peaceful demonstrations have for many become the heralding signs of a new dawn.

Yet, when the issue of negotiations is viewed dispassionately and objectively, many worrying thoughts creep in.

How is the process to be initiated? By whom and with which parties?

Unlike states in Eastern Europe, where regimes have been toppled or have had to resign and transitional governments of national reconstruction have been hastily formed to call for elections and the adoption of new constitutions, our Government is still very much in place.

Also, nothing has changed as far as the basic tenets of our constitutional structures are concerned. What is more, the security situation is still tenuous and extra-parliamentary politics are still in the hands of groups wielding well-organised resistance and defiance and displaying very little sign of constructive thinking about the actual mechanics and processes of negotiation.

One has the distinct feeling that all our rejoicing might just have been a little premature.

In Namibia, long years of constitutional bargaining came to an end only this week with the adoption of the final independence constitution.

Those years have been marked by elections, referendums, interim governments, prolonged constitutional debate and planning and massive international supervision.

It is hoped that we in South Africa will be spared the agony and strife of Namibia before we finally arrive at the stage where a fully representative and legitimate constituent assembly can work out and adopt our future constitution.

However, even though our constitutional restructuring may be much smoother, one should not be too over-optimistic and believe that the ultimate phase of constitution-making is just around the corner.

The fact of the matter is that political forces are at present still too disparate, political leadership too diffuse and institutions of government so severe in their positions of control that it is simply unrealistic to hope for an immediate, decisive moment and event from which our new constitution and a restructured government will emerge.

How then, is it possible to start a constructive process of negotiation?

In this regard, the central role of government and that of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk cannot be overlooked.

Constitutionally, it is only the Government that can give a start and effect to negotiations.

Crucial point

For that reason, it is illusory to demand that government should at this crucial point take a back seat and leave it to major political parties to undertake the bargaining themselves.

As a starting point, the Government will have to conduct general discussions with parties and leaders on the topic of negotiations.

From these discussions, the Government will have to host a meeting of eminent leaders and influential persons to debate the course and procedures of the negotiation processes.

It will simply not be enough, as in the past, to pass an Act of Parliament and prescribe the composition and powers of a national negotiating body.

Professor Marinus Wiechers says everybody seems to be all dressed up for negotiation — but warns we still have a long way to go.

What will be necessary, first of all, is to persuade eminent leaders across the whole political spectrum to form a kind of steering body to plan the process of negotiation.

A planning or steering body of that nature will have to reach consensus on issues such as parties to the actual negotiation forum, the way in which these parties will be elected, nominated or appointed, the manner in which the forum will be convened and, most important, how the forum will implement its decisions and proposals.

Of course, the most crucial aspect of this process will be to ensure that the members of the initial steering or planning body are such leaders and persons of influence as to persuade all relevant political parties to join the actual negotiation forum.

It is only when the national negotiation forum has been established through the influence and persuasion of the initial steering body that true negotiation will commence.

Furthermore, it is foreseeable that only at that stage will the full array of party political views, options and models for constitutional reform and a new dispensation be put on the table, discussed and implemented.

It may happen, depending on its representativeness and general support, that the national negotiation forum will assume the character of a true constituent assembly carrying the ultimate task of writing a new constitution.

However, it is more probable that the national negotiation forum will be more in the nature of an advisory body which will pave the way for the final installation of a constitution-making assembly via the adoption of its proposals for various intermediate phases of restructuring. It would be naive to think that any negotiation process will be conducted and carried through in a political vacuum or a situation in which the status quo simply prevails.

The very fact of negotiation will create new circumstances and bring about new political groupings and alliances. New government institutions will be created as a result of negotiation, which, in turn, may deeply influence further negotiations.

Also, it is certain that the path of negotiation is not going to be free of obstacles.

Indeed, it may happen that the process of negotiation will seem to break down at a given stage, since it is an undeniable fact that there are still a number of groups and leaders who want to push their demands for reform or increase their support through popular uprising and international pressure before they will be prepared to commit themselves to meaningful negotiation.

Anarchist elements

Other leaders, especially those with right-wing ideologies, resent the very idea of negotiation and reject out of hand any implication of sharing or transferring of power implicit in the outcome of negotiations.

They, together with other anarchist elements, may instead of merely slowing down or postponing negotiations, set themselves the task of wrecking the process.

The path of negotiation is not going to be strewn with roses.

On the other hand negotiations, and even negotiations about negotiations, create their own dynamics.

What remains vitally important at this stage is that political leaders of all persuasions should be given full support in coming together and starting to plan the process of negotiation.

Land Acts are destined for the historical dustbin

STAR 13/2/90

By Helen Grange (304A)

State President Mr de Klerk is preparing to scrap two of the most hated apartheid laws remaining on the South African statute book — the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, it was reported in London recently.

According to Mr Stephen Robinson, correspondent for London's *Daily Telegraph*, a senior National Party source said the Cabinet was examining the land issue and was now discreetly approaching farmers' organisations to prepare them for the shift in policy.

SCRUTINY

Although Government has not explicitly stated this reform, The Star has learnt reliably that the Land Act is destined for the historical dustbin.

Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, said last week that the Land Act was being scrutinised by a Cabinet committee.

Although this issue was not addressed by Mr. de Klerk in his watershed announcements at the opening of parliament this month, a formal announcement was expected sometime during this parliamentary session, according to Mr Robinson's report.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 essentially provide for only 13 percent of South Africa's land to be made available to blacks — in the form of homelands and national states.

However, blacks living outside of these land blocks in urban areas have in recent years been granted freehold rights for housing.

"If private land ownership is going to be the basis of a new South Africa, then the Land Acts will have to go," the NP source is reported as saying.

According to the report, the Cabinet is hoping that, by addressing the issue of land now, it would weaken black nationalists' enthusiasm for wholesale land nationalisation and redistribution in the post-apartheid era.

Mr Richard Clacey, co-ordinator of the Association for Rural Advancement (Afra), has cautioned that a simple repeal of the Land Acts would not radically alter the present position.

WORSEN SITUATION

"Some whites would sell to blacks, especially the homeland elite, but there would not be a significant shift of land into the hands of the poor."

Mr Clacey added that a free market on the land may worsen the situation. "Large-scale corporations would buy up land sold off cheaply. For instance, Anglo American and Sappi have recently shown a strong interest in consolidating their land position in the bantustans.

"The land question will have to go far beyond a repeal of the Land Acts and be dealt with on a political level at the negotiating table in order for there to be a significant change in the present distribution," said Mr Clacey.

Waiting for their leader . . . tens of thousands of people gather at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto expecting to be addressed by Mr Mandela. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

(304A)

CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with 'treason'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has laid charges of treason against ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and against PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng at the start of its "Action One Million To Save SA" campaign.

Announcing this at a packed rally of about 3 000 people in Parow last night, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the meeting was part of a campaign to gain more CP seats, found a supportive newspaper, and put the CP's case to "leaders of other peoples".

He quoted extracts from speeches by Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, and Mr Mothopeng that were allegedly treasonous.

"We demand urgent investigation of criminal charges we laid this afternoon," Dr Treurnicht said.

Speaking on the CP "Action One Million" plan, Dr Treurnicht said to cheers: "We will form an almighty front of conservatives." A national rally of mobilised Afrikaners would be held in Pretoria on May 26

"We will give President F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are numbered," he said.

"We are simple people, but will not be oppressed and we refuse to accept Mandela. Who would think we live in a Christian country when F W de Klerk chose a Sunday to free Mandela?" he asked.

Mr de Klerk had allowed a communist flag to fly on a Sunday, over chaos and plundering

"F W de Klerk talks of Mandela as a friendly old man — a man who talks of armed struggle and smiles as if he is already ruling the country," Dr Treurnicht said.

Since Mr Mandela had been released, there had been a marked increase in ideological and ethnic conflict. There had been "Mandela fever and an orgy of capitulation".

He accused the National Party of trying to sell a "policy of suicide" to whites.

Reforms to date had been a part of a softening process before the Group Areas Act would be scrapped.

"I am not proclaiming an armed struggle tonight, but if a Government does not protect the rights of its people, what can be expected but that the volk will protect itself," he said.

COURTESY VISIT ... Mr Pik Botha and the Rev Jesse Jackson met yesterday to discuss the removal of discrimination in the land. South Africa could have a "very bright future", they agreed.

CAPE TIMES 13/2/90

'Courageous step' gives hope for SA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE mutual trust and respect between President F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had established the basis for a bridge in a society that had been torn apart by fear, the Rev Jesse Jackson said yesterday.

He also praised Mr De Klerk for taking "a courageous step" in releasing Mr Mandela and compared it with President Abraham Lincoln's decision to do away with slavery.

"There comes those rare moments in time when one person by sheer force of their will or will to make difference, a sense of human dignity or love for their country, can rise above the politics of the status quo or do some magnificent, courageous thing to save a country, save a people," Mr Jackson told the Cape Town Press Club.

Abraham Lincoln had such a moment and Mr De Klerk now had a similar moment.

The relationship between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had to be built on.

"It seems they have agreed to agree, and agreed to disagree but with mutual trust and respect."

In his first speech, Mr Mandela had referred to Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity and in doing so had shown his character and courage, and this was building material in South Africa, Mr Jackson said.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Jackson met President De Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A spokesman for the president's office described the meeting between the two leaders as "a courtesy visit" and said no statement would be issued.

Mr Botha, who held discussions for 45 minutes with Mr Jackson, said they talked about the removal of discrimination and the future of all South Africans.

They had agreed South Africa could have "a very bright future".

Mr Jackson said there had been some hopeful steps but although Mr Mandela was out of jail, he was not free.

The vote was still restricted, and the Population Registration Act and Group Areas Act had not been abolished, he said.

"Beyond these, South Africa will have its brightest days."

Mr Jackson added that he supported Mr Mandela's position on sanctions.

304A

Urbanisation to be reform's 'testing ground'

TANIA LEVY

THE high rate of urbanisation and deep-rooted politicisation of SA's urban communities would make the urban question the testing ground and central focus for reform, Education and Development Aid Deputy Minister Piet Marais said in Pretoria yesterday.

Opening a symposium on Developing Urban Environments, Marais said urbanisation was the most dominant force shaping the social, economic and political structure of SA.

He said the urban population was expected to increase to 38-million by the year 2000. In 1985 it was about 19-million. Marais said about 88% of the increase would be the urbanisation of black people. B/Day 13/2/90

President F W de Klerk's recent political initiatives added a new dimension to the concept of positive urbanisation, he said. New urbanisation strategies would be based upon a participating, planning process underpinned by a wide-ranging debate about challenges facing urban communities.

Marais said national negotiations about a new constitution could not be divorced from underlying developmental realities.

Areas which would have to be addressed would be:

- ☐ Allocation and ownership of land and funds for housing and infrastructure;
- ☐ Establishment of structures for participation in the planning and development of urban areas;
- ☐ Promotion of private sector involvement; and
- ☐ The resolution of conflict, which had become endemic among sectors of urban communities.

On the local level, debate would centre around access to social amenities and facilities such as schools and clinics, provision of land and financing for development and sharing of human, physical and financial resources, Marais said.

He said SA was still dealing with the consequences of the decision in the late 1970s to allow blacks to own land outside the self-governing territories.

The decision represented a turning point in government's approach to urban development but also its approach to shaping the country's socio-economic and political future.

Marais said SA's urban structure was already established and most urbanisation would take place in the metropolitan areas. In 1985, SA's four metropolitan areas already housed 70% of the black urban population.

'Out of jail but still in chains'

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela is not free, he is simply out of jail, says US civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson.

(304A)

He told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday: "Unless Mr Mandela is free to live where he wants, can send his children to a school of his choice and is free to run for office in this country, he is not free.

"Until he is free, the struggle to end apartheid will continue," he said.

Jackson said many white leaders had "demonised" blacks with disinformation.

B/Day 13/2/90

"These lies have lead to fear, hatred, violence and the rebellion which is now taking place.

"It is up to the white leaders and churches to lead their people away from these misconceptions."

He said blacks had access to neither privatisation nor nationalism — they did not have access to banks or equity. But he appealed to whites to stay in the country as they would "reap the benefit".

Responding to a question about his thoughts on a one-man-one-vote system in SA where the blacks were in majority, he said: "One person is one vote. If you are going to make a black less than a whole person then it is not a moral formula.

"Democracy is majority rule that has laws to protect minorities from the tyranny of majorities. The formula should not be altered just because the majority of democrats are blacks.

"All these fears must be overcome with courage. I would urge people to precede the government by making friends across the colour line. The more people communicate in dialogue, the less the fear will become," he said. — Sapa.

'Rules for meetings' change

CAPE TOWN — The rules governing Nelson Mandela's meetings with President F W de Klerk would change now that Mandela was free, senior UDF official Murphy Morobe said yesterday. B/Day 13/2/90

Morobe was answering questions before Mandela's Press conference at Bishop's Court.

Asked if any arrangements had been made for Mandela to see the State President before he left Cape Town, Morobe first jokingly replied: "Which State President?"

"Inside (prison) he had to deal with the situation as it came, but the rules will change a little bit now," said Morobe. (304A)

Mandela would first have to consult the ANC leadership in Lusaka before such a meeting.

He said he did not think the picture of Mandela and De Klerk, which appeared in weekend newspapers, had been published with Mandela's permission.

There was uncertainty about Mandela's movements when Morobe spoke to reporters.

"Our main concern is where he sleeps tonight," said Morobe. "Our information is that his Soweto house is surrounded by thousands. We must devise a means of relieving the pressure on the house if possible." — Sapa.

STAR 13/2/90

Barend asks joint sitting for R20,8-bn to tide State over

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, presented a R20,8 billion part appropriation budget to a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

The mini-budget is to tide over State financing from April 1 until the main Budget comes into operation about July.

The R20,8 billion was broken down as follows: Central Government (including Administration for Own Affairs) R17,3 billion; Transvaal Provincial Administration R1,4 billion; Cape R1,050 billion; Natal R700 million; and Free State R350 million.

Mr du Plessis said the amount for central Government and administrations for Own Affairs exceeded last year's part appropriation by R2,1 billion (13,8 percent). The total amount for the provinces had risen by about 12,9 percent.

Mr du Plessis said the part appropriation budget was merely an interim measure to provide for State spending in the first months of the new financial year.

It furnished no basis on which to forecast the possible course of the main Budget.

A full review of the present state of the economy and the prospects for the coming year would be given when the main Budget was delivered to Parliament (in March).

Mr du Plessis said, in terms of Section 4 of the Exchequer Act of 1975, funds voted in the Part Appropriation Bill had to be used only for services for which expenditure during the previous financial year was authorised by an Appropriation Act or Act of Parliament. — Sapa.

'A new phase of history'

The strengthening of SA's reserves and the good performances on the Stock Exchange during the last few weeks could only, to a limited extent, be attributed to economic reasons, **Dr Zach de Beer, Parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party,** said yesterday.

Speaking in debate in the Part Appropriation Bill, he said it was due to political factors and the impression gained by investors that SA was eventually on the road to normalising its political rules and structures.

"Thirty years ago, after the Sharpeville tragedy, Dr Paul Sauer said the South African history books should be closed and a new one started. It did not happen, but today things are different.

"I believe that yesterday's release of Mr Nelson Mandela has closed one phase of our history and we have started with another.

"During the past years, the Government retained all the initiative and other players occupied minor roles. Yesterday this came to an end.

"Whether we like it or not, Mr Mandela is the symbol of a new dispensation. From now on, the Government will not be able to act unilaterally and dictate the passage of events.

SPECIAL EFFORT

"Although the formal power and control will still rest with the Government, the wellbeing of the country will be determined by the interplay between the Government and extra-Parliamentary organisations.

"I plead that everyone who takes part in negotiation must make a special effort to understand the other person's problems, and everyone must understand our mutual interdependance. We are, irrevocably, one nation with one future." — Sapa.

B/Day 13/2/90

'Parliament now just a spectator'

CAPE TOWN — The perception was developing rapidly outside Parliament that Parliament was becoming merely a spectator to events in SA, chief CP finance spokesman Casper Uys said yesterday. (304A)

Speaking during the mini-budget debate, he said proof of this was that MPs had to accept that State President F W de Klerk had accepted other engagements as more important than being present at the "most important debate" of the session on Friday — on a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet.

Uys said De Klerk had said Nelson Mandela was a man of peace, yet on Sunday Mandela had said at the Grand Parade rally the armed struggle was continuing and would be intensified.

Uys said that after the weekend's events, the NP was going to negotiate from a position of weakness and Mandela from one of strength. — Sapa.

Nurses to attend debate on health crisis

CAPE TOWN — A hundred off-duty nurses will attend the debate on the nursing crisis in the House of Assembly today, to focus attention on the serious situation in nursing and health services.

WP branch chairman of the SA Nursing Association (Sana) Sheila Clow said the nursing situation had worsened since being brought to the public's attention by Sana in July 1988, and "realistic solutions must be found and implemented urgently".

B/Day 13/2/90

A proposed gathering at Parliament was called off as it was not permitted while Parliament was in session. Clow said Sana would distance itself from any such action. — Sapa.

HIGI
STEEL AND VANAD

ANC must change its positions, says Constitution Minister Viljoen

Sowetan 14/2/90

30411

THE Government disagreed with certain views enunciated by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela since his release on Sunday but felt, overall, that they should be seen as having been made within the confines of current long-standing ANC policy which needed to be revised.

In the first top-level Government reaction to Mandela's release speech and other utterances, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, told an international news conference yesterday afternoon that Mandela had also made statements which the Government welcomed.

It was, however, awaiting an authoritative response from the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The Government specifically disagreed with with Mandela's views on sanctions, the armed struggle and economic nationalisation.

It had become incumbent on all within the ANC to readjust their positions.

Viljoen said the Government welcomed Mandela's description of President FW de Klerk as a man of integrity; that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement should be established so that there should be no more need for the armed struggle; and his rejection of black and white domination.

Sanctions

Viljoen said the Government felt the aptness of sanctions should be seen in a new light following the Government's recent actions and should be systematically withdrawn.

The unbanning of an organisation was not equal to supporting the policies of that organisation.

ION OF SA
NT TRAINING

START ON 19/2/1990

'Dbase III
DIPLOMA IN BUSINESS ACCOUNTANCY (5 months)
'Books of Prime Entry (Purchases Journal, Sales Journal, Cash Book, Petty Cash Book, Salary and Wage Book)
'Posting to the Ledger
'Trial Balance
'Final Entries
'Reconciliation
'Profit and Loss Account
*Balance Sheet
*Ratio Analysis
*Computerized Accountancy
CLERICAL SKILLS DIPLOMA (5 months)
*Recording financial transactions (Purchases, sales, cash receipts and payments, petty cash, salaries & wages)
*General Clerical Duties
*Kardex
*Credit Control
*Computers Operator Course

'DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER
)N OF ANY OF THE ABOVE COURSES
ır courses, Production and Supervision. All courses
l or part-time.

DIPLOMA IN SUPERVISION
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Management

All aboard . . . Mandela supporters pile on vehicles heading for Soccer City yesterday where thousands waited in vain for Mr Nelson Mandela. Some risked life and limb as they clung precariously to vehicles heading for the stadium. Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Jackson praises FW's courage

STAR 13/2/90 (304A

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk's actions were on a par with those of President Abraham Lincoln, the Rev Jesse Jackson said yesterday.

Addressing a Cape Town Press Club breakfast, Mr Jackson said: "This was a courageous step for President de Klerk.

"There comes a rare moment in time when one person, through sheer force of will, sense of human dignity and love for his country, can rise above the status quo to do a magnificent thing," Mr Jackson said.

"Abraham Lincoln did such a thing. Both men rose above history and tradition at the risk of losing themselves."

He said President de Klerk's move was a special and rare moment. He had chosen the moral option above the party political or popular option.

"If you are morally wrong, you cannot be politically right."

Mr Jackson said the Mandela-de Klerk relationship had to be built upon.

"They have an interesting relationship, as they have agreed to agree, and agreed to disagree, with mutual trust and respect, which is the basis for building bridges." — Sapa.

Clase explains why blacks attend white school

STAR 14/2/90 (B) (304A)

It was in the interests of education that the Department of Education and Culture had granted permission for three black American children to be admitted to white schools, the **Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase**, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying in an interpellation debate on a question from Mr Andrew Gerber (CP Brits), Mr Clase said it was the first time an exception to the rule had been made. He had used his discretion on the merits of the case.

GROUP RIGHTS

Mr Brits, referring to the admission of the children who were not members of the diplomatic corps, said it was a flagrant violation of the National Party's election promises of group rights being protected.

"Is the Minister guilty of political dishonesty?

"What moral right does he have now to prohibit children of South African coloureds or blacks from admission to white schools?

"It is comical, but also tragic, how the Minister has been wrestled, shocked and beaten into drinking the water of the so-called new South Africa.

"Now that his head is under water, he still refuses to drink."

Mr Gerber asked whether Mr Clase was aware of the consequences of the new South Africa.

He said if the Population Registration Act was to be repealed, it would not be possible to distinguish the race of applicants to white schools.

"The admission of a few blacks to white schools will not be sufficient. Once this act goes, there will be only one education department which means the department will disappear, as will the Minister's job.

"I predict the handing over of Afrikaner whites to the masses, and that will be looking for serious problems."

Mr Clase said his department wanted to handle education in the light of specific circumstances.

"According to the five-point plant set out before the election, it is clear that the Government's standpoint is still on the basis of own education and is still convinced this is the best basis from which to work.

"We are, however, not deaf or blind and are working in the direction of parental choice.

"This was the first time an exception had been made and I used my discretion on the merits of the application. I did so in the interests of education and of the children." — Sapa.

STAR 14/2/90

SADF can't trace origin of radio tapes

Despite an SADF departmental inquiry into the origin of last year's controversial radio messages on the massing of Swapo troops on Namibia's northern border, there had been no positive confirmation on their origin, the **Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach,** told the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying in an interpellation debate to a question from Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point), he said the tape of the intercepted messages had been destroyed after a transcript had been made.

A team of experts had conducted an intensive investigation into the origin of the messages, and established that they had not originated from the SADF.

He said SADF regulations stipulated that all tapes of intercepted messages be transcribed within 24 hours. The tapes were then re-used.

Asked by Mr Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) whether in this particular case it had not been possible to keep the tapes, he replied: "This is history. I'm sorry I can't reply any further to this question." — Sapa.

NECC march: 'Talks over'

Political Staff

THE police had stopped negotiating with the organisers of the National Education Crisis Committee protest march on January 23 in Cape Town when a 10-minute warning to disperse was given, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

The District Commissioner of Cape Town initially negotiated with the organisers for about 45 minutes, he said in reply to a question which had been tabled in Parliament by Mr Jan Van Eck (DP, Claremont).

The negotiations had ended and an order was given to disperse.

Mr Van Eck then asked whether the Commissioner had not said to the march organisers "give me a minute" rather than end the negotiations, but Mr Vlok repeated that the negotiations were over and the officer had been instructed to issue the warning.

Mr Van Eck then interjected: "That is an untruth."

Parade unrest 'not planned'

THE disruptions at Sunday's welcome-home rally for Mr Nelson Mandela on the Parade appeared to flow from difficulties in crowd control rather than planned violence, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

However, the bomb planted at the Newlands cricket ground afterwards raised "a real problem" regarding the ANC attitude towards violence, Dr Viljoen told a press conference yesterday.

ANC policy needs revision — Viljoen

Enough common ground for peace

CAPE TIMES 14/2/90 (30 KM)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SUFFICIENT common ground existed between the ANC and the government for the two parties to reach a peaceful settlement, the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

However, the ANC's "naivete and irresponsibility" of advocating for a new South Africa economic and political ideologies that had proved "utter failures" elsewhere in the world had to be clearly exposed, he said.

Speaking at apress conference, Dr Viljoen welcomed what he called "positive points" and "important issues of agreement" in Mr Nelson Mandela's remarks — but emphasized that the government found his views on sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle "unacceptable."

Dr Viljoen said that Mr Mandela's speech on the day of his release and his subsequent statements were clearly made "within the confines and discipline of existing ANC policy".

Much of this policy dated from "a few decades ago" and stood in need of "urgent revision" in the light of recent developments in the country and the government was still awaiting "a considered reaction" from the ANC executive on Mr F W de Klerk's announcements.

OFFICIAL REACTION . . . Chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen gave an official response yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela's recent statements.

Dr Viljoen said he welcomed four "important positive points" made by Mr Mandela:

- The affirmation that Mr De Klerk was "a man of integrity". The clear way Mr Mandela expressed an assessment of the State President "as a likely future partner in the negotiating process is very encouraging".
- The ANC leader's hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created so that there would no longer be the need for the "so-called armed struggle".
- The rejection of white domination as well as black domination. Mr Mandela's favouring structural guarantees to prevent this was "most encouraging".
- The statement that the ANC was concerned to address the problem of white concerns with regard to a one person, one vote system and finding a solution that would suit both blacks and whites.

Dr Viljoen said the government was in agreement with Mr Mandela on two important issues:

- That the remains of apartheid must be removed.
- Universal suffrage in a united, democratic South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said he did not believe there would be another general election in which blacks would be excluded.

It was unlikely that the National Party would be in control of government in the new constitutional dispensation but he believed that the NP would still be playing a meaningful role.

Dr Viljoen said the government "specifically finds unacceptable" Mr Mandela's view on sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle.

Mr De Klerk had taken a number of major steps towards creating a climate for negotiations which called for a thoroughgoing re-evaluation of the whole situation by all potential participants in negotiations.

"It has become incumbent on all of them to reconsider and adjust their own position."

STAR 14/2/90 (304A)

Reforms in SA positive, says Sebina

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The measures so far taken by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, were positive and showed him as a man of "serious consciousness" who had visualised that the future of South Africa depended on equal participation by all, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina has said.

Speaking on the eve of a meeting of the ANC leadership, Mr Sebina said although Mr de Klerk's measures had been expected, the timing had been "more than dramatic".

He also praised Mr de Klerk for warning the right wing that they could not derail the process of democratising South Africa.

Mr Sebina said Mr Nelson Mandela was expected in Lusaka early next week.

Today's meeting of the ANC's national executive committee would study the reply of the ANC to the Government moves.

'Equal vote for all', FW tells Americans

STAR 14/2/90 (304A)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

"No built-in white domination," promises President de Klerk.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday told Americans he envisaged a new South Africa in which there would be an equal vote for everybody.

In an interview with Mr Ted Koppel of ABC News "Nightline", President de Klerk said he envisaged a situation in which every adult in the country would have an equal vote so that the end product would be a fair and just dispensation "in which white domination, in whatever way it exists, must go".

Such a system, said Mr de Klerk, must not have built-in white domination "even in a disguised form".

Asked if "the equal vote for all" could lead to a black majority government, President de Klerk said the National Party's view was that the Westminster-type simple majority system was not the right one for this country. Checks and balances would have to be built into the system to protect the minority.

GROUP AREAS ACT

President de Klerk said his Government had repealed 95 percent of discriminatory legislation in the statute book. The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act were "fundamentally interrelated to the constitutional situation", and were open for discussion during negotiations for a new constitution.

He told American TV viewers the state of emergency was continually monitored and would be lifted as soon as the unrest situation improved and violence abated in Natal. He said the visual media emergency regulations had not been lifted because "a camera focuses on a very small, specific, violent situation, (and) brings it right into the lounges of people . . ."

He said the remainder of the state of emergency could be lifted within days or weeks, and the test for anti-apartheid organisations was that stability had to be maintained.

Viljoen says Government is confident . . .

'Mandela will play a positive role'

STAR 14/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government is confident ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will play an "important positive role in developing the ANC's policies".

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen — who had several meetings with Mr Mandela while he was still in prison — said this yesterday.

He was responding to Mr Mandela's first speech and press conference since his release on Sunday.

Dr Viljoen said the Government found several "positive points" in Mr Mandela's statements though it rejected support of sanctions, nationalisation and the continuation of the armed struggle.

He said it was clear Mr Mandela had been speaking "within the confines and discipline of ANC policy".

Dr Viljoen said he still felt there was enough common ground between the ANC and the Government for negotiations to start.

The Government was still awaiting the "considered" response from the ANC national executive to President de Klerk's initiatives to create a climate for negotiations.

Mr de Klerk had also gone far enough for the world to abandon sanctions.

Personal preference

Dr Viljoen said that though Mr Mandela had reiterated the ANC policy of the armed struggle, he had shown a clear personal preference for peaceful solutions.

Dr Viljoen said he believed he would promote this view within the ANC if he was given the chance.

He said he had been particularly impressed by Mr Mandela's statement that the ANC would address white fears of domination by blacks.

"This bodes well for the possibility of frank and reasonable discussions in the negotiation process."

Dr Viljoen welcomed other "important positive points" in Mr Mandela's statements:

- His affirmation that President De Klerk was a man of integrity,
- Mr Mandela's hope that a climate conducive to negotiated settlement would be created so that there would no longer be the need for the "so-called" armed struggle,
- His reiterated rejection of white domination as well as black domination.

Dr Viljoen said on two important issues the Government agreed with Mr Mandela:

- The remains of apartheid had to be removed, and
- Universal suffrage in a united democratic South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said it was time now for the ANC to abandon the armed struggle and come forward for talks about the obstacles to negotiation.

State hits back at CP in pamphlet campaign

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARGUS 14/2/90 (300)

THOUSANDS of pamphlets setting out the government's commitment to negotiations are being distributed this week in the first round of a counter-attack against the Conservative Party.

The campaign is aimed at justifying and explaining the rapid initiatives undertaken by President F W de Klerk and his Cabinet in the search for a negotiated settlement.

The counter-attack follows nearly two weeks of bitter allegations from the CP that Mr De Klerk is turning his back on his people; that the government has no mandate from the white electorate; and that it "crooked" its way to victory in last September's elections by failing to tell voters precisely what its plans were.

The CP wants to force the government to call a general election.

The pamphlet, which has a photograph of President De Klerk, says the government committed itself in the last election to a negotiated settlement and the creation of a new South Africa.

It was the key element of the NP's five-year plan and there was no turning back from this path.

"In order to win, you need the initiative ... the NP has it," says the pamphlet.

It argues that the ideological base of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party is in ribbons internationally and this is why the government could go ahead and negotiate.

"Remember, the ANC's responsibility to act peacefully will be carefully monitored by the international community."

Time needed to let the changes sink in

TOS WENTEL on the Presidency

ARGUS 14/2/90 (304A)

NEGOTIATIONS

UNPRECEDENTED fluidity and considerable uncertainty has set in on the South African political scene just three days after the release of Mr Nelson Mandela. Efforts towards negotiations on constitutional reform may move from the stage of preconditions to prenegotiations — but not yet.

From the government's point of view it is now a time to wait for President De Klerk's bold initiatives to sink in.

The African National Congress, caught off-guard to some extent by Mr De Klerk's swift moves has to position itself and will have to take important decision in the near future on what its next moves will be.

Posturing

Among these are whether at this stage it will become involved in some prenegotations — "talks about talks" on negotiations. Most political observers do not believe that any real negotiations can get going before some time next year.

There appears to be a great deal of posturing and positioning with a view to his own constituency in some of the statements of Mr Mandela.

How sensitive the situation is was illustrated by the effect his statement that the ANC would nationalise banks and mines had on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. The stock exchange fell and the financial rand weakened.

Mr Mandela's committing himself to the continuation of the "armed struggle" may also cause some apprehension, although he also committed himself to peace in his first public speech after his release.

He has already qualified his stance on the armed struggle somewhat.

At his first press conference he stressed the ANC's total commitment to peace and said that white fears about domination would have to be addressed.

Top Nationalists appear to be less apprehensive than some of their followers may be. They felt this week that Mr Mandela had largely said what they had expected at this stage.

They found that there was a conciliatory undertone to what he had said while at the same time he had to position himself to play a leading role in the ANC.

Insisted

They felt that Mr Mandela had indicated that he was in favour of negotiations by stating that he had insisted on a meeting between the government and the ANC.

These Nationalists said there was therefore a positive atmosphere for "talks about talks" before the real negotiations could start.

Mr De Klerk appears to be willing to wait for some time to allow the implications of some of his latest moves to sink in.

The national executive of the ANC is due to meet in Lusaka today and Mr Mandela will be in contact with it. He has also indicated that he intends going to Lusaka as soon as possible.

The secretary general and acting president of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, has said that Mr Mandela's release had opened up new possibilities for the resolution of the apartheid problem by political means.

For a man in his seventies and for someone who has been in jail for so long Mr Mandela appears to be in remarkably good shape.

On Sunday he spokes well under difficult circumstances and his answers at the press conference were well-formulated and to the point.

To come out of jail after so many years under such circumstances must be something of a culture shock, not to mention some of the potentially stressful conditions he is being subjected to.

Seasoned political observers are dismissing Mr Mandela's remarks on the armed struggle as being largely aimed at his ANC constituency

Escalate

In Lusaka the movement has acknowledged that it could not escalate the armed struggle. Following the Angolan-Namibian peace agreement it has had to shift bases to Tanzania and Uganda.

Prof Willie Breytenbach of the department of Africa Studies at the University of Stellenbosch said every expert in South Africa and overseas knew that the armed struiggle had largely collapsed. What Mr Mandela had said was largely a slogan at this stage, but unfortunately it sounded defiant and seditious to many whites. It would be better for whites to remain calm and not to overreact.

This so-called armed struggle had never reached guerilla war proportions but had largely been confined to terrorist-type bomb, limpet mine and land mine explosions.

While soft as well as military targets had at one stage been attacked the ANC had also had messages from the outside world that this could not be condoned

Preconditions

Professor Breytenbach said it was surprising that Mr Mandela appeared to be returning to the aim of nationalisation after the ANC had moved away from this by referring to a mixed economy in its recent constitutional guidelines, a draft Bill of Rights and the Harare Declaration.

On the other hand it was to be expected that the ANC would not indicate its own bottom line in negotiations right at the start.

South Africa had largely moved past the preconditions stage and could now start moving to the prenegotiations stage.

There would have to be decisions by exiles on when to return as the negotiations would take place inside South Africa.

There was also the question of how such negotiations would be structured and who would take part. Here the position of groups in between the government and the ANC who were willing to participate — such as the parliamentary parties and Inkatha — would have to be taken into account.

It would probably be next year before there could be any start to negotations.

Profssor Robert Schrire of the Department of Political Science at UCT said that because Soth Africans had no experience of what real politics was about it was easy to lapse into a kind of fantasy world.

The radio and television had for many years only presented system blacks on the one hand and black looters and arsonists on the other.

Articulating

Now it came as shock that people like Mandela were articulating a sense of black injustice and a very ambitious black claim to participate in the running of the country.

What had happened in the last few days was the recognition that Mandela was not a "tame black" as some were making him out to be but that he was an authentic African leader with a radical agenda.

Professor Schrire said that in the ANC, and also in the govermment, there were going to be some tough and difficult decisions on how to get negotiations going, on who were to do the negotiating, and on what the bottom line positions on power sharing, group rights, if any, and private property would be.

The real SA game – with abundance in the goals

(304A)

Many see South Africa as a global game, pitting "system" v "struggle". The "system" side, wearing blue, orange, and white, is playing by rugby rules. "Struggle", clothed in green, yellow , and black, thinks the game is soccer.

Western experts and critics believe the players all have on blindfolds. They must help the hapless and confused players by shouting instructions from the stands. Occasionally, they throw down nartjies in the form of sanctions or boycotts. Maybe the experts have on blindfolds, too.

Conventional wisdom says it's Captain de Klerk v Captain Mandela. The sides "scrum" over competing economic or political systems, slogans, scenarios, and Utopias. The world's media hovers above the veld awaiting the inevitable clash. The future of Africa tips in the balance.

Well, maybe it's time for an entirely different dimension of thinking.

Players in the South African "struggle v system" game should call time out and tell world spectators to find another match to watch, says visiting Texas academic **Dr Don Beck**, (right). And then both should take off their blindfolds and wake up to an entirely new ball game — the "synthesis" game. The agenda is based on a development and distribution system that provides a greater abundance for all South Africans. And the rules require players to blend the best of all views and reject conflict, says the seasoned SA spectator on his 29th trip to the country.

Integrates

Call it synthesis — the higher and richer order that blends and integrates the best from all views with new insights and discoveries from the rapidly changing environment. System works to preserve or reform the status quo. Struggle seeks to transform society into a new order. Synthesis rejects conflict in favour of creating abundance, the real agenda for all South Africans. If you play the synthesis game, everybody wins.

So, how can greater abundance be created in South Africa — not just of a material nature, but in the quality of thinking, education, problem solving, and nation building? How can the standard of living and quality of life be enhanced for all South Africans? Why couldn't the Sats conflict have been resolved before the loss of life and destruction of property? The answer is to replace scarcity management with abundance creation.

South Africa is one of the rare places on the planet Earth where abundance can be created with relative ease. The size of the collective cake can increase in quantum leaps.

What kind of thinking, however, will it take to create abundance? How can this approach replace fear and distrust?

First, may I suggest that South Africans consider co-operative planning of an entire decade of development. Leaders should sit side-by-side in identifying the key issues and problems in the Republic.

Negotiating constitutional models should come after the problems are clearly understood. The gaps between the haves, hads, and have nots are simply too wide to bridge with absolutist thinking from either collective camps of free-market segments.

Economic and political pulses should be in frequency with the evolutionary nature of the society itself. The Great Indaba will be a long Indaba.

Second, it's critical that positive thinking South Africans re-evaluate the entire litany of economic, cultural, literary, sports, and technological boycotts and sanctions. The South African Government is not going to come to its knees. To use this leverage as a bargaining chip is to play the struggle game when only synthesis thinking can produce abundance.

Society has quite enough internal pressure on perturbations to keep The Third Trek in motion. It will take a long, long time for the supply lines to impact the society in its quest to maximise abundance. There is not time to waste, not if you're serious about the quality of health care and education.

The world community needs to find other scapegoats for its own internal problems. Moral poses lose their persuasive appeal when they conceal trade advantages and other forms of exploitation of South Africa resulting from sanctions.

Finally, maybe it's time for everybody involved to call "time-out" and consider other approaches.

Jesse Jackson demonstrated his depth of insight when he suggested, during the presidential debates in 1988 in Houston, a novel and creative approach to the problems in the Middle East.

Mr Jackson made two essential points. First, he insisted that the safety and longevity of the Israeli culture, traditions, religion and language be guaranteed. Second, he believed this would release the energy, insight, and flexibility for the Israelis to create a semetic "Hong Kong" in the Middle East.

The same is true with the Afrikanervolk. In fact, I've never thought the struggle industry was being clever by threatening the Volk in its safety and sacred zone. All could benefit from a new and creative initiative. Your children and grandchildren will rise up and call you blessed if you seriously pursue abundance, not power.

The people I know who have met Nelson Mandela report he is in the best tradition of a synthesis thinker. He and other enlightened UDF and ANC leaders face a serious threat from their own revolutionary wing.

Congruence

They understand far too well that enlightened leaders are often replaced by generals, then sergeants until congruence is reached with the bulk of the population.

It's quite natural for developing societies to opt for one-party states. The massive needs of the "have nots" must be met, quickly. It's in everybody's interest to do so. An abundance-based development and distribution system has the potential to enhance the First World component while uplifting those still suffering from searing poverty and hopelessness.

Synthesis is the best game in town. Nothing else can produce abundance. Everybody can play by the same rules. Western spectators can find another game to watch.

tions all of them, excluding ...

NP's plan to manage the transition

B/Day 14/2/90 (304A)

MICHAEL ACOTT

RISK management is how National Party politicians refer to their calculated political gamble. They are challenging the nation to embark on an uncertain future in search of the peace and security apartheid could not bring.

The risks are becoming apparent. How they are managed, by both government and the ANC, will determine whether the hopes so suddenly aroused will continue as a political settlement is negotiated, or be dashed in anarchy and repression.

The ANC has yet to take any risks; until Nelson Mandela and the ANC executive meet in Lusaka — and possibly not even then — there will be no indication of a policy shift, let alone a readiness to face the hard constitutional bargaining and the compromise it implies.

Confessing

It is the NP which has so far taken the risks, confessing openly to having changed course and relieved at shedding "the albatross of fear". Freedom for Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, startling as they were for NP supporters and infuriating for the far right, are only a start.

President de Klerk promised a new SA. In Parliament last week, and in briefings and interviews, Cabinet ministers have been lifting the veil on the SA they envisage and how they hope to get there.

They will not get everything they want and the process is not one they can totally control. But they start from the premise that the new SA is needed because the old one is untenable.

The attitude is that everything is negotiable, including the way some sort of security is to be afforded to whites, now simply referred to as a minority group.

The extent of the changes envisaged has tended to be swamped by the unbanning of the ANC and the publicity surrounding Mandela's release. But put the statements and hints together and policy shift verges on a reversal.

- The last vestiges of apartheid are to go, from the petty apartheid of group areas to the grand apartheid of encouraging homeland independence. The objective, according to Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, is "one nation in an undivided SA".
- The Population Registration Act, which classifies every South African according to race and without which there can be no statutory apartheid, will be repealed by the end of the five-year life of the tricameral Parliament.
- Group areas remain for the while, but the problem is likely to be fudged by the rapid expansion of free settlement areas in which homes and schools are open to all races.
- The tricameral Parliament itself is to go, and there will not be another election from which blacks are excluded. The constitution will be replaced by a negotiated one embracing, and endorsed by, all South Africans.
- As well as a "full and equal" parliamentary vote, black people have been promised equal rights and equal citizenship. President de Klerk told Parliament the NP's aims included a new, democratic constitution with universal franchise; he subsequently added there would be "full, class A citizenship" for all.

The NP is no longer clinging to power; it sees itself as managing the transition from the SA it has tried unsuccessfully to fashion to a transformed SA in which it holds, at best, some sort of minority power-sharing position. Viljoen sees this as happening within 10 years; some of his colleagues think it may come sooner.

While blacks are still denied a parliamentary vote and the white NP wields all effective power, the ANC has partial grounds for claiming there has been little change. But not on the basis of the firm commitments made by De Klerk and his ministers.

For there is no going back. The NP has committed itself and its followers to the radical course of negotiating themselves out of exclusive power but not, they hope, out of all decision-making. If the risk fails, the NP fails; De Klerk will be swept aside and power will be taken by the ANC or Andries Treurnicht's CP in renewed violence.

De Klerk has made the final irrevocable break with the CP after repeated overtures for them to rejoin the NP. The right wing now describes the NP as *hensoppers* and itself as the *bittereinders* fighting for white survival.

That leaves the NP with three constituencies from which to seek support, or at least a lack of hindrance. The first is its own members, brought up from birth on the belief that white survival could only be ensured by white power. Ministers freely admit the problem they face in reeducating their followers; they have also been encouraged by messages of support from areas where they least expected it, such as blue-collar workers.

Exploring

The second, less problematical constituency is that of the Democratic Party, which has called for years for the policies now being promised and has pledged support while pointing out the shortcomings it sees.

The third is the black community, and not least the ANC which the new policy is designed to draw into negotiation. The ANC is still exploring its new political freedom, but the lawlessness following Mandela's release will pose a political problem for the NP if it is not stopped.

And the ANC has yet to accept its share of the political risk in seeking reconciliation.

The longer the ANC adopts an all or nothing attitude, the greater the risk for the NP and the more difficulty it will have managing it. More than the NP's future is at stake.

REVIEW

'Nationalisation naive, irresponsible'

Govt delivers first response to Mandela

B/Day 14/2/90

(304A)

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's comments on nationalising mines and other sectors of the economy were naive and irresponsible, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

However, delivering government's first considered response to Mandela's pronouncements since his release, Viljoen also welcomed the ANC leader's commitment to find a solution that addressed white fears of black domination.

That, in addition to the warmth and generosity Mandela had displayed towards President F W de Klerk, Viljoen said, boded well for future negotiations.

Viljoen said that despite Mandela's reaffirmation of support for the armed struggle, he believed it was clear the ANC leader was in favour of peaceful solutions.

He said Mandela's speech on the day of his release and subsequent statements had clearly been made within the confines of existing ANC policy.

"Much of ANC policy dates from a few decades ago and stands in need of urgent revision in the light of recent developments in SA."

On the eve of the ANC executive's meeting to decide on a response to recent actions by government, Viljoen said there was need for the organisation to match the large strides government had taken with meaningful steps.

He called on the ANC to re-assess its position on sanctions as well as to display a clear willingness to enter discussions with government to remove remaining obstacles to negotiations.

Viljoen said he believed the violence at Sunday's rally on the Grand Parade here resulted from problems with crowd control rather than any willful action on the part of the ANC.

Asked if there was common ground between government and the ANC, Viljoen said: "I would say yes. I was particularly impressed by the formulation which Mandela used to couch his reply regarding concerns of whites... That statement bodes well for frank and reasonable discussions in the negotiation process."

But, attacking Mandela's statements on nationalisation, Viljoen said the NP would use the political terrain to pillory the ANC's economic policies.

● See Pages 3, 4 and 13
● Comment: Page 12

He believed the debate on economic policies was strongly loaded in favour of those who believed in a market-oriented system which took into account the need to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged sections of the community.

Government accepted the need to expand services provided to communities that had been disadvantaged in the past. But, this could only be achieved by a strong economy which created the additional wealth needed for such advancement.

Nationalisation would result in a one-off redistribution. Thereafter those industries would run at a loss and the state would be distributing poverty rather than wealth.

Asked to explain what form minority guarentees could take, Viljoen said the NP

☐ To Page 2

Response B/Day 14/2/90

had no specific proposals at this stage.

But, what it was looking for was a meaningful guarentee for minorities, expecially whites, in regard to certain vital decisions.

Viljoen declined to say what actions government would take now to keep the momentum towards negotiations going.

Much, he said, depended on the ANC's response. Government believed the organisation should be given a chance to consider this, but its eventual reaction would determine what the next steps would be. "I hope they will be sensible," he concluded.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Foreign Minister Pik Botha continued government's conciliatory approach to the ANC, praising statements by Mandela as moderate and balanced.

He told British television viewers that government accepted that any future constitution had to have majority support.

Botha also indicated that issues such as the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles would have to be resolved before negotiations could start.

In the BBC's Panorama programme, broadcast from Johannesburg late on Mon-

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

day night, Botha said Mandela's initial speech in Cape Town was "a moderate, balanced statement for a man who hasn't had freedom for 27 years".

Asked about Mandela's continued commitment to the armed struggle and sanctions, Botha said: "I expected it. I really believe we should look at his statement as a whole and not pick out individual sentences...

"Also his press conference. Basically he committed himself to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems. He stated categorically that he fought white domination and he fought black domination. I think when he says that he hopes, soon, that the state of emergency will be lifted, implies that the ANC would then also change their position.

"Mandela has a constituency. He had just received his freedom. He stated categorically that he would first wish to consult with his followers and ... with people in executive positions in the ANC.

"All of these things taken together mean one thing: that he would wish to achieve reconciliation."

Goal of social and economic upliftment

(304A) Business Day Reporters

HISTORY had shown that apartheid stifled growth, created mass unemployment and led to a situation that undermined living standards of the majority of the people, both black and white, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told more than 120 000 people packed into Soccer City in Johannesburg that only a participatory democracy involving all the people in the structures of decision-making at all levels of society could ensure that this was corrected.

"We will certainly introduce policies that address the economic problem that we face." B/Day 14/2/90

He said the ANC was just as committed to economic growth as present employers claimed to be, but was also committed to ensuring that a democratic government addressed the inequalities caused by apartheid.

Much debate had been sparked off by the ANC policies on the economy relating to nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth, he said.

"We believe that apartheid has created a heinous exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of oppressed black people are condemned to poverty."

Expressing his alarm at the high crime rate, he said he was disturbed that there were "those who say they are part of our movement, who hijack and set alight vehicles — they are criminals."

He said SA was a wealthy country which had been built up by the labour of black workers who could not be excluded from sharing in the wealth.

"Our people need proper housing not ghettos like Soweto. Workers need a living wage and the right to join unions of their own choice and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives."

He called on employers to recognise the fundamental rights of workers and added that SA was marching to a new future based on foundations of mutual respect achieved through bona fide negotiations.

The ANC patriarch went on to urge all workers, black and white, to join hands in Cosatu.

On the issue of education, he said: "The crisis in education that afflicts us demands

☐ To Page 2

Upliftment

B/Day 14/2/90 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

special attention. The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis, it arises out of the fact that our people have no vote.

"Education is an area that needs attention from all our people, students, paents, teachers, workers and all other organised sectors of our community. Let us build a united teachers' organisation, parents and inter-student organisations and the National Education Crisis Committee."

Mandela also condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle. "Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy. I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence."

Mandela again addressed the issue of white fears, saying: "I am as opposed to black domination as I am to white domination. We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots.

"A new SA has to eliminate racial hatred and suspicion and secure for all, peace, security and prosperity."

He called on whites to join the struggle for one man, one vote, based on a common voters' roll.

POLITICS

Govt to clarify rules for protest marches

B/Day 14/2/90 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Government planned to put before Parliament proposals which would legally clarify the requirements for peaceful protest marches, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate proposed by Chris de Jager (CP, Bethal) about who had arranged various protest marches in Cape Town between January 29 and February 2 this year, and whether permission had been sought for them, Coetsee welcomed the speech by DP Law and Order spokesman Denis Worrall who had pointed out certain shortcomings and suggested improvements.

Our Political Staff reports that the DP is to propose a number of amendments to security laws to guarantee the right to peaceful protest marches, but at the same time give the authorities the right to prohibit or limit them.

If the DP amendments are accepted, the authorities will have to give "clear and specific reasons" when it prohibits a march or limits the right to march as, for example, when it prescribes the time, route or the numbers involved.

In a statement yesterday Worrall said the DP proposals were aimed at a practical arrangement which avoided the kind of deadlock which occurred at the end of January and early February.

The problems centred on the insistence of the state that permission had to be sought for the marches, and the unwillingness of the organisers to request permission.

The DP said it was not the intention to argue the correctness or otherwise of the view that permission should not be necessary, but to suggest a practical arrangement which avoided deadlock.

"However, as it is, the arrangement suggested has the virture of recognising the interests of both public authorities and the organisers of protest marches."

The right to organise peaceful marches would be granted, but organisers would be required to give timeous notice of the event to a designated official, such as a magistrate.

The notice would include details of the intended march, such as the purpose, the route, date and time, projected numbers, speakers and other details.

"An onus will also rest on the organisers to ensure, as far as this is practically possible, that the protest will be peaceful."

South 15/2 - 21/2/90 (304A)

A message from the people who work at Mobil

Nearly three thousand of us work at Mobil, and many thousands more work with us in service stations, general dealers, spazas and supermarkets. Many people reading this use Mobil products every day.

We are a local company in every way with a very real stake in South Africa's future. We are truly committed to this country.
As in any large group of South Africans we come from different backgrounds, religions and languages. And, of course, we have different political views.

Without shouting about it, for many years we have negotiated with all shades of opinion. Through the Mobil Foundation, and our extensive community programmes, we have made substantial investments to help bring about a new and better South Africa. Our company's operations, too, have made an important contribution to job creation and economic development in our country.

But, until now, we felt that too many people were saying too much . . . while talking past each other. Violence, rhetoric, posturing and jargon seemed more important than finding real solutions.

Now we see significant changes which unite us in the hope that common sense and a common wealth will replace the selfishness of the past. Leaders on all sides are now showing real courage and starting to talk - and more importantly, to listen - to each other. Let us join hands with them!

The solutions might still be some time in coming, but the fact that the process has started, gives us hope that very soon now unique economic and political solutions will be developed here at home - by South Africans. In time, we believe South Africa will be restored to its rightful place in the world community.

Until then, we will continue to do everything we can to facilitate this urgent process. We at Mobil are firmly committed to progress, and we dedicate all of our energy to this goal.

This week it feels especially good to be a South African.

Mobil

FREEDAM BASTA

(304A)

IDASA REJOICES THAT NELSON MANDELA IS FINALLY FREE - TO PLAY HIS LEADING ROLE IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY

(Issued by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa,
1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700)

Irksome Bureau may go

By SY MAKARINGE

President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives announced early this month have put the future of many Government structures in the balance.

One of these is the Bureau for Information, which many journalists mockingly referred to as the "bureau for disinformation" because of its apparent aim of promoting Government propaganda and turning reporters into human robots.

What Louis Nel and his gang did not know, however, was that journalists were a bunch of survivors. They would always, with the assistance of lawyers, get around the maze of meaningless and confusing legislation ... and succeed, even though only to a limited degree.

With plush offices in major centres of the country, the bureau was a burden to the taxpayer who had to foot the bill for its day-to-day running, huge salaries, rent, stationery and telephone accounts - to mention but a few of the costs.

Song

There is no doubt that the bureau, created soon after the declaration of the state of emergency in 1986, was there largely to justify apartheid and its policies. But it has not been successful.

For instance, it spent more than R1,1 million to produce a song meant to promote racial harmony, peace and reconciliation in this country. The song was a damp squib. Black musicians approached to participate were not fully informed of its links to the bureau.

So they were labelled as self-outs, with great repercussions for their careers. Some of them, hitherto held in high esteem, are still trying to get back on their feet and claim their rightful place in the black community.

A young black guitarist was killed when the Pimville house of Steve Kekana was petrol bombed in an incident apparently linked to the song. Singer, Abigail Kubheka's posh Orlando West home was destroyed when it was set alight by unknown arsonists. She narrowly escaped death.

Damage

The song also cost Nel his job as Minister of Information.

So, instead of promoting racial harmony the controversial song, which had no chance of making much money in the commercial world, did irreparable damage.

As if that was not enough, the bureau spent thousands of rands putting together a booklet called "Talking with the ANC". The booklet was produced after a group of Afrikaners led by former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, went to Lusaka for talks with the organisation.

Privatised

This was clearly intended to discourage people from meeting the ANC. But it did not have the desired effect as more and more groups of people joined the pilgrimage to Lusaka.

Now, the ANC has been unbanned, and after De Klerk's announcement on Friday, there is talk that the bureau will soon be privatised. Whatever happens to it, the journalists, the people it wanted to suppress, will be there when it is finally laid to rest. They have survived more than three years of the state of emergency and will gladly volunteer to be pall-bearers at its funeral.

Everyone must have vote, FW tells US

304A

Cape Times 8/2/90

Political Staff

EVERYONE must have a vote and the vote must be equal but there had to be checks and balances in the new constitution for the protection of the many minority groups, President F W de Klerk has told US television viewers.

"Everybody must have a vote and the vote must be equal," he said in an interview with Mr Ted Koppel on ABC's Nightline programme.

"There must not be discrimination built into the voting system."

But, simultaneously, there was a need in South Africa, because of the diversity of the society, for checks and balances to protect minority groups.

Various other countries had handled this problem in different ways.

"The system in which a vote is weighted in America differs from the British system. It differs totally from the Swiss system.

"Special accommodation has been made in Belgium to accommodate each fairly simplified diversity."

Mr De Klerk said: "We want to move to a dispensation which is fair, which is just, in which white domination, in whatever way it exists, must go, in which there must not be built-in, even in a disguised form, continued white domination."

Mr De Klerk also said 95% of all measures, which through the decades had been regarded as apartheid measures, had been repealed.

"A few basic Acts remain — the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act.

"The Separate Amenities Act will be repealed during this parliamentary session.

"The other two are fundamentally interrelated to the constitutional situation.

"And I've said time and again, and I say it again now, that is on the agenda. That must be addressed in conjunction with the constitution," Mr De Klerk said.

Nat caucus applauds FW

Cape Times 15/2/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

3064

CONSERVATIVE PARTY members are pessimistic about the prospects of National Party MPs crossing the floor to join them despite the sweeping changes introduced by President F W de Klerk in recent weeks.

Counting in Mr De Klerk's favour is the fact that there were no dissenting voices from within the parliamentary caucus to the package presented on February 2.

Indeed, NP members say that the bold measures received spontaneous applause and overwhelming support from the caucus.

Although a number of NP politicians would find the CP a more comfortable ideological home following Mr De Klerk's announcements, CP sources said they did not expect any major defections in the coming weeks.

Nationalist members on the other hand are concerned about the hostile reception many of the changes announced by Mr De Klerk are getting among rank-and-file party members.

There is the feeling that the reform package Mr De Klerk has introduced must be a demonstrable success within the next few years — or the ruling party will be in big trouble.

However, none of the parties in Parliament expects another whites-only election which would allow the NP to be voted out of office.

CP demands a general election

(204A)

STAR 15/2/90

BLOEMFONTEIN — A demand that President de Klerk and his Government resign so that a general election could be called, was made at a mass meeting organised by the Conservative Party in the Bloemfontein City Hall last night.

The meeting, addressed by the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was attended by more than 2 000 people, who jammed the hall, aisles, foyers and passages.

At the end of his address of more than an hour, Dr Treurnicht was given a standing ovation reminiscent of that which shook the same hall the night a former Prime Minister announced many years ago that "Basil d'Oliviera will never play cricket in South Africa".

The crowd had diminished to about 1 500 when the meeting made the demand for Mr de Klerk to resign, and expressed full confidence in Dr Treurnicht and the CP as the only bastion against the ANC.

Earlier, in answer to a request by an HNP member that the CP should use its power and resign its parliamentary seats, Dr Treurnicht pointed out that if the CP's 39 MPs did resign, the Government could "play with us like a fish in water".

Dr Treurnicht said the Government did not have to let its MPs resign, nor did it have to put up candidates in by-elections, which would mean that the CP candidates would be re-elected.

If the NP decided there were seats it could win, it would cost the party between R1 million and R2 million.

The CP was more than ever determined to show the present Government had no mandate and did not represent the majority of the Afrikaner nation, Dr Treurnicht said.

The CP wanted a majority of the seats in the Free State, and a majority for the CP "is around the corner".

Many people in Parliament and many old Nationalists had said, since the opening of the beaches and Mr de Klerk's speech on "Red Friday", that that was not what they had voted for.

Dr Treurnicht said there were many people who felt betrayed and their road would be with the Conservative Party.

"If they talk about the tiger in the Afrikaner, we say it is a friendly tiger, but don't mess around with him," said Dr Treurnicht.

"Our people have kept a low profile up to now, but we have fought for our own fatherland and that fatherland you will not take away from us."

The nation would not be lost for the sake of invitations from President Bush and Mrs Thatcher, he said. — Sapa.

Coetsee asks A-G for probe on security guard

(304A)

EAST LONDON — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has asked the Attorney-General to supervise personally an investigation into a security guard here, Mr Louis van Schoor, who has shot dead more than 34 burglary suspects.

And the Democratic Party's spokesman on justice, Mr Dave Dalling, has tabled a question in Parliament about Mr van Schoor's career.

The question, put to Mr Coetsee, reads: "Whether Mr Louis van Schoor ... has ever been charged with any offences; if so, with what offence and with what result?

"Whether he has ever been the subject of any inquiry regarding the deaths of any persons; if so, how many persons and what were the circumstances of their deaths?

"Whether his firearm licence has ever been revoked; if not, why not; if so, when?"

The National Party MP for East London City, Mr Billy Nel, said this week the "unnecessary use of force in the daily duties of Mr van Schoor" posed a large question, but stressed not all the facts on the cases were available to him "at this stage".

Mr Nel said he would discuss with Mr Coetsee the provisions of Section 49(2) of the Criminal Procedures Act, which makes it justifiable homicide to kill a person while attempting to flee lawful arrest after committing a schedule one offence, including burglary.

"The judiciary in South Africa is an autonomous body, but any concerned citizen has the right to question any facets that seem to be out of line," Mr Nel said.

Mr Dalling said yesterday he would also raise the issue of the Criminal Procedures Act when the justice vote came up for discussion.

The Cape Law Society and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) have called for an urgent review of the law. — Sapa.

B/Day 15/2/90

B/Day 15/2/90

B/Day 15/2/90

POLITICS

Venter 'was bombastic'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Health Minister Dr Rina Venter's response to the nursing crisis was bitterly disappointing, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He had received letters from 47 nurses showing dignity and restraint. "But they depict a crisis of frightening proportions in which these invaluable women are being forced by financial need" to seek jobs elsewhere.

Meanwhile, hundreds of hospital beds stood empty and patients suffered and sometimes died for lack of treatment, he said.

Venter's speech in the House of Assembly had "lapsed into bombast ('I shall not be pressured') and abuse ('The opposition parties are playing politics'). No wonder the nurses who had come to listen to her were distressed. The government must act now, and stop wriggling."

DP warning against dune mining 'barter'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There would be cause for serious concern if dune mining was allowed at St Lucia in return for the establishment of the new conservation area in Zululand, DP environmental spokesman Rob Haswell said yesterday.

Welcoming the creation of a large new conservation area in Natal, which will link St Lucia and Mkuze, Haswell said: "If this good news for conservation is to be tempered by approval of the dune mining at St Lucia, then there is real cause for concern.

'Environmental gems such as St Lucia are priceless and should be sacrosanct. They should never be part of any barter.

"The creation of this new park will only strengthen the conviction that mining in close proximity to it should not be permitted."

He said the DP fully supported this view and would continue to raise its voice on the St Lucia mining issue.

Sapa reports from Durban that when he announced the new conservation area, Kotze said too many of the country's ecologically sensitive areas had been lost.

Thus, the creation of the 275 000ha greater St Lucia conservation area would enhance the resilience of the belt, stretching from the Lebombo mountains in the west to the coast and into the marine reserve.

The scheme will involve linking existing conservation areas by aquiring the land in-between.

The areas to be linked will include the Mkuze game reserve, the St Lucia game and marine reserves, False Bay park, Sodwana Bay national park and the Sodwana Bay, Cape Vidal and Eastern Shores state forests.

Referring to the contentious proposal to mine dunes along the eastern shore state forest, Kotze said if the environmental impact study currently in progress indicated that mining would cause unacceptable disturbances, he would do everything in his power to prevent any such activities.

If the mining were allowed, however, it would be subject to stringent conditions that would ensure that the natural environment would be improved once the mining was completed. Less than 1,5% of the consolidated area would be affected at any one time. — Sapa.

CP's march against ANC

EDYTH BULBRING

A CP-organised march to protest against the release of Nelson Mandela and the ANC's unbanning is to be held in Pretoria tonight.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy Ferdi Hartzenberg would address the gathering, a CP spokesman said.

More than 3 000 people attended a meeting addressed by Treurnicht in Parow on Monday and thousands were expected tonight, the spokesman said.

Permission for the march had been granted by the chief magistrate, he said.

A special Pretoria City Council meeting will take place this afternoon in which the CP caucus will ask the NP to rescind its decision to open Pretoria's amenities to all races on the basis that the NP did not seek this mandate in the September election

15/2/90 STAR (304A)

New law on marches mooted

Permits may be unnecessary

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The law on protest marches is expected to be changed to make it unnecessary for organisers of protests to apply for permission from a magistate.

Instead, organisers will merely have to "give notice" of the protest to an official — who could be a magistrate.

It is hoped this will get around the State's insistence that permission should be sought — and the refusal by most organisers to ask permission to protest because they feel this is a right.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee told Parliament this week that there were shortcomings in the protest legislation which would be addressed.

Though he gave no detail it is understood that the need to apply for permission will be done away with.

Sources said the proposed changes would be similiar to proposals made in Parliament this week by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall suggested a practical compromise to solve the deadlock that had occurred between police and protestors recently.

Protest organisers would have to give "timeous notice" of the event to a desginated official.

Onus on organisers

The notice would include details such as the purpose of the march, route, date, time, projected numbers, speakers, etc.

The onus would rest on the organisers to ensure the protest would be peaceful, as far as possible.

The State would still have the authority to prohibit or limit a protest.

But the onus rested on it to give clear and specific reasons for doing so.

"We therefore propose amendments to the Internal Security Act, Riotious Assemby Act and other legislation to bring them into line with the new reality," he said.

Mr Coetsee welcomed his suggestions and sources said the changes to the law would be similar to Dr Worrall's ideas.

Cape Times 15/2/90 (304A)

'Distorted picture of police'

Political Correspondent

SECTIONS of the foreign media had been responsible for "deliberate lies and distortions" which could not be allowed to continue unchallenged, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the Part Appropriation Bill debate, Mr Vlok said that while most of the foreign media had been responsible in their recent reporting, there was also an element which wilfully presented a distorted picture of police actions.

An example of this was a report which claimed that all was quiet at Mr Nelson Mandela's rally at The Parade on Sunday till police began shooting at spectators.

Even the organisers of the event had praised the police action.

He appealed to foreign media to refrain from "slanted" reporting.

Vlok: SA reaping the benefits of freeing Mandela

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA was already reaping the benefits of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told Parliament yesterday.

The government had not charged into the decision like "a bull in a china shop", he said.

There were still further benefits to be reaped and SA had to push ahead with the steps it had taken.

"We dare not become scared or back down. It would have unacceptable and frightening consequences for the country."

All aspects of the decision had been considered, Mr Vlok said.

"We looked at the detrimental effect on South Africa and where the country would be through confrontation and isolation."

There had also been concern about the impoverishment of the people as well as the continuing wave of violence. It was decided to resort to the proved anti-revolutionary strategy which had worked in other parts of the world.

"It rests on three pillars: Security action, good government and finding a constitutional/political solution. And we are busy with that," he said.

The government had been strong on security in the past but not as successful in finding a constitutional solution acceptable to the people.

"We could have continued as we were doing but this would not have brought a permanent solution to the problem. We would eventually have become involved in an 80-year-war."

'Moral shift in SA's politics'

Political Correspondent

A MORAL shift was taking place in South African politics, the Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, said last night.

She was opening the first Groote Schuur Forum, a "think tank", attended by MPs and academics.

Ms Smuts said it had taken the "incipient normalisation" of South African politics by two men who rose above the traditional restraints of their constituencies — Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela — to restore the kind of politics in which people's bona fides were not necessarily questioned.

'No licence for chaos'

Political Correspondent

IT was understandable that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela had created excitement, but his freedom was not a licence for violence and chaos in the country, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, Mr Vlok said: "Lawlessness and anarchy are unacceptable. We will not hesitate to use the state of emergency regulations to maintain order."

Release not 'free pass' to violence

STAR 15/2/90 (304A)

Political Correspondent

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has warned that he will not hesitate to use emergency regulations to stop any violence accompanying the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

He told Parliament yesterday the release of Mr Mandela was not a "free pass" to violence and chaos. Excitement over the release of Mr Mandela was understandable, but unbridled murder and destruction of property were completely unacceptable.

Mr Vlok said the number of unrest incidents from February 1 (the day before the ANC was unbanned) until February 13 was 656, which was "far too high". During the past two weeks, 101 people had been killed and 135 hurt. Most of the violence had taken place in Natal.

Mr Vlok said the unbanning of organisations and the release of Mr. Mandela had already brought visible advantages.

FRIGHTENING

"We must carry through with the steps we have taken. We dare not take fright and recoil.

"This will have unacceptable and frightening consequences for our country."

Mr Vlok said the Government had made its decisions after carefully considering all available facts.

It had carefully weighed up the advantages and dangers.

It took into account that South Africa had been the target of a revolutionary threat for many years and had considered where the road of confrontation and isolation with the world might end.

"We noted with concern the increasing impoverishment of our people and of a continuing wave of unrest and violence . . ."

This had to be brought to an end. Strong security action to maintain law and order and stability was now needed more than ever.

No quick fix for SA — Du Plessis

STAR 15/2/90 (3:04A)

The Government would be doing future generations a great disfavour if it began following soft options in the economy now, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

He said in reply to debate on the Part Appropriation Bill that Mr Cecil Herandien (DRP Macassar) had complained that house payments, food prices and GST were too high, and that the State's ledgers should not operate to the detriment of the man in the street.

This was, however, the most shortsighted policy one could follow.

Governments elswehere in the world which had gone for the soft option and did not apply monetary and fiscal discipline had inflation rates of several hundred percent.

The process of removing that which was bad from the economy would unavoidably be painful, Mr du Plessis said. — Sapa.

NEWS FOCUS

D/Day 15/2/90

Govt is ready to talk to the ANC now, says FW

(304A)

MANDY JEAN WOODS

GOVERNMENT was ready to begin talks with the ANC immediately, President F W de Klerk said during an interview with ABC's Nightline anchor Ted Koppel on Tuesday.

De Klerk said he hoped "they would come and talk" as soon as the excitement of recent weeks wore down.

He would also be willing to talk to ANC representatives about what was needed to end the state of emergency. "They must walk across the threshold and start talking. I have an open-door policy and I will talk to anyone who is interested in bringing the situation — which is the foundation for the state of emergency — to an end. It doesn't matter who they are or where they are," he said.

Asked specifically whether this invitation included ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki and SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, De Klerk said: "In their case further discussion might be necessary."

He went on: "I have declared myself willing to discuss how to handle the return of people outside SA who may be guilty in terms of the law because there is fear among some of them that they might be arrested on their return.

"We want to solve that. One will have to work out structures as to how people can clear their positions. One will have to decide exactly what will be pardoned and what can't be pardoned. It is a question for negotiation.

"Everything in SA is crying out for people to drop their pretences, to stop making excuses and to start talking to us," De Klerk said.

He said the state of emergency could be lifted "within days, within weeks" if there was stability.

Powers

"We are monitoring each and every corner of SA. We know what happens. We know how many unrest situations occur. We know how many stone-throwing incidents occur. We know how many houses have been set on fire.

"An improvement in the position in Natal and a few other selected areas would really bring us to the point where we can lift the state of emergency. I don't want a crime-free SA before that is done. It is there to give special powers so as to enable security forces to move quickly to quell unrest and to prevent loss of life and damage to property," he said.

Speaking on economic matters, De Klerk said government had committed itself to dynamic programmes to improve the quality of life for all South Africans, especially those who were not as privileged as others.

"But it takes money, which is why socialist policies don't make sense for SA. Nationalisation of mines and other industries doesn't make sense. That would kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. We have to have growth to create money to finance it (development). This is the one point where sanctions have hit us."

De Klerk said South Africans were overtaxed and people were leaving because of it.

"The real solution lies in bringing down taxes, in giving incentives to the private sector to invest, in creating a stable climate within which they can invest."

To this end, it was important that negotiations began, he said.

"We sincerely believe that all parties must be free to put their proposals on the table.

"We must work for consensus on a model which is acceptable to all participants or at least to the majority of all participants."

In this constitutional model everyone would have to have an equal vote and white domination would have to cease.

304A

B/Day 15/4/90

CP's march against ANC

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More than 3 000 people attended a meeting addressed by Treurnicht in Parow on Monday and thousands were expected tonight, the spokesman said.

Permission for the march had been granted by the chief magistrate, he said.

A special Pretoria City Council meeting will take place this afternoon in which the CP caucus will ask the NP to rescind its decision to open Pretoria's amenities to all races on the basis that the NP did not seek this mandate in the September election.

MANDELA RESPONSE F/M 16/2/90

Measuring words

Government was cleary disappointed and edgy at Nelson Mandela's first public comments after his release on Sunday. It is hoping for a more conciliatory response to President FW de Klerk's initiatives from the ANC executive committee in Lusaka.

At a press briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday the normally bland and unemotional Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen deviated from what has been an ultra-conciliatory approach in recent weeks to describe Mandela's recommitment to the armed struggle as "unhelpful" and his unqualified support for nationalisation of key industries as "naive and irresponsible." Viljoen also called for the ANC's economic policies to be "exposed" in debate.

However, he accepts Mandela's initial statements were made within the confines of an ANC policy not revised for decades. "We are confident that Mr Mandela will play an important role in further policy development within the ANC."

Viljoen believes there is "confusion and contradiction" in ANC leadership ranks on the issue of an appropriate response. For that

reason, government can't "reach out" to particular leaders, no matter how important they may be, until the organisation has formulated an official response.

He sees hope for the future in Mandela's affirmation of De Klerk's integrity; his support for the creation of a climate for negotiation, which will obviate the need for armed struggle; his rejection of political domination by whites or blacks; and his awareness of the concerns of whites for one-man, one-vote.

He says another "meaningful step" would be a clear willingness to enter discussions with government about remaining obstacles towards negotiation, instead of "continuing harping on preconditions."

Viljoen says government agrees with Mandela that the remnants of apartheid must go and all people must be politically accommodated. But it finds "unacceptable" his view on sanctions and the armed struggle.

De Klerk's "large strides" towards bridging the gap of mistrust needs a similar response — such as a softening of sanctions.

In an apparent effort to bolster government's stance on key issues, Viljoen says the debate on constitutional change has started and needs input not only from politicians, but also from other interest groups including academics, economists and business leaders. He says the sort of economic policies the ANC propounds have been discredited throughout the world. ■

F/M 16/2/90 (304A)

PARLIAMENT F/M 16/2/90

Still in the game (304A)

The Conservative Party's response to President F W de Klerk's latest initiatives was immediate and predictable. The Democratic Party's is taking time to find form.

In essence, when the rhetoric of junior spokesmen is trimmed away, government is saying that everything is negotiable — including group rights. But current Nat policy is the platform from which it will enter talks about a new constitution.

To the CP, the Nats have sold out. Black rule is inevitable (which it is) and white interests will be trodden under foot (which is possible)

The CP is edging towards militancy, with plans for mass protest action, but its latest move of accusing ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu with treason is a desperate act, hopelessly out of step with events.

The DP, however, is aware of both the major change in the political game and the need to respond and remain an active player. Banging away at Nat policy (which is now effectively up for negotiation anyway) serves little purpose.

Last week's parliamentary debate on De Klerk's opening address indicated a DP awareness of the problem.

Yeoville DP MP Harry Schwarz said: "What has happened is of such a nature that SA politics in the broad sense can never be the same again. We are now in a situation where scoring debating points, posturing, seeking short-term advantages and creating doubt can only harm a movement towards reconciliation and trust ..."

Schwarz raised an important issue that has been largely overlooked: the economy in the *pre-negotiation* phase. "We need to deal with the economy now. We need to deal with the problems that exist now. Please do not ignore the economy and only talk about politics. It is a most dangerous course."

Similar sentiments came from Natal DP leader Roger Burrows, who believes government can move quickly towards equality in social welfare, housing, health and education. It can do so without compromising its basic negotiating strategy.

DP co-leader Denis Worrall believes his party is in a favourable position to establish alliances and become a part of "bigger SA politics."

He says the DP rejects both the Nats' claim to manage the negotiation process simply because it is the government of the day, and the ANC's call for an interim government and a contituent assembly to oversee the writing of a new constitution. The DP believes an independent process is needed to lay all choices on the table. An "independent facilitator," such as the Chief Justice, needs to steer the process.

What can the DP bring to this process? Worrall says it stands for a commitment to democracy and free enterprise, a clear statement of constitutional principles based on universal franchise, proportional representation, a federal system and a Bill of Rights.

The party also sees the need for a softer approach by political opponents. Sandton DP MP David Dalling says: "In the months that lie ahead many good people ... will come forward with suggestions, demands, ideas and criticism. The course of a new SA will not be advanced by attacking the speakers, but rather by considering their thoughts."

Co-leader Wynand Malan urges the reconciliation of conflicting interests. "The DP believes that while interests and values cannot be contained by the borders of race, culture and religion, the supposed or real interests of race, culture or religion can likewise not be ignored."

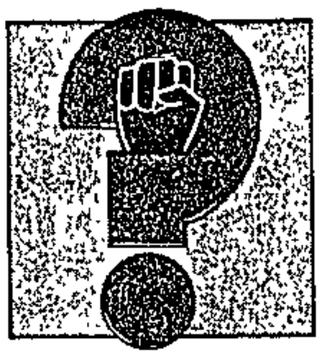
Negotiation places as much pressure on the DP as on the Nats. Unless it can offer a clear and valid contribution the debate will leave it as far behind as it has the CP. ■

F/M 16/2/90 (304A)

NELSON MANDELA AND NEGOTIATIONS

Staying in front

Mandela is merely trudging the party line — debate must focus on the economy



Too much obviously rested on the shoulders of the frail, physically beleaguered figure who emerged from Victor Verster Prison last Sunday. His inadequate performance on Cape Town's Grand Parade — accompanied by the chaotic delays attendant on his release — dashed the widely-held hope that he would seize the historic moment and emerge as a national leader of stature. Reading a prepared speech, he showed himself as almost wholly a party functionary with little awareness of the creative possibilities of a personal role. The emphasis was on discipline.

On Monday the markets reacted gloomily to the reiteration of the rhetoric of nationalisation; and the realisation that a settlement of SA's problems was, if anything, further off than a week before sent the financial rand plunging. By Tuesday moderation came from a surprising source: Joe Slovo, the exiled communist and one-time leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, indicated that ANC economic policy was in the process of revision. But a lot of damage had been done and the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee continued to botch the arrangements it was meant to facilitate.

Government reaction (see *Current Affairs*) put the best construction it could on matters but the Conservatives laid a charge of treason against Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the Pan-Africanist Congress's Zeph Mothopeng. The violence in Natal reached ghastly heights.

After his release, Mandela made plain that he was aware of the need to allay white fears of domination. But this was his position in the Sixties — as he emphasised by quoting his famous speech from the dock at the conclusion of the Rivonia trial — and the effect was not of magnanimity but of ossification.

Mandela could do nothing else. As a loyal member of the ANC — and of no other organisation, he noted — he was bound by the commitment to socialism and the armed struggle. Until there is a change in the party line he cannot unilaterally deviate from party policy as it stands — any more than F W de Klerk could have seized the initiative until he was officially State President. Mandela has no official position in the liberation movement.

Nonetheless, his speech was more cramped than it need have been. Many of those — including distinguished liberals — who have visited him over the years spoke of his humour, dignity and qualities of leadership. These were not much in evidence after his release. Even the nonracialism was contingent on whites joining the ANC, and was, again, party policy which has its roots in the historic links between the black nationalists and communists. Expectations of those who believe in free enterprise were certainly not going to be met.

And what of black youth, faced with another old man? In Soweto, schoolchildren again vacated classrooms to greet their leader. As some had hoped, Mandela did at least stress to them the importance of education. One way or another, the swelling mass of the uneducated and unemployable is going to be the responsibility of a wide range of leaders for at least a generation.

Because he so firmly refused to deviate from the party line — its economic framework outlined in the Freedom Charter — Mandela actually deferred a decision on substantive negotiations between government and the ANC, though he was confident they would occur soon. In fact, he merely placed the responsibility for fresh initiative where De Klerk had placed it by his sweeping moves on February 2: with the external mission of the ANC. Since that body has a leadership crisis on its hands, comparable to that which faced the National Party when P W Botha had his stroke, a period of stasism must be expected.

The role Mandela comes to play within the ANC may, in the end, not be that of a "facilitator," but of a foreign emissary. He is expected to travel to Sweden to be reunited with his old friend, ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo, but many invitations flooded in throughout the week from national leaders, notably in the West, which may prove salutary to Mandela. Nonetheless, he seems keenest to visit India, the strongest international supporter of the Congress movement in the Fifties and the spearhead of sanctions in the UN.

The prospect of a continued armed struggle — which, along with intensified sanctions, was a key element in Mandela's Cape Town speech — depends, again, on the external mission's intentions and capability. A major sponsor, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, feels the time has come for the ANC to lay down arms and, if this desire is translated into reality, the pressure will really be on to negotiate. As it is, the armed struggle appears to have been suspended from Lusaka as much as it has been contained locally.

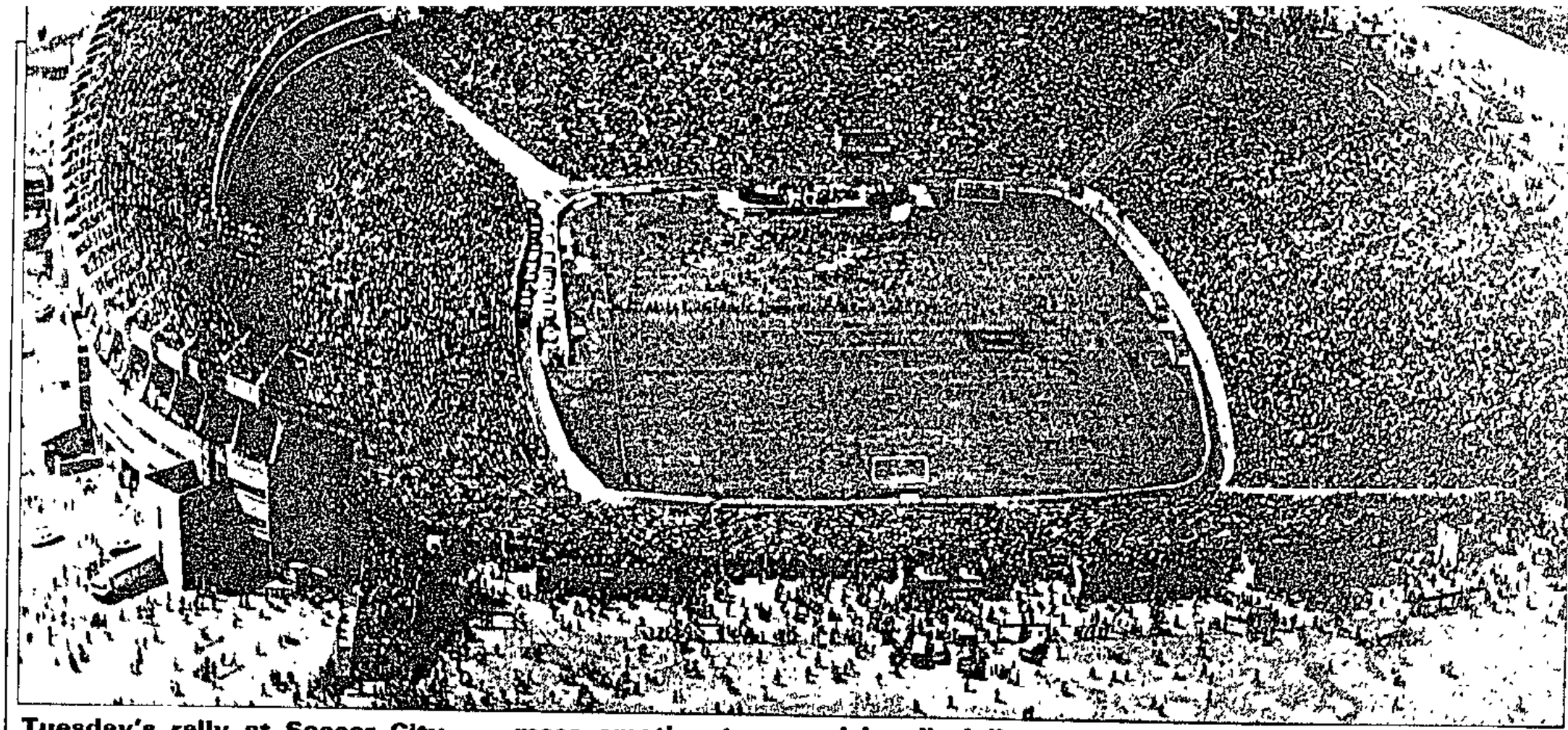
Whether an exchange of views between Mandela and the exiles will be of any significance is moot: direction must come from a unified ANC and that unification has not yet happened. The internal mass democratic movement — in its broadest sense — is entirely in touch with the external mission.

The all-important position of Inkatha (which also claims historic links to the ANC) was grudgingly conceded by Mandela, but this has obviously not affected the bloody fratricidal situation on the ground.

With notable, though expected, exceptions, many world leaders took their cue from Mandela's initial utterances on sanctions and the armed struggle. Both had to continue until the whites capitulated — a damaging misperception of the mood which may itself defer peace. In a sense, these leaders did exactly what the Conservatives said they would: make further preconditions once some had been met, and so on and on until the final abolition of apartheid and the institution of a unitary, democratic State. That the Nationalists have indicated they are prepared to move towards this —

Maponya ferries Mandela ... private views kept private?

P.T.O.



Tuesday's rally at Soccer City ... mass emotion tempered by discipline *Photo by Robbie Botha: Flight courtesy Radio 702*

through negotiation — was simply not sufficiently recognised.

Obviously, some believed that all the good things would suddenly come about with Mandela's release. This might be called the Hollywood view of history. They made the same mistake as those who believe that it was "the people" who released the man, whereas, in fact, it was De Klerk and his team.

The major exceptions were British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who wishes to lift sanctions, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President George Bush — though he has made a coherent stance contingent on his assessing Mandela man-to-man. He is in any case bound by the law and the wishes of Congress.

Thatcher found herself in a familiar position — isolated but courageously arguing that De Klerk needed both reward and support for his stance. The dangers of a right-wing backlash were pointed out in the Commons but Mandelamania had taken hold and the familiar and ugly postures of hatred for Thatcher were very visible.

Since so many expectations were built into Mandela's release — an event in many respects subsidiary to the freeing of the political process — De Klerk's critics had a field day. This was, of course, to miss the point. De Klerk and his aides — in particular Pik Botha and Gerrit Viljoen — have stressed that the steps they have taken have been in the interests of equity; and that any important political decision has an element of risk. The major risk — that there would be an overwhelming tide of revolutionary fervour, a familiar modern phenomenon — does not look as if it is capable of fulfilment.

Therefore, the unbannings and the release must be accounted a remarkable success, notwithstanding incidents of violence. They have dealt, in one sense, with a residue of old work left over from the previous administration. This suggests that De Klerk is still ahead of the game. It would have been pleasant if the world had been more supportive of the courage which it took to break free of past restraints — with no precise mandate to do so from the white electorate — but not essential to the continuance of the process.

The process — of which the next step is that substantive meeting between Pretoria and the ANC — remains intact, barring major folly by the ANC. Government appears to be convinced that such a folly will not happen, though it has doubtless been perturbed by some events surrounding the release.

With old business dealt with, the focus of debate, as the *FM* has noted, shifts to the economic front. The black entrepreneur Richard Maponya — who figured largely in Mandela's reception — recently made some widely publicised remarks about Mandela's economic views, suggesting they did indeed deviate from official ANC policy; that the lessons of eastern Europe had been assimilated; and that Mandela's democratic-mindedness was matched by a tolerance of private enterprise.

If this is so, Mandela obviously does not feel himself free to express such beliefs. In fact, he believes the economy is in ruins — which may indicate the effects of so long and morally unacceptable a sojourn in jail.

The debate is likely to come down in the end to precisely what is meant by the restructuring of the economy to which Mandela also referred in Cape Town. If it means the nationalisation of banks, mines and "monopoly enterprises," then substantial foreign investment will never return, fixed investment will be choked off and the emigration of skilled whites will accelerate. It is difficult to believe that after the experiences of Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique wide-scale expropriation of wealth is a serious option in SA. But it would be a mistake to believe that the lessons of even the recent past have necessarily been learnt by ideologues.

Even the progress of Namibia to what at this stage looks like a promising independence, with nationalisation very much yesterday's idea, need not apply in an economy as sophisticated as ours — one in which the birthrate and alarming educational statistics indicate plainly the potential for a revolution, or endemic instability, which would overtake the ANC itself.

These matters need to be thoroughly considered in advance of negotiations. Negotiations, in any case, can only establish a broad framework for a political and economic system which is fair and just. Such matters as land availability for rapidly urbanising populations, the provision of schools and hospitals out of general revenue, and for that matter the denationalisation (or privatisation) of concerns occur in the constitutional fine print.

This means that the parties to the negotiations need to elucidate well in advance what their intentions are. If the ANC is to persist with socialism, this must be clarified soon — along with the leadership structure — so that, for example, businessmen have real data on which to base decisions. Before that happens, it is inevitable that the markets will react convulsively and serve to predict the outcome of fears.

It is, therefore, fortunate that the Nationalists have laid the requisite stress on privatisation and deregulation — of creating an enterprise economy. The ANC's economic policies remain unclear — shrouded as they are in the interpretations of academics of a document devised in the Fifties.

Whatever bias towards socialism the years of National Party rule have left the economy, it would be folly to make or even attempt a transition back to doctrinaire socialism, especially if the economy had to carry the cost of more social services — such as education, health and housing. Businessmen have a role in persuading the ANC that this is so; and the debates, thanks to De Klerk, can be public and not clouded by prevarication and rhetoric.

We remain marginally optimistic. ■

SANCTIONS (304A) FM 16/2/90

Pik's ways and means

The battle against sanctions knows no ideological or political barriers. This was evident when Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha called on old political foes and captains of industry — some of them long-sworn opponents of National Party rule — to influence public opinion in Western capitals against the continuation of punitive sanctions against SA.

Next Tuesday, February 20, the 12 foreign ministers of the EEC countries meet in Dublin to discuss sanctions. The worst-case scenario would be intensified sanctions — not impossible, given some of the comments by Nelson Mandela and Jesse Jackson this week.

Oppenheimer

Botha

Suzman

Last week, Pik Botha appealed to a broad spectrum of important South Africans to join him in the fight against sanctions. In personal phone calls from his parliamentary office in Cape Town, Botha lobbied the support of leading industrialists, such as former Anglo chairman Harry Oppenheimer and veteran politician Helen Suzman, to use their good offices to influence overseas contacts, in order to swing the crucial vote. It is understood that Botha also made personal calls to Rembrandt's Anton Rupert, Anglo's Gavin Relly, the leaders of various European communities living in SA and black South Africans.

On Monday night in a live TV broadcast on the BBC's *Panorama* programme, Botha and Suzman joined the UDF's Murphy Morobe and released ANC member Ahmed Kathrada in debate. Suzman, known for many years as a strong opponent of sanctions, reiterated her position on the issue.

On the diplomatic side, Botha may also have scored by the private visit to SA last week of Jean Lorgeaux, a leading French socialist and close confidante of President Mitterrand. On invitation from Botha, Lorgeaux attended a cocktail party hosted by President De Klerk for the foreign correspondents. It is felt in government circles that Lorgeaux's visit could not have come at a more opportune time and that he may report back favourably to Mitterrand.

In an interview with the *FM* — after he had made the telephone calls — Botha said that the sanctions issue was one which all South Africans have to engage in. In the light of rightwing and conservative resistance to De Klerk's reforms, said Botha, it is imperative that De Klerk can show something tangible in exchange for the dramatic steps he has taken. Among some Nat supporters there is a feeling of "too much, too suddenly."

"Increased sanctions or even the continuation of sanctions would be shortsighted on the part of the West. We can only move ahead with reforms if we stay in power," Botha told the *FM*.

Mandela's release and other reform steps by De Klerk have already been hailed by some multinational companies which have remained in SA, but under enormous pressure to disinvest. Among them is Shell SA, whose CE, John Kilroe, has welcomed the release. "It is symbolic of the new hope being offered for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and nonracial SA."

The relaxation of sanctions, as recommended by Margaret Thatcher, would be an important gesture of encouragement to De Klerk. He has vindicated her carrot-and-stick approach.

NATAL VIOLENCE FM 16/2/90

Hard times

As Natal and KwaZulu reel after the worst yet weekend of violence in the politically volatile region, community leaders are asking: why now?

Nelson Mandela's release was expected to bring mass rallies, marches and celebrations. Instead, more than 50 people were killed in clashes between political groups and in mob violence.

Hundreds of houses have been looted and gutted. Refugees were still streaming from the townships by the mid-week and, despite more police and army patrols, townships from Maritzburg to Durban were tense.

Unlike violence associated with Mandela's release in other parts of the country — mainly due to massive crowds, bad planning and criminals — the bloodshed in Natal has taken the old pattern: "comrades" versus "vigilantes" which, broadly, translates into the UDF-ANC against Inkatha.

Financial Mail

ASSESSING THE RELEASE

FM 16/2/90

Social costs, indeed

304A

Nelson Mandela's release, despite the needless deaths and violence it has entailed, cannot be anything else but the best of news for this country. He was incarcerated for far too long; he and his supporters' exclusion from political involvement has not been to all our benefit; and the material deprivations caused by the social policies under which his imprisonment occurred will have to be addressed with reparation.

That, today, is common cause among the majority of people in this country. But the harsh reality is that, if the outdated and discredited policy to which he stubbornly adheres — the nationalisation of the mines, banks and "monopolies" — is applied here, social wrongs cannot be righted nor adequate reparations made.

There is overwhelming evidence to show from OECD countries that the lower the share of governments' spending as a proportion of the value of total output (GDP), the better able those governments are to finance consistently — and to sustain — a high level of social spending.

In some European social democratic countries, where government spending has risen and nationalisation has been actively pursued, national debt is in consequence roughly equal to GDP. Consequently, there is a danger, in countries like Italy, that in the years ahead the cost of servicing national debt alone will spiral out of control.

But, to be more specific: according to the JSE Actuaries index, the market capitalisation of shares listed in Johannesburg exceeds R150bn — of which 28% represents gold mines, 14% other mines and 19% mining houses and mining holding companies. Banks, financial service companies and insurance companies amount to 6%. The combination accounts for two-thirds of the total amount of shares.

If the mines were nationalised, the mining financial companies, if not included, will in any event probably disappear. The size of the JSE would shrink to a fraction of what it is now. The ability of insurance companies, pension funds and unit trusts to meet the expected needs of their policyholders and members — let alone shareholders — will be drastically curtailed.

Foreign investors would disinvest. The rand would be devalued to a fraction of what it is now. And foreign banks would press for repayment of their loans more rapidly than even the temporary standstill agreement allows.

This country's financial services industry, which provides not only pensions and other forms of savings but millions of jobs for blacks as well as whites, would virtually collapse. It would, indeed, be ruined.

Without foreign capital or the savings mobilised by the financial services industry, with skilled labour in shorter supply and wage costs rising, the outlook for the gold mining industry is indeed grim. The average life of existing gold mines is relatively short.

It is essential to open new mines so that they come into production by the year 2000 if the closure of existing mines is to be offset. Most new mines are expected to be very deep and cost between R2bn and R3bn at today's prices. They will cost much more as time goes on, at a 15% annual rate of inflation, just about doubling in five years.

There is no time for us here to just muddle through and relearn the lessons of the Sixties and Seventies. The population of this country is expanding rapidly and we have one of the fastest rates of urbanisation in the world. If the wrong economic decisions are made over the next few years, the abject poverty that uhuru has brought to central Africa is a certainty, not just a possibility.

Moreover, in order to foster prosperity, this country needs substantial and continuing investment in such social needs as education, health and housing. Without re-investment in mining and banking, there is no hope of the economic growth that alone will provide the wherewithal for that social expenditure.

Whatever Mandela has been doing for the past 27 years, he has not been studying either elementary economics or the SA economy. To stand on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday and say that our economy has collapsed is nothing short of ignorance. Mining and banking are the cornerstones of this economy; they are the creation of free enterprise and they have transcended the constraints of apartheid. Let him nationalise them and then see what economic collapse really means.

The sooner Mandela gets to eastern Europe and central Africa to see the consequences of the policies he advocates, the better for South Africans of all races. Indeed, India, where poverty today is probably, in relative terms, worse than it was under the British Raj and where the growth of nationalised industries has not led to a remotely adequate system of social services (if they exist at all), would be a good place to start.

But perhaps the most depressing point of all is what Mandela's statements on nationalisation indicate for his strength of character, intellectual vigour and quality of leadership, a subject on which we dwell in the next article. It took a hoary old Marxist like Joe Slovo to qualify the remarks of a man from whom so much had been expected for so long.

Mandela is right in one respect. He is certainly no messiah. Maybe he is, as he says, no more than the servant of his own party — and captive to his own ideology. But if he adheres to the views he expressed this week, which appear not to have advanced since he was jailed in the Sixties, he is certainly not the servant of all the people of this country, which is no more than we had modestly hoped from him.

No wonder there was a sharp reaction in the price of the financial rand as foreign investors weighed up what he had to say. There will be many who will argue that we are insufficiently understanding of the man after his long incarceration. That may be so. But it was Mandela himself who, in his first public speech, referred to harsh realities. ■

Mr Barney Desai his family were guests of honour at the mayoral function happen" he said. " There is a was his birthright to return

'My kombers and jou matras' as they marched to Pretoria

ARGUS 16/2/90 (304A)

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — About 25 000 people converged on the Pretoria City Hall in a strong show of rightwing defiance yesterday.

They came in buses, cars and combis from platteland towns all over the Transvaal, and as far afield as Oudtshoorn, to listen to the fiery oratory of their "volk" leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Within an hour a demure crowd of about 3 000 swelled to proportions never seen in the city before as a sea of humanity spilled over into Paul Kruger Street.

Khaki-clad AWB stormtroopers carried guns, batons and sjamboks. In spite of organiser's appeals, nazi flags and banners were displayed prominently.

Children in school uniforms and uniformed security guards joined in the hubbub.

Also marching were supporters of the Transvaal Separatist movement and the Oranjewerkers, who have been agitating for their own white homeland.

Akasia's entire town council turned out, as did all the CP members of the Pretoria city council. Other people brought their MPs and town councillors.

Many banners, some derogatory to the State President as well as to Mr Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, and to black people in general, were held aloft

Organisers appealed for some derogatory posters to be removed, including one calling President De Klerk a "daggakop" (dopehead).

Some read: "Government dominated by Zionists", "Hang vir F W", "Reject Mr Pik Black and his ANC brothers", "Viva Volkstaat", "F W verklaar oorlog teen die Witman," and "National Socialism the only solution."

An effigy of the ANC flag bearing the face of Mr Nelson Mandela was burned.

Emotions ran high but after the proceedings at the city hall people drifted away without causing any serious incidents.

● See Page 17

Treurnicht calls for partition

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — There would be no peace in South Africa until the principles of partition and separate development were realised, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has told a crowd of thousands in Pretoria.

Kicking off the CP's One Million Signature protest against the government's reforms, Dr Treurnicht said last night that the National Party had betrayed the Afrikaner volk and the white man.

President De Klerk was governing without the support of the majority of Afrikaners and — after the opening of the beaches and "red Friday" when organisations such as the ANC were unbanned — without white majority support.

"CAPITULATION"

Huge numbers of coloureds, Indians and blacks too were upset about the government's "capitulation".

He said it was a sad day when the NP was prepared to negotiate with the ANC without "even looking in the direction" of the CP.

"If the NP chooses to regard the CP as its enemy, it should know that it is dealing with a formidable enemy," he said to loud applause from an emotional crowd.

PROTEST: A swastika and a Star of David with a hammer and sickle were among the many flags waved at the rightwing protest march.

CROWD: Part of the crowd around Paul Kruger's statue on Church Square in Pretoria.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

304A

The Human Rights Commission welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela and urges the South African Government to implement all the measures considered essential for creating the climate necessary for the commencement of negotiations which would lead to the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic South Africa. These measures are set forth in the United Nations Declaration, reproduced here, which was adopted by consensus on December 14, 1989 by the General Assembly Special Session on Apartheid.

DECLARATION ON APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/RES/S-16/1)

PREAMBLE

We, the States Members of the United Nations, assembled at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, a special session on *apartheid* and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, guided by the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the context of our efforts to establish peace throughout the world by ending all conflicts through negotiations, and desirous of making serious efforts to bring an end to the unacceptable situation prevailing in southern Africa, which is a result of the policies and practices of *apartheid*, through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all:

Reaffirming our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial and racial domination or *apartheid* exist, there can be neither peace nor justice;

Reiterating accordingly, that while the *apartheid* system in South Africa persists, the peoples of Africa as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of the continent;

Recognising that, with regard to southern Africa, the entire world is vitally interested that the processes in which that region is involved, leading to the genuine national independence of Namibia and peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time, and equally recognising that the world is deeply concerned that destabilisation by South Africa of the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion or other means, is unacceptable in all its forms and must not occur;

Also recognising the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of *apartheid* in South Africa has been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, and therefore reiterating that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the *apartheid* system in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, the continent and the world at large;

Believing that, as a result of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the elimination of *apartheid*, and of international pressure against that system, as well as global efforts to resolve regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa;

Reaffirming the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society, and remaining committed to doing everything possible and necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as they may, through their genuine representatives, determine to achieve this objective;

Making these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed, that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society, and that no individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent, and reiterating that the *apartheid* system violates all these fundamental and universal principles;

Affirming that *apartheid*, characterised as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanise entire peoples, and has imposed a brutal war on the region of southern Africa, which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality;

Therefore we support and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity.

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our objective of a solution arrived at by peaceful means; we note that the people of South Africa, and their liberation movements who felt compelled to take up arms, have also upheld their preference for this position for many decades and continue to do so;

Welcoming the Declaration of the *Ad-Hoc* Committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989, and subsequently endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its Ninth Summit Conference held in Belgrade in September 1989, as a reaffirmation of readiness to resolve the problems of South Africa through negotiations. The Declaration is consistent with the positions contained in the Lusaka Manifesto of two decades ago, in particular regarding the preference of the African people for peaceful change, and takes into account the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since then. The Declaration constitutes a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble efforts to end the *apartheid* system, an objective to which the United Nations has always been committed;

Noting with appreciation that the Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989, noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement inherent in the Harare Declaration and considered what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations;

Also noting with appreciation that the Francophone Summit in Dakar in May 1989 likewise called for negotiations between Pretoria and representatives of the majority of the people with a view to the establishment of a democratic and egalitarian system in South Africa;

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of *apartheid* until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens;

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder, convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end to the *apartheid* system and heralding the dawn of a new era of peace for all the people of Africa, in a continent finally free from racism, white minority rule and colonial domination;

Community News

Modjadji Herbert Masemola (59) of 2302A Naledi died on February 6 after a long illness. He will be buried tomorrow at Marishane, Northern Transvaal. He is survived by his wife and three daughters. For transport details phone (011) 934-1532 or (012) 805-5543.

Ali Herence Mothibe (30) of 10408 Nkwaketsi Street, Daveyton, will be buried tomorrow at Daveyton Cemetery. A service will be held at his home at his home from 12 noon. The cortege leaves at 1pm. He is survived by his mother Francinah, three brothers and a sister.

Mzwakhe "Keu" Nkosi of 719 Zondi 1 in Soweto died on February 10. He will be buried on Sunday. A service will be held at his home at 9am. The cortege leaves for the cemetery at 11am.

Peter Moeketsi Maake (58) of 2683 Thulari Street, Mapetla Extension, Soweto, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A funeral service will be held at the Roman Catholic Church in Phiri. The cortege leaves for the cemetery at 12. He is survived by his wife, eight children and nine grandchildren.

Pedro "Fama" Sithole (34) of 1946 Tladi will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A service will be held at his home from 1pm. The cortege will proceed to the graveyard at 3pm.

Lebatamela Bethuel Mohlala will be buried tomorrow at Driekop Maruleng's Gowe Cemetery. A service will be held at Driekop from 10am. Buses will leave from 539 Temong Section for Driekop today at 7pm.

Eunice Mokobya Ntebele (44) of 2236 Zone 9 Meadowlands, will be buried tomorrow. She taught at Thlologelo Lower Primary School. A service will be held at the the Sefikeng NG Church Zone 1. The cortege leaves for Avalon Cemetery at 10am. She is survived by her husband Aaron, two daughters and a son.

Mokgosi

Phidiso Goodman Mokgosi, who lived at 1322 Maikanye Street in Dobsonville, Soweto, died on February 4 at the age of 35. He will be buried at the Dobsonville Cemetery tomorrow after a service at the local St Angelas Catholic Church at 12 noon. The cortege will leave for the cemetery at 3pm.

Keuti

James Mbuyiselo Keuti of 3113 Zulu Street, Daveyton, died at Baragwanath Hospital after a long illness, will be buried tomorrow. A service will be held at the Anglican Church of Christ The Redeemer from 10am. The cortege will proceed to the Daveyton Cemetery at 2pm.

Gumbe

Matthews Gumbe of 1327 Chiawelo will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A service will be held at his home from 10am. The cortege will proceed to the cemetery at 1pm.

Botlokwa

Albert Raleshabane of Botlokwa died at GaRankuwa Hospital on February 5 after a long illness.

He will be buried at Mokomene tomorrow at 10am. He is survived by his wife, Salmina, five children and a grandchild.

Molefe

Gabriel Shanki Molefe (64) of 6443 Sharpeville will be buried tomorrow at Sharpeville Cemetery. A service will be held at St Luke Methodist Church from 12. The cortege will proceed to the cemetery at 12.30.

Kubheka

Johannes Kubheka (60) of 326 Jabulani will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A service will be held at his home from 10am. The cortege will proceed to the cemetery at 1pm.

Mooi

George Magome Mooi, who died on February 10, will be buried tomorrow. A service will be held at the Methodist Church, Thabong, from 11am. The cortege will proceed to the local cemetery at 1pm.

Maluka

Enny Maluka (72) of 1897 Tladi will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery. A service will be held at his home from 12. The cortege leaves for the cemetery at 1pm.

Memorial

The Mendi Memorial Service will be held at Mothakga Resort, Atteridgeville, at 10am on Sunday. The South African Legion (Soweto branch) is requested to attend.

Meeting

The Dodgers Burial Society will hold a meeting at 4020 Shongweni Section, Katlehong on Sunday at 8.30am.

Moshidi

Jeremiah Buti Moshidi (36) of 294 Maseko Street, Mhluzi township, near Middleburg, will be buried at the local cemetery tomorrow.

Jeremiah, brother of Soweto lawyer Seun Moshidi, died after a short illness on Tuesday.

A funeral service will be held at his home at 11am. The cortege will leave for the graveyard at 1pm. He is survived by two children.

Mkhwanazi

Jackson Mkhwanazi (64) of 340 Nhlapo Section, Katlehong, will be buried at Ben Schoeman Cemetery tomorrow. A service will be held at his home from 10am. The cortege will proceed to the cemetery at 12.30pm. He is survived by his wife Maggie and four children.

Thinane

Petrus Billy Thinane of 3609 Moremi Street, Tokoza, will be buried at Schoeman Cemetery tomorrow. A service will start at the local Roman Catholic Church at 12,30pm. The cortege will leave for the cemetery at 2.30pm.

Phamotse

DANIEL Ntshoeu Phamotse, a Form 3 student at Sekano Ntoane High School, died last week.

Phamotse of 254 Mapetla, Soweto, will be buried at the Avalon Cemetery on Saturday after a service at his home starting at 8.30am. At 10am the cortege will proceed to the cemetery.

MISSING

The parents of Mbongeni are requested to contact the Johannesburg Child Welfare or phone Miss E Kgame at 331-0171 extension 246. He says he is from the Hillbrow flats.

Nontshingile Khanga (3) has been found by social workers. His parents are requested to contact Miss E Kgame at 331-0171 extension 246.

The TPA Johannesburg is appealing to the parents of Nonhlanhla Khumalo (14) to come and fetch her. Anyone who knows or recognises her should please phone Mr HO Makitla at 331-4911 extension 246.

Lungisile Mhlanga (3) of 624B Ndlovu Road, Zone 5 Meadowlands, has been missing since February 1. Anyone with information of his whereabouts can contact Mrs Mashigo at 936-8366 or Jostine at 936-3457.

WELCOME TO THE ANC LEADER

MR. NELSON MANDELA

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

S4068

WELCOME HOME

NELSON MANDELA

FROM THE MEMBERS OF

GERMISTON INDEPENDENT TRADERS ASSOCIATION

S4045

3041A

DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. A conjuncture of circumstances exists, which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, given the repeated expression of the majority of the people of South Africa of their long-standing preference to arrive at a political settlement, could create the possibility to end *apartheid* through negotiations.

2. We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their legitimate struggle, to join together to negotiate an end to the *apartheid* system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the *apartheid* system, should be the goals of the negotiations.

3. We are at one with the people of South Africa that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order determined by them and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hold therefore the following fundamental principles to be of importance:

(a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;

(b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;

(c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters' roll, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;

(d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism;

(e) All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;

(f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;

(g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;

(h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;

(i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

4. We believe that acceptance of these fundamental principles could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations.

A. CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

5. We believe that it is essential that the necessary climate be created for negotiations. There is an urgent need to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.

6. Accordingly, the present South African regime should, at the least;

(a) Release all political prisoners unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;

(b) Lift all bans and restrictions on all prescribed and restricted organisations and persons;

(c) Remove all troops from the townships;

(d) End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity;

(e) Cease all political trials and political executions.

7. These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country.

B. GUIDELINES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS

8. We are of the view that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence. The process could commence along the following guidelines:

(a) Agreement on the mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution, based on, amongst others, the principles enunciated above, and the basis for its adoption;

(b) Agreement on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order;

(c) Agreed transitional arrangements and modelities on the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and of the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections;

C. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

9. In pursuance of the objectives state in this Declaration, we hereby decide:

(a) To remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;

(b) To step up all-round support for the opponents of *apartheid* and to campaign internationally in pursuance of this objective;

(c) To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to *apartheid;*

(d) To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate *apartheid,* until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this declaration;

(e) To render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them: to rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilisation; to withstand any further such acts; and to continue to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa;

(f) To extend such assistance to the Governments of Angola and Mozambique as they may request in order to secure peace for their peoples, and to encourage and support peace initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about peace and normalisation of life in their countries;

(g) The new South Africa shall, upon adoption of the new constitution, participate fully in relevant organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations,

10. We request the Secretary-General to transmit copies of the present Declaration to the South African Government and the representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa and also request the Secretary-General to prepare a report and submit it to the General Assembly by 1 July 1990 on the progress made in the implementation of the present Declaration.

UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE OF 2 FEBRUARY 1990

The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the significant measures announced today in Parliament by F W De Klerk; the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other anti-apartheid organisations, the release of certain political prisoners, the suspension of the imposition of the death penalty and the relaxation of media restrictions, as well as the announcement of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Nevertheless, the appropriate climate for negotiations can only be created when the following measures are also implemented as set forth in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989: the end of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; the removal of all troops from the townships; and the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

We expect that the international community, recognising the importance of the decisions announced by Mr De Klerk, will, none the less, remain fully aware that the system of apartheid, which cannot be reformed, remains fully intact.

So long as the principles and objectives for negotiations as set out in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa are not met, the Special Committee against Apartheid deems entirely premature any change of policy by the international community towards the apartheid regime. - Issued by Acting Chairman Gladys Saint-Phard (Haiti) of the Special Committee Against Apartheid.

Inserted by The Human Rights Commission, PO Box 32723, Braamfontein 2017.

Vital to show that capitalism does not equal apartheid

B/Day 16/2/90.

(304A)

RAYMOND PARSONS

THE interdependence of politics and economics has never been more evident than in the development of the new SA. Whatever political model is ultimately decided upon, the need for economic growth remains. Economic development is certainly a necessary condition, although not a sufficient one, for successful political reform in SA.

The disadvantaged and subordinate have a vested interest in economic growth. Every reduction in the target rate of economic growth is also a reduction in the strength of equalising forces. Growth is not "a cure for all diseases, an end to all distress", but it makes other aims easier to attain, and softens conflict among them.

What is important is what kind of economic system emerges from the political bargaining process.

Private fixed investment also needs the assurance of stability. Unless a framework of law and order can be preserved, business cannot thrive. It is bound up with the question of business confidence. If stability is not maintained, then the whole process of change is jeopardised.

The business community will also have to formulate views on what kind of constitution it would like. Business will be greatly affected by where the line is drawn — and should help politicians to draw it.

Certain groups apparently remain fixed in the ideological cast of collectivism, or socialism. But an added problem in SA has been the perception by many blacks that capitalism and apartheid are identical.

Socialism is seen by many blacks as the true harbinger of economic security, freedom and prosperity. This despite the fact that market forces have steadily eroded the apartheid system and that businessmen have often been among its sternest critics. What blacks in the SA economy have experienced as "rules of the game" is the antithesis of a free enterprise economy.

The explicit identification of the true and pure principles of the market-orientated, competitive economy will enable blacks to base their case for reform and change on these principles rather than on those of socialism. It seems vital to clarify the political climate on this level.

Those who believe that the market economy will best serve the interests of the whole community must marshal their arguments. The debate on the future economic system in SA now needs to commence in earnest and the lessons of Africa and Eastern Europe to be evaluated in the light of SA circumstances.

Central economic planning in SA will not work; it might have worked badly in a fairly homogeneous community of whites, but it will not work at all in a heterogeneous community of all South Africans.

Serious attempts at central planning of the production and distribution of income in SA would produce disastrous results, as it has patently done in so many other Eastern European and African communities. Even the existing degree of government intervention in the SA economy has become highly problematic and is now being reversed through privatisation and deregulation.

The superiority of the market system in the production of income stems from its basic realism about human nature. The competitive processes of the market are better able than the bureaucratic processes of central planning to minimise the cost of failings of human beings while maximising the value of their excellence.

Looking at the ANC's views on the nationalisation of mines and banks, it is clear yesterday's ideologies are still shaping today's rhetoric. But it will not be adequate for tomorrow's realities in a global economy. SA needs to remain competitive in a world which is now run largely on market economy principles.

The current economic views of the ANC are hardly a recipe for survival in a highly competitive world. The ANC will have to review its economic policies in the light of a fundamental shift in international thinking.

There is an important message to government in these comments. The popularity of supply-side policies — lower taxes and less state intevention that have won working-class support — has not yet transpired in SA. Although much stronger commitment towards certain supply-side policies has become visible in recent years, government has paradoxically continued to increase its expenditure at a steady rate.

Unless we make rapid progress in implementing fiscal discipline and creating a new public finance "culture", the danger exists that the first fully democratic government will succumb to pressures for increased public spending and thereby threaten the tenets for economic stability. Given the scope of what needs to be done in the political arena, a lack of adequate economic performance could even cause the political process to fail.

What then should the role of business be as SA embarks upon its voyage towards a full democracy?

Firstly the task of business will be to educate those South Africans within its realm of influence, which is not an inconsiderable proportion, as to the perceived benefits of an economic system based upon economic freedom and individualism. There is a huge marketing job to be done, and time is short. Above all, business needs to give blacks a bigger stake in the private enterprise system to uphold and defend.

Business will therefore secondly need to take a long, hard look at current operational procedures and structures. A wider basis of ownership and rationalisation of decision-making will enhance acceptance of the private enterprise ethic in a predominantly Third World environment. Standards need not necessarily be lowered, merely adapted.

Joint ventures with the public sector on appropriate education and training policies, particularly in the technical and managerial professions, should feature prominently.

In the third place, businessmen should support the reform initiatives to create a more just economic order. It is essential that business opinion be properly mobilised to influence effectively the course of events.

I am convinced the application of cool-headedness and patience will eventually see the advent of a negotiated democratic settlement, the lifting of all sanctions and the restoration of SA's once dignified and respected status in world affairs.

There should be no illusions about the difficulties that lie ahead. It remains important that political leaders in SA manage the process of change in ways which retain the confidence of the main players, including the business community.

But a freer, more just society could provide our people with the motivation to aspire to values and excellence in individual performance. In realising this goal, SA would contribute to the quest for removing the greatest impediment to liberty in the world: economic poverty. This will test the wisdom of politicians and the ingenuity of business in the new SA.

□ Parsons is director general of the SA Chamber of Business. This is an excerpt from his address this week to a Port Elizabeth seminar on change.

LETTERS

WEEKLY MAIL February 16 to February 22 1990 7

We'll stir whites into action, say conservatives

3044

'The black people think it's going to be heaven on earth now," complains a CP spokesman. GAVIN EVANS reports on the angry mood on the far-right

THE Conservative Party has abandoned plans for a mass stayaway but still believes it will force the government to another white election by the end of the year.

"We will stir the white people into action by exposing the political fraud of the National Party," CP representative Koos van der Merwe told the *Weekly Mail*.

"Neither (State President FW) De Klerk nor any of those people with him will be in any position to stop us from having an election, and it will be before the end of the year."

For now however, the only method being suggested by the CP for bringing the government to its knees is a series of political meetings culminating in a "mass rally" in Pretoria on May 26.

"We'll be holding hundreds of them all over the country. De Klerk will have to concede when he sees that there are hundreds of thousands of whites prepared to take to the streets."

He made it clear that his party had backed off the call for 900 000 people to join a stayaway, and said he "hoped it will never happen".

Van der Merwe, who is the MP for Overvaal and the CP's Defence representative, said that a stayaway was "not being seriously considered", because De Klerk would agree to an election before such moves were necessary.

"What we say to De Klerk is that it doesn't sit in your pants to strip the Afrikaner people of their right to hold an election."

He said he was not sure what Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen meant when he said on Tuesday that the 1989 general election was "the last in which blacks did not participate".

"I don't think he means there will not be a white election again," said Van der Merwe, who stressed that the party now had the basis of mass support to force a white general election before 1991.

At this stage the CP has made no plans to join the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in a programme of militant extra-parliamentary action or to heed their call to try to force an election by resigning their seats.

"The fact that the rightwing people are now calling on us to resign I think is a sign of the negative mood in the country as a result of moves made by De Klerk."

Asked about his opinion of the events following the release of Nelson Mandela, he said it had "incensed the black community and created the most unbelievable expectations.

"The black people think that heaven will dawn on South Africa now that Mandela has been released, and that thousands of jobs and houses and schools will suddenly appear.

"They think it's going to be heaven on earth now, and I can tell you it's just not going to happen."

Van der Merwe said "at this stage", they were not prepared to enter any negotiations in which the ANC was included.

Meanwhile the CP is pressing ahead with its decision to press charges of high treason against Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng.

The charges were laid at Caledon Square Police Station on Monday by CP law and order representative and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz and two colleagues.

Mentz said documents handed to the police included all published statements and speeches by the three men, including Mandela's speech in Cape Town on Sunday, "in which he supported the armed struggle".

The basis of the treason charges is that in terms of the Internal Security Act it is illegal to bring about constitutional or economic disruptions in the country, or to incite people to bring about such ends.

re detained under mela.

CP march against FW's reform

Cape Times 16/2/90

30 000

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — About 30 000 Conservative Party supporters yesterday demonstrated against President F W De Klerk's reforms.

About 6 000 people swamped Church Square about 6pm and sang liedjies for two hours before marching to the City Hall where the crowd swelled to 30 000. Many were bussed to the meeting.

Deputy CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg warned that the CP would mobilise the majority of whites in the country before the end of the year.

Shouts of "Hang Mandela" and placards saying "Reform Stinks" and Vierkleur, CP, SA and AWB flags were in evidence among the crowd at the square. One man held a miniature black plastic doll hanging from a piece of string.

"This is Mandela," he shouted.

Banners declaring "President Mandela" "Welfare Minister Winnie Mandela" and "Minister of Slums Helen Suzman" were hung near the square.

At the City Hall, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told a cheering crowd the NP was forcing the Afrikaner volk to live dangerously.

"This tiger is a friendly tiger, but don't look for trouble," he said.

"We say to Mandela, you will never have peace in this country unless the principles of partition and separate freedoms are applied."

● Yesterday Conservative Party spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe walked out midway through an ABC "Nightline" TV programme at Wits University when ANC spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki began speaking via satellite from Lusaka. Mr Van der Merwe was one of a panel of six on the programme.

be destroyed in SA

LONDON. — Britain Argentina yesterday re-

TUYNHUYS F/M 16/2/90

More finesse

304A

Rumours are buzzing in the corridors of the Verwoerd Building in Cape Town that President F W de Klerk will soon appoint Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden as his special adviser. Our most successful career diplomat could be of great help to De Klerk as he embarks on negotiations.

A possible switch for Van Heerden was raised by the *FM* last year. Dealing with De Klerk's new style of leadership and the obvious influence of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Van Heerden, we wrote at the time: "De Klerk can be expected to spread his wings further as he gains confidence. Insiders believe, for example, that Van Heerden may assume duties as De Klerk's chief adviser in Tuynhuys." (*Leaders* October 20 1989)

The contract of Jannie "JR" Roux, now D-G in the office of the State President, expires soon. De Klerk may take this chance to pull in Van Heerden. Roux, a former deputy commissioner of the prisons department, had been a personal appointee of P W Botha and enjoyed a high profile.

While no one would expect Van Heerden to do administrative work in Tuynhuys, he may keep the civil service rank of D-G in the President's Office.

☐ This would be similar to the position of Gerrit Viljoen, the Constitutional Development Minister. Whereas Viljoen heads the massive department created by Chris

304A

Van Heerden ... would be an asset

F/M 16/2/90

Heunis, he leaves most of the routine work to his deputy, Roelf Meyer. This leaves Viljoen free to concentrate — at the request of De Klerk — to head the negotiating team. Viljoen is chairman of the seven-minister committee dealing with negotiations. (The *FM* first revealed the abbreviated name of the committee, MKO, which in Afrikaans is the *Ministeriele Komitee vir Onderhandelinge* — ministerial committee for negotiations). ■

In the wake of De Klerk's speech . . .

Afrikaners clash with Afrikaners

ARGUS 16/2/90

304A

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

24 HOURS

NEWS WATCH

FOR a change, the most virulent criticism of the National Party government is coming not from black leaders, nor the Evil Empire of socialism nor from self-righteous foreigners, but from within South Africa, indeed, from within the *volk*.

Even if Afrikanerdom never was quite the impenetrably united political fortress it has sometimes been mistaken for, the clash of Afrikaner with Afrikaner is an important one for the future of the country and probably far less likely to be rationally resolved than the long-standing racial conflict.

Most recently it has found expression in the Conservative Party's bitter denigration of President F W de Klerk and the new politics he has spawned.

The CP has shown, by laying charges of high treason against Mr Nelson Mandela and others, how far it is prepared to go in its attempts to derail a negotiated settlement, or at any rate harry the government as it pursues this goal.

But just how worried is the government? And how worried should it be?

Prisoners

At the sharp end of the CP's campaign is the allegation that the NP "crooked" voters in September by not telling them clearly what it had in mind ... that, for instance, within six months it would unban the ANC, PAC and the Communist Party, release the legendary prisoners and start talking to them, even if they did not reject violence.

NP election propaganda, says the CP's chief information spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe, specifically ruled out the notion of talks with the ANC unless the organisation rejected violence. That, says Mr Van der Merwe, was not honest.

The National Party's top information man in the Cape, Swellendam MP Mr Nic Koornhof, rejects this nit-picking approach.

"There was definitely a shift in our policy during the election campaign and we hammered out the idea that we were going to build a new South Africa ... and that meant a totally new South Africa. We made it clear we were not playing games. We promised a negotiated settlement which would include everybody and a system for the future which would be non-discriminatory."

Within this broad framework, he suggested, there was nothing contradictory in the latest moves.

Surprise

But beyond the finicky exchanges about who said what and when, and what exactly it all meant, are the real, deep-seated feelings of a white population taken by surprise.

Mr Koornhof recognises this: "I think many Nationalists — and others — in the constituencies have not fully realised the real meaning of a 'new South Africa'.

"In that sense, I think there is some uneasiness. If you think about what has happened in just 10 days, it is not surprising. If a person does not have some feelings of uneasiness, then I say he is not a true South African.

"But I think we all have a very deep sense of justice and, given that, once the developments have been explained and argued through, they will make sense to most people. In the short-term the CP will have their gatherings and there will be that sort of reaction, but any support we have lost now will come back to us.

"That deep sense of justice will override short-term fears."

Looking on from the left, Democratic Party MP for Green Point Mr Tian van der Merwe believes the government may yet have bigger problems with its white support base.

"Quite frankly, I don't think they have prepared their support base and there is a price to be paid for that.

"I must say, also, that I believe the CP's charges that the NP is operating without a mandate at the moment — however much we welcome what they are doing — are sound. They have been justifying their actions on the basis of vague statements made during the election and they have done things they precisely promised not to do.

"You always pay a price for that because it lacks integrity. People do not know what is going on and they fear it, in good measure, because the NP has been saying for so long that ANC statements are treasonous, that they are terrorists and so on.

"I believe one should not underestimate that. The white constituency will become difficult to deal with in months to come, precisely because they have been fed one-sided propaganda over such a long period.

"Even the NP's justification for what is being done now is not very sound. Events in Eastern Europe, for instance — which Mr De Klerk claimed as a key factor — have had a marginal influence here.

Changes

"The changes have occurred because the NP had been doing the wrong thing in the past and they are now doing the right thing."

Mr Koornhof tacitly acknowledges Mr Van der Merwe's point about past mistakes when he says there is now a sense that South Africa is being perceived as having embraced the "moral values of the world".

"We have had a taste of success; we are getting support from all over the world and I think that will work its way through the electorate."

The Conservative Party, he believed, had a major problem on its hands.

"They are pinning their hopes on an election because otherwise they will have to come to the negotiation table with a vague, unworkable proposal for cutting the country up into separate racial states. They know that won't get anywhere.

"I can assure you there will be no election ... now or soon, and there is no way we will backtrack."

'Radicals'

Dismissing "right-wing radicals" as a "small, irrelevant minority", Mr Koornhof added: "Radicals who do not want to support us are making all the propaganda they can.

"But if they resort to violence, it will be a major mistake on their part and we will deal with it very firmly."

Senior Ministers have all made the point recently that the government has taken risks in its new initiatives and, clearly, the risk of inflaming white sentiment is among them.

The compelling question is whether a percolation of benefits from the negotiation process will soothe white opinion sufficiently.

That will depend very much on the posture of the ANC ... and that is the other big risk.

Mr Koornhof ... 'nothing contradictory'

Mr Van der Merwe ... NP was 'not honest'

Council looks back with Desai

Cape Times 16/2/90

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

RETURNED exile and former city councillor for District Six Mr Barney Desai was yesterday hosted by the Mayor of Cape Town and other councillors at the Civic Centre "to show that the City Council was once non-racial".

Mr Desai, 57, who has been an advocate for the past 20 years and practised as a barrister in London, said at the reception with Mr Gordon Oliver that words could not do justice to how he felt at being back after 27 years.

Mr Oliver had asked former councillors to attend the occasion "as a type of reunion".

Speaking with a British accent, PAC leader Mr Desai reminisced about his working days in District Six.

"I come back and I see rubble. My heart is full of knives. I think to myself, a great wrong was done here. It was brutal.

"District Six was no Upper Constantia, but it was home to many of us."

Mr Desai said he was listening to the radio in Harare when he heard President F W de Klerk's announcement that exiles would be allowed to return.

"I telephoned my travel agent immediately and then my legal representatives in Pretoria to inform the minister that I was coming home.

"In a matter of hours I was told I would not be arrested, but that they would like to interview me." The interview has still not materialised.

Commenting on the present "political situation", he said: "The country must become democratic and fast. Any recipe designed to protect one group against another is a recipe for disaster."

Mr Desai said he intended to live in South Africa: "This is my home, I did not leave by choice." His wife Rose will join him from Harare in March.

He arrived from Harare on Saturday with his daughter Zivia, 35, out of the country since the age of nine, and son Hardy, who was born here in 1963 two weeks after Mr Desai smuggled himself out of the country in a cargo liner.

His son Rustim, 33, was also at yesterday's mayoral meeting after arriving from London.

All three children had not been back to South Africa as they had been denied visas.

WELCOME BACK ... Mr Barney Desai, exiled from South Afica for 27 years, meets the Mayor of Cape Town yesterday at Mr Gordon Oliver's invitation.

CP MP walks out of ABC interview

Sowetan 16/2/90 (304P)

A senior Conservative Party Member of Parliament, Mr Koos van der Merwe, yesterday walked out in the middle of an interview with *Nightline* anchorman Mr Ted Koppel of ABC News because leaders of the African National Congress were going to be interviewed on the same programme.

A member of a six-man panel of interviewees on Koppel's programme, broadcast from the University of the Witwatersrand's Great Hall yesterday, Van der Merwe said he had made it clear to Koppel before the interview he would leave if ANC representatives were interviewed at the same time.

Koppel asked Van der Merwe why he was afraid of exchanging views with his political adversaries.

"If you are implying that I am frightened, then you are wrong. I am not nervous. I am a soldier of the South African Defence Force, among other things. I am not afraid of anybody, including you," Van der Merwe told Koppel.

of motion given by Mr Colin Eglin (DP-Sea Point).

Cape Times 16/2/90 3044

CP 'threatened by cops'

THE Conservative Party would not allow itself to be intimidated by the government or security police, the CP spokesman on finance, Mr Casper Uys, said yesterday. He said the chairman of the CP branch in Lindley had told the police the party was concerned about a protest by blacks in the Free State town. The next day a security policeman "threatened him that the security police were watching the CP", Mr Uys claimed.

Counting the benefits of FW's changes

Argus 16/2/90 (304A)

THE PRESIDENCY

By TOS WENTZEL

PRESIDENT de Klerk has reason to be happy about the reception his bold moves have had throughout the world.

A Bureau of Information source who has monitored the avalanche of publicity and reaction following Mr De Klerk's speech on February 2, when he announced the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, and his announcement of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela last weekend, describes it as the most positive publicity South Africa has had since the Second World War.

At this week's Cabinet meeting a preliminary assessment could no doubt be made of the reaction.

Further

The impression in government circles is that the African National Congress was caught off guard by Mr De Klerk's bold moves, and by the fact that he went much further than anyone had expected at this stage.

The feeling is that the impications of these moves must now be allowed to sink in and that there must not be too much crowing about the way in which Mr De Klerk has, for the present, seized the initiative.

It is now over to the ANC to digest this, as its national executive was trying to do in Lusaka this week.

With some tact, Mr De Klerk is avoiding dismissing the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle as something that does not amount to all that much.

The fact is that it has never reached the guerilla war stage and that the ANC earlier on acknowledged that it would be difficult to maintain or escalate the armed struggle.

Struggle

Instead, Mr de Klerk is now telling the ANC that the need for the armed struggle no longer exists and that it must face the realities of a new situation where it should be a political party taking part in negotiations.

According to him the ANC must now stop the "war talk", as the reason it has advanced to justify violence has fallen away.

There remains some grey area about whether some of the ANC exiles can return. A sticking point is the position of ANC people who were involved in crimes of violence.

While the government insists on the release of only those serving sentences merely because of their membership of banned organisations, and that exiles involved in violence could land in trouble, the ANC is insisting on a general ammesty.

When he announced the release of Mr Mandela, Mr De Klerk said that, regarding the position of people involved in politically motivated crimes, he had previously indicated that while this was a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, ex-systems of communism and socialism being propounded by the ANC have been discredited in Eastern Europe, Russia and in Africa.

He said the naivete and irresponsibility of advocating such failures for the new South Africa should be clearly exposed.

The need for socio-economic advancement and an improved quality of life for all South Africans was generally accepted.

The new South Africa needed a viable and proven economic system to produce the growth and wealth needed for such advancement and improvement.

From Mr Mandela's first statements after his release the government has distilled a number of "positive" points.

He has described Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity and a flexible man.

Flexible

The advantage of dealing with a man who is flexible and who knew what was going on, he said, was that the possibility of a settlement was always there.

Mr De Klerk in turn has described Mr Mandela as a dignified and interesting man.

The two men obviously got along well and this bodes well for the future.

The official picture of the two taken in the president's office in Tuynhuys shows them looking relaxed and smiling.

Climate

Other hopeful features the government has latched on to at this stage are Mr Mandela's hopes that a climate for a negotiated settlement would be created so that there would no longer be the need for the so-called armed struggle; his rejection of white as well as black domination, and his statement that the ANC was concerned to ments, there will be tough bargaining on how the negotiations will be structured and who will take part.

Eager

The government is eager not to have a situation where the negotiations will be presented as being just between the government on the one side and the ANC on the other side.

Mr De Klerk has already stated that a place is assured at the negotiation table for the middle group of parliamentary parties, black homeland leaders and urban black leaders who have expressed themselves in favour of negotiations.

He is determined that the views of what he regards as a moderate black middle group, possibly even a "silent majority", must be heard.

Election

Mr Mandela has said that he believes that a settlement can be reached within four years, before the next parliamentary election is due.

According to Dr Viljoen there will not again be an election in which blacks will not have a say.

While Mr De Klerk has reason to be happy about the reaction from overseas he has reason for some concern about the feelings of uncertainty among his own white followers.

Insecurity

Dr Viljoen's statement that the NP would no longer be in power in 10 years' time must have sent a ripple of insecurity through the civil service.

The Conservative Party and the rest of the right wing are busy with a campaign to mobilise white opinion and the NP has launched a pamphlet campaign to reassure whites that it is retaining the initiative.

It seems the best the

Argus 16/2/90

304 A

ploratory discussions could take place in the meantime.

The ANC will have to take a decision on at least some of the exiles returning to South Africa. The movement may well pick up trouble among its internal supporters if this does not happen soon.

Meanwhile Mr Mandela is due to go to Lusaka and further afield shortly to meet exiled ANC leaders.

Mr De Klerk is clearly intent on attacking the ANC on the one point on which he thinks it is particularly vulnerable, especially in view of the events in Eastern Europe.

This is its commitment to socialism and nationalisation.

As his chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, put it this week, the ideologies and political and economic address white fears with regard to a one-man, one-vote system and wanted to suit both blacks and whites.

Mr De Klerk is in agreement with Mr Mandela on two issues — that the remains of apartheid must be removed and that there must be universal suffrage in a united, democratic South Africa.

Hangover

The attempts to get negotiation going, and the negotiation process itself, will be a slow process and a political hangover may well develop among young ANC supporters when there are no dramatic changes affecting them in the near future.

We are in for a long period of political foreplay.

In top government circles there is the belief that the prenegotiations, the "talks about talks", could take up the rest of the year.

Following what the government hopes will be a positive ANC reaction to Mr Mandela's initial statement, the governing party can do for the present is to batten down the hatches and hope that feelings will die down.

Speech

More details of how hard Mr De Klerk worked on the February 2 speech have now come out.

After having inputs from ministers he completed the final draft of the speech at 2 am.

He does not have speech writers as some foreign statesmen do.

Last Saturday evening, after he had made the Mandela announcement, he spoke to President Bush on the telephone for 11 minutes.

When he heard that Mr Bush was trying to contact him he telephoned him from a farm in the Stellenbosch district where, along with some friends, including Cabinet ministers, he was relaxing for the first time in days.

Mr Bush expressed his delight about Mr De Klerk's steps and invited him to Washington.

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304A

Bills blocked to prod farm labour law

Political Correspondent

LABOUR Party MPs have decided to block all agricultural and manpower legislation until the government comes up with measures to protect farm workers from exploitation.

The move, decided by the party's parliamentary caucus yesterday, will have an immediate effect. Five Bills on manpower and agricultural matters are due before parliament's public committees today.

Labour spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said that for hundreds of thousands of workers there were no statutory regulations governing hours of work, wages, pension, medical aid or unemployment benefits.

Treurnicht's 'veiled threat' shocks Nats

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SHOCK and concern have been expressed by the National Party at Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's "veiled threat of radical resistance" at a rally in Bloemfontein.

Dr Treurnicht told a capacity crowd at the rally that the CP would promote the "serious form of protest" if President De Klerk refused to test white opinion in an election or referendum.

The National Party's chief information spokesman, Mr Renier Schoeman, said in a statement yesterday that it was "difficult to draw any other conclusion than that Dr Treurnicht was referring to armed resistance when he spoke of 'the most serious form of protest'.

"This forms part of the increasingly evident pattern of violence rhetoric in CP ranks."

Treurnicht

De Klerk

Mr Schoeman said that while the government and other moderate leaders had committed themselves to peaceful negotiations, it was noteworthy that it was now only the CP and the ANC "who are still busy with talk of conflict and violence".

"Radicalism and militant rhetoric from the ranks of both the radical left and the radical right interferes with the prospect of progress and peace."

 (304A)

De Klerk 'has opened door for real equality'

Economy faced ruin, Cape chamber claims

CAPE TOWN — The South African economic situation had come "very close to a disaster for industry, business and the country", the Cape Chamber of Industries said in a statement yesterday.

Past economic policies had not been to the best advantage of the "current players" in the economy and had been "even worse for those excluded from the political system", CCI president Mr Pat Collins said.

Bureaucratic regulations and political policies superimposed on the economy had revealed a near-disaster situation.

He called on all parties "to be involved in the negotiations, to review their economic policies as the Government appears to be currently doing, in the light of economic and not ideological principles".

Bill of rights

The CCI congratulated President de Klerk on the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and "wholeheartedly welcomes his (Mr de Klerk's) actions and their implications for real equality — politically, socially and economically — for all".

Mr Collins called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act, saying they were unnecessary, discriminatory and humiliating to the majority of South Africans, and said a future constitution had to incorporate a bill of rights.

The new constitution should have "strong elements of social support in the form of medical services, education and housing" and an economic system that would sustain current economic activities profitably and attract new investment capital.

Door seems open on one man, one vote issue

STAR 16/2/90 (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela's statement that the ANC was prepared to negotiate about its one man, one vote demand is being viewed in Government circles as his most positive remark yet.

National Party sources said this was the first time somebody from the ANC had indicated the demand was open to debate.

It was a cardinal point, the source said: "That has always been the number one issue as far as the Government is concerned."

The NP reaction was the latest in a series of conciliatory remarks and responses between it and Mr Mandela.

Speaking on BBC television, Mr Mandela said the Government's concept of group rights meant it was not ready to accept the principle of one man, one vote.

"We are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand, but at the same time we are consciously aware of the concern of whites over this demand."

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted to address white fears of being swamped. "We won't go into specifics just now, except to assure you that we realise how important it is to reach a settlement."

An NP spokesman said Mr Mandela's comments had mellowed markedly since his release on Sunday.

"This suggests two things: either Mr Mandela is seeing the world around him to be different in South Africa 1990 from what he had been led to believe, or the ANC itself is moving closer to a negotiating stance."

The tone of Mr Mandela's words since his release speech in Cape Town on Sunday, suggest he did not write that address.

"Either that, or it must be seen against 27 years out of circulation. The sentiments in it were really old hat."

304A

De Klerk's men gamble all on ex-prisoner Mandela

It's not only the township masses who are counting on Mandela to deliver — so are the cabinet, who see in him a bulwark against chaos. EDDIE KOCH reports

IF FW de Klerk and his cabinet created a political whirlpool in South Africa by releasing Nelson Mandela, there are signs that they see the ANC leader as a bulwark that will prevent them from being sucked under by the currents.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen — in the government's first public response to Mandela's first public speeches — this week made it clear the cabinet is banking heavily on Mandela's legendary leadership to end political violence on the left and to appease the anxiety that is driving many whites into rightwing rebellion.

Thus, in his assesment of the statements made by Mandela, Viljoen placed heavy emphasis on Mandela's commitment to negotiations aimed at "normalising" the political life of the country and his concern to appease white anxieties about a system of one-person-one-vote.

There were other "positive" sides to Mandela's statements since being set free, the minister added. These included the ANC leader's praise for President de Klerk as a man of integrity — "a likely future partner in a negotiating process" — and his expressed "rejection of both white domination and black domination".

Viljoen even excused Mandela for insisting that the armed struggle would continue until preconditions for negotiations had been met. Such statements, he said, could be understood because Mandela was, after all, operating "within the confines and discipline of ANC policy".

"It is clear Mr Mandela is ... expressing support for a peaceful settlement and I hope that the normalisation of political life would be enough to reduce the need for armed struggle."

There was much in Viljoen's comments that indicate a desire to maintain the image of Mandela as a bulwark against the forces of chaos. Thus the violence that marred the rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday, he said, was a problem of "crowd control" rather than "planned violence".

There were other areas where Viljoen indicated that the political eddies swirling around Mandela and De Klerk were pulling the supporters of the two men to the centre of the turbulence.

On the popular excitement that Mandela's "Welcome Home" rallies had generated, Viljoen said he hoped that co-ordination between the Mass Democratic Movement and the police would create order. "There has already been very good informal understanding and co-operation in the marches and the rallies," he said.

At times even the terminology that Viljoen used was the same as Mandela's. "Normalisation of political life", the need for a "non-racial democracy", "structural mechanisms" to ensure protections for whites — these words were used by both the ANC leader and the government leader.

There was a clear sense in the tenor of Viljoen's press conference that the cabinet believed that, since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela, it had outmanouevred the ANC and broken the coherent strategies it had developed in the Harare Declaration.

There was now "a degree of confusion and contradiction on some issues" in the ranks of the ANC, he said. "It is incumbent on the ANC to adjust their positions rather than restate their preconditions (of the Harare Declaration) ... a shopping list that has been overtaken by events".

But, he said, with more than a little condescension, the government was aware that the ANC needed time to sort itself out on these issues and was prepared to wait patiently until after the movement's executive meeting in Lusaka this week for a "coherent" response to the government's moves.

Viljoen used the occasion as an opportunity to hold out some carrots to the ANC on the eve of its big meeting. The lifting of the State of Emergency "was desirable and neccessary to normalise political activity" and could be negotiated in early talks between the government and the ANC, he said.

This strategy was used by De Klerk in his interview with Ted Koppel, broadcast live during ABC's *Nightline* programme on Tuesday night.

Asked what was required from the ANC for the Emergency to be lifted, De Klerk replied:

"The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurence of unrest-related things must be limited to, really, the marked exception ... If they want to send somebody to me, or to my ministers and say 'Let us sit down and and discuss what is needed for the upliftment of the State of Emergency', they are welcome to do it."

Mandela's other major demand — that all political prisoners including those involved in armed struggle be released before a meeting between the movement and the government could take place — was also used by De Klerk to prod the ANC into accepting the need for preliminary talks.

"One will obviously have to decide what will be pardoned and what can't be pardoned. So its a question once again for negotiation," he said.

Both the Viljoen and De Klerk interviews indicate that the cabinet has devised a coherent and sophisticated short-term strategy — based on the insight they have gained into Mandela's thinking on how the negotiation process could unfold. And, like Mandela, they are confident that the immediate obstacles to an early meeting with the ANC to discuss a truce can be overcome.

But it is in the longer-term, when it comes to bargaining around substantive issues like a new constitution and economic system for South Africa, that the centrifugal forces pulling Mandela and the men in the cabinet apart are strong.

Viljoen listed the ANC leader's support for continued sanctions and his reaffirmation of the ANC's nationalisation principles as the two negative factors in Mandela's speeches.

On the question of sanctions, he insisted that De Klerk's recent moves had proved the government was genuine about negotiations and there was no further need for punitive measures to be pressurise it in this direction.

The ANC's policy of nationalising key sectors of the economy, he said, would put the negotiation process at risk. Here, instead of resorting measured statements about the armed struggle, he said the government would "pillory" these ideas.

"Naive propositions on a future economic system could have negative effects on the future economy of South Africa."

Nelson's next step — a truce meeting with FW

(304A)

By SHAUN JOHNSON and EDDIE KOCH

FOR Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, the first steppingstone to negotiations is a face-to-face meeting with the government to discuss a truce.

This is a key element of Mandela's political vision which has emerged in each speech and interview this week — and it has been largely overlooked by observers, according to close Mandela associate Dullah Omar.

While there has been shock in some quarters, notably in the Western press, at Mandela's insistence on the retention of the armed struggle and sanctions, Omar believes it was naive to expect that he would unilaterally renounce longstanding positions of his movement, and this has distorted the interpretation put on his speeches.

The pivotal early step (and Mandela says he is "confident" that day is not very far) is direct discussion between the two key actors about the "normalisation" of political life.

This would take place simultaneously with longer-term moves toward a broader "solution".

According to Omar, Mandela envisages such a meeting ending the "civil war". The armed struggle could be suspended and "in return Mandela would expect the freeing of all political prisoners ... the lifting of the State of Emergency, an end to all political trials and the abolition of the Internal Security Act."

Both the government and the ANC appear to be in broad agreement that such "normalisation" is a necessary condition for real negotiations.

Should the "truce" meeting succeed, "Mandela would then envisage nonracial elections to get people together from all sectors of South Africa to work out a new constitution," predicts Omar.

Omar's interpretation of the ANC veteran's thinking is supported by a close analysis of his utterances since his release and by a study of the August 1989 Harare Declaration.

Mandela's statements on the subject since Sunday follow this path. At his first rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, he said: "I wish to stress that I myself had at no time entered into negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government."

His calls for the ending of the Emergency, a general amnesty, and the continuation of sanctions and mass action, followed directly after this key phrase. The two should be viewed as sides of a single coin.

At his media conference in the grounds of Bishopscourt on Monday, Mandela was asked about the apparent contradiction between his stated commitment to peace and his continuing endorsement of the armed struggle. He said: "There is no conflict between those two statements ... the armed struggle is merely defensive ... If the government gives us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of this country."

He then addressed the question of the NP/ANC meeting directly. "So far as (the release of Sisulu et al) was concerned, I have been negotiating (with the government). But the second issue has been one of a meeting between the ANC and the government."

He had been acting as a mediator in his "countless" meetings with the government, he said, "because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government."

Time running out in race for a new South Africa

STAR 16/2/90 (304A)

JOHN PATTEN, who recently spoke to leading personalities from the major political parties during a visit to Parliament, details his impressions.

Reaching the "new South Africa" may develop into a race against time, with the present life of Parliament setting the deadline.

This is the impression left from discussions with parliamentary groupings at the start of this year's session, as they look somewhat anxiously at the rapidly changing extra-parliamentary scene.

Neither the Government nor the various opposition parties delude themselves over the difficulties lying ahead for negotiations between the ANC, the Government and other groups. Many believe it could be months before the talks-about-talks stage can be reached, let alone the far more formidable discussions on a new constitution.

The deadline is being seen as the end of the life of this Parliament, for several reasons. Most important of these is the need for the Government to have a continuing mandate for its rule until a new dispensation can be created. It is that mandate which is under attack by the Conservative Party.

With some point, the CP argues that the Government already has no mandate for what it has been doing, especially as the Government is now willing to consider negotiations with the ANC in spite of telling the voters at the last election that it would not deal with the ANC while it continued its support for the armed struggle.

But regardless of the CP's claim, there have been no defections from Nationalist ranks, even if some loss of Nationalist voters to the CP is regarded as inevitable.

It is the CP's confident belief that it can bring the Government down at the polls. That is the reason for its continued espousal of parliamentary opposition.

There may be marches in the streets (as in Pretoria last night), and talk of a stayaway to demonstrate the weight of white concern, but there is an admission also that these activist methods are not part of the CP style.

Bringing the Government down at the polls is recognised by the CP as possible only if it can be done at the next elections. Elections after that might be too late. A new constitutional system would almost certainly reduce their political clout to nothing. So the deadline is vital to CP hopes, and fears.

On the Democratic Party side, there is a conviction that South Africa will never see another tricameral election.

Even if the Government felt obliged by CP pressure to call an election under the present system (for lack of progress on a new deal), the DP view is that the Government could no longer expect the co-operation of any coloured or Indian groupings to participate again in tricameral elections.

If the negotiations for a new system bog down, the DP believes the life of the present Parliament will have to be extended so that a new system can be agreed.

Extending the life of Parliament beyond its term, however, poses a major problem and may not be easily achieved. Former president Mr P W Botha did so in the case of the House of Assembly in the mid-Eighties, but CP pressure forced the 1987 elections at an inopportune time by arguing effectively that the Government had exceeded its mandate.

The deadline, then, becomes a powerful reason for the Government and parties eager for a negotiated settlement, to press ahead for a new deal.

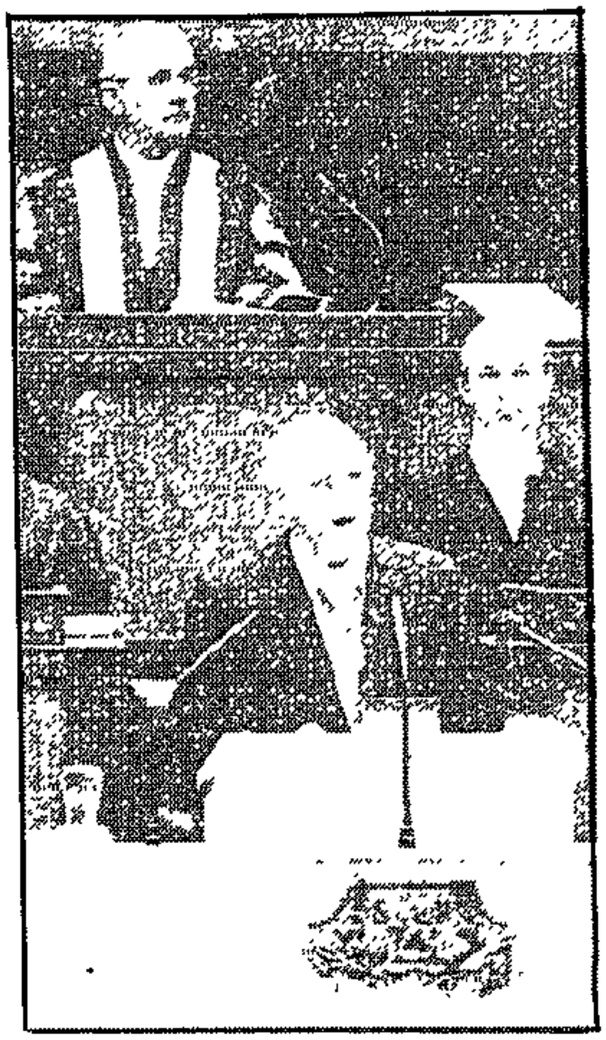
Participation

There is every indication that the Government this time has accepted in its heart that full participation of all groups is the only moral basis for a new political system now that apartheid has proved unworkable.

That acceptance, however, does not remove the suspicions of its more radical opponents, that the Government may wish to foist apartheid-in-disguise on them. This suspicion will add greatly to the hard line taken in approaching negotiations, and could prevent any quick settlement.

Furthermore, some groupings do not seek a settlement at all, and actively oppose compromise. The CP falls in that category on the Right, and the Pan Africanist Congress does so on the Left. But there are also suspicions that the ANC is no convert to negotiations, in spite of the lip service paid to that principle.

Some see the ANC as having made such notable political head-



State President Mr F W de Klerk opened what could be the last Parliament under the present constitution.

way in the last few years without conceding any principles that there is no need for it to do so now. Especially with the Government under pressure from a mandate deadline that could bring it down at the polls, there are fears the ANC might force the Government to the wall.

A CP victory, it could be argued, might be the last doomed stand of the whites, whereas a compromise solution with the Nationalist Government might only deny black nationalists their dreams.

The position of the ANC toward real negotiations will become clearer after this week's meeting of its national executive in Lusaka. The hard line is by no means its only option. Nor is it in all respects in a stronger bargaining position than the Government.

A look into the minds of certain influential Cabinet Ministers reveals that they are still hoping for some group protection to be devised, enabling them to concede power to a coalition of parties.

Race representation, or even minority vetoes, are being recognised as proposals unlikely to persuade the ANC to a more tolerant stance. Instead, Nationalist thinking is turning towards the principle of equality between unequal groups as the way to seek consensus solutions.

Groups would not necessarily be racial groups, and there would be an effort to get away from majority voting or vetoes as methods to resolve differences.

The President, Mr F W de Klerk, in his interview with Mr Ted Koppel on ABC television "Nightline" this week, used the example of equality of representation in the US Senate between different-sized states.

Human rights

On top of this theory of group equality regardless of size, the Nationalists believe protection of individual rights will provide the other guarantee of human rights for the man in the street.

The combination of guaranteed group recognition and individual rights would be enough for them to surrender white power to a coalition of interests (including white interests).

There is nothing inherently undemocratic in that solution, except that the ANC has long been committed to a system of universal franchise within an undivided South Africa, a formula that would throw power undiluted and unrestricted into the hands of the majority.

The Government fears the ANC formula would result in tyranny of the majority, and opposes it for that reason. ANC, MDM and UDF methods of networking discussion on problems, to arrive at decisions, is also frowned on by Government because it is seen as more suitable for one-party control, not for bargaining with opposition groups.

The ANC (through Mr Nelson Mandela) is already acknowledging that it must concern itself to allay white fears, but it is unclear yet whether this will extend to making concessions on a constitutional system, taking a softer line towards nationalisation of assets or giving recognition to white cultural and other values.

White politicians wait with some apprehension for greater clarity on what the ANC line will turn out to be on real negotiations.

Though the ANC cannot call all the shots, and the whites still retain power, there is no doubt that the ANC approach will have a considerable effect on the relative strengths of rival white parties.

They are all conscious that time is running out.

Labour Party MPs to block legislation

STAR 16/2/90 (9) (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party MPs have decided to block all agricultural and manpower legislation until the Government comes up with satisfactory measures to protect farm workers from exploitation.

The move, decided by the party's parliamentary caucus yesterday, will have an immediate effect on five Bills on manpower and agricultural matters are due before Parliament's extended public committees today.

Labour spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said the decision was taken because the LP had not had a satisfactory response from the Government despite numerous representations over the past five years.

He said hundreds of thousands of workers around the country were at the mercy of farmers as there were no statutory regulations governing their hours of work, wages, pension, medical aid or unemployment benefits.

The five Bills affected are the Workmen's Compensation Amendment Bill, Manpower Training Amendment Bill, Roodepoort and Weltevreden Agricultural Settlements Adjustment Amendment Bill, Town and Regional Planners' Amendment Bill and the Rand Water Board Statutes Act Amendment Bill.

304A COMF

B/Day 16/2/90

Nationalisation fears 'must be assessed'

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

FEAR of the unknown was primarily responsible for the brake applied to the strong advance in share prices over the past few weeks, say V H Simmons's analysts.

What is now needed, following Nelson Mandela's statements on nationalisation, is a "cool and objective" assessment of whether or not such fears are justified, they say in the stockbroking firm's latest newsletter.

"We suggest that while we shall witness labour problems on an almost unprecedented scale, they will not cause widespread and insoluble disruption. The ANC believes it will rule SA in the not-too-distant future and we contend it is pragmatic and level-headed enough to ensure a sound economic infrastructure is intact on the day it expects to climb into the driver's seat."

Further, for the ANC to grow in strength and credibility it must keep its foreign options open, they say. If it is perceived by those abroad to be a destructive force in SA, the support of Western leaders may evaporate quickly.

However, the influence of the ANC over labour union leaders is, at the same time, "questionable", with the result that strike action will be unavoidable.

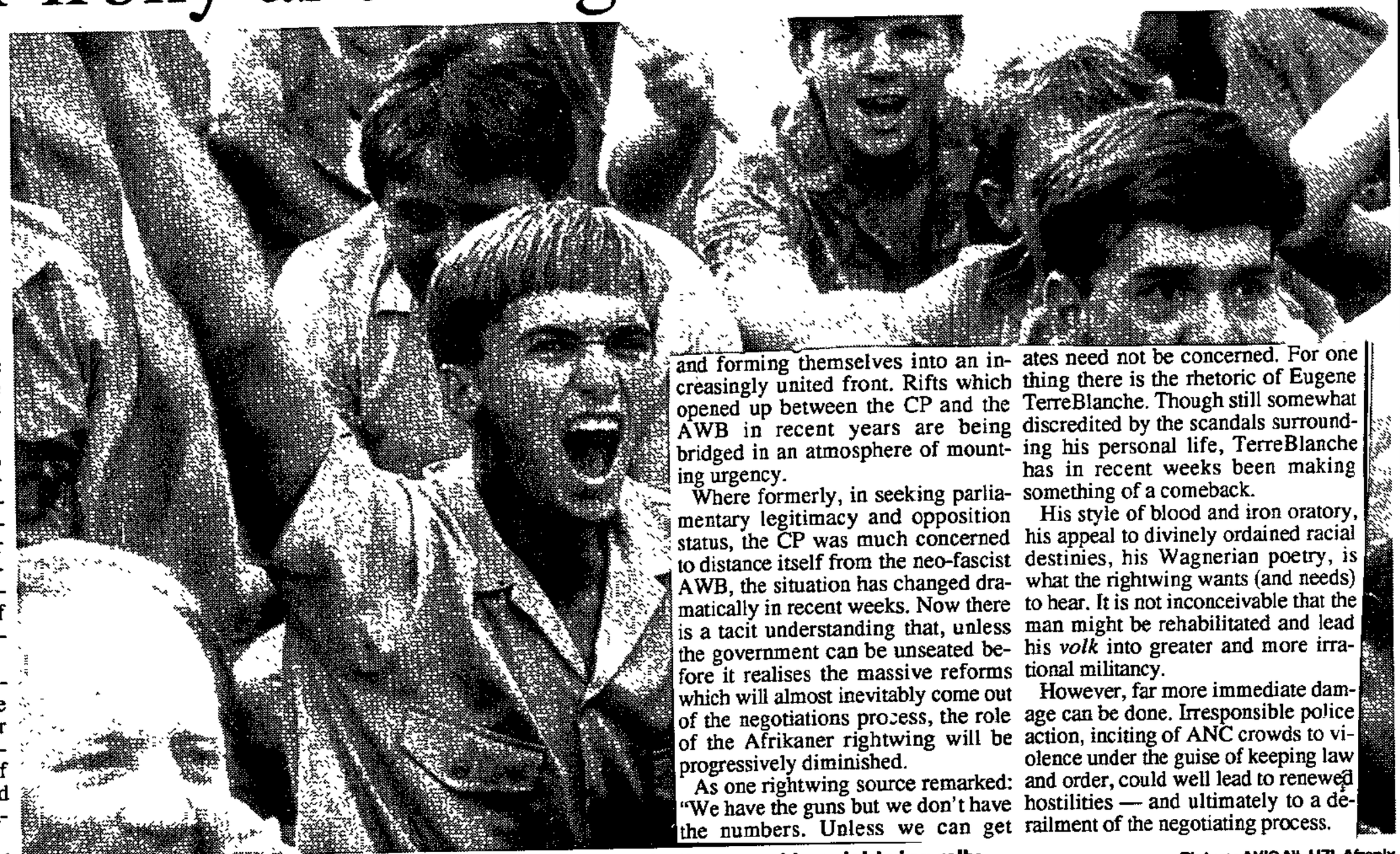
"Investors would therefore be well advised to steer clear, as far as possible, of shares in labour-intensive industries. The gold mines could prove to be an exception, because the heightened prosperity flowing from an advancing gold price should help the mines to stave off threatened labour unrest."

The analysts say government's deregulation and privatisation moves are essentially part of a denationalisation phase. Viewed in its correct perspective, then, ANC nationalisation "noises" are not very different from what the NP has been doing for the past 40 years.

"The essential difference is that the ANC wishes to nationalise precipitously; the Nationalist government did it insidiously," they add.

A sinister irony as the Right takes to the streets

There's a topsy turvy irony to the way the Right has taken up the tactics of the Left: protest marches, strike calls, attacks on the 'sham' of parliament. But there is a sinister side too ... IVOR POWELL reports



Wrapped in a Conservative Party banner, a youth lends enthusiastic support to a rightwing rally

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI, Afrapix

THE release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress started the music for a game of musical chairs in South African politics.

And when it stopped, the National Party was sitting in the Democratic Party's chair. The ANC had become the official, if not parliamentary, opposition.

The DP was still thrashing around, trying to find a chair. And the Conservative Party, formerly the parliamentary opposition, found itself, together with its allies on the far rightwing of Afrikanerdom, increasingly pursuing the extra-parliamentary strategies and forms of organisation which used to characterise the ANC and its allies.

● This week three ultra rightist militants, detained in connection with the death squad scandal, went on hunger strike. In addition to their own release, they demanded the release of Barend Strydom — long described by rightwingers as a "political prisoner" — and the banning of the ANC.

● On Thursday last week a crowd of rightwingers — variously estimated, according to prevailing paranoia levels, as numbering 5 000 and 75 000 — turned out on the streets of Pretoria to march against State Pesident FW de Klerk's unbanning of the democratic organisations and to demand the reimprisonment of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Some carried placards demanding that the government "Hang Mandela".

● Rightists have repeatedly threatened stayaways and strikes in the workplace if things in South Africa are not changed back to the way they used to be.

● Increasingly there are calls by fellow rightwingers to the Conservative Party to resign from what is now perceived as a sham parliament and take up the "struggle" in more militant, extra-parliamentary ways.

If there is a topsy turvy hilarity in the way the rightwing is taking instruction from those it wishes still to repress, there is also a far more sinister side.

Earlier this month groups of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters, after being addressed by AWB chief Eugene Terreblanche as well as other rightwing leaders, went on the rampage in the streets of Pretoria, attacking black passersby and — how the ironies accumulate — smashing cars and other property belonging to (NP) city councillors.

In this case police chose not to invoke the Emergency powers they still possess, chose not to declare this one a riotous assembly. Though well represented, they did little or nothing to stop the AWB men as they swept, a tide of havoc, through the streets of the capital. On the contrary, there were reports of police expressing varying degrees of solidarity, from saluting the AWB's triple-7 emblem, to turning a blind eye, to actively cheering the rioters on.

The more the rightwing moves towards extra-parliamentary opposition, the more it will, in all likelihood, resort to an armed struggle. And unlike the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the Afrikaners is centralised, bristling with licenced weapons — and waiting to pounce from within the bosom of the police and the defence force.

If an underground threat is growing, so is one above ground. Faced with a common enemy the rightwingers are [illegible] and forming themselves into an increasingly united front. Rifts which opened up between the CP and the AWB in recent years are being bridged in an atmosphere of mounting urgency.

Where formerly, in seeking parliamentary legitimacy and opposition status, the CP was much concerned to distance itself from the neo-fascist AWB, the situation has changed dramatically in recent weeks. Now there is a tacit understanding that, unless the government can be unseated before it realises the massive reforms which will almost inevitably come out of the negotiations process, the role of the Afrikaner rightwing will be progressively diminished.

As one rightwing source remarked: "We have the guns but we don't have the numbers. Unless we can get things back to the way they were, and quickly ... I don't even want to think about what will happen.

"But you mustn't forget," he added, "that the Boers were the ones who invented guerrilla warfare. It's still in the soul of our people, that fighting out of the darkness."

Such statements might represent little more than bravado. Certainly it requires a stretch of the imagination to picture the right going underground as the ANC did for 20 or 30 years of silent, seemingly hopeless struggle.

But this does not mean that moderates need not be concerned. For one thing there is the rhetoric of Eugene TerreBlanche. Though still somewhat discredited by the scandals surrounding his personal life, TerreBlanche has in recent weeks been making something of a comeback.

His style of blood and iron oratory, his appeal to divinely ordained racial destinies, his Wagnerian poetry, is what the rightwing wants (and needs) to hear. It is not inconceivable that the man might be rehabilitated and lead his *volk* into greater and more irrational militancy.

However, far more immediate damage can be done. Irresponsible police action, inciting of ANC crowds to violence under the guise of keeping law and order, could well lead to renewed hostilities — and ultimately to a derailment of the negotiating process.

FW's reforms 'not a result of sanctions'

Sanctions had not brought South Africa to its knees and it was a misconception to think that the State President had been forced in any way by sanctions to make concessions the **Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis,** said yesterday.

Replying to debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, Mr Du Plessis said it was arrogant of the ANC to think it held the trump cards on whether or not sanctions should be applied.

"The facts are that the US is providing aid to countries which are moving away from communism, socialism and other unsuccessful systems and the ANC will not be able to rely on them for too much longer.

"They are making a fatal mistake if they think the West has helped them to win.

"Now that the opportunity is being given for arguments between policies, the outdated policies of the ANC have evoked strong criticism worldwide.

Overseas television showed an incident in Soweto at which a red flag was present. This 10-15 seconds of international TV time has enabled us to buy things we have not been able to do for many years. This exposure showed the outside world the close bond between the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Trade sanctions had succeeded momentarily until the country was able to come to grips with the situation and found new markets. Many jobs and much wealth had been lost, but this had brought the best out of exporters.

A ceiling had been placed on economic growth.

"During the last decade we had an average economic growth rate of 1,6 percent, which was hopelessly too low. During the first eight years of the decade we had a 1,2 percent growth rate and experienced a growth rate of 2,9 percent during the last two years.

Mr Du Plessis said South Africa had signed contracts with foreign banks which it could honour and was not affected by sanctions. — Sapa.

Mandela comments on market fall

CHARLENE SMITH

THE adverse reaction to the issue of nationalisation showed that whites were reluctant to achieve a real settlement in this country, Nelson Mandela told SA journalists during a media briefing at his Soweto home yesterday.

He was responding to the flurry of activity on the stock markets caused by his statements earlier in the week that he still believed in nationalisation of the key mining and industrial industries.

"Nationalisation has formed part of the history of this country.

"Nationalisation exists. 304A

"That's why the government is into privatisation now."

He said government moves to privatise would deprive a future black government of the resources to address the issues of poverty and housing shortages.

"Where do we get capital if we don't nationalise?" B/Day 16/2/90

Sapa report he emphatically rejected government's new attitude towards the economy.

Asked if the country's 5-million whites would have to change their lifestyles under an ANC government, Mandela said they had already begun the process.

"Whites in this country are a very important section of the community and without them, without their co-operation, we will have immense problems.

"That is why we are so keen to ensure that the changes we are demanding are not going to mean domination of whites or blacks," he said.

● See Pages 10 and 11
● Comment: Page 10

'We're ready to talk to govt now'

No policy to nationalise — ANC official

B/Day 16/2/90

304A

ALAN FINE

LUSAKA — Nationalisation of the economy was not ANC policy, a senior ANC source said yesterday, apparently contradicting views expressed recently by colleagues as senior as Nelson Mandela.

Amid strong indications that the organisation was poised to announce a largely positive response to President F W de Klerk's political initiatives, the source added the ANC was prepared to negotiate tomorrow a cessation of violence between government and the ANC.

He was speaking during a break in the proceedings of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meeting, scheduled to end here today.

The meeting has resolved all the important matters and will take a few hours today to polish up its statement before meeting US civil rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson at noon and the Press at 2pm today.

The source said the ANC's main economic priority was to address the historical injustices and distortions of racism.

"There are many reasons why we cannot nationalise even if we wanted to. We do not want our economy to collapse into nothing," he said.

"There is nothing in our constitutional guidelines which make nationalisation mandatory," he added.

The guidelines state the economy shall consist of public, private, co-operative and small business sectors.

The source expressed the view that the guidelines were a modern interpretation of the Freedom Charter (which talks of nationalising the heights of the economy), and thus superseded it.

Another ANC source said the nationalisation issue would become "irrelevant" when the NEC announced its decisions today.

On the question of the armed struggle, a number of NEC members reconfirmed that the ANC would not "unilaterally" abandon it.

But the first-mentioned source indicated he was willing to talk to government about a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Issues that could be addressesd in such a process would be the Harare Declaration demands not yet met by De Klerk, including the position of exiles, political prisoners, emergency regulations and security legislation.

But he did not indicate that exiled NEC members would participate in talks with government on these matters.

He said the ANC felt strongly that sanctions should remain in place "for as long as the apartheid question is not resolved.

"We need them as a guarantee that negotiations do not stop in the middle of nowhere."

The source conceded certain ANC positions were there in order to have something with which to compromise in the negotiations.

Another prominent NEC member took a slightly less bullish view of the situation.

☐ To Page 2

Nationalisation

B/Day 16/2/90 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

"We will definitely announce something new which we think is important. But whether it goes far enough to satisfy everyone, we will have to wait and see," he said.

Delegates have remained extremely tightlipped about details of the proceedings at the meeting, where the future role of Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other freed prisoners is also being discussed.

These leaders, and also president Oliver Tambo recuperating in Stockholm, have conveyed their views on the crucial issues to the meeting.

By yesterday it appeared that any serious strategic divisions among NEC members had been ironed out, and the meeting was now discussing detail.

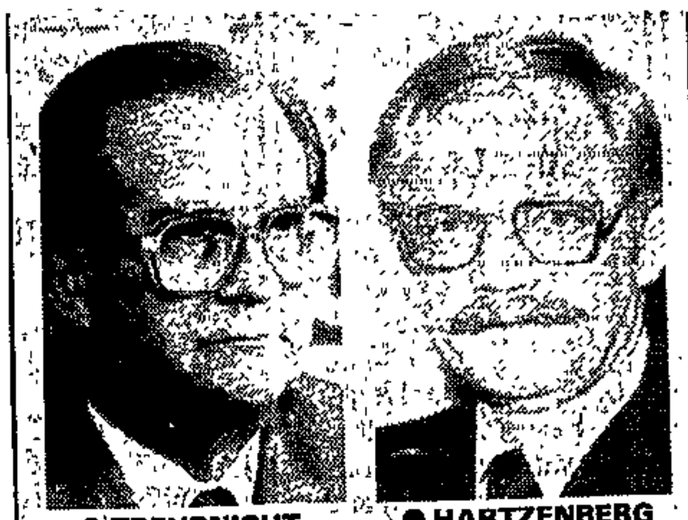
Sources stressed that disagreements were not along simplistic political versus military lines.

Rather, they were based on differing assessments of whether De Klerk and the NP were genuinely committed to real change.

☐ Former US presidential hopeful Jackson is due to arrive in Lusaka today from SA, to meet the ANC leadership.

☐ Sisulu said yesterday that Mandela had been in contact with the authorities on Wednesday regarding a passport to allow him to travel to Lusaka.

Final details for the planned trip would only be made once Mandela had his passport.



● TREURNICHT ● HARTZENBERG

30 000 CP supporters march against reform

B/Day 16/2/90 EDYTH BULBRING (304A)

ABOUT 30 000 CP supporters from as far afield as Richards Bay, Messina, Boksburg and Louis Trichardt converged on Pretoria yesterday to reaffirm their opposition to President's F W De Klerk's reforms.

During the late afternoon 6 000 people gathered in Church Square and sang songs for about two hours before marching to the City Hall, where the crowd swelled to 30 000. Many people were bused to the meeting.

Addressing the crowd at the square, deputy CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg warned the CP would mobilise most of SA's whites before the end of the year.

Shouts of "Hang Mandela" rang out over placards saying "Reform Stinks". Vierkleur, CP, SA and AWB flags were in evidence in the crowd. One man dangled a black doll from a piece of string.

"This is Mandela," he shouted.

Supporters were told not to display flags with swastikas.

At the City Hall, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the NP was forcing Afrikaners to live dangerously.

"This tiger is a friendly tiger, but don't look for trouble. We say to Mandela: you will never have peace in this country unless the principles of partition and separate freedoms are applied."

He said US President George Bush's invitation to De Klerk was a humiliation because Mandela had also been invited as an alternative president.

Treurnicht praised the SAP and security forces' fight against the ANC.

De Klerk, he said, was governing the country and implementing reform without the majority support of the Afrikaner.

Koppel believes FW is serious

B/Day 16/2/90 DANIEL FELDMAN 504A

ABC Nightline anchor Ted Koppel said yesterday he believed President F W de Klerk was very serious about his reforms and was not creating merely surface changes.

The comments were made to Business Day following the taping of a Nightline programme at Wits University yesterday morning, and beamed live to the US, in which Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe discussed issues with, among others, ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Thabo Mbeki, who joined the discussion via satellite from Lusaka.

CP Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe left because he refused to debate with ANC panellists.

Koppel said he did not believe De Klerk was ready to sacrifice his government to create change.

Nor did he see fundamental long-term changes becoming visible in areas such as education and economic dispensation for decades.

Koppel pointed out that negotiations might be difficult to commence because the ANC refused to disassociate itself from violence until the state of emergency ended, and the NP refused to lift the state of emergency until violence ended.

● Comment: Page 10

One person, one vote and nationalisation are likely to be the main issues to be tossed about

(304A)

Negotiations within grasp

17/2/90

PATRICK LAURENCE

AFTER another momentous week in South Africa's political life the previously blurred image of President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela seated at the negotiating table has moved sharply into focus as an imminent reality.

What was hitherto faintly outlined on the horizon is now clearly visible, not least to angry right-wing whites desperate to halt what they see as Mr de Klerk's capitulation.

Assuming that radicals on both sides do not thwart the process and plunge the country into intensified conflict, it requires little imagination to identify the main issues at the negotiating table.

Three come to mind immediately:

- Black demands for one person, one vote versus white fears of black domination.
- The divergence between black aspirations and white anxieties on universal adult suffrage overlaps with another dichotomy: white concern about minority rights as against black suspicions that their preoccupation with these rights is apartheid in a new guise.
- Black insistence that key sec[illegible] of the econ[illegible]

clauses, prescribed majorities and devolution or decentralisation of authority.

Then, too, there is the belief that the present executive presidential system may be unsuitable; the Action Plan hints, instead, at the establishment of a ceremonial presidency.

The Plan, which was influenced by the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, refers to another constitutional notion: "rotation of authority", meaning, presumably, that key portfolios and offices should rotate to give "minority groups" a chance to occupy them.

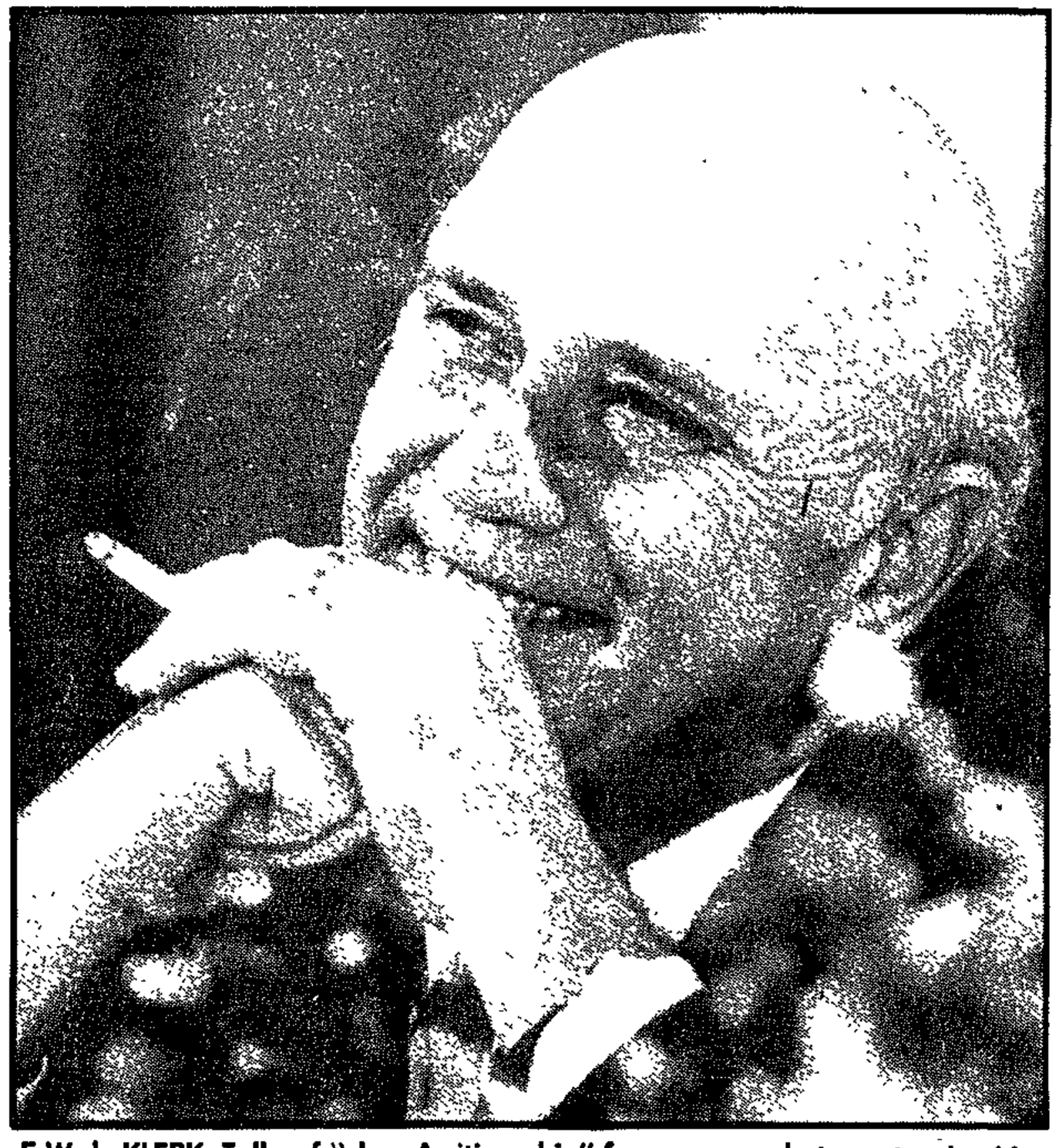
These devices would certainly limit the power of the black majority. The ANC, with its heavy emphasis on non-racialism, is likely to oppose some of them.

But Mr Mandela makes it plain that the ANC is aware of the need to address white fears of black domination, not merely with psychologically re-assuring noises but with appropriate political structures.

"The ANC is very much concerned to address the question of the concern of whites over one person, one vote," Mr Mandela says.

"They insist on structural [illegible]arantees, that is the whites, to

NELSON MANDELA: "The ANC is very much concerned to addres the question of the concern of whites over one person, one vote'



F W de KLERK: Talks of "class A citizenship" for everyone, but wants minorities protected by "checks and balances".

nationalised in contrast to the governing National Party's strong commitment to a market economy.

At one level there is, paradoxically, no conflict over universal adult suffrage. Like motherhood, everyone believes in it.

In its document "Constitutional Guidelines", the ANC says: "In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on one person, one vote."

In his public speeches since his release from prison last Sunday, Mr Mandela implicitly endorses that principle; he describes himself as a "loyal and disciplined member of the ANC" and speaks of the demands of "our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa".

Mr de Klerk, however, does not quarrel with one person, one vote; he agrees that all South Africans should have "an equal vote" and talks of "class A citizenship" for everyone.

But Mr de Klerk adds a corollary: minorities should be protected by in-built "checks and balances" in a system not based on the British winner-take-all model.

The NP's "Action Plan" — which it put to the voters in the September 6 general election last year — details some of the checks and balances which are under consideration in NP and government circles.

It mentions consensus, saying "all groups should agree before an important decision can be taken"; to that it adds the power of minority veto, entrenched ensure that the realisation of this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks.

"We understand those fears and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country."

He declines to go into details but it is clear that he — and the ANC — are thinking of structural guarantees. The nature of compromise, he says, involves "compromise on fundamental issues".

It is relevant to recall that in his evidence in the treason trial of 1956-61 Mr Mandela spoke of accepting 60 seats for black representatives in Parliament as an interim measure, a step toward a non-racial future.

Of course, a lot has happened since then but his statement reflects a pragmatic state of mind which augurs well for deliberations at the negotiating table.

Nationalisation may be a more difficult issue on which to negotiate a compromise.

The ANC has re-affirmed its commitment over and over again to the nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly" industry. Hopes that Mr Mandela, having had time to reflect on the "folly" of nationalisation, might act to modify or even reverse that commitment have been dashed since his release.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, minces no words in his opposition to nationalisation. It is theft, he says.

Mr Mandela says bluntly that a change of our views is "inconceivable" and nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry "unavoidable".

His speech to 100 000 people at the rally in Soweto requires no deciphering: "We believe that apartheid has created a heinous system of exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of black people are condemned to poverty ... We shall certainly introduce policies that address the economic problems that we face."

A central feature of those policies will be nationalisation, unless the government can persuade that the nationalisation is a recipe for economic disaster and impoverishment of all.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, minces no words in his opposition to nationalisation. It is theft, he says.

Since many black nationalists of all hues believe that big business acquired its wealth through expropriation and exploitation — which amount to theft by another name — a bitter and acrimonious debate can be expected at the negotiating table.

Judging by statements made by Mr de Klerk, Mr du Plessis and the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Government believes that, in the long run, it can win the debate.

The rejection of communism in Eastern Europe means, they contend, that the ANC is peddling an outmoded ideology which it will not be able to sell. The collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe was a prime factor in the decision to unban the ANC, Mr du Plessis says.

An intriguing question arises from the conflicting views on government and the ANC on nationalisation: whose side will the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, take?

Chief Buthelezi is a staunch proponent of free enterprise and a market economy, a conviction which would theoretically place him on the side of government and big business on that issue (on one-man-one-vote his views coincide with those of the ANC).

But Mr Mandela, judging from his letter to Chief Buthelezi while he was still in jail and from his remarks since his release, is anxious to end the quarrel between Inkatha and the ANC and restore the cordial relations which existed in the late 1970s.

The ANC, he says, has differences with Chief Buthelezi on violence, participation in government-established structures and sanctions. He labels these "fundamental differences".

But, Mr Mandela adds, "it has a following and it seems to me correct to try to settle prob

ANC send team to talks with FW

Star 2/2/90 (304A)

'Suspension of hostilities' a key item on agenda

LUSAKA — In a major breakthrough, welcomed by National Party and Democratic Party sources, the exiled leadership of the African National Congress said yesterday it would send a delegation "as soon as possible" to South Africa for a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

The announcement came after a three-day meeting of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee.

The meeting would be the first between the movement's exiled leaders and a South African head of state.

Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, also said the movement was prepared to negotiate "a suspension of hostilities" once Mr de Klerk met the group's remaining pre-conditions for formal talks.

The ANC said "it resolved to meet Mr de Klerk as soon as possible to discuss with him the need to address these issues so that a climate conducive to negotiations is created".

The movement said the delegation would include exiled members as well as leaders inside South Africa. That could include recently released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, although Mr Nzo did not specify anyone by name.

The Lusaka announcement followed three days of meetings to evaluate recent reforms announced by Mr de Klerk on February 2. These included legalising more than 60 opposition groups, among them the ANC; the release of Mr Mandela; the easing of press restrictions; and a moratorium on executions.

Mr Nzo said the ANC viewed these reforms "in a positive light".

The ANC reiterated that the Government had to release all political prisoners, lift the State of Emergency and allow exiles to return before formal negotiations began.

Mr de Klerk has said he plans to take these steps.

The ANC, which was banned for 30 years, also said it would open offices in South Africa.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Mandela said he would be willing to meet Mr de Klerk to discuss the prospect of negotiations.

"I have found him to be a man of integrity with whom I can do business," Mr Mandela said.

Saturday Star's political correspondent, Peter Fabricius, reports from Cape Town that the Government had no of-

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC

(304A)

FROM PAGE 1.

ficial response last night. But National Party sources described the ANC move as a "start".

The Government reaction was expected to be positive, as the ANC's move to send a delegation was a direct response to an invitation by Mr de Klerk a week ago.

Speaking at a press conference to announce the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk said that "exploratory talks" could be held to discuss problems hindering negotiations.

Although he was specifically referring only to the issue of political prisoners, Mr de Klerk indicated in a later interview that the lifting of the State of Emergency could also be negotiated.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said: "We have taken note of the statement. We are studying it and we will probably respond to it early next week."

Senior NP sources said: "It is an encouraging sign that they are coming to talks. Our attitude all along has been that the ball is in the ANC court. They must make some gesture.

"But it seems as if they try to play it both ways. They stick to their familiar rhetoric about violence and sanctions, but on the other hand they want to get clarity.

"It's the smallest possible start they could take, but it is at least a start."

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I'm delighted to hear this news. It confirms that the ANC is looking towards genuine negotiations and by implication, that its intentions are peaceful.

"The proposed talks with Mr de Klerk represent the most important step so far in the 'talks about talks' to which all of us have been referring.

"The re-establishment of the ANC as a political organisation within South Africa is entirely to be welcomed and is something we have long campaigned for.

"As one of the handful of members of Parliament who voted against the banning of the ANC three decades ago, I shall be particularly pleased to welcome them back to the political scene."

On the likely right-wing reaction, Mr de Beer said: "I don't think it adds anything to the fury they are exhibiting. The action of unbanning the ANC was already enough to raise the Conservative Party's anger to maximum levels.

"It simply is not physically possible for them to become any angrier."

NP will continue to protect white interests — F W

Star 17/4/96 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk has told the National Party that it will continue to look after white interests and will play a key role in any future constitutional dispensation.

At no time was the NP's role more important than now, he told a meeting of the NP federal council here yesterday.

The meeting of the NP's most important body was attended by the four provincial leaders and six senior representatives from each of the four provinces. Enthusastic support was given to the Government's initiatives, the NP said in a statement.

The information committee of the federal council, meeting for the first time under its new chairman Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, decided to appoint a task force to put across the party's message.

De Klerk and ANC poised for dramatic first meeting

IT'S FULL SPEED AHEAD!

(304A) S/Times 18/2/90.

F W DE KLERK ... preparing his response as the ANC edges towards talk about talks

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

FIRST face-to-face talks between the Government and the ANC may be only weeks away. If they're successful, full-scale negotiations could get under way soon afterwards.

Yesterday, even planners close to President F W de Klerk's audacious moves to break the South African deadlock were awed at the speed of developments.

It was also reported that Mr Nelson Mandela — who, after 27 years in jail, holds no formal office — is expected to be drafted into an important leadership position when he visits Lusaka this week or next.

A source close to the ANC said the ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, would urge the ANC's executive to formally recognise Mr Mandela's role as "father of the liberation movement".

Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, has acted as president since Mr Tambo took ill.

It was noted that, with his experience of almost three years of negotiation with members of the Government while he was in prison, Mr Mandela was the well-equipped to lead the ANC's negotiating team.

Eager

At its meeting in Lusaka this week, the ANC took a decision about Mr Mandela's future role, but an official statement afterwards contained no reference to him — presumably to preserve an element of surprise about his new appointment.

Meanwhile, ANC leaders in

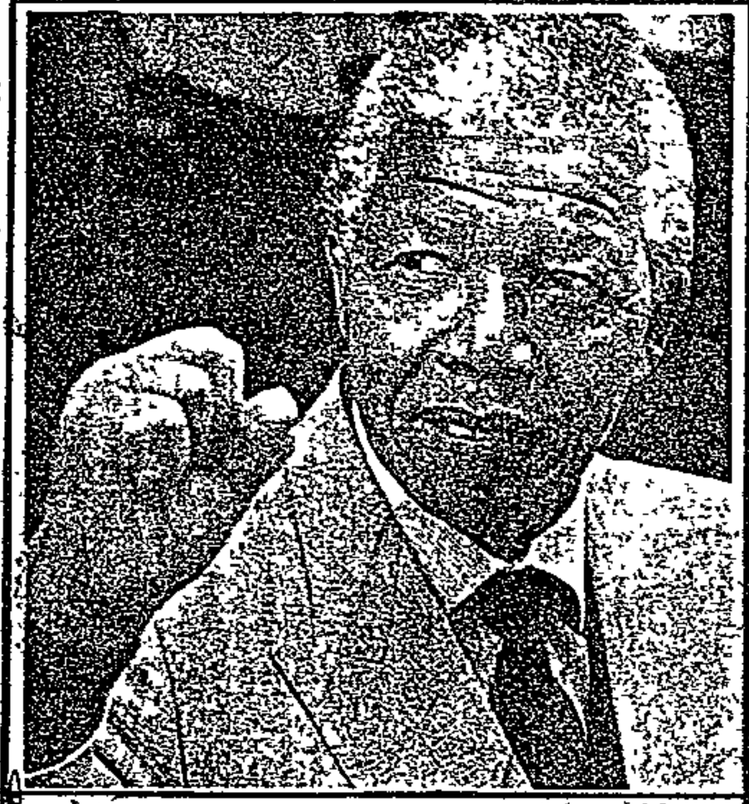
Mandela to face series of health checks after hectic week

By DAVID JACKSON

NELSON MANDELA is to undergo a series of medical tests to ensure his health can stand up to the punishing schedule he has set himself since his release from prison last week. S/Times 18/2/90.

His health is being monitored closely, including daily blood pressure readings. The results of a comprehensive medical check-up carried out recently at the Victor Verster pris-

S/Times 18/2/90 (11A)



● HOME IS THE HERO: P12

● SLOVO: I DON'T HAVE A GUILTY CONSCIENCE: P5

● PLANS, PROMISES AND FUTURE REALITIES: P21

SATV fires a Kupid arrow at SA reform

By DOUGLAS GORDON, TV Correspondent

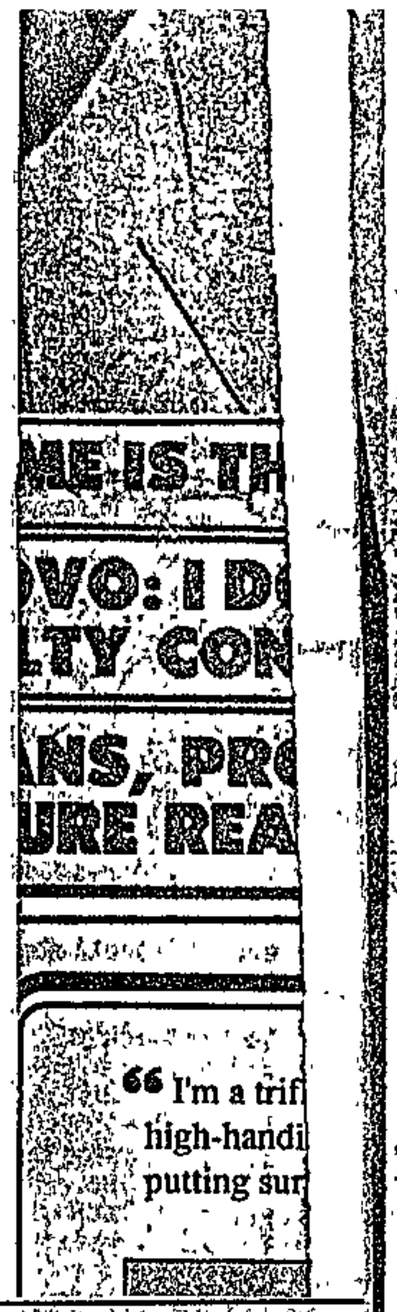
SATV is looking for ways to put more black faces on the box.

Top SABC executives meet this week to decide how its TV service should be adapted to the Government's fast-paced reforms.

They are worried about how best to serve millions of English-speaking black viewers.

Their biggest headache is how to broaden the appeal of TV1.

Plans are also afoot to



It's full speed ahead on talks

S/Times 18/2/90 (304A)

□ From Page 1

wants the Government to:

- Lift the state of emergency;
- Free all political prisoners.

The Government's proposal to the ANC is:

- Renounce the armed struggle in exchange for the lifting of the state of emergency.

Sources close to Mr De Klerk said agreement was reachable. The Government and the ANC could make a direct trade.

Concern

Already the state of emergency is partly lifted and the ANC on Friday significantly softened its stance on armed action, saying there would henceforth be no civilian targets.

Against that background, said sources, "completion of the deal" was a distinct possibility.

Sticky patches are expected on the issue of political prisoners.

Concern is mounting over the slow start to Mr De Klerk's undertaking on February 2 to release remaining prisoners.

Some Government strategists are frustrated at bureaucratic sluggishness that is holding up the completion of what they see as Mr De Klerk's "credibility package".

For its part, the ANC wants prisoners convicted of crimes of violence released along with others — something Mr De Klerk has ruled out.

Anxiety

There have been indications, though, that the two sides may agree to hold this issue over until formal negotiations begin.

Mr De Klerk is having to counter voter anxieties over the rapid pace of change that are reaching MPs from their constituencies.

National Party MPs soberly noted this week's right-wing rallies — some of the largest political gatherings of whites since the creation of the Republic.

Overtones

Some MPs expressed particular concern that the ANC had chosen December 16 to hold its first congress in SA. The Day of the Vow is one of Afrikanerdom's most sacrosanct days — particularly among right-wingers.

However, because of its symbolism of the defeat of blacks by whites at Blood River, it has also important overtones for blacks.

The ANC's choice of the day, nevertheless, is certain to be seen by conservative whites as premeditated provocation.

A source close to the ANC said the ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, would urge the ANC's executive to formally recognise Mr Mandela's role as "father of the liberation movement".

Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, has acted as president since Mr Tambo took ill.

It was noted that, with his experience of almost three years of negotiation with members of the Government while he was in prison, Mr Mandela would be well-equipped to lead the ANC's negotiating team.

Eager

At its meeting in Lusaka this week, the ANC took a decision about Mr Mandela's future role, but an official statement afterwards contained no reference to him — presumably to preserve an element of surprise about his new appointment.

Meanwhile, ANC leaders in Lusaka are forming a delegation to return to SA — some for the first time in 30 years — to discuss with President De Klerk the remaining obstacles to formal negotiations.

Late yesterday, President De Klerk had not yet responded officially to the ANC's announced intention to meet him for talks — but it was taken for granted in senior Government circles that he would be eager to meet the delegation as soon as possible.

Ready

Although senior sources have called the ANC response "cautious" and "barely the minimum", they were satisfied that it constituted acceptance of Mr De Klerk's assertion that the time for talks has arrived.

The ANC leadership did not indicate on Friday when its delegation would be ready to leave for SA — but Government sources indicated there were no impediments.

The delegation would be received as soon as it was ready — possibly within three weeks.

Sources in the Zambian capital said yesterday the ice-breaking team would probably be led by Mr Nzo, assisted by the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and its head of information and research, Mr Pallo Jordan.

Obstacles

From South Africa, the team would be supplemented by high-profile stalwarts like Mr Walter Sisulu as well as leaders of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Sisulu was this week appointed by the ANC's National Executive to head a committee to re-establish dormant ANC-structures inside South Africa.

ANC leaders stressed that the expected talks would not be "negotiations on a future constitution".

They would be exploratory discussions aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to full-scale negotiations.

For Mr Nzo, 64 — a former health inspector in Alexandra — it will be his first visit to South Africa since he went into exile 26 years ago.

Tough talking will mark the first meeting. The ANC

□ To Page 2

WON: SEE

It's time to untie SA from the burning stake

S/Times 18/2/90

304A

Peter du Preez

professor of psychology at the University of Cape Town, explains how the ANC and the National Party can be united in the pursuit of justice and freedom

NOW that the State President has set South Africa on a new course it is worth examining the ways in which others may attempt to influence that course. The question, quite simply, is how governments (and other political powers) try to influence other governments.

The first way is to raise the cost of "undesirable" behaviour. The second is to reward "desirable" behaviour. The third is to attempt a genuine understanding of the anxieties of those one is attempting to influence. Finally, and very rarely, there may be an attempt to restructure choices so that real improvements are achieved.

Let us look at these processes.

Governments dream of being able to make offers that can't be refused. The Mafia is the ideal in foreign policy.

Baddies

To this end governments build up their military strength, impose sanctions, disinvest and attempt to strangle rivals. A corpse is preferable to a recalcitrant opponent.

In the process of opposition we see the categorisations of international apartheid at work. As this struggle continues all Commies, Germans or South Africans become baddies until they bow the knee.

Moralists love sanctions. They enable them to be really wicked in the service of goodness. Not only can they preach at you, but they can skewer you at the same time. What could give greater pleasure?

They re-enact the performances of priests reading the Bible to heretics at the stake. The more virtuous the opposing government, the longer it will continue trying to get South Africans to repent at the stake.

The second method of exerting influence is to reward good behaviour. The way most governments interpret this is that they will release the thumbscrews when you agree to do what they say. That's reward enough, surely.

Thus, sanctions and other punitive measures will cease when you have satisfied their demands. Most people find it difficult to reward those they don't like, and this is why punishment is much more common in international relations then substantial assistance.

There can be no doubt that punishment and relief are effective in many cases. We in South Africa should be grateful that they have been applied to us: they have saved us from great evil. We should also be grateful that we are not a major power, of the size of the Soviet Union or Germany. If we had been I'm sure we would have taken the route of totalitarian apartheid in the 60s and 70s. As it was, we started out on that way and then stalled as the costs began to rise. If we follow the De Klerk course the thumbscrews might be loosened!

What about the third method of exerting influence, which is to understand the genuine anxieties and fears of those one is negotiating with?

Afraid

Let me use an example. Suppose one is faced with a person who persists in using drugs in spite of all the rewards and punishments one has administered? How can one understand such stubbornness? Is the person just plain obstinate? It might be that there is a simple explanation.

If the addict were to give up drugs he might find he is without friends, without skills and without a job. So he goes on with his drugs.

Similarly, the NP clings to power because it is afraid of black domination. This is a genuine fear that needs to be addressed by diplomacy. Those who understand this fear and do not attempt to wish it away will have the greatest effect on the conduct of the NP.

It is easy enough, given overwhelming power, to break a government. The real problem is to lay the foundations for building a future state. History is littered with the wrecks of fallen governments and broken states. This is the usual achievement of international statecraft.

This brings us to the final point, which is that problems can be solved only if we frame our choices in the right way.

Tyranny

Generally, the source of the greatest error is misunderstanding the alternatives before us. In Europe, the choice is not between capitalism and communism, but between liberal democracy and totalitarianism.

In South Africa, the fruitful choice is not between white domination and black domination, it is between tyranny and liberal democracy. A change of actors in the same play will bring us as surely to the same dreary end of conflict and decay.

If we set aside the black/white distinction as irrelevant, we can begin to think. There is no reason why the ANC and the NP should not be totally united in the quest for freedom and justice, because it is in the interest of all that all should be treated justly and should be free.

If we discard the black/white distinction as relevant only in an unjust, unfree system, we can think about important principles of statecraft and about the most important problems facing us.

The principles I wish to raise here are subsidiarisation and empiricism. The problem I wish to identify is that of mass poverty.

If we are to design a free state, one of the important strategies (in addition to ensuring free elections, a bill of rights and all the other liberal principles of government which I shall have to take for granted here) is the reduction of central power by subsidiarisation.

This means: as much local and institutional autonomy as possible. Decisions should be taken at the lowest level required for their implementation. This ensures variety, experimentation and vitality in public life which, in turn, ensures a highly adaptive system in a competitive world.

Closely related to this is a change in style of government. Governments, if they are to be responsive to problems and facts, should adopt an experimental as opposed to utopian attitude. The experimental attitude implies that even our most cherished ideas are open to criticism and revision when tested against the facts. A utopian (or totalitarian) attitude implies that the facts must be revised when they conflict with our most cherished ideas.

Poverty

I have no doubt which of these approaches will foster justice and liberty. It is the experimental approach, which is the way of humility. One of the major features of our education ought to be education in the experimental attitude to all problems, including political problems.

Finally, we have got to find a way to eradicate massive and increasing poverty. This is a problem which requires all our resources. If it is to succeed, the war against poverty should involve the poor themselves. It should also involve the international community; a form of Marshall Aid for a democratic South Africa would be a really constructive move.

This will give us enough to think about. We can then forget to notice whether the government is black or white.

Bill of Rights vital to peaceful future

S/Times 18/2/90

Tony Leon (304A)

MP for Houghton, says a Bill of Rights could be the bridge over South Africa's troubled waters

DESPITE the positive events of the last fortnight, we still live in a divided and troubled society: divided by differences and troubled by our failure to reconcile them.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that we seize the initiative given by the Government's acceptance of a Bill of Rights. A Bill properly enacted and justiciable by an independent court could be a bridge over the troubled waters raging in our land — a bridge over the conflicting ambitions for absolute power.

Simply put, a Bill of Rights will ensure the individual is free, because the State is restrained:

- It will limit power and the abuse of it;
- It will be the constitutional holy grail which will shape the very basis of relations between the State and its citizens;
- It will be a neutral arbiter in whose favour each side, the majority and the minority, could safely relinquish the claim to absolute power since the Bill would embody a set of even-handed rights, impartial as to whether the government of the day was the ANC or the AWB, or any other party;
- It would restore to their rightful place the majestic empire of Roman Dutch Law and its English Common Law adjunct which have been eroded by unbridled parliamentary sovereignty.

As Mr Justice Didcott noted: "We have mutilated and crippled the body of Roman Dutch Law ... but our politicians appear not to have learnt the lesson of history that, just as liberty is indivisible so is the protection of the law.

"Weaken it today when it protects others against you and it will be weak tomorrow when you may require and want it to protect you against them."

A Bill of Rights requires a real commitment by Parliament and politicians that the people have certain rights against both them and Parliament. It would guarantee that for as long as constitutional government survived so would the rule of law.

A Bill of Rights in South Africa would establish a 'rechstaat' which would restrain not just unlawfulness which any policeman or prosecutor can combat, but lawlessness too, ie: the exercise of state power unconstrained by any limits or by any control by an independent system of judicial power.

It has been said that lawlessness paves the road to tyranny.

Repugnant

Legitimacy is an essential precondition for a Bill of Rights. The Olivier report of the Law Commission recognises this aspect when it says, in sum, that things being what they are, the South African constitution cannot currently accommodate a Bill of Rights properly so-called. Its introduction would require the wholesale purging of racial and security statutes which would be repugnant to it.

Given that much of the aforementioned legislation will be the subject of the sensitive negotiation phase we are soon to enter, it is unlikely that a Bill of Rights can be speedily enacted.

However, what Government and all politicians inside and outside parliament can create is a culture of rights in a climate of liberty.

Perhaps the most obvious reason for discarded Bills of Rights littering the pathways of post-colonial Africa was the absence of this culture.

But Parliament stands historically poised to nurture a Rights Culture. Twenty years ago the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his maiden speech on August 20 1970, said: "I would like to make the plea that South Africa should, to a greater extent, identify itself with the (Universal) Declaration of Human Rights today."

We squandered a golden opportunity when we declined to heed the Minister's call to affirmatively acknowledge the declaration, which would have created an impetus for the reception in our country of an indigenous Bill of Rights.

Government can today go much further. South Africa can, by a simple act of the executive, accede to very important international conventions which it declined to sign at the time of their enactment. This would send a powerful signal abroad and foster the right climate at home.

We should work towards the day when we can be a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965).

This convention is based on the premise that there is no justification for racial discrimination in theory or in practice.

Article 5 obliges all parties to the convention to prohibit and eliminate racial discrimination and to guarantee equality before the law in respect of some 25 basic rights.

Equality

By my calculation, all South Africans currently enjoy 18 of the rights. There are three critical rights which still have to be accorded: equal justice before the law; political rights based on universal and equal suffrage; the right of freedom of residence anywhere in the country.

When these rights are accorded we will have established the brave new republic of which Vaclav Havel, President of a free Czechoslovakia, spoke only last month;

"I dream of a Republic, independent, free and democratic; of a Republic economically prosperous and yet socially just. In short, of a humane Republic which serves the individual and which therefore holds the hope that the individual will serve it in turn."

- *Extracted from Mr Leon's maiden speech in Parliament this week.*

DP ponders its future

S/Times 18/2/90

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is holding a series of regional strategy meetings to decide on its future in the rapidly changing order of South African politics.

The meetings began soon after President F W de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC earlier this month.

Sentiment

Findings of the meetings will soon be discussed by the party's strategy committee, which will make recommendations to the DP management on what identity the DP should adopt.

Discussions in the party have been focusing on the "Gastrow options" — named after four proposals largely drawn up by the party's young Durban Central MP, Mr Peter Gastrow.

These options are that:

- The DP can move closer to the Governemnt in an overtly supportive role;
- The party can move closer to the ANC;
- The DP should seek a formal alliance with the ANC and other groups within the Mass Democratic Movement;
- The party can retain an independent identity in the traditional opposition role of watchdog.

DP MPs say the main opinion emerging from the regional meetings point either to the party retaining its identity, but intensifying interaction with the ANC, civic organisations and the MDM, or a more assertive move to closer alignment with the ANC, now that the organisation is legal.

It appears there is no sympathy in party ranks for moving closer to the Government.

Strategy

(304A)

However, some DP members say there is likely to be a difference of sentiment between the party's official members and its base of supporters whose involvement is relevant only at the polls.

Some suspect that the mood among DP supporters may be far more sympathetic to the Government's dramatic reform moves than the mood in the party's hierarchy.

Treason charges hold no fear

By CHARLES MOGALE (304A) (AA)

NELSON Mandela is not bothered by treason charges laid against him by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht. C/Press 18/2/90

He told a Press conference this week: "When Treurnicht is in government, we may worry about him. Not now."

Last week Treurnicht laid charges of treason against Mandela and PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, following the two leaders' pro-armed struggle pronouncements.

In response to a question, Mandela said although the armed struggle would continue, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda was calling for its suspension.

"It is understandable Kaunda should make that call because he is a non-violent person, but the issue here is not the armed struggle. It is apartheid."

Andries Treurnicht

ANC youth leader recalls a long and tortuous road

S/Times 18/2/90

TALKS about talks between the ANC and the Government did not just fall out of the blue.

Crucial spadework was done over many years in meetings between ANC members and groups of academics, students and professional people.

One man who can today feel justifiably proud about the role he played in creating the climate for negotiations is ANC youth leader Jackie Selebe.

In Lusaka this week Mr Selebe — he is the youngest member of the ANC's 35-person executive — told how these exploratory meetings helped to prepare the ground for the main event that is to follow.

"There was great opposition from both sides when we started reaching out to youth groups inside South Africa," said Mr Selebe. "But we persevered — and we have been vindicated."

In South Africa the first tentative moves to establish contacts were harshly slapped down. Matie students had to cancel a visit when Mr P W Botha threatened to withdraw their passports .

Businessmen, including Anglo chairman Gavin Relly, were severely reprimanded by the Government. Groups like Idasa and the Five Freedom's Forum were called "meelopers" and "fifth columnists".

Even journalists who ventured north in search of quotes ended up on the receiving end of government tongue-lashings.

A mere five months ago the NP launched an all-out campaign to unseat DP co-leader Wynand Malan in the election in Randburg — with the main bone of contention being his contacts with the ANC. A picture of him sitting next to ANC leaders was used in a NP propaganda blitz.

JACKIE SELEBE
Feels vindicated

And within ANC ranks people who spoke to "the Boere" were treated with suspicion by hardliners who preferred "war-war" to "jaw-jaw".

"It was very difficult in the beginning," recalled Mr Selebe whose Youth League pioneered the talks with student groups. "But we persisted, often meeting in the utmost secrecy — and our efforts are now bearing fruit.

"Through the years we have managed to destroy major preconceptions and stereotypes that have existed about 'the other side'."

Only last month a Youth League delegation met with the establishment-connected youth movement Jeugkrag in Harare. The contrasts in views were sharply etched and they agreed to differ on a number of issues, but at least a basis of understanding was established.

The result of all these contacts, said Mr Selebe, was that there were now a number of highly influential people inside South Africa who had already had exposure to ANC views.

304A

Vital

They range from dominees to businessmen and from lawyers to teachers.

Mr Selebe said he hoped these contacts could be continued even when real negotiations at the leadership level got going.

"The youth have always been in the front trenches of political warfare and they are going to play a vital role in determining the future of South Africa."

Brigadiers walk out of mayor's service

Cape Times 19/2/90

Staff Reporter

TWO Defence Force brigadiers caused a stir in mayoral circles yesterday when the Officer Commanding Western Province Command, and the Officer Commanding Southern Air Command arrived for the mayoral Sunday service — and then walked out before proceedings began.

Both Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command, and Brigadier Theo de Munnink, OC Southern Air Command, refused to comment on whether they had left the service because Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was to be sung.

The mayoral service is an annual traditional church service attended by top city dignitaries and diplomats. The service is conducted in the denomination of the incumbent mayor.

According to one witness the two brigadiers arrived in full uniform about 10 minutes before the service was due to start at 10am in the Grand Hall, City Hall.

They took their seats but then left within five minutes before the mayoral entourage entered.

During the hour-long service the chior sang the African hymn Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. The hymn is seen as an alternative to the SA national anthem.

Brigadier De Jager last night refused to comment.

Brigadier De Munnink confirmed that he and Brigadier De Jager had left the service.

When asked whether they had left because of the singing of the hymn, Brigadier De Munnink said he would "like to discuss the matter with the people concerned before talking to the press".

DP examines its role, dismisses rift reports

ARGUS 19/2/90 (304A)

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has dismissed suggestions that there are deep divisions within the party over its future role in the new South African politics.

He confirmed that the DP was assessing a range of options for future strategy and was now consulting the "grassroots" level of the party for reaction.

But he rejected as "nonsensical" suggestions in weekend newspaper reports that there were divisions in the party and its parliamentary caucus.

"In fact, old hands say they have never experienced a caucus so coherent and purposeful as the DP caucus," he said.

Introspection within the party has arisen because of President F W de Klerk's far-reaching initiatives in the past few weeks. Broadly, speculation has focused on the possibility that some in the party would favour a closer alliance with forces outside parliament — including, for instance, the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front — while others would favour a closer relationship with the government, now that it has committed itself to normalising politics and getting negotiations going.

Dr Worrall said: "The DP takes credit for the sudden change in our politics because all the things Mr De Klerk has instituted were part of our manifesto and it is proof of our relevance.

"But clearly, with these things being implemented, we have entered a whole new politics, not just of five- to eight-million people, but of close on 40 million.

"This means we have to look at our strategies. We are taking them to our grassroots to get the reactions of our supporters and will be drawing conclusions shortly.

"But suggestions that there are divisions in the party and the caucus are quite nonsensical."

Lusaka waits for govt response

(304A)

ANC hopes to meet FW within weeks

B/Day 19/2/90.

ALAN FINE

LUSAKA — THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) could send a delegation to SA to meet President F W de Klerk before the end of this month, NEC sources said at the weekend.

The ANC, which suggested the visit in a statement on Friday, expects government to respond after this week's Cabinet meeting. Should De Klerk welcome the idea of a meeting to discuss remaining obstacles to negotiations, the delegation would be ready to leave Lusaka in a matter of days.

"We want to keep this thing moving," an ANC source said.

Government ministers said they wanted to study the statement before commenting, but see it as a satisfactory intitial response to get negotiations underway.

The ANC group, which would probably include one or two top leaders, is to form a joint delegation with internal leaders likely to include Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's initial general view was that since these were to be merely "talks about talks" they did not really call for participation by top-level leaders.

However, a source said: "We cannot afford not to send (acting president) Alfred Nzo on this trip."

The ANC did not want to give government the impression that it was not taking the process seriously.

The NEC delegation would probably also include members from the second-level leadership.

Another source said the group was not concerned that any of their number would be arrested. Nevertheless, it was unlikely the ANC would try to test the waters too vigorously by sending known Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders at this stage.

By Saturday there were the beginnings of frantic activity at ANC headquarters in Lusaka as officials began making arrangements for carrying out the decisions announced by the NEC on Friday.

It apeared the serious work in Lusaka from today would revolve around devising positions on the matters to be discussed with De Klerk.

One NEC member said the ANC would continue to demand the lifting of the emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the other familiar points.

But the ANC would also be ready to offer something in exchange, for example, an undertaking that the ANC would do its

● See also Pages 3 & 10
● Comment: Page 10

utmost to see that law and order is maintained, as exemplified in Mandela's appeals at rallies for order.

As far as political prisoners were concerned, the ANC, with its Frontline states allies, may be willing to investigate a prisoner swop involving SA agents.

The ANC, too, is said to be holding spies.

Meanwhile, uncertainty regarding Mandela's date of arrival in Lusaka continues.

The most likely date according to local ANC sources in February 26.

Mandela's planned address to a Natal rally this weekend is seen fitting in with the NEC statement expressing concern at the Natal violence.

Further factors which may delay Mandela's arrival is that he is seen as almost a

☐ To Page 2

ANC visit

B/Day 19/2/90

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

head of state, and diplomatic protocol involving not only the Zambian state but also other Frontline states would have to be followed, and Frontline heads of state have a meeting scheduled for February 27 in Lusaka.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Cape Town that government sources said yesterday although senior cabinet ministers were still studying the ANC response they expected talks to take place soon.

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said government had taken note of the ANC's response and a formal reaction could be expected early this week.

Viljoen said in an earlier interview with Business Day that what government expected from the ANC was for the organisation to commit itself to pre-negotiations about any further preconditions.

The ANC now having met this minimum requirement, the focus of talks will now shift to ending the state of emergency and clarifying the position of political prisoners and exiles.

While some ministers believe the emergency can be lifted soon, others, particulary Adriaan Vlok, believe it has to remain in place at least in Natal where violence has escalated in past weeks.

Government at this stage is still insisting that those prisoners and exiles who have committed serious common law crimes will have to be excluded from an amnesty.

Any relaxation of this stand will require either a suspension or preferably an abandoning of the armed struggle on the part of the ANC.

Parties to fight propaganda war

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The NP plans a propaganda blast to counter the CP's latest strategy.

Although no details of the plan have been revealed, the issue is regarded as extremely urgent as an erosion of NP support to the CP is feared unless the NP fights back, a source said.

Observers here say there is little alternative but to mount a campaign similar to the CP's.

CP national secretary Andries Beyers said at the weekend that the offensive against government's "sell out" policies had just begun.

By the year's end, he said, up to two thirds of white voters could be on the side of the CP.

He said the policies generated a fear of a loss of control and a black socialist government. The CP planned nationwide mass protests in the next three months.

Also being arranged in the next few weeks were regional closed party meetings in all provinces for planning further tactics. A manifesto demanding a general election would soon be distributed in the campaign to collect a million protest signatures, he said.

● Comment: Page 10

Top Indaba staff axed to save on costs

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Numerous top management figures in the KwaZulu Natal Indaba have lost their jobs after shock disclosures of financial cuts — which places a question mark over the future of the Indaba.

Retrenchments included associate director Peter Badcock-Walters, deputy chairman Prof Dawid van Wyk, political lobbyist Mari Botha and director of communications Wanda Hennig, who recently left as Cosmopolitan magazine's Natal bureau chief to join the Indaba.

Others who also lost their jobs include Deri Crockett (fund-raising), Mark Woolley (project development), Welcome Shange (communications), and Alan Jarvis (resources).

It is understood that a committee was recently appointed to restructure the Indaba in terms of their current financial position. The committee, which included leading members from the commercial and industrial sectors, apparently recommended that there should be staff cuts and rationalisation.

The retrenchment package terms have not yet been decided, but it is believed they will be substantial.

Sources also speculated that overseas funding had slowly dried up with the realisation that the present political situation in SA needed a national solution, and not a regional solution.

Not all of the Indaba's work was directed at finding a political solution. Much of their work involved community projects, and there is concern that much of this work will suffer. (304A)

Confirming the retrenchments, Indaba executive director Peter Mansfield last night said the organisation would be completely restructured.

"As SA moves through a rapid process of change it is vital to be planning ahead and facilitating the change. B/Day 20/2/90

"In spite of the reduced flow of funds, the projects are both vital to SA and financially viable."

Crimes of thought and the sincerest form of denigration

304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

ANDY Rooney is the television equivalent of a favourite eccentric uncle. Until recently, he appeared every Sunday evening at the end of 60 Minutes, the extremely popular CBS news magazine programme. His speciality was the banal little puzzles of everyday life — for example, what to do with the cotton wool packing in pill bottles.

A couple of weeks back, Rooney was charged with thought crime. The Advocate — a small, alternative journal for homosexuals — quoted him as saying that black Americans had "watered down their genes" because the least intelligent ones procreated the most children. He emphatically denies saying anything of the kind. Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that The Advocate was out to smear him because of remarks he did in fact make to the effect that homosexual AIDS was a largely self-induced disease.

Like the profession of Protestant faith in the reign of Queen Mary, or the fact of having been born Jewish in Nazi Germany, the actual or even merely alleged expression of impermissible views on race is an offence for which there is no due process. Rooney was promptly suspended from his duties at CBS. A number of newspapers cancelled his regular syndicated column.

Incidents of this kind are all too common here. The pronouncements of every public figure are routinely deconstructed for the slightest hint of impure thought on matters racial. Two years ago, a CBS sports commentator known as Jimmy The Greek was banned from the airwaves for life after attributing the prowess of black athletes at least in part to the breeding practices of slave owners. This was neither an endorsement of eugenics nor a defence of slavery, but from the outcry you would have thought The Greek had exposed himself as the reincarnation of Josef Mengele.

The effect of such witch-burnings is to chill rational discussion of anything having to do with race. Well, almost anything. It is quite acceptable to cast ethnic aspersions on Japanese or Iranians or General Manuel Noriega. Catch Washington's Mayor Barry in the act of smoking crack cocaine, however, and one is immediately suspected of the grossest racial motivations. Worse, even if such suspicions are manifestly groundless, the facts become irrelevant. What matters is the "perception". The federal prosecutor who investigated and caught Barry now stands accused of being "perceived" to be racist, itself a crime of the same enormity as the real thing.

The chill factor has to be borne in mind when considering the saturation coverage US television has accorded South Africa over the past fortnight. On the whole, it has been dismal, though not for want of money, access or airtime. The South African authorities appear to have let America's television pashas do pretty much what they pleased. No, the coverage has been disappointing because it was censored by the on-air personalities themselves in conformity, conscious or unconscious, with the diktat of the thought police.

In his interview with President F W de Klerk, ABC's Ted Koppel went out of his way to prove that he would take no guff or doublespeak. His questions were peppered with that tell-tale phrase "with all due respect". He wanted De Klerk's bottom line and he wanted it this minute regardless of how devastating such a revelation might prove to the course of negotiation overall. Not surprisingly, the American audience received little insight into the man, his motivations or sincerity. Koppel, I am told, was deeply impressed by the president. What he gave his viewers was another sternly evasive South African strongman.

His conversation with Nelson Mandela could not have been more different, except that it was scarcely more enlightening. No "with all due respects" on this occasion. Instead, we were treated to a deeply moving half-hour with Nelson, the boxing commentator and fan of Carmen Miranda. The best that can be said is that Koppel did not quite sink to the level of his CBS colleague Dan Rather and ask Mandela to name his single fondest memory of imprisonment. This was like asking Mrs Lincoln to review the play she and her husband were watching when he was shot.

Mandela himself had clearly placed no constraints on what the American interviewers could ask. NBC's Tom Brokaw, to his credit, at least broached the subject of armed struggle. But Koppel, who was granted considerably more time than either Brokaw or Rather, kept things strictly personal. Serious questions cried out to be raised: How did Mandela reconcile developments in Eastern Europe with his own call for nationalisation? Did he sense any discrepancy between his emphasis on education and the continuance of sanctions that starved South Africa of funds for better schools and teachers? Was the ANC the only party that could genuinely negotiate with government? Did he see the National Party as the sole authentic representative of white South Africa? On all these, and more, there was silence.

Brokaw and Rather have a partial excuse for the lightness of their questioning. They were on hand for their own glory and that of their networks, not because they had any special clue about the place that would enable them to enlighten their audiences. For them, South Africa was just one more stop on a travelling roadshow called Megahistory 1990 in which network anchormen hop around the globe to parade their faces in front of historic backdrops and get in the way of correspondents on the ground who may actually know something. Brokaw even managed to show up in South Africa and Colombia (for the drug summit) in a single broadcast.

Koppel is supposed to be something of an expert on South Africa, however. Indeed, he fancies himself as a kind facilitator of dialogue between the races, using satellites to reconcile the supposedly irreconcilable — as in, gee, Mr Mbeki, Foreign Minister Pik Botha just called you brother — what do you say to that? He was weak because he is bound, whether he publicly admits it or not, by the same iron laws that Rooney is alleged to have broken.

Thou shalt be sensitive. Thou shalt, in thought, word and deed, commit affirmative action. Thou shalt treat all black people (unless they happen to be called Mangosuthu Buthelezi) with the softest and most caressing of kid gloves. And thereby, though nobody ever says this, demean and denigrate them.

Mandela is a man, possibly a very great one. It does him no service to turn him into celebrity pabulum for American viewers, or to protect him from having to reveal himself in ways that many in the outside world might find disturbing.

For a long time, he has been a fly in amber. He needs to discover as fast as possible the parameters of the world into which he has been released. He needs to see markets react and admirers recoil. After 27 years in which to exercise pure intellect, he needs to be confronted with facts and contradictions — not to be deprived of them by adulation.

B/Day 20/2/90 (304A)

CP calls for govt to quit over alleged cover-up

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government should resign immediately for trying to cover up the so-called hit squad known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau, CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said yesterday.

He told a media conference many countries established bodies relating to State security and the CP would have had no objection to the CCB if it had been legitimately constituted.

The CCB was clearly a government body and it was "unthinkable" that the whole government did not know about it.

He also objected strongly to people who knew about it not coming forward with the information, which could shorten the work of the Harms Commission into political murders, and for doing nothing to counter suggestions that it was a right-wing body aimed at frustrating the reform programme.

Mentz said it was thought the commission would take a year or more to report because of its wide terms of reference.

"Facts which have come to light about the existence of a secret organisation called the CCB now necessitate immediate action apart from the activities of the commission," he said.

The Defence Force had confirmed the existence of the CCB.

"In this statement the SADF disclosed that the purpose of this unit is to infiltrate the ranks of identified so-called aggressors for the purpose of action against them in the interest of State security," said Mentz.

False Image

"It is disturbing that this statement was issued only after members of the CCB, who had also been SAP members, had suffered the humiliation of detention, interrogation and accusation over a period of several months.

"During this period a false image was created that the action against left-wingers was undertaken by persons from the right-wing who wanted to frustrate the reform initiatives of the government," he said.

He said people aware of the true facts throughout this period helped to spread this image by remaining silent.

"People who apparently executed the orders of their superiors are now being hunted relentlessly while the relevant CCB superiors watch comfortably from their armchairs."

He said it was clear that the CCB was exclusively a government vehicle forachieving political aims and it was therefore unthinkable that the responsible political heads were not involved in the decisions about its actions.

"Due to the fact that, according to police spokesmen such as Brig Floris Mostert of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit, sufficient evidence of a crime or crimes exist to arrest and detain members of the CCB, and because the Cabinet is reponsible for the CCB as a government institution, the CP demands the immediate resignation of the government," he said.

CP media spokesman Koos van der Merwe said the party was acting against the political chiefs, not members of the security force.

Minister imposes clamp on 21 firms

Star 20/2/90 (301A)

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Twenty-one companies and their principals have been forbidden by Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism Mr Kent Durr to supply financial services until an investigation into the firms is completed.

In a notice in the latest *Government Gazette*, Mr Durr says he has reason to believe that a harmful business practice is being conducted.

The people concerned are Mr Louis Johannes van Wyk, Mrs Nellie van Wyk, Mr Daniel Brink Ferreira, Mr Cornelius Petrus Hattingh, Mr Jeremias Senekal, Mr David Adriaan van Schalkwyk and Mr Cornelius Francois van der Post.

COMPANY NAMES

The companies are Springbok Promosies Nasionaal, Equity Finance, Guarantee Exchange International, Eagle Finance Association, Protea Ondernemings, Hantam Trust, Auto RSA, Finanskamers, Prima Finance, Allen Estates, Action Finance, Hockey and Kie, Totius, Equity Finance International, Cosmopolitan, Cosmopolitan Versekeringsmakelaars, Cosmopolitan Afslaers, Cosmopolitan Finance International, Cosmopolitan Eiendomme, Goodhope Trust and Top Hands.

Shifidi appeal withdrawn

3044

Sowetan 20/2/90

THE Administrator-General of South West Africa and the State President of South Africa have withdrawn the appeal against a decision that a certificate issued by the former State President, Mr P W Botha, was invalid.

The certificate stopped the trial of four SA Defence Force members for the death of Mr Frans Uapota, who died of severe injuries on November 25 1985 after soldiers entered a shop near his home.

The State President has also withdrawn the appeal that was to be heard on Thursday against the Supreme Court of South West Africa's judgment that invalidated the certificate of immunity from prosecution of six members of the SADF and SWA Territory Force for the death of veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanual Shifidi.

Mr Shifidi was stabbed to death at a Swapo political rally in Katutura, outside Windhoek on November 30 1986.

In the notice of withdrawal the Administrator-General and State President have tendered to pay the costs of the appeals.

In December 1988 a full bench of the SWA court found the State President was not legally able to instruct the interim government of SWA on July 27 1986 to end the trials of CJ Harmse, FJ Herps, DF Esselen and J Fernando.

Ordered

In the Shifidi case a full bench of the SWA court on March 20 1989 invalidated the certificate of March 18 1988 and ordered that Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimba and Private Steven Festus should stand trial for Mr Shifidi's murder.

Parliamentary briefs

The September 1989 election had cost R19 million, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday. Replying to debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said it had been the first time an election had been held on such a large scale. All three Houses of Parliament had held elections on the same day. Salaries for staff had made up R10 million, R2,3 million had gone to administrative costs, R3,3 million had been spent on stock and R2,4 million on equipment. The balance had been spent on rentals and leasing of buildings.

* * * (304-A)

The South African Government spent R665 000 monitoring the Namibian elections, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday. Replying to debate on the Home Affairs vote of the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said it had been necessary to monitor the elections to ensure that they were free and fair. Considering the way the elections were conducted and the result, the costs involved had been a bargain.

* * *

Trips between Victor Verster Prison and Tuynhuys had contributed 0,00000015 percent towards increases in the Prison Services' special transport budget, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday in reply to a question by Mr Chris de Jager (CP Bethal) in a joint debate on his department's vote under the Additional Appropriation Bill.

* * *

While the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act was very much in operation, the ANC had not been given notice that it was being investigated under the Act, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday. Replying to a question by Mr Tony Leon during joint debate on his department's vote on the Joint Appropriation Bill, Mr Coetsee said there had been no reason to give notice to the ANC, SACP or PAC, but if necessary it would be done. The Act was not intended to curtail political life in the country, but related to ulterior motives involving foreign funding entering the country. — Sapa.

Mr R M BURROWS: Why? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: If hon members will give me a chance, I will try to explain. For instance, it is normally cheaper to have primary school children at school than it is to have secondary school children at school. Therefore if one just divides the whole sum into the number of children, one gets a distorted picture. [Interjections.]

I am not saying for one moment that we are spending the same amount on Black and White children! [Interjections.] I am not saying for one moment that the situation as it is is desirable. What I am stating is we are doing what we can within the limitations of overall expenditure. We are doing what we can for Black education and we will continue to do so. Over the past five years something like 13 000 classrooms have been built . . . [Interjections.] . . . but the explosion of the classroom population by 6% per annum for over 40 years is something that would tax the best education department in the world and something that would sorely test on any budget. We are doing what we can in this regard. Hansard 20/2/90

*At this stage I also want to pay tribute to the employees of the department who do a tremendous job under extremely difficult circumstances and extreme provocation, and do so with the limited means at their disposal. If the other side would play their part, they would use the available schools for the purposes for which they were intended. If they did not leave the schools standing empty so that they could go protesting in the streets, our final examination results would also improve. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs: 304A

Hansard 20/2/90

Presidential Guard in the Comores: non-financial assistance

*1. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether the Government of the Republic of South Africa rendered any non-financial assistance to the Presidential Guard in the Comores; if so, (a) in which years, (b) what type of assistance, and (c) from the vote of which State department, in each case?

Hansard 20/2/90 304A B38E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

The Department of Foreign Affairs did not render any non-financial assistance to the Presidential Guard in the Comores.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

Soweto Town Council: bridging finance

*2. Mr P H DE LA REY asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

(1) What amount has the Transvaal Provincial Administration provided to the Town Council of Soweto as bridging finance since July 1986;

(2) whether any arrangements have been made for the repayment of this amount; if so, (a) what arrangements and (b) what amount has been repaid?

B40E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) Since July 1986 the following amounts were allocated to the City Council of Soweto as bridging loans:

1986/87 — financial year	R69 989 500
1987/88 — financial year	R106 712 513
1988/89 — financial year	R136 801 226
1 April 1989 — 31 January 1990	R151 116 005
Total	R464 619 244

(2) (a) All bridging loans are made available against a debt-obligation which makes provision for the loans to be repaid interest free, over a period of five years.

(b) As a result of the present financial situation of the City Council of Soweto it has not yet been possible to pay back any instalments.

Munsieville military base: personnel

*3. Mr H J COETZEE asked the Minister of Defence:† Hansard 20/2/90

(1) Whether any of the military personnel at the Munsieville military base, Transvaal, are Non-white, if so,

(2) whether provision is made at this base for separate (a) sleeping quarters, (b) bathroom facilities and (c) toilets for the various population groups?

Hansard 20/2/90 B96E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No, not at present.

(2) The base referred to by the hon member is an operational base and the SA Defence Force's personnel policy, as contained in paragraph 54 of the Briefing Document on the Organisation and Functions of the SA Defence Force and the Armaments Corporation of South Africa, Limited, 1990, which was recently distributed to all Members of Parliament, is also applicable in this instance.

*4. Dr W J Snyman + Transport. †[Question standing over.]

PE: name-board for airport

*5. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Transport:†

Whether a name-board with the official name of the airport at Port Elizabeth has been put up at a conspicuous place at the airport terminal; if not, why not; if so, (a) where has this name-board been put up and (b) what is written on it?

Hansard 20/2/90 B102E

†The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (for the Minister of Transport):

Yes.

(a) On the upper edge of the facade on the air-side of the terminal building; and

(b) H F Verwoerd.

SAP/Roodepoort: renovation of single quarters

*6. Adv J J S Prinsloo asked the Minister of Law and Order:† Hansard 20/2/90

(1) Whether it is the intention to renovate the single quarters of the South African Police at Roodepoort; if so, on what date will this renovation be commenced;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B104E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

Negotiations for the restoration of the building have already been conducted with the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs. As alternative, the rental of substitute accommodation is being considered. The matter could unfortunately not be finalized up until now, due to a lack of funds. Hansard 20/2/90

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it correct that he confirmed during October 1988 that his department had already confirmed in July of that year that repairs to the single quarters were necessary?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, of course I do not have the detailed information here with me now, but I shall go into the matter and give the hon member a reply.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is the hon the Minister himself aware of the physical condition of the single quarters; that they are actually falling apart, and if not, what does he intend doing in order to bring himself up to date with the physical condition of these single quarters?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am aware of the fact that the condition of the accommodation is poor; that is why I told the hon member that we are negotiating at present to try to obtain substitute accommodation in the mean time. As I have also indicated, we cannot conclude the matter yet due to lack of funds.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, with respect to the substitute accommodation to which he is referring, can he indicate what substitute accommodation is being considered and, in respect of that, when is it envisaged to be put to possible use?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, we are looking for better accommodation for the young men, and we are giving priority to this matter, but we cannot indicate a date.

Munsieville military base: maintenance cost

*7. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:† Hansard 20/2/90

(1) What was the cost of maintaining a military base at Munsieville in the Transvaal

CP plans fact-finding mission to USSR

By MICHAEL MORRIS ARGUS 20/2/90
Political Correspondent 304A

Mr Koos van der Merwe

ARCH anti-communist Conservative Party chief information spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe, is to visit the Soviet Union later this year on a fact-finding mission.

He may be accompanied by other members of the party. The trip is not in response to an invitation, but reflects the party's desire to see for itself the effects of Soviet premier Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost policy and reactions to it.

Mr Van der Merwe — who will also probably travel to London and the United States during the Easter recess of parliament — is one of South Africa's best known white politicians abroad.

He has had countless interviews with foreign news teams since President De Klerk's headline speech on February 2 and he has even been commissioned to write articles for foreign publications.

Like his party peers, he is well-known for an uncompromisingly critical view of communism — which he has never been reluctant to express.

An American TV audience of millions saw him walk out of a recent TV debate because of the appearance in the programme of the ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

He told The Argus yesterday that the Conservative Party was a "dynamic" party and was determined to keep up with major international developments.

Mr Van der Merwe said: "I am planning a study tour to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe towards the end of the year, possibly in September. It will depend on the parliamentary programme.

"We feel that as a dynamic political party we should be aware of the latest developents on the international scene.

"We also believe that we have something to learn from the events in the Soviet Union and the East bloc countries. We want to see it for ourselves."

Weather 2, Politics/Parliament 4, Finance 10 and 11, Letters 12, Racing 14, Sport 15 and 16, TV — Page 3 of Tonight

CAPE TIMES 20/2/90

Slabbert, FW meet today

Political Correspondent 304A

DR Van Zyl Slabbert will meet President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys this morning, according to a spokesman for the Idasa policy director.

However, a spokesman for the State President's office yesterday declined to confirm the meeting

The meeting had been requested by Dr Slabbert, a former leader of the opposition in Parliament and currently doing research at Oxford University.

Dr Slabbert was not available for comment.

Diplomatic breakthrough for SA

African heads to meet FW in major talks

B/Day 20/2/90

EDYTH BULBRING

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet at least five African heads of state in Zaire on Saturday in what government sources have described as an important diplomatic breakthrough.

Heads of state who have already confirmed their attendance to Zairean host President Mobutu Sese Seko are Chad's President Hissen Habre; Rwanda's President Maj-Gen Juvenal Habyarimana; Burundi's President Pierre Buyoya; and the Central African Republic's President Gen Andre Kolingba.

It is understood Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema and Gabon's President Omar Bongo are still considering their attendance.

This is the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with a South African head of state.

While De Klerk met Mobutu in November last year, he has not met the other heads of state before.

The announcement of the meeting came as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) began meeting in Addis Ababa yesterday.

Sources said several African countries including Zaire, the Ivory Coast, Congo and Gabon were expected to suggest a review of the OAU policy on SA.

It was unlikely the Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso would attend Saturday's meeting, but overtures to SA on a one-to-one basis were in the pipeline, government sources said.

Saturday's meeting is expected to deal with economic co-operation between SA and the other countries in the Southern African region.

Government sources said yesterday SA expected to establish diplomatic relations

● MOBUTU

● DE KLERK

with some African countries before the end of the year.

SA has full diplomatic relations on an ambassadorial level with Malawi, and trade missions in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho.

However, the opening of channels of communication through increased economic links is seen as taking priority over diplomatic ties.

The reforms announced by De Klerk during his opening speech to Parliament on February 2 as well as the release of Nelson Mandela, are believed to be the reasons behind the defrosting in attitude towards SA.

Government sources yesterday said the meeting would give SA an opening into Africa which had previously been difficult and covert because of political sensitivities.

They said SA would have to carefully choose which countries it would build closer economic ties with, as the poverty of Africa was creating "a honeypot effect".

☐ To Page 2

SA talks

B/Day 20/2/90

☐ From Page 1

SA had established projects in a number of African countries over the past 20 years, and Saturday's meeting in Zaire could see a pay-off for its efforts, the sources said.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation: African Business Development Group MD Paul Runge said the business implications inherent in the establishment of diplomatic links with sub-Saharan African countries were "phenomenal".

The need for off-shore companies representing SA's interests in Africa, and the laundering of documents, could be abolished to realise a major saving in costs, he said.

Diplomatic links would give a green light to business, as they represented security and confidence. One of the most important areas of business involvement in Africa would be participation in major development projects.

Runge said there was an insatiable need in Africa for infrastructure, expertise, pharmaceuticals and food.

"But the bottom line is how we are going to be paid."

He said acceptance of SA by Africa would allow business to more easily become involved in World Bank aid projects where payment was certain, and possibly in African Bank development projects at a later stage.

Premier International chairman Albert Nelissen said the multilateral meeting on Saturday and the opening of doors for SA was a positive development. He expected SA to establish diplomatic relations with a number of African countries within the next six months.

Premier International had exported primarily food worth hundreds of millions of rand to African countries for eight years, he said.

It had spent millions on setting up offshore companies in order to facilitate its interests in countries sensitive to overt links with SA.

Diplomatic links would not only open up a huge market but would make it a lot easier for SA to conduct business in the open, Nelissen said.

FW for summit

Cape Times 20/2/90

304A

'Breakthrough-into-Africa' meeting

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA appears set for a breakthrough in its relations with Africa following the announced summit between President F W de Klerk and African heads of state.

The summit is due to take place at Goma in Zaire on Saturday.

A Tuynhuys spokesman said yesterday that Mr De Klerk had accepted an invitation from Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko to attend a one-day meeting for the purpose of meeting "a number of African heads of state".

No names were given but it is not unlikely that Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano will be present.

It was also learnt that Mr De Klerk will meet the leaders of at least five other African countries.

Chad, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Central African Republic have apparently confirmed their attendance to President Mobutu. It is understood that Togo and Gabon are still considering their attendance.

This is the first time African heads of states have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with a South African head of state.

The announcement of Mr De Klerk's meeting came as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) began sitting yesterday in Addis Ababa.

Sources said that several African heads of state, including Zaire, the Ivory Coast, Congo and Gabon are expected to suggest a policy review towards SA.

It was unlikely the Congo head of state would attend Saturday's meeting, but overtures to SA on a one-to-one basis were in the pipeline, it was learnt.

A senior government source told the Cape Times that the summit would deal with more than attempts to resolve the Angolan civil war and could pave the way for new trade and diplomatic links with sub-Saharan Africa.

"It looks as if it could be a political demonstration of support for President De Klerk."

According to government sources SA expected to establish diplomatic relations with some African countries before the end of the year.

SA has established projects in a number of African countries over the past 20 years and Saturday's meeting in Zaire could see a pay-off for SA's efforts, the sources said.

But SA membership of the OAU and the relaxation of sanctions are unlikely to materialise until the ANC gives its blessing.

Feedback

The meeting comes at a time when there has been a great deal of positive feedback from African countries to Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech — but more particularly to his decision to release Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela pointed out shortly after his release that "South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution, South Africa can play a major role in promoting developments in various fields".

Mr Paul Runge, managing director of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation said the business implications of establishing diplomatic links with sub-Saharan African countries were "phenomenal".

The need for off-shore companies representing SA interests in Africa and the laundering of documents could be abolished, realising a major cost saving.

He said acceptance of SA in Africa would allow business to become involved more easily in World Bank aid projects where payment was certain, and possibly African Bank development projects at a later stage.

Buthelezi, Mandela set for talks

Political Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected reports of conflict between himself and Mr Nelson Mandela and says he will be meeting the ANC leader for talks as soon as possible.

Chief Buthelezi said he had already discussed newspaper reports about the purported conflict with Mr Mandela.

He said: "While I do not want to talk on behalf of Dr Mandela, I say that I am entirely at ease and satisfied that there still is the love and respect between us which has always been there."

He added: "Dr Mandela and I will be sitting down for talks as soon as calls on his time permit the time that would be needed for the kind of discussion we so badly need."

The need for "black unity of purpose is a need which Dr Mandela understands in full measure. He will be coming to Natal and will make his own statement to the people when he is here".

Mr Du Plessis

Right wing storms ahead in Cape membership drive

Argus 20/2/90

304A

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

THE rightwing backlash is storming across areas north of Cape Town as both the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) report membership surges.

And arms and ammunition sales in these areas are reported to have increased.

CP Tyger Valley branch secretary Mr Frikkie Botha said "without exaggeration" his office had been "inundated" with inquiries about membership following dramatic reform moves including the unbanning of the ANC and SACP and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

A spokesman for the Bellville CP office said the telephones had been busy since Mr Mandela's release.

An AWB spokesman said they had "hundreds" of calls last week, several from the northern areas.

Last week, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht drew 3 000 people to a rally at Parow Civic Centre, at which another rightwing organisation, the Vryburgers, surfaced.

A group of burly men, some armed with pickhandles and bearing a *vierkleur* (flag of the Transvaal republic), handed out pamphlets calling for recruits who "love their communities and want to protect them".

A CP spokesman, however, denied any ties with the shadowy group. "As far as I know it is a cultural organisation," he said.

The AWB also denied links with the Vryburgers.

Meanwhile, some gun shops are reporting increased demand. People are buying rifles, shotguns and handguns, particularly .38 specials and 9mm parabellums, according to a Parow weapon salesman.

In brief . . .

"TO promote a spirit of co-operation", R2-million was used by the special communications section of the Bureau for Information, said the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

■ ■ ■

The South African government had spent R665 000 on monitoring the elections in Namibia, said the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw.

■ ■ ■

Black pupils who wanted to study could not be made to suffer because of people who damaged their schools, said the Minister of Education, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

■ ■ ■

(Reports by Sapa).

Don't expect big tax cuts this year, warns Barend

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis warned today that the government might not be able to make substantial tax cuts this year.

Speaking at the 13th Annual Investment Conference of Frankel, Kruger, Winderine Inc here, Mr Du Plessis reiterated the government's aim of reducing overall tax and particularly direct tax on individuals.

But the tax reforms could not be affected overnight, although the government was giving them high priority and believed good progress had already been made.

Mr Du Plessis said the deficit before borrowing as a percentage of the gross domestic product this financial year would be much lower than the original estimate of 4,1 per cent.

The high tax revenue was responsible — but he emphasised the government's aim was to slow down domestic spending.

With the current slowdown in the economy, tax revenue based on the existing tax system would rise at a lower rate during the 1990/91 fiscal year.

"This also means that it will tend to inhibit our ability to introduce substantial tax reform this year."

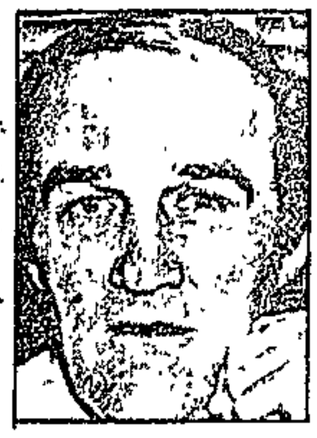
Mr Du Plessis said education and training and essential socio-economic services would receive the greatest priority in government spending from now on.

This was a commitment which was essential if South Africa was to acquire the necessary skills to raise the country's growth performance.

Chain of command leads to Malan

Several generals behind secret 'civilian

Star 21/2/90 (304A)

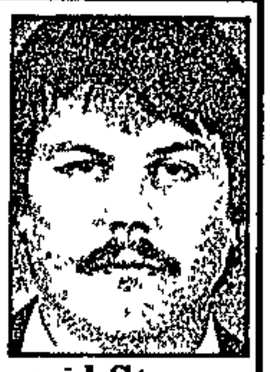


Staal Burger (left) and the men who 'special unit' . . . Slang

A chain of command involving several generals, and leading directly to the office of the Minister of Defence, controlled the activities of a secret SA Defence Force unit allegedly linked to death squad operations.

The Minister, General Magnus Malan, was aware of the existence of the shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) since its inception in 1987, according to an investigation by The Star.

THE CCB DOSSIER



By Kitt Katzin and Steve McQuillan

The investigation shows that far from being purely a civilian intelligence-gathering operation, the CCB was directed by a military high command.

It is understood that the use of civilians was calculated to conceal the SADF's involvement in operations that would normally be carried out by the Security Police, Military Intelligence (MI) and the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

In addition, the CCB was funded by secret SADF budgetary allocations and little or no control was exercised over sums of money running into millions of rands that flowed through the network to cover salaries, expenses and travelling costs.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, said in court papers last week that he suspected the CCB was involved in the murders of Johannesburg academic Dr David Webster and Swapo advocate Mr Anton Lubowski.

Investigations by The Star show that the CCB's formal military line of command reported upwards to the Minister of Defence. The chain of command was

- General Malan.
- General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF.
- General "Witkop" Badenhorst, Chief of Military Intelligence.
- Major-General Eddie Webb.
- A General Joubert (not to be confused with the SAP's General Jaap Joubert).
- Colonel Johan (Joe) Verster, commanding officer of the CCB, who answered to General Webb and General Joubert.
- The regional directors of the CCB, such as former Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad commander, Mr Staal Burger. Mr Burger was the head of a Johannesburg cell — believed to be one of 16 across the country.

The CCB's day-to-day activities were orchestrated by a special "operations committee" which consisted of various SADF generals, who in turn were advised by independent experts

It also set up "a trade union squad" to monitor developments in the volatile black labour movement, in addition to shadowing the movements of political activists internally — and recommending action against others externally.

General Malan, sources told The Star, had been aware of the existence of the CCB, along with the National Security Council, since the unit was set up in 1987.

The Minister, in a statement yesterday, made it clear that he had never given orders to murder anyone, and that included Dr Webster and Mr Lubowski.

The Sunday Star disclosed on February 11 that the cell operated by Mr Burger and based at the Park Lane Hotel in Hillbrow consisted of former policemen Mr Chappie Maree, Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl and Mr Calla Botha.

Further investigations show that before moving to the hotel, all were based at the Matthysen Busvervoer Company at Megawatt Park, Rivonia. The only exception was Mr van Zyl, who was later recruited from Brixton

There they worked under cover as CCB members along with at least four other white agents and a group of black and coloured collaborators.

While with the bus company, they purportedly worked as security officers investigating thefts at the company.

They became so good at clamping down on illegalities that they upset black employees and labour difficulties arose. As a result, they had to leave.

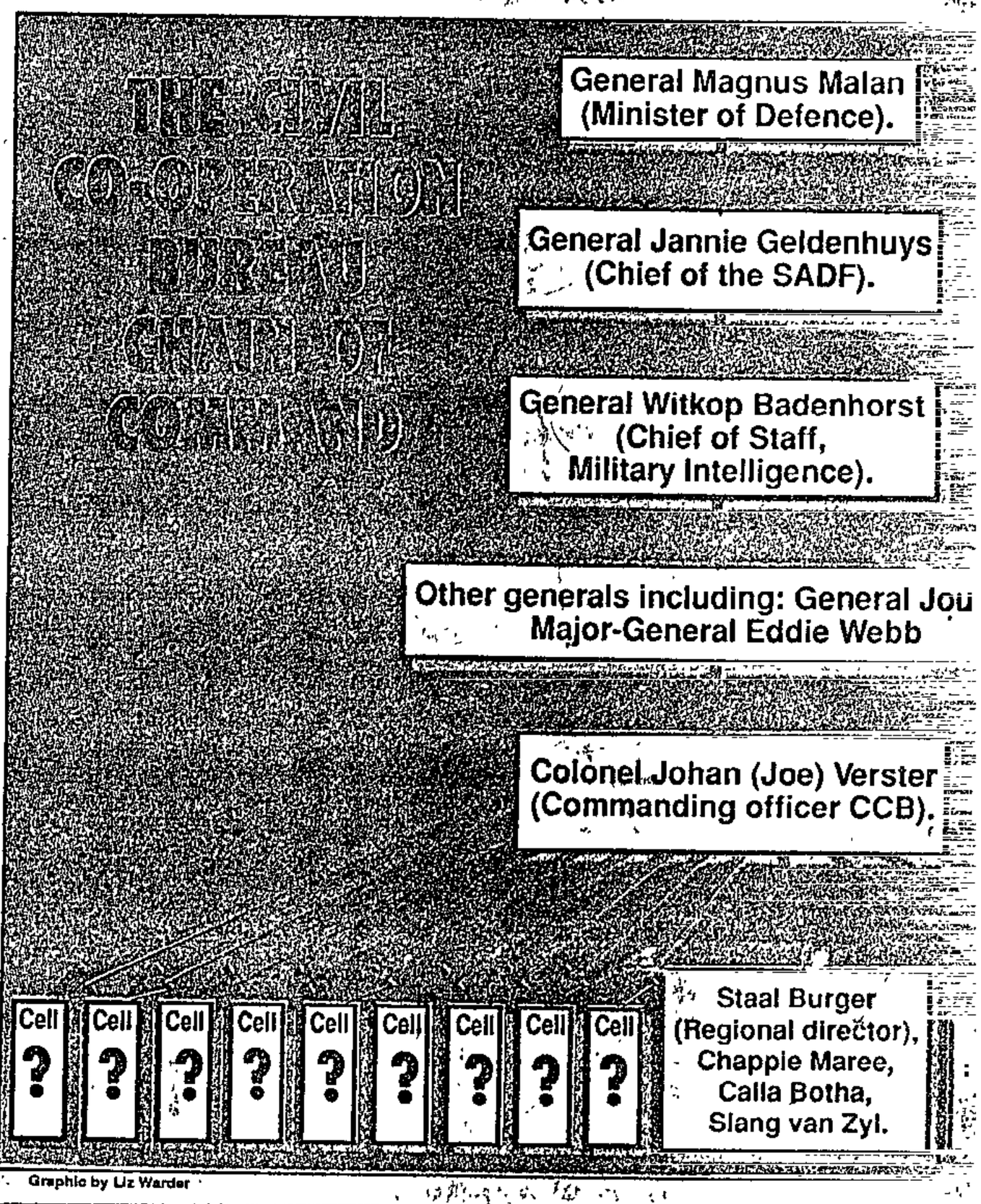
Also connected with Mr Burger was a known hitman for the Hillbrow underworld called Nigel.

It is understood that among those subsequently linked to the Burger cell were businessmen Mr Tobias du Toit and Mr Thomas Viljoen, both formerly connected to NIS, and Mr John Birch of Military Intelligence.

The Star established that Mr Viljoen and Mr Birch, along with four or five other people, were arrested and held on serious charges in Mozambique while on secret business for the CCB.

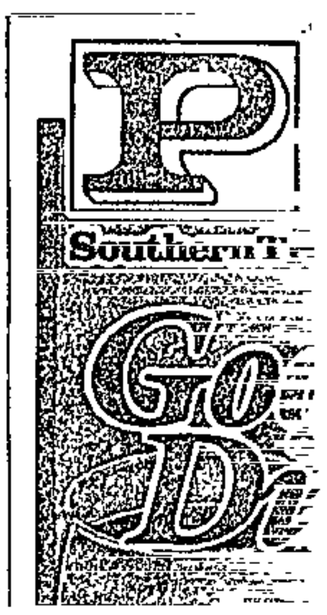
Others linked to the CCB include: ex-Recce Mr Louis Klopper; Mr Victor van Wyk de Vries, formerly of NIS and MI; Mr Hennie Langeveld, ex-SAP; Mr Jaco van Schalkwyk, formerly involved with the SWA Police counter-insurgency unit Koevoet and NIS, and Mr Adriaan den Dulk, a security manager with a

To Page 2



Graphic by Liz Warder

More disclosures on the CCB tomorrow



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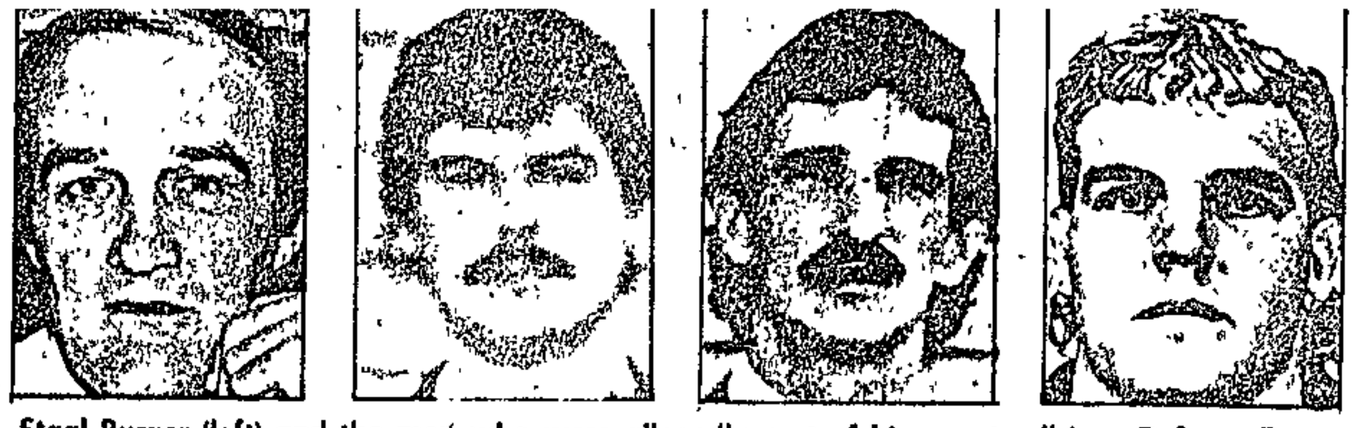
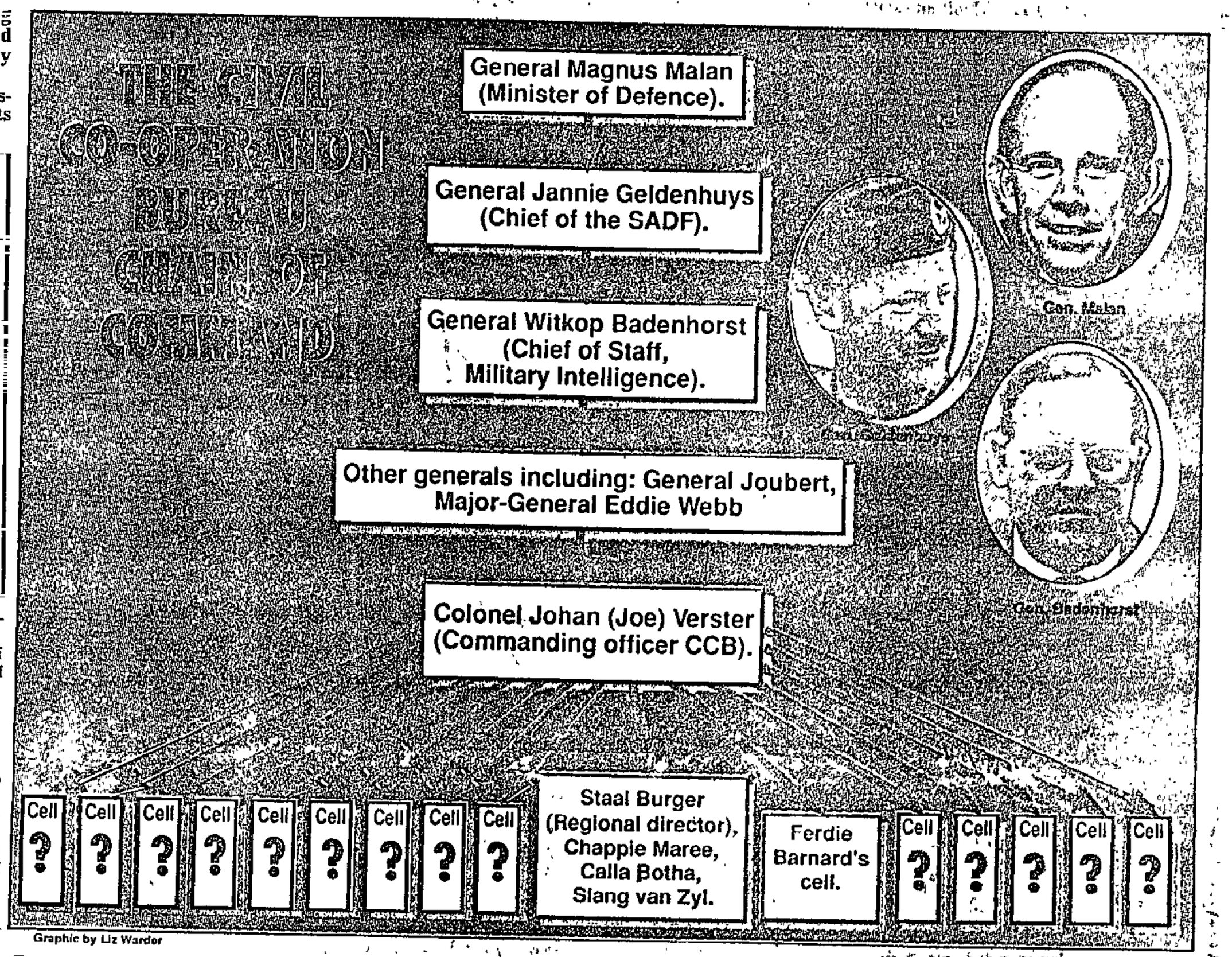


Staal Burger (left) and the men who were allegedly part of his secret cell in a Defence Force 'special unit' . . . Slang van Zyl, Chappie Maree and Calla Botha.

ecret 'civilian' unit



Graphic by Liz Warder

...on the CCB tomorrow

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● To Page 2

Pick 'n Pay
Southern Transvaal Discount Supermarkets
Good-to-Eat Dinner-Treat

straight decision over Mr Jannie le Roux.

De Klerk in bid to pave the way towards redemption in Africa

Star 21/2/90 (304A)

Exploiting diplomatic opportunities opened by his domestic reform initiatives, President de Klerk goes to Zaire on Saturday for a historic summit meeting that could open even wider prospects in Africa. **GERALD L'ANGE**, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.

If the proposed mini-summit in Zaire comes off as planned on Saturday, it will be the biggest step South Africa has yet made towards redemption in Africa.

However, it will still be a long way short of general acceptance in the continent.

The importance of the meeting with President de Klerk of South Africa is not so much in the status of the participants as in the symbolism attached to what will be the first summit meeting between heads of state from South Africa and a group of African countries.

Some of the leaders who are reported to have accepted invitations to attend the meeting can hardly be considered to be among the more influential states in Africa.

Rwanda and Burundi are among the continents smallest and poorest countries. Like the Central African Republic, they border on Zaire, which is promoting the summit, and to some extent can be considered to come under Kinshasa's influence.

The CAR is also desperately impoverished. During the regime of former president Bokassa, whose brutality was legendary even in Africa, the CAR had some informal relations with South Africa but given Bokassa's reputation this is something Pretoria might rather forget.

Chad, whose president is also expected to attend, is another of Africa's basket cases, with a per capita gross national product of only 150 dollars compared to South Africa's 1 875. It has, however, received much international attention because of President Hissene Habre's stubborn fight against being swallowed by Muammar Gaddafi's Libya. For this reason alone President Habre's presence across a meeting table from Mr de Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful. This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

It was a time when some African states' need for South African trade made them swallow their loathing of apartheid and deal with the country, but then only secretly.

The summit is still a long way from the acceptance that would be denoted by membership in the Organisation of African Unity and the obstacle to attaining that status remains apartheid.

But the fact that four African heads of state, no matter how insignificant some may be, are now prepared to meet openly with the South African president demonstrates the increasing acceptance that Pretoria is gaining, mainly through four factors:

- The good faith it has shown in allowing Namibia to become independent.
- The reforms implemented by the Government.
- The mounting evidence that it has stopped trying to destabilise neighbouring countries.
- The growing need of African countries for South African goods and services.

There are hopes in South African Government circles that these factors will lead not only to open meetings of the Zaire kind but also to formal diplomatic relations that would allow all dealings, including trade, to be done in the open.

The improvement of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent began before Mr de Klerk became president and was evident in the visits by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, to Mozambique, the Ivory Coast and elsewhere. But it was Mr de Klerk's relatively dramatic initiatives that have given the trend real impetus.

It has long been a dream in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that one or more of the African states would break through the united front demanded by the OAU against South Africa and start dealing openly with the Republic. It was hoped that this would start a snowball effect, encouraging more and more states to follow suit.

Whether Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic and Zaire are enough to form the nucleus of a snowball remains to be seen. It may be that the snowball will start rolling only if it picks up one or more of the states that have been more openly hostile to Pretoria.

Snowball or not, the summit represents a major and perhaps historic advance towards what the politicians in Cape Town would describe as the normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent.

A ray of hope but the floodgates

(304A)

Star 21/2/90

Generals knew about secret unit

● From Page 1

Johannesburg property investment company.

Also commissioned by the CCB was Mr Gabriel Smit, an police captain due to be promoted to major, who was involved in gathering intelligence on labour matters on behalf of the secret organisation.

The Star has also uncovered details of how and by whom CCB agents were briefed to carry out secret missions by Colonel Verster (46), who was described by sources as the CCB's co-ordinator.

Briefings to agents by Colonel Verster, acting on the instructions of his superiors, took place at various venues, including hotels, around Johannesburg.

Agents were also empowered to recruit specialist help from outsiders, and to pay them out of SADF funds.

Investigations show that the CCB had established at least one or two cells in all major South African cities and the heads of each cell met regularly.

In other developments The Star has established that:

● Mr "Slang" van Zyl, a member of the Burger cell who is being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, was also head of the CCB's operations in the Cape, where he grew up and went to school.

● Mr Ferdi Barnard, who was released last week after three months in detention in connection with police investigations into the Lubowski and Webster murders, was also a CCB operative. However, Mr Barnard, who was not a member of the Burger cell, was apparently fired by his military bosses, though it is not immediately clear for what reason.

● Irish national Donald Acheson, who has been charged in Windhoek with the Lubowski killing, at one time lived on a farm near Lanseria. The property had close Security Police links.

● There is growing speculation that three rightwing murder suspects, on the run after being freed in an ambush of a police vehicle in Otjiwaronjo, Namibia, in December, may also be members of the CCB. They escaped from custody after accomplices had hidden a revolver for them in a toilet at a court in the town. A young policemen, who was shot and wounded during the breakout, later died. Rumours that the men, still on the run after almost three months, may have been airlifted out of Namibia, could not be confirmed.

Unconventional warfare is in order, says Jaap

Star 21/2/90 (304A)

Political Reporter

The Government should recognise the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) as a legitimate defence mechanism, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday.

Efforts to link the CCB to "hit squads" were aimed at besmirching the country's defence forces and undermining the authority of the state, he said.

"The HNP is upset that the Cabinet is apparently prepared to unashamedly portray and hunt these people as criminals. The Government should handle the hunt on the CCB men as a leftist political tactic to put representatives of the security forces in the dock."

Mr Marais said unconventional warfare had first been applied by "communists" against South Africa. The state thus had the duty to use the same methods in self-defence.

Regarding allegations that the CCB had killed Government opponents, Mr Marais said those deaths should be regarded as war casualties.

De klerk meets with Slabbert

304A

ALL parties and groupings would now have to place increasing emphasis on the development of a democratic culture in South Africa, former leader of the Opposition Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Talking to a group of journalists after an hour-long meeting with President FW de Klerk in Tuynhuys, he said he had asked for the meeting to congratulate De Klerk on his reform moves and to discuss the enormity of events since the President's opening-of-Parliament address. Sowetan 21/2/90

He had wanted to see De Klerk as an old friend and Parliamentary colleague.

South Africa had now been "pulled into a new political orbit and the whole style of our politics is going to change".

Slabbert said De Klerk created the image of a man acting with confidence and conviction.

FW can expect cold greeting from Mugabe

B/Day 21/2/90

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe may not yet be willing to shake president F W de Klerk's hand at Saturday's planned summit meeting in Zaire, diplomatic sources here suggested yesterday.

There has been no comment from the Zimbabwean government on its attitude to the planned meeting of heads of state to be hosted by Zairean leader Mobuto Sese Seko, which is expected to discuss the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, and developments within SA since the unbanning of the ANC and Nelson Mandela's release.

Only last week Mugabe asserted that he "saw no point" in relaxing his 10-year ban on government contacts with SA (304A)

The Zimbabwean leader was at last year's Gbadolite summit when Mobuto stunned hard-line guests by introducing Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, but Mugabe moved swiftly thereafter to deny Savimbi any further diplomatic respectability.

At a news conferece in Harare on February 12, Mugabe said he would not normalise relations with Pretoria until De Klerk negotiated the end of apartheid with SA's own black leaders. He said the only other pretext for a meeting would be if Zimbabwe was invited by black SA leaders to assist in the process of "democratisation".

Sapa-AP reports from Lusaka that President Kenneth Kaunda is not expected to attend Saturday's meeting in Zaire.

Kaunda received no invitation and Zambian authorities were "completely in the dark" about the gathering De Klerk reportedly agreed to attend, said Milimo Punabantu, Kaunda's political advisor.

Zambian authorities felt an early meeting on stalled Angolan peace intiatives or political reforms in SA was inopportune.

Can the Right join forces to create a volkstaat?

ARGUS 21/2/90

304A

WILL the new mood of the political Right prompt various splinter groups to bury the hatchet and march unitedly towards an Afrikaner volkstaat? The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg examines the possibilities.

24 HOURS

NEWS WATCH

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's emotional address to thousands of whites at the Pretoria City Hall last week was interspersed with references to the volkstaat — a word which for many years was only used by far-right organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Boerestaat Party.

It appears as if Dr Treurnicht, despite CP glee about the vociferous support for its "Action One Million" campaign against sweeping government reforms, has accepted that the bitter battle to retain white domination in South Africa as a whole has been lost.

"Everyone now seems to agree on the ideal of a volkstaat," one prominent right-winger commented this week. "The only remaining issue is the size."

Recent reforms such as the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela have unleashed unprecedented anger among many whites. Demonstrating their "Now or never" attitude, they are taking to the streets and flocking to city halls to demand the toppling of the De Klerk government.

Despite emotional addresses to rowdy crowds, including ominous threats of violence, right-wing leaders concede that there are only two options: forcing a white general election on the government, which they believe they would win, or starting to draw up proposals for a volkstaat which can be put on the negotiating table.

These leaders agree that united action is vital to muster maximum white support against reform. But true to the Afrikaner's feuding history, various organisations insist they should lead the last battle for survival.

Said the CP's Transvaal chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers: "The Afrikaner struggle has been completed. Various organisations still have their own role to play, but everyone recognises the CP as the driving force in the struggle for our own fatherland and Dr Treurnicht as the leader of that struggle. The organisations who don't are so small that they should not even have been taken into account."

Dr Andries Treurnicht ... 'Leader of the struggle'

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the CP was hijacking the volkstaat ideology as supported by his organisation, the HNP, the AWB and the Transvaal Separatists.

Despite the differences between many right-wing organisations, they could achieve unity on the principal aim: to defeat the government.

"Politics makes strange bedfellows. We say: 'Reinstate the original Boer Republics.' For this aim we will co-operate with the devil. But the CP has always baulked on that principle."

He said the CP would have to accept the mood of the volk, and the volk wanted the reinstatement of the Boer Republics.

"If they accept that ideology — and we are working on them all the time — we will be prepared to form some sort of a pact."

Mr Beyers singled out the HNP as one organisation with which the CP would achieve closer co-operation in future, and added: "We basically have good relations with all the other groups, except perhaps the AWB, which has to sort out its own problems in the wake of its split."

In the meantime, the HNP — a parliamentary party which has only had one MP since its inception in 1969 — seems to be forging closer ties with the extra-parliamentary AWB. The two organisations are staging a series of joint public meetings against National Party reforms.

Commented HNP chief secretary Mr Louis van der Schyff: "There is no sense in unity. What we need is unanimity in public action."

The CP, which claims it is leading the struggle for white self-determination, is also organising rallies countrywide to demonstrate voters' opposition to reform. It believes this will force President De Klerk to the ballot box.

Pretoria march

The CP as the largest right-wing group drew support from a range of organisations, including the AWB and Boerestaat Party, for its Pretoria march last week. But the CP has dismissed the HNP/AWB suggestion that it should force by-elections through mass resignations from serving MPs and municipal councillors.

Mr Van der Schyff, however, remained adamant that this strategy had been proved since 1924 to be the best recipe for toppling a government.

He said: "There are nearly 500 wards held by CP and HNP councillors. If they resign, municipal elections will have to be held in nearly 80 parliamentary constituencies within a maximum period of 11 weeks.

"We don't want the CP MPs to resign. They should intensify the campaign in parliament while municipal elections are being fought.

"The NP says it will not contest such elections. But that attitude says it all. It simply illustrates that we have already achieved a moral victory."

Are political prisoners criminals or victims?

Star 21/2/90 (304A)

HUMAN RIGHTS FOCUS

An article by the Human Rights Commission

The South African Government has long maintained that it does not hold political prisoners, a claim which has often in the past triggered debate as to what constitutes a political trial, political imprisonment or a political prisoner.

It is an issue which has come alive in a compelling and practical way ever since the release of political prisoners has been identified as one of the preconditions for the creation of a negotiating climate.

State President Mr F W de Klerk, in his address to Parliament was careful to avoid the use of the phrase "political prisoners" and in fact limited the announced release of prisoners to those convicted solely on account of their membership of previously banned organisations.

Clearly, however, this limitation is not going to satisfy the calls, both internal and international, for the release of all political prisoners, and already two Cabinet Ministers have gone on record as saying the issue is negotiable.

So, what is an acceptable definition of a political prisoner? Within the South African context probably the simplest and most essential definition is a person who finds himself or herself in prison as a direct result of opposition to the system of apartheid.

This opposition can take many forms, ranging from peaceful protest to being caught up in political unrest, to opting for armed struggle.

Political activists involved in peaceful protest have found themselves in contravention of laws by means of which the apartheid government has criminalised activities which in any democractic country would be considered normal, legitimate and healthy political opposition.

Such persons have faced charges (and sentences) all the way from attending an unlawful gathering, of possession of banned literature, up to subversion and even treason and terrorism, depending upon the interpretation of the courts.

An estimated 50 000 people over the last five years have found themselves in court as a result of being caught up in the violence of political unrest arising from mass resistance to apartheid.

Public violence

Many of these have been convicted for public violence, arson, malicious damage to property, incitement, intimidation and some for murder.

Again, convictions and sentences have been heavily dependent on the interpretation of the courts.

Those who have engaged in armed struggle by choice, have faced charges of treason, terrorism, sabotage and sometimes murder. In the recent "Delmas 12" trial, the accused refused to participate in the trial proceedings, claiming prisoner-of-war status and rejecting the competence of a civilian court to try them.

When passing sentence, although overruled by his two assessors, the judge found mitigating factors of a political nature.

It is clear that all three categories of political prisoners as outlined above will have to be taken into account when responding to calls for the release of political prisoners and also for the cessation of political trials and executions.

We are not then simply talking about the 70-odd prisoners whom the authorities have identified for release (or reduction of sentence) but about a far larger number.

The Government admits to holding about 350 prisoners convicted for "offences against the security of the State" (as the jargon goes).

This figure increases to about 3 000 if one includes those political prisoners sentenced for "unrest" offences.

All of these prisoners can properly claim they find themselves in prison as a direct result of their opposition to apartheid. All are political prisoners.

Inevitably there will be a few cases which are not clear-cut, and in such cases the Namibian experience of appointing an independent tribunal could be followed.

STAR 21/2/90

Union recognised

(300 CA)

The SA Nursing Association (Sana) will be recognised as a staff association to negotiate conditions of service for nurses, the **Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers,** said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to a question by **Mr Mike Ellis (DP Durban North),** he said the Commission for Administration had recently made this recommendation after receiving an application from Sana.

Ministers pick up negotiation pace

Argus 24/2/90

304A

Political Staff

THE presence of four senior cabinet ministers in a delegation to the Natal-Kwazulu Indaba has been interpreted to indicate government interest in parallel regional and national political settlements.

Political sources said the seniority of the government delegation which met Indaba representatives yesterday was significant, showing that the whole pace of negotiations had picked up.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen was accompanied to the meeting by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Development Aid; Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

FURTHER DISCUSSIONS

Also in the delegation were Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister, of Constitutional Development, senior Natal National Party MP Mr Jurie Mentz and Mr Renier Schoeman, the NP's chief director of information.

The Indaba was represented by its chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive director Mr Peter Mansfield and its former executive director Professor Dawid van Wyk.

A statement after the meeting said they had agreed to have further discussions to try to find greater agreement on issues raised by Indaba proposals.

The political sources said that, a few years ago, the government had considered these proposals premature, but now thought their time had come so was keen to explore them in parallel with other initiatives.

FEAR OF KILLING

Yesterday's meeting stemmed from a meeting last July between Mr Stoffel Botha, then Natal leader of the NP, and Dr Dhlomo. A decision taken then, to set up a forum to discuss differences between the Indaba and the government, had simply been overtaken by events, the sources said.

They felt that white interest in the Indaba had waned in light of the political violence in Natal and KwaZulu which has had claimed 3 000 lives since 1987. There was a fear that introducing a regional political settlement could up the stakes in the violence, and hence up the killing rate.

● Meanwhile, members of and lawyers acting for the United Democratic Front and Cosatu met with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in Cape Town yesterday to discuss the Natal violence. They made several suggestions to Mr Vlok on how it could best be combatted.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

Dr Oscar Dhlomo

Mr Vlok was accompanied in the talks by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

LONG WAY TO GO ... The Black Sash held a placard protest at St George's Cathedral at lunchtime yesterday. They stated that while President F W de Klerk had initiated the politics of negotiation, they were very concerned about existing apartheid laws.

Cape Times 21/2/90 (30KA)

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Minister should get the boot, says DP

(304A) Star 21/2/90

Political Staff

The very existence of the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) was a "travesty" and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should "get the boot" for the activities in his department, said Mr Tian van der Merwe, a Democratic Party spokesman on law and order.

And DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said General Malan had not answered the "right question" by denying he had ordered political murders. "The question he should have answered is whether he knew if any political assassinations or murders had been committed by the CCB."

Mr van der Merwe said: "The existence of this CCB is a travesty in itself. It appears to be an organisation designed to spy against and undermine organisations and persons inside South Africa irrespective of whether they are operating within the law or not.

"In the process, it has been suggested they have even been spying on the police. This has all been done under the pretext of operating in the interests of South Africa".

ARROGANCE

Mr van der Merwe said the developments arising from the existence of the CCB were "sinister to say the least".

He said General Malan's denial that he had ordered acts of murder "is of little value since he has proven himself to be an expert at making very suggestive and sweeping political threats and then turning a blind eye to the consequences".

"Finally, General Malan once again shows his arrogance and contempt for democracy by suggesting that he was only prepared to co-operate with official inquiries by the State and was not prepared to react to what he terms questions, rumours and allegations about the bureau.

"It would be a disgrace if any members of the CCB ended up being prosecuted for acts committed in the course of their duties while their Minister got away scot free."

Slabbert denies he is to play mediation role

CAPE TOWN 21/2/90 (204A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday dismissed suggestions that he would be playing a mediating role between the SA Government and the ANC.

He was speaking after an hour-long meeting with President de Klerk

"It doesn't really arise. If the Government is dealing directly with the ANC they can facilitate themselves."

Dr Slabbert said he had merely met Mr de Klerk to discuss the magnitude of events between February 2 and 12 and to congratulate Mr de Klerk on his "bold and courageous moves".

"I think we have been pulled into a new political orbit in South Africa. Obviously the whole style of politics is going to change."

He said he had no hidden agenda for the meeting and there was no question of him playing a pivotal role.

One of his reasons for coming out to South Africa now from Oxford University where he is on a sabbatical was to attend meetings this week of Idasa — the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Idasa's board would meet on Friday and its directors tomorrow. The main issue would be Idasa's future role in South Africa's changed political circumstances.

Idasa had been created to get the ANC and the Government talking, but now that was happening he would like to see it focussing on creating a democratic culture.

This would include a respect for multiparty democracy and for civil liberties and a tolerance for diversity of views.

He said his own future political role would depend upon the circumstances which arose.

DP spells out its future strategy

B/Day 21/2/90 Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The DP said in a statement yesterday it was not folding up and was in fact aiming to grow and would remain in a state of election readiness.

DP national council chairman Dave Gant countered NP speculation that the party had been left with an identity crisis by President F W de Klerk's recent reform moves.

"The party's philosophy remains one of growth and expanded influence in all spheres of political, social and economic life,' Gant said after senior national and regional officials of the DP met in Cape Town to discuss the party's plans for 1990.

"The party will continue to expand ... and will place specific emphasis on recruiting and mobilising youth groups."

The party would also concentrate heavily on environmental issues. All committees had been asked to form environmental groups to monitor local issues.

"There are fundamental differences between the DP vision of a post-apartheid SA and those of the NP and the ANC/MDM. These differences give the party a persona of its own and we believe it will become more and more attractive to South Africans of all races and to the international community at large," the DP statement said.

Sowetan 21/2/90

FW De Klerk's not kosher yet - paper

DAKAR - Senegal's official newspaper said an invitation to President F W de Klerk to attend a summit with black African leaders was shocking and short-sighted.

The daily *Le Soleil* said it was too early to invite the "leader of a white minority which oppresses millions of Africans". (304A)

"Inviting De Klerk is shocking because it is billed as a breakthrough for South Africa's efforts to uproot apartheid when in fact there is a long way to go," it said.

The Saturday meeting in Zaire, announced by De Klerk's office on Monday, would be the first time independent African states have allowed a South African leader to attend one of their summits.

"This is going too far unless involving De Klerk in African affairs manages to speed up changes. But that seems short-sighted," the paper said.

B/Day 21/2/90

Slabbert rules out role of facilitator

(304A)

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Idasa director and former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday he would not act as facilitator between government and the ANC in any future negotiations.

Speaking after he met President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys, Slabbert said government and the ANC did not need some kind of middle-man or go-between as they were already talking to each other.

He and De Klerk had held an off-the-record, informal discussion centring on recent changes. They had also "looked into the future".

Slabbert said he congratulated De Klerk on his courage and said he had created new space in the SA political arena which the ANC seemed willing to occupy.

The Idasa director said he wanted to make it quite clear that he did not see himself as a facilitator. "I have a personal interest in promoting democratic alternatives without trying to be some kind of middle man. It's not necessary any more."

Slabbert said that in future Idasa's role would change and would probably centre on arranging discussions on how to act democratically and tolerate the views of others.

● DE KLERK

● SLABBERT

The organisation, he said, was a victim of its own success. Its role would now shift towards broadening and supporting the growth of a democratic culture in SA.

Asked if he had any intention of getting involved in a particular party-political organisation, Slabbert said that while he did not wish to rule out the possibility, he had no such plans at present.

At the moment he did not want to get pinned down into constituency politics, but, at the same time, would continue to be politically active.

CP lashed over Nazi flags

CAPE TOWN — By not repudiating its followers who carried Nazi flags, the CP was bringing itself into disrepute in SA and the world, DP MP Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

He was reacting to an interjection in Parliament from Daan van der Merwe (CP nominated) during debate on the first reading of the Own Affairs Part Appropriation Bill.

As Schwarz was talking on inequities in black and white education, Van der Merwe made a comment about Jews and Arabs. (304A)

"I knew you would come up with the Jews," Schwarz said. "The reality is that you and your people burned the flag of the state of Israel in Church Square."

Van der Merwe replied: "That is untrue." B/Day 21/2/90

Schwarz said he thanked the chairman of the CP meeting last week who appealed to people not to display banners offensive to others.

"The question that must be asked is why people who carry the Nazi flag are not repudiated by Mr Van der Merwe?

"The best way of dealing with it is to say to those people who carry Nazi flags that you don't want them in your party. That's the issue. That's what I want to hear," Schwarz said.

Chris de Jager (CP Bethal) interjected that the CP did not want Nazis or communists in its ranks.

In the same debate, Van der Merwe said President F W de Klerk reminded him of murderess Daisy de Melker, "because each assurance he gives on preserving the self-determination of the white man is poisoned".

De Klerk deviated completely from his principles, he said.

His entire public life bore the stamp of untrustworthiness. Everyone knew the Own Affairs dispensation was only a temporary situation. — Sapa.

304A

Afrikaner rights to be protected in the new SA, says Kathrada

DANIEL FELDMAN

ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday the rights of Afrikaners would be protected in the new SA.

Addressing more than 1 000 students at Wits University, Kathrada said the language, religion, and cultural rights of all people would be fully protected, including those of Afrikaners.

"All of SA's people must enjoy full democratic rights."

He said the ANC refused to advocate majority rule by any racial group, including black majority rule. It had stood for non-racialism even at the risk of alienating its own people, as occurred when the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, he said.

Kathrada said that wrong ideas about the ANC had circulated for decades in the media, primarily due to the fact that its members could not be quoted.

He added that the ANC had always wanted a peaceful solution to SA's problems. It acted from its inception in 1912 in non-violent ways, and only resorted to a violent struggle when all other means had failed.

He said the ANC was still "totally committed to a political solution, but a proper climate for fruitful dialogue" must first be established.

Regarding the issue of education, Kathrada said it was a complete lie that the ANC had ever called for "liberation before education".

A more accurate view of the ANC would be "liberation through education", he said.

But the ANC also believed that syllabuses must not reflect only Euro-centric views, but the history of all the people of SA.

While he welcomed and appreciated the steps that President F W de Klerk had made, Kathrada called on him "for more action and less words", because there were only a "few cracks in the apartheid wall".

He said only one of the six Harare Declaration points had been met so far, and though the NP spoke of reform, it was still wed to group rights.

"It has only white interest and white privilege at heart," he said.

To help create change, Kathrada called on the students to involve themselves in the historic events that were occurring in the country.

Kathrada joined the SACP at the age of 14, and and was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial. He was released in October 1989.

Star 22/2/90. (304A)

Mrs Margaret Thatcher . . . needed to be thanked for stand on sanctions.

Mr Harry Schwarz . . . 'some lack of morality in pro-sanctions people'.

Thatcher 'needs to be thanked'

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher needed to be thanked for the stand she was taking on the issue of sanctions against South Africa, Mr Harry Schwarz (DP, Yeoville), said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill for the administration of the House of Assembly, he said this was especially so in view of the hostile climate in which she was operating.

Mr Schwarz said there was some lack of morality in pro-sanctions people shifting the goal-posts continuously.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was quite genuine in his desire to get negotiations going, and this should be accepted both inside and outside South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said the Government's failure to put a constitutional plan on the table was a disturbing feature to many people in South Africa.

Mr W A Botha (CP, Uitenhage) said in his maiden speech that it should not be allowed that South Africa be impoverished by a small group of people influencing the masses to strike.

Mr Karel Swanepoel (NP, Gezina) said own affairs and its budget was a smaller part of a greater whole. — Sapa.

An intriguing mystery of political survival

ARGUS 22/2/90

ISSUES

Hugh Roberton

NOBODY in the Cabinet is more deserving of a boot into political oblivion than General Magnus Malan — and how he continues to survive in office is a phenomenon which renders some intriguing insights into the forces that would seem to be at work in President De Klerk's Cabinet.

The evidence points to a deep and fundamental chasm between General Malan, the front man for the military establishment in the Cabinet, and President De Klerk, the champion of civilian power and authority. It is a chasm which gives every indication of becoming politically unmanageable.

To get an idea of the nature and dimensions of the chasm, it is helpful to briefly ignore all the hit squad excitement which has focused on General Malan in the past few days and take a close look at another event this week which went off almost unnoticed: the decision by President De Klerk to contradict his predecessor and take legal steps in the Appeal Court which will open the way for several SADF and SWA Territory Force officers to be prosecuted for murder.

They are alleged to have murdered two civilians — Mr Frans Uapota, who died from injuries sustained after encounters with SADF personnel in 1985, and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, who was stabbed to death at a lawful political rally near Windhoek in 1986.

Presumably on the advice of General Malan, former President Botha attempted to cover up the SADF's alleged involvement in these killings by issuing certificates stating he was satisfied that the accused were combating terrorism when the alleged murders took place. Under the sweeping powers of the Defence Act, that was enough to terminate both prosecutions.

Appealed

But the Supreme Court rejected President Botha's certificates and he promptly appealed against these decisions — again, presumably, on the advice of Magnus Malan. The appeals were about to be heard by the Appeal Court this week when President De Klerk abruptly withdrew them, opening the way at last for the prosecution of the military officers.

It would seem reasonable to conclude that there must have been a profound difference of opinion on this matter. Yet General Malan remains in the Cabinet.

The scene now advances to 1988 when the Supreme Court ruled that a unit of the SADF had acted unlawfully by conducting a secret campaign aimed at destabilising the End Conscription Campaign — illegal acts for which not a word of remorse has ever come from General Malan.

Jurisdiction

In fact, the SADF's arrogant court defence was that such clandestine operations were lawful and that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter, all of which led the ECC's counsel, Mr Sydney Kentridge, to remark: "There could seldom have been a more dangerous assertion of power than made here by the army."

Yet when he took over the government, President De Klerk kept on his predecessor's discredited old chum.

Then, last year, without General Malan having taken back a single word of the extensive balderdash he invoked in support of the Total Strategy, President De Klerk announced the "reorganisation" of the chief instrument of the Total Strategy — the National Security Management System.

In effect it amounted to the dismantling of much of the system. Power was restored to the Cabinet in an arrangement where previously power was exercised by the military and the police. Again, there must have been hurt feelings, for the step clearly was another sign of President De Klerk's displeasure at the exercising of power by the military.

Potentate

Yet Magnus Malan stayed on.

This year, of course, there was the halving of national service, and the massive cutbacks in the defence budget, all of which must have been a bitter experience for the man who seemed almost to be an independent potentate within the ruling conclave.

Yet he stayed on.

And this week Magnus Malan was forced to admit to the existence of a secret SADF unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, an outfit apparently used to harass political opponents of the government and which has been linked by the police to the killings of Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski, and the Wits academic Dr David Webster.

The country apparently is expected to be satisfied that ministerial responsibility has been acquitted simply because General Malan has declared in a statement that at no stage did he give any order to any person to carry out acts of murder!

Many will recall what President De Klerk said when he was questioned last year on the hit squads. He promised a rigorous investigation which, indeed, he has now brought into being in the form of the Harms Commission, and he said quite firmly: "I will not put up with this sort of thing."

But he continues to put up with Magnus Malan and his unrepentant disclaimers. Why?

Surely, based upon the evidence which the public has seen unfold since President De Klerk came into office, there can be little love lost between them. And surely, at the dawn of a new era, the Cabinet and the government would be better off without this bungling relic of the creeping military government we had under the Pouting One?

The question thus arises: Is Magnus Malan being endured as a sop to a restive military? Is there a perception at the highest level that in trying to establish some democratic order out of the mess which the military has played such a prominent role in creating, there is a need to tread lightly and politely past the men in uniform?

Comments

President De Klerk is far too astute not to recognise the long-term political implications of the Magnus Malan saga.

If a black government somewhere in Africa were to set up a secret branch of its defence force to harass and, according to its police force, even be involved in the murder of its political opponents, the reaction of perhaps a majority of white South Africans would include such familiar comments as "how typical!", "what did you expect?", "same old story", "they actually want the vote!", "that's what would happen here, if...", "over my dead body" and so forth ad nauseam.

What do black South Africans say when the same sort of thing is perceived as having been perpetrated by a white government?

And ultimately, what security can either white or black have in the future if this sort of precedent is not roundly and cleanly denounced and a serious attempt made to entrench a respect for the rule of law in the few years left before black majority rule must come?

Star 22/2/90 ( ) (304A)

Police accused of standing back

Natal blacks 'left to kill each other'

There was evidence of the police standing back and allowing the violence and the killing in Natal to escalate and run its full course before stepping in, **Mr Luwellyn Landers (LP Durban Suburbs)** said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

He asked whether this was as a result of a political decision handed down to them — "a case of 'let the blacks kill one another off'".

Mr Landers was speaking during an interpellation debate in which he asked the **Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok**, whether in the light of the current crisis in Natal, he or the Government had taken steps to bring the violence and loss of life in this province to an end.

Since 1987 between 2 000 and 3 000 people had died in Natal.

"This, in spite of the fact that SA was governed under a state of emergency and in spite of the enormous powers granted to the authorities and the police in terms of security laws."

Many affected communities and their leaders had lost confidence in the police.

Replying to the debate, the Minister said mobile police stations had already been established and he asked all responsible leaders to exercise control.

"It was not the first time steps like these have been taken," Mr Vlok said, after repeating the steps taken to help control the violence in Natal, announced earlier this month.

"We make a mistake by accusing the SAP of the situation," he said.

The call for an independent judicial commission of inquiry to look into the causes of the violence, to examine the role of the police and to examine the socio-economic conditions of the affected areas was supported and endorsed by the Labour Party, Mr Landers said, asking if the Government would do the same. — Sapa.

Churches monitor change

South 22/2/ – 28/2/90

THE World Council of Churches (WCC) is to establish a "visible mechanism" to mobilise international support for, and monitor, the process of change in South Africa.

Some 50 representatives of churches and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, the Frontline States and overseas countries requested this at a WCC conference held in Harare last weekend, according to a statement released by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The new developments since the unbanning of various organisations and Nelson Mandela's release provided "some light at the end of the tunnel, and vindicate the people's faith against faith and hope against hope", said WCC general secretary Emilio Castro

However, the conference warned "the present euphoria should not blind us to the unchanged realities which continue to exist".

"The churches, both in South Africa and abroad, will need to exercise maximum vigilance in this critical period to ensure the early and rapid transformation of South Africa into a united, non-racial and democratic state."

Other aspects which would necessitate vigilance on the part of the churches were the mechanisms for the drawing up of a new constitution, and the agreements about arrangements for a transitional government and the holding of elections.

German solidarity

CHRISTIANS could not celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela without re-dedicating themselves to the struggle of the South African majority as long as all the conditions of the Harare Document had not been met.

This was said by South African

Church in Action

304A

BY NOEL BRUYNS

Robert Kriger when almost 200 people met at the Protestant Academy Bad Boll in West Germany to celebrate Mandela's release last weekend.

The Rev Manfred Fisher, the academy's first director, said it would assist "to keep up international pressure for especially financial sanctions against the South African government and to continue informing the general public of the political machinations and brutal killings perpetrated by the Inkatha movement - which enjoys respectibility among especially business circles here in West Germany".

A group of young church and trade union members who had been to South Africa at the invitation of members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) made an audio-visual report.

The academy, in partnership with Diakonia, the ecumenical institution in Durban, will host a South Africa Week in October. Issues dealing with labour, education and culture will be addressed.

The academy said it would look at ways in which it could support these issues.

B/Day 22/2/90

MP says existing SA constitution is totally flawed

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The present constitutional system is fatally flawed, MP for Pinelands Jasper Walsh said yesterday.

Walsh told Parliament that President F W de Klerk had promised in his opening speech to Parliament this year that his aim was to have "a totally new and just constitutional dispensation."

However, the current system was based on race "with built-in inequalities in terms of money and opportunity".

In addition, it excluded the majority of South Africans who had no effective say over matters of concern to them, he said.

304 A

Self-interest

Walsh said the broader SA was not interested in the argument between members of the NP and the CP about who would do most for the whites in SA.

"Will such self-interest contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations?

"Should we not ask ourselves whether the example we are setting the disenfranchised millions will be followed by them when they have the vote?

"Will we legitimately be able to expect then that they act in the interests of all South Africans when we as whites have so often done precisely the opposite?" Walsh asked.

He said it was far more important that parliamentarians should debate the kind of issues that would concern all South Africans.

B/Day 22/2/90 (304A)

NP leader hails court's decision on Fauresmith

CAPE TOWN — The Chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Assembly and Justice Minis[illegible] Coetsee yesterday lauded [illegible] cision which gave Fa[illegible]smith to the NP in a recount.

Coetsee is also Free State NP leader.

Fauresmith was a dead heat between the NP and the Conservative Party in last year's general election.

In a recount yesterday, the seat was declared as having been won by the NP with a five-vote majority.

Replying to the second reading debate on the House of Assembly's Part Appropriation Bill, Coetsee said the SA Bench was held in the highest regard all over the world.

Jasper Walsh (DP, Pinelands) said most of the issues raised in the debate showed the "total irrelevance" of Own Affairs. It was based on race and excluded the majority of South Africans.

From Bloemfontein, it was reported that the NP now has eight seats in the Free State and the CP six.

The NP candidate declared elected was Inus Aucamp, with Alex Danzfuss of the CP the loser.

The electoral officer in Fauresmith had declared "no election" on September 7 when the votes had been counted to show that Aucamp and Danzfuss had each polled 4 519 votes, with HNP candidate N J Saunderson receiving 130 votes. There were 23 spoilt papers.

The new figures are 4 521 (NP), 4 516 (CP), 120 (HNP) and 26 spoilt papers respectively. — Sapa.

Why build on shifting sand, asks Schwarz

CAPE TOWN — It was quite remarkable that when everyone knew the tricameral system was on the way out, its building blocks continued to be piled on top of one another on a foundation of shifting sand, DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said yesterday. B/Day 22/2/90

In a vote declaration on the first reading of the Part Appropriation Bill (House of Assembly), he said that departments were being shifted from own affairs to general affairs and provincial administrations were being burdened with services they could not handle.

Services being provided were in many instances collapsing or being provided in an ineffective and inefficient manner.

The DP would vote against the Bill, he said. (304A)

C H Pienaar (CP Heilbron) said own affairs had been reduced to an accounting exercise.

The Part Appropriation would not be supported by the CP, he said.

The Bill was passed with the CP and DP opposing government. — Sapa.

Calls for Defence Minister's dismissal

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk last night was called upon to dismiss Defence Minister Magnus Malan because of his links with an alleged death squad unit.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan said the Defence Minister should be dismissed because of his links with the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

His co-leader Denis Worrall said the Minister should stand down while inquiries into the activities of the alleged unit, the CCB, were under way.

Speaking in Sea Point, Malan said statements made about death squads by the NP's defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys were disturbing to the point of repugnance.

His viewpoint that the existence of death squads should be seen against the background of the time frame they operated in was not just an admission that they existed, but had further implications. (304A)

In the manner in which the NP worked, Geldenhuys would either have been speaking on behalf of Malan or with his sanction, the DP co-leader said.

Unless De Klerk acted now to dismiss Malan and repudiated Geldenhuys's statement, he would be seen to be supporting the NP defence spokesman's standpoint.

Without these actions from De Klerk, the CP's call for government to resign would become a justifiable one.

Worrall said newspaper reports had put beyond all doubt allegations that persons employed by the State had engaged in the calculated killing of leading government opponents. B/Day 22/2/90

He said it was now clear that De Klerk's initial reluctance to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into death squads was because they involved Malan and possibly other members of government.

Worrall said it had to be concluded from the fact that Malan admitted he knew of the existence of the CCB that he knew what its purpose was and what it did.

"Both logically and in terms of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, Malan is

☐ To Page 2

Malan B/Day 22/2/90

(304A) ☐ From Page 1

responsible for the existence and operation of the CCB. Malan has also not denied newspaper reports that the CCB's chain of command reached up to him.

ALAN FINE and ANDREW GILL report that OFS Attorney General Tim McNally and other officials of the Harms Commission is to meet today with legal representatives of interested parties to map out a time schedule for hearings, legal sources said.

A source close to the David Webster Trust (DWT) said a crucial point to be investigated was the nature of the link between the alleged SAP death squad, to which former captain Dirk Coetzee belonged, and the CCB.

A strongly-held view that is emerging — although there is no firm evidence to support it — is that the security apparatuses recently downgraded or dismantled by De Klerk played a key role in co-ordinating the activities of the SAP and SADF units.

These include the State Security Council and the National Security Management System.

This view was expressed by the DWT yesterday and by Coetzee who was interviewed by Business Day in Lusaka at the weekend.

Malan said in parliament this week he had never given orders to murder. He pledged his department's full co-operation into the investigations.

FORWARD TO DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

EVANGELISCHE AKADEMIE BAD BOLL

(304A)

South 22/2 - 28/2/90.

The following undersigned members of the West German solidarity movement and public celebrate the release of comrade

NELSON MANDELA

and other political prisoners as the beginning of the process of peace in South Africa.

We welcome the recent unbanning of liberation organisations as well as the few political concessions that have been made.

We recognise this political move by De Klerk as being the result of the untiring resistance by the struggling people of South Africa against that crime against humanity — the apartheid system.

We are aware, however, that the conditions for negotiations for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa have not yet been fully met.

We demand, therefore, that the South African government demonstrate a genuine willingness for democratic change by fulfilling the requirements of the Harare Declaration.

We pledge for our part to continue supporting the liberatory struggle in South Africa by among others applying pressure on the West German government not to back down at this historic juncture on the sanctions issue.

Sunday, 18 February 1990, Bad Boll, FRG

Karin Gonser
Meinhard Reichel
Nadine Cooper
Charly Trautwein
Dorothee Kamphausen
Joerg Fischer
Gottfried Rothermundt
Irmgard Reid
Godlind Bigalke
Marlis Rehm
Charlotte Reichel
Dieter Merling
Wolfgang Kroeger
Susanne Englert
Hans-Beat Motel
Sigrid Hermann
Angela Mai
Guenther Metzger
Erika Reinoel
Martin Stark
Ute Fischer
Sigune Kroeger
Ilse Knothe
Annette Feller
Gudrun Vetter
Manfred Fischer

Star 22/7/90

FW 'yes' to talks expected

(304A)

Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk, is expected to announce today or tomorrow that he is prepared to meet a delegation from the African National Congress to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

A Tuynhuys spokesman said today there would be a statement soon.

Although no official communication has yet been received by President de Klerk after the statement by the ANC executive in Lusaka last Friday, the matter was considered at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

The ANC has said its internal leadership would send a letter to Mr de Klerk.

Among the obstacles mentioned by the ANC is the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the halting of all political trials and the removal of all troops from the townships.

The SA Communist Party has announced in Lusaka it wants to send a delegation to the Government for talks. This will not be part of the ANC's team.

The SACP also said it would soon announce a leadership core within the country and would send members into the country to strengthen this core.

Channel of SA funds for Comores still a mystery

B/Day 22/2/90 304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The mystery of how SA funds were used to finance the controversial president's guard in the Comores islands deepened yesterday after Foreign Minister Pik Botha effectively denied his department had been used for this purpose.

Botha said in Parliament loans had been granted to the Comores to purchase petroleum, housing, the building of a road, the infrastructure for a hotel and export credit for the development of the hotel.

But, in his reply to a question tabled by DP foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglin, he made no reference to the mercenary-led president's guard.

After former president Abdullah was assassinated last year by members of the president's guard, the SA government admitted that it had supported the unit for about 10 years.

In the wake of his death and the revolt on the Comores against the president's guard, its commander Col Bob Denard was granted a temporary residence permit, which was later extended, to stay in SA.

Channelled

As Botha said yesterday that his department did not support the guard, the SA support could only have come from another departmental vote.

According to informed sources, these funds were channelled to the guard by the SA Defence Force, probably using the secret special defence account.

It has also been reported that the Comores was one of the major channels for the supply of weapons and arms to the rebel Renamo movement in Mozambique.

Botha said yesterday that loans of R3,5m for the purchase of petroleum products in SA for resale on the islands, R1,9m for the construction of houses, R1,8m for the construction of a road, R3,2m for the provision of infrastructure for the building of the Le Galawa Hotel and R20,7m to enable the capital and interest on an export credit loan for the development of the Le Galawa Hotel were granted.

PW 'retired in bitterness'

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

FORMER President P W Botha retired in August last year under a cloud of bitterness and unpleasantness.

An interesting new book on the dramas around his retirement finds that it could have been otherwise.

In "Leierstryd" (published by Tafelberg Publishers) two seasoned political observers of Die Burger, Alf Ries and Ebbe Dommisse, again underline what became clear in the political crises around Mr Botha last year — that it was his own ungracious actions which in the end led to the bitterness surrounding his retirement.

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

Coming from writers on a newspaper which had supported him for so long this book is a damning indictment of a man who in the end appeared to be prepared to pull down around him the political party he had served for so long.

In many ways the book shows how Nationalist journalists can ditch leaders they served with such devotion while they were in power. They would have served their leaders better, if, at the time, they had said some of the things about Mr Botha that they are saying now.

While paying tribute to his reform moves in the past the book points out how Nationalists had on several occasions, in parliament, at party congresses and in other party bodies, maintained that Mr Botha deserved to be honoured for what he had achieved and that they wanted him to retire with grace and dignity.

Gratitude

No-one doubted that, had he retired after he had become ill, he would have been showered in gratitude and tributes.

This was not to be, through Mr Botha's own doing.

The goodwill was greeted with clashes, recriminations and rebuffs, such as his refusal to attend a farewell banquet just before the National Party's federal congress in Pretoria last year.

As a result of his mercurial temper and his dictatorial manner he became estranged from good friends such as former Ministers Mr Alwyn Schlebusch and Dr Willie van Niekerk.

'Imperial'

The book also deals with the lack of frankness and the exaggerated secrecy which surrounded and characterised the last years of the Botha regime.

The public was not always fully informed of Mr Botha's medical condition. When he was in Wynberg military hospital on May 29 and 30 last yer for what was described as "an ordinary check-up" he had a prostate operation.

It points the finger at the uncommunicative attitude at the Tuynhuys which bothered political journalists for so many years while he was president. This led, quite rightly, to the accusations that an "imperial" presidency was developing.

Flashback: Mr FW de Klerk and Mr PW Botha chat at the 1989 National Party congress in Cape Town.

As other political observers had noted, Mr Botha showed some of the classic signs of someone who had suffered a stroke.

Such people sometimes had fewer inhibitions and some of their suppressed behavioural patterns came to the fore more strongly. This could be the reason for the short temper which became even worse and the bouts of rage.

The book covers a lot of well-known territory but, among the interesting disclosures is how Mr De Klerk nearly resigned from the Cabinet in September 1988 after a clash between him and Mr Chris Heunis on the one hand and Mr Botha on the other.

Mr Botha resented that a caucus meeting had been arranged and plans made for a second session of parliament without him having been consulted and that he had not been informed about an agreement with Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse about group areas legislation.

The Minister maintained that Mr Botha had been consulted.

At one stage, at that Cabinet meeting Mr Botha even threatened to reconstitute his Cabinet and at one stage he took his documents and walked out of the meeting for an hour.

Mr Heunis and Mr De Klerk went to talk to him in his office and he returned to the meeting but after this colleagues had to plead with Mr De Klerk not to resign from the Cabinet.

Mr Pik Botha also had a tongue-lashing from the then president, in 1986, after he had referred to the possibility of a black president in an interview with overseas journalists.

Only a few days before his retirement in August of last year he told the Minister of Foreign Affairs that this had been one of the most painful actions of his life.

He said that two Cabinet ministers had threatened that they would take the whole matter to the Cabinet and that the government would split or would come to a fall if he did not act against Mr Pik Botha.

The book does not mention the names of the two Ministers but political journalists at the time speculated that they were especially Mr Chris Heunis and possibly also Mr F W de Klerk.

Towards the end of his term of office there were signs that Mr Botha was forgetting things told to him by Ministers.

This appeared to be the case with the meeting Mr De Klerk and Mr Pik Boitha had arranged with President Kuanda of Zambia in August of last year — after Mr P W Botha had been informed of this previously. His objection to this became the last straw which led to the Cabinet forcing him to resign.

Valid point

The book makes the valid point that the dramas around Mr Botha showed that the president, under the present constitutional system, had too much power and that this was the reason for Mr De Klerk mentioning at one stage the possibility of reforming the presidency. A return to a ceremonial, or even rotating, presidency appears to be necessary.

"Leierstryd" is a valuable addition to contemporary political history of which there is such a dearth in South Africa.

PW supporters deny charges of 'inconsistent economic policy'

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

FORMER President PW Botha's camp has hit back at allegations made against him in a new book about last year's leadership struggle in the National Party.

Mr Botha himself was not available for comment, the sources said.

Among the incidents the book, "Leierstryd", by Alf Ries and Ebbe Domisse, throws light on was President Botha's public repudiation of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in parliament in 1986 because the Foreign Minister had said that South Africa could have a black State President.

Ries and Burger's book discloses that two senior Cabinet Ministers pressed President Botha to repudiate Mr Botha.

The book does not name the ministers. But sources close to Mr PW Botha said today the ministers were Mr FW de Klerk — then Minister of National Education — and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development.

The sources said Mr De Klerk had objected to Mr Pik Botha's remark "because he didn't like the implications in it."

Mr Heunis had objected to a minister "meddling in his portfolio."

The sources in the PW Botha camp confirmed another disclosure in the book — that Mr FW de Klerk nearly resigned from the Cabinet in August 1988 after a row with President Botha.

The row blew up when Mr Botha said he had not been informed about a caucus meeting arranged by Mr De Klerk to discuss the clash between the government and the Labour Party over the proposed trilogy of group areas bills.

Mr Botha's camp has also reacted to crilicism of him in an interview given by Finance Ministar Mr Barend du Plessis to the magazine Executive.

Mr Du Plessis criticised Mr Botha for inconsistent economic policy, citing the 1988 teachers' pay rise which came after Mr Botha had promised no annual public service pay increases.

The sources close to Mr Botha said that Mr Du Plessis "had omitted to mention that the person who pushed hardest for the teachers's pay rise was the former Minister of National Education, Mr FW de Klerk."

SACP says it wants talks with govt

B/Day 22/2/90

LUSAKA — The SACP announced yesterday that it would send a delegation to SA for talks with government, but not as part of the ANC's negotiating team.

The SACP made the announcement after a meeting of its central committee in Lusaka, Sapa-AP reports.

"We shall be announcing a public SACP leadership core within our country and we shall also be despatching Communist Party members into the country to strengthen this core as soon as possible," the committee said. (30419)

Nelson Mandela is due to arrive in Lusaka next Tuesday for consultations with the exiled leadership.

□ Our political staff reports from Cape Town that government plans to respond this week to the ANC's proposals released at its Lusaka conference last week, a spokesman for the President's Office said yesterday.

The spokesman said government had still not formally received the ANC's proposals or its request for a meeting with F W de Klerk but the President would nevertheless react by the end of the week.

However, it appeared last night that the Press conference that De Klerk had been expected to hold for the past two weeks might not materialise.

The spokesman said that De Klerk would "most probably" react to the ANC's proposals in a statement.

Cape Times
22/2/90
304A

Nats win seat that was tied

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The National Party in the Free State retained the majority of House of Assembly seats in the province when Mr Inus Aucamp (NP) was yesterday declared elected with a majority of five votes over Mr Alex Danzfuss (CP) in the Fauresmith constituency.

The National Party now has eight seats and the CP six.

In terms of a court order issued last week, the votes cast in the general election last September 6 were yesterday recounted.

The electoral officer in Fauresmith had declared "no election" on September 7 when the votes were counted to show that Mr Aucamp and Mr Danzfuss had each polled 4 519 votes, with Mr N J Saunderson (HNP) receiving 130 votes and 23 spoilt papers.

Mr Aucamp yesterday won with 4 521 votes.

It is understood that three counts were made to assure Mr Danzfuss that Mr Aucamp was indeed the winner. — Sapa

Redemption summit for FW in Zaire

Sowetan 22/2/90

30CH

IF the proposed mini-summit in Zaire comes off as planned on Saturday it will be the biggest step South Africa has yet made towards redemption in black Africa.

It will still be a long way short of general acceptance in the continent, however.

The importance of the meeting with President de Klerk is not so much in the status of the participants as in the symbolism attached to what will be the first summit meeting between heads of state from South Africa and a group of African countries.

Some of the leaders who are reported to have accepted invitations to attend the meeting can hardly be considered to be among the more influential states in Africa.

Poorest

Rwanda and Burundi are among the continent's smallest and poorest countries. Like the Central African Republic, they border on Zaire, which is promoting the summit, and to some extent can be considered to come under Kinshasa's influence.

The CAR is also desperately impoverished. During the regime of former president Bokassa, whose brutality was legendary even in Africa, the CAR had some informal relations with South Africa but given Bokassa's reputation this is something Pretoria might rather forget.

Chad, whose president is also expected to attend, is another of Africa's basket cases, with a per capita gross national product of only 150 dollars compared to South Africa's 1 875

It has, however, received much international attention because of President Hissene Habre's stubborn fight against being swallowed by Muammar Gaddafi's Libya.

For this reason alone President Habre's presence across a meeting table from De Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

Confirmed

Neither of these countries nor the host, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, have so far confirmed their attendance.

There is even less certainty about whether those attending will include the Congo, which also borders on Zaire, and Gabon

Gabon has been mentioned as a possible participant because it is known to be somewhat more amenable to dealing with South Africa than most African states.

Speculation about Congolese participation stems in part from the belief that President Denis Sassou-Nguesso was impressed with the way South Africa cooperated in the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations that were held in his capital, Brazzaville, in 1988.

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful.

This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

It was a time when some African states' need for South African trade made them swallow their loathing of apartheid and deal with the Republic, but then only secretly.

The summit is still a long way from the acceptance that would be denoted by membership in the Organisation of African Unity and the obstacle to attaining that status remains apartheid.

But the fact that four African heads of state, no matter how insignificant some may be, are now prepared to meet openly with the South African president demonstrates the increasing acceptance that Pretoria is gaining, mainly through four factors:

* The good faith it has shown in allowing Namibia to become independent.
* The reforms implemented by the Government.
* The mounting evidence that it has stopped trying to destabilise neighbouring countries.
* The growing need of African countries for South African goods and services.

There are hopes in South African government circles that these factors will lead not only to open meetings of the Zaire kind but also to formal diplomatic relations that would allow all dealings, including trade, to be done in the open.

Mr FW de Klerk

Zaire summit SA's 'biggest step into black Africa'

ARGUS 22/2/90 (1) 304A

EXPLOITING diplomatic opportunities opened by his domestic reform initiatives, President F W de Klerk goes to Zaire on Saturday for a historic summit meeting that could open even wider prospects in Africa.

By GERALD L'ANGE, Editor, Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg.

304A 22/2/90

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MEETING

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For this reason alone President Habre's presence across a meeting table from Mr De Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

None of these countries or the host, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, have so far confirmed their attendance.

There is even less certainty about the rumoured attendance of the Congo, which also borders on Zaire, and Gabon.

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Speculation about Congolese participation stems in part from the belief that President Denis Sassou-Nguesso was impressed with the way South Africa cooperated in the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations that were held in his capital, Brazzaville, in 1988.

Mercenaries

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful.

This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

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Improvement

The improvement of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent began before Mr De Klerk became president and was evident in the visits by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, to Mozambique, Ivory Coast and elsewhere.

But it was Mr De Klerk's relatively dramatic initiatives that have given the trend real impetus.

It has long been a dream in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that one or more of the African states would break through the united front demanded by the OAU against South Africa and start dealing openly with the Republic. It was hoped that this would start a snowball effect, encouraging more and more states to follow suit.

Snowball

Whether Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic and Zaire are enough to form the nucleus of a snowball remains to be seen.

It may be that the snowball will start rolling only if it picks up one or more of the states that have been more openly hostile to Pretoria.

Snowball or not, the summit represents a major and perhaps historic advance towards what the politicians in Cape Town would describe as the normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent.

CP unhappy after re-count

(304A) Star 22/2/90

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

A re-count of the votes cast in Fauresmith in last year's general election has given the National Party a five-vote majority over the Conservative Party — but the CP seems set to continue the bitter battle by taking further court action.

NP candidate Mr Inus Aucamp gained two votes and CP candidate Mr Alex Danzfuss lost three in a re-count of votes in Bloemfontein's Supreme Court yesterday. On election day there was a 4 519-vote draw.

A disappointed Mr Danzfuss yesterday rejected the NP's proposal that the two parties should jointly request the Supreme Court to endorse the re-count.

He challenged Mr Aucamp to fight a new election.

Mr Aucamp, the NP's chief secretary in the Free State, said it would be premature to accept that he had won the protracted battle. The Registrar first had to submit the result of the re-count to the court whereafter it would decide whether to endorse it.

● The Conservative Party candidate in Vereeniging, Mr Barend Frederik Keet, who lost by five votes in last year's election, yesterday asked the Pretoria Supreme Court to declare the election null and void. He alleged irregularities took place.

Many hands struck blows leading to apartheid's demise

304A

0/09/22/2/90

ALAN FINE

APARTHEID is dying at last — few doubt that the 1990s will see its demise — but already there are arguments about who or what delivered the mortal wounds.

The dramatic turning point reached on February 2, followed by Nelson Mandela's release 11 days later, allows all political actors — supporters of sanctions or constructive engagement, advocates of armed struggle and popular uprising or the parliamentary process — to claim success for their strategies.

Who is right and who is wrong is a matter of more than academic interest, not least because those perceived to have been correct immediately win political credibility.

The only simple answer is that it was a combination of all these and other factors, including international developments unrelated to SA, like the changing nature of the Eastern bloc, that convinced the NP the cost of retaining apartheid outweighed the cost of fundamental change.

Attempting to give weight to each of these factors, to determine which were indispensable to change and which were not, is the most difficult part of any honest assessment.

The pendulum began swinging against apartheid in the 1970s. The slow beginnings of black unionisation, then the more dramatic events from June 1976 gave notice that orthodox apartheid could not survive. Less dramatic but as important was the changing nature of the economy and its need for a greater supply of skilled, stable labour.

All these events prompted the earliest reforms of apartheid — black trade union rights and the abolition of job reservation and influx control.

But none of these reforms addressed the question of black political equality, a point which the still enthusiatic supporters of the thesis tend to ignore.

Economic growth prompted the start of the deracialisation of the economy; it took a lot more to create the present conditions for the deracialisation of the political process.

In the same post-1976 period, the ANC's armed struggle became a factor. The period of "armed propaganda" — spectacular attacks on Sasol, police stations and army bases — revived the ANC's public image, among blacks and internationally, after more than 15 years of near silence. This was crucial for the organisation.

But the armed struggle never entered the next classical phase. Of all the pressures exerted on the NP government since 1984, the armed struggle was the least significant and survives today only as a bargaining chip whose emotive value is far more significant than its material one.

By the mid-1980s, the far more important factors were rising internal black resistance, including the formation of internal allies of the ANC, and international sanctions, particularly financial sanctions.

These factors were not, in themselves, sufficient to push the NP over the edge. The mass mobilisation in the townships was crushed by the emergency measures, although the trade unions survived.

But if, for government, halting the insurrection of the mid-eighties was one side of its policy coin, the attempt to create a largely co-operative, "moderate" population whose hearts and minds had been won, was the other. And in this it failed dismally.

At the same time, SA business found alternative markets (albeit less efficient) for products targeted by sanctions. Disinvestment hardly caused a scratch. And the economy adapted to living with the low growth rates forced upon it by the need to protect foreign exchange reserves.

But it was not easy. Capital flight in the last five years amounted to tens of billions of rands. Neither the mining nor the manufacturing sector was growing. Hopes that the informal sector could take up the slack were never realistic.

The prospect faced by the NP government was of a long-term stalemate.

It would probably have survived new waves of resistance and a stagnant economy for many years. And it may have decided to try, well into the 1990s, had not other factors intervened.

Firstly, Nelson Mandela communicated with government over three years, and last July handed over a document arguing for a negotiated settlement. This appears to have played an important part in convincing government it would not necessarily be suicidal to make the key concessions necessary for opening the way to a political settlement.

But more important were the changes in the nature of Soviet foreign policy and its consequences, which made the idea conceivable.

It is coincidence that Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power came at the same time that the townships were burning, the US Congress was devising new sanctions legislation, Chase Manhattan was pulling the plug, and P.W. Botha was failing to cross the Rubicon. But Gorbachev's policy of resolving regional superpower conflict through negotiation was the final ingredient necessary to create the conditions for a relatively peaceful transition in SA.

The Angola/Namibia settlement, helped along by the changed relationship with the Soviet Union, was an important experiment for the SA government. The settlement process was fairly smooth, and the election result confirmed Swapo was not sufficiently popular to win the two-thirds majority necessary to run the country without reference to the views of other groups. The analogy with the ANC is clear.

The collapse of the East European communist parties was obviously a factor, too. But it could be argued that while it was useful for placating rightwing opinion, it was probably not as important as State President F W de Klerk suggested in his speech. It probably did make it easier to unban the SA Communist Party, but the NP government had embarked on the process, which reached a milestone in the first two weeks of February, long before the collapse of the governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania.

What of the role of the constructive engagement policies followed by former US president Ronald Reagan, British PM Margaret Thatcher and, to a lesser extent, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl?

In retrospect, constructive engagement was not the main international force acting on SA. At best it was useful, bringing a pat on the back from Maggie for granting clemency to the Sharpeville Six, or a promise of a visit to her for releasing Nelson Mandela.

By the late 1980s though, constructive engagement no longer survived in its original sense. All that remained was the threat that constructive engagement could not survive unless changes were made — hence the release of Walter Sisulu and others to coincide with the Commonwealth conference last October. The only real international reward for piecemeal reform became the hope that Thatcher would be able to keep her finger in the dyke.

Only time will tell whether SA can, in the post-apartheid era, recover from the combined effects of sanctions and its apartheid-based economic and education systems, and re-establish itself as one of the developed nations of the world.

Sanctions sped up the process of change. Whether they did so sufficiently to justify their contribution to the stunting of the SA economy will be a matter for future historians to debate.

LETTERS

FW 'almost resigned from Cabinet in 1988'

Star 22/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius

CAPE TOWN — In September 1988 Mr F W de Klerk seriously considered resigning from the Cabinet after a confrontation with the then State President, Mr P W Botha, according to a book published yesterday.

The book, "Leierstryd" by Alf Ries, the political correspondent of the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece *Die Burger*, and Ebbe Domisse, the newspaper's editor, also deals with President Botha's public repudiation of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Parliament in 1986 after he had said South Africa could have a black State President.

The authors say two senior Cabinet Ministers pressed President Botha to repudiate Mr Botha, but do not name the Ministers.

However, sources close to Mr P W Botha said yesterday that the Ministers were Mr FW de Klerk — then Minister of National Education — and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development.

The sources said that Mr De Klerk had objected to Mr Pik Botha's remark "because he didn't like the implications in it".

Mr Heunis had objected to a Minister "meddling in his portfolio".

Sources in the P W Botha camp yesterday confirmed another disclosure in the book — that Mr F W de Klerk nearly resigned from the Cabinet in August 1988 after a row with President Botha.

The row blew up when Mr Botha said he had not been informed about a caucus meeting arranged by Mr de Klerk to discuss the clash between the Government and the Labour Party over the proposed trilogy of group areas Bills.

Mr Botha's camp has also reacted to criticism of him in an interview given by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis to the magazine *Executive*.

Mr du Plessis criticised Mr Botha for inconsistent economic policy, citing the 1988 teachers' pay rise which came after Mr Botha had promised that there would not be an annual pay rise for public servants.

The sources close to Mr Botha said that Mr Du Plessis "had omitted to mention that the person who pushed hardest for the teachers' pay rise was the former Minister of National Education, Mr FW de Klerk".

Sanlam chief optimistic at govt moves

LINDA ENSOR

THE steps taken by government to confront the country's political and economic problems gave cause for optimism, Sanlam chairman Abie van den Berg said at the life assurer's AGM in Cape Town yesterday. B/Day 22/2/90

However, he expressed concern at the "drastic weakening" in the level of personal saving, estimated to be 2% of personal disposable income, in 1989.

"Inflation and high taxes affect real savings returns so adversely that it is often not worthwhile to save in the short term."

Van den Berg said the pursuit of real interest rates should contribute significantly towards improving this trend, adding that action to lower inflation and decrease the impact of taxation on the willingness to save would also be decisive.

Government could be assured, he said, of Sanlam's support in its economic strategy and he called for the "wholehearted co-operation" of the private sector.

He said President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech and subsequent steps taken were of major importance.

"Obstacles in the way of the political accommodation of the various interest groups in our country have been removed.

"This will no doubt make a major contribution to a more stable and relaxed domestic situation and the normalisation of SA's foreign relations." (304A)

Van den Berg called on the private sector to co-operate with government to achieve a reduction in the economic role of the public sector; the reallocation of state funds and stricter control over their use; a decrease in the tax burden, particularly of individuals; the promotion of deregulation and privatisation and the lowering of the inflation rate.

The goals could be reached only if pursued within the framework of a comprehensive strategic plan, he said.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY F/M 23/2/90

Finding a role

In keeping with democratic tradition, the Democratic Party is going on the road to ask party formations to help decide where it goes from here. (304A)

President F W de Klerk's initiative has seriously eroded DP ground. Politically it sounds fine to say the National Party has hijacked DP policy and thereby proved its worth, but it leaves the party groping for a new relevance. MPs are certainly aware of their situation. There have been intense discussions on which line the party should take (*Current Affairs* February 9 and 16) and deep soul-searching is under way.

Troika leader Denis Worrall has denied reports of "deep divisions" (and labelled the *FM*'s February 16 report of possible defections as "misguided"), but he confirms a strategic reassessment at grassroots level.

The reassessment will centre on discussion of a series of options produced by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle. His four areas of possible movement for the DP are:

- ☐ Closer ties with government in a supportive role;
- ☐ Closer ties with the ANC;
- ☐ An alliance with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups in the MDM; and
- ☐ An independent "watchdog" role over the government of the day.

Meanwhile, the DP is organising a pro-reform demonstration to be held in Johannesburg on Friday February 23. Party spokesman and MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Soal, says there will be a march from the Harrison Street bridge to the city hall starting at 1pm.

Participants will include academics, businessmen, politicians, students and workers who favour a non-racial democratic society. A meeting in the city hall at the end of the march will be addressed by DP parliamentary leader, Zach de Beer. Permission for the march has been granted. ■

One Nat paper not happily following FW

W/Mail 23/2 – 1/3/90 (304-A)

Only one newspaper in the National Party stable seems unhappy with reform ... the English-language Citizen. GAVIN EVANS reports

A PAGE four headline in Wednesday's *Citizen* reads "ANC are excited about talks with FW-Slabbert".

It was probably not intended to be a slight on the state president (or on the Idasa leader), but from reading the editorials of the National Party's erstwhile English-language mouthpiece, one can be forgiven for mistaking it as such.

Ever since its questionable 1976 conception through illegal Info Department funding, the *Citizen* has been fiercely NP. And even though it has never achieved the prestige of its Afrikaans cousins, *Die Burger* and *Beeld*, it has flourished and now boasts a circulation of over 150 000.

Over the last two months, however, the NP's fast-moving mainstream and the paper's editorials seem to be finding each other's company increasingly irksome.

Conservative Party mouthpiece *Die Patriot* last week wrote a special feature commending the *Citizen* and its editor Johnny Johnson for having the "courage to warn the government that it has gone too far".

It noted the *Citizen* "had not been privy to the confabs which the Afrikaans press obviously hold with their NP controllers", and called the paper a "weather vane of what the public feels".

Die Patriot added that the *Citizen* had "clearly seen the writing on the wall for the NP", mentioning its warnings of the "domino effect in the capitulation process".

Some have noted that it is perhaps no coincidence that the CP's Pretoria representative, Arthur Kemp, was a *Citizen* reporter last year.

But while the tone of the paper's letter pages has long been extreme right (despite the *Citizen's* predominantly black readership), it is only recently that the paper's maverick but generally faithful editor has positioned his vehicle to the right of the party.

Johnson has made it clear that he is not about to follow Kemp and his letter-writers into the CP.

"Not that we agree in any way with the CP," he cautions in a Saturday editorial. "That there is no way in which whites can continue to maintain their exclusive privileges is obvious."

But his repeated concern is that "everyone needs to tread carefully", and he makes it clear that some in the NP are not doing this.

Noting last weekend's "huge rightwing protest march", he cautions that "the government has lost the support of many Afrikaners, probably the majority".

And he goes on to warn that the "rightwing backlash, which some members of the government and others regarded as being of little significance, is growing increasingly".

He also warns that the notion of the ANC as an alternative government, "has scared the living daylights out of many whites".

Johnson suggests that this situation has not been helped by Gerrit Viljoen "telling the country blandly" that the last election was the last in which only whites would participate and that, indeed, the NP would "create a new South Africa in which whites would not only share power, but would no longer be the government".

In another editorial, he notes that after the "stunning" announcements by De Klerk, "some of his Ministers are equally stunning in their candour — or perhaps unawareness — of the effect of their remarks on the electorate, especially the National Party's own supporters".

Mentioned specifically is Pik Botha's comment that it made no real difference what colour the future state president was.

The day before "The Speech", Johnson wrote that the state president was opening the country to "dramatic change", but added: "We do not think he wants to open the country to ANC rule. He must, and surely will, take care."

Over the past three weeks, the CP has dominated the *Citizen's* front page, and Johnson asserts that "the battle in white politics is between the NP and CP", and seems to assume that further white electoral battles are on the cards.

In an editorial entitled "Time to Pause", he tells the government it "must act with great care in case it plays its trump cards too soon", and that "it might be time to pause, since the government has done so much so fast that the people simply haven't been able to assimilate it all and unease and insecurity grow by the day".

FW to the ANC: Let's talk

W/Mail 23/2 – 1/3/90

By GAVIN EVANS

THE first meeting between the government and the African National Congress is on.

State President FW de Klerk yesterday welcomed the decision of the ANC's National Executive Committee to send a delegation to meet him, signalling that "talks about talks" could begin soon. (304A)

However, in a press statement released on his behalf yesterday afternoon, De Klerk also criticised the ANC for its continued support for armed struggle and its "pre-conditions" on negotiations.

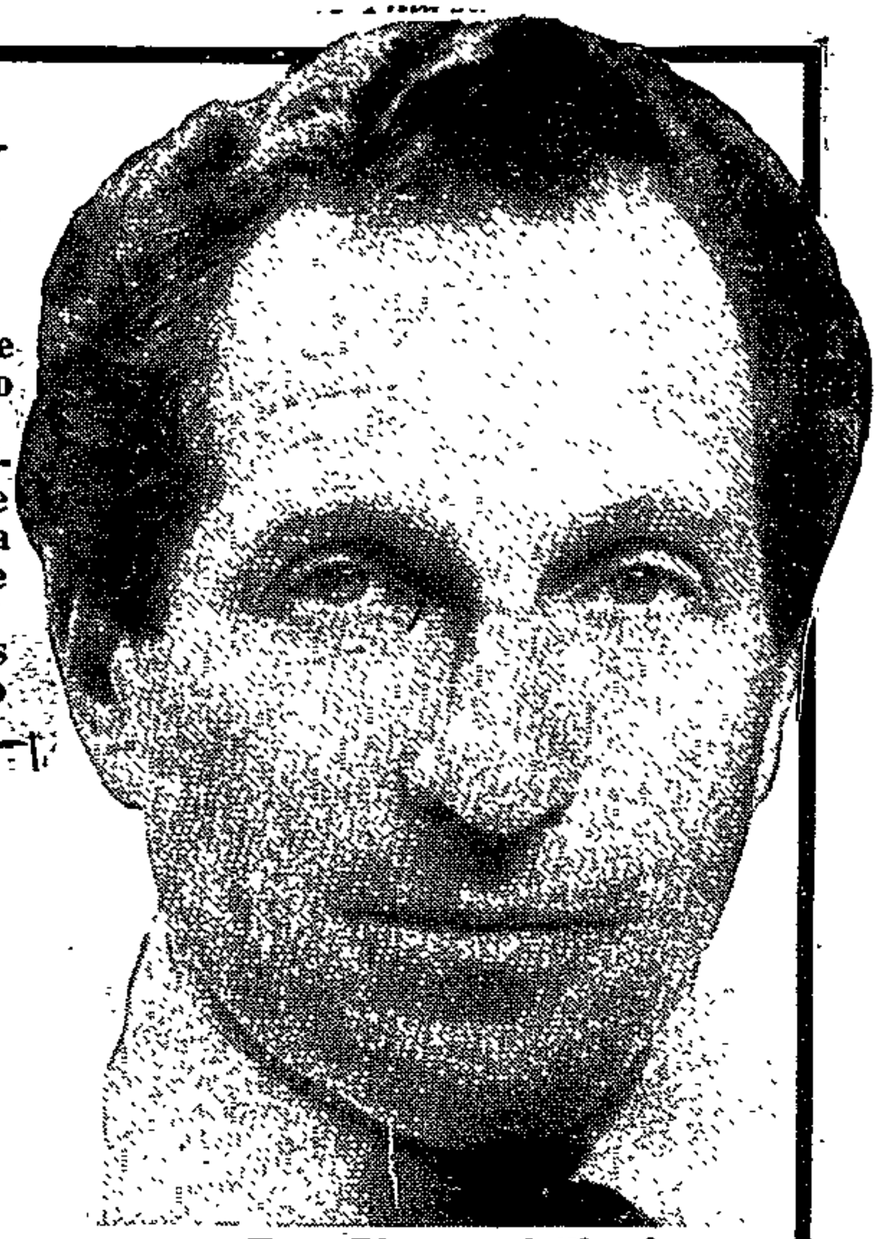
De Klerk described the decision by the NEC to send a delegation to meet the government as a "positive step" which was "consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means".

Last week the NEC decided that it would send a delegation to discuss setting a "climate for negotiations" through the release of political prisoners, removal of troops from the townships and lifting of the Emergency.

But De Klerk's statement also raised the possibility that the meeting between the two sides could be delayed.

"Obviously, legal uncertainties which members of the National Executive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa will have to be addressed beforehand," he said.

The state president went on to express "disappointment" that the ANC leadership continued to set preconditions.



Tony Bloom ... jetting in

Attention to legal uncertainties (304A)

FW moves to clear way for ANC talks

B/Day 23/2/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday paved the way for government's first formal talks with the ANC by welcoming its recent decision to send a delegation to meet with him as positive step.

De Klerk, in a statement, also disclosed that arrangements for the first meeting between the two leading political adversaries in SA were well underway.

Legal uncertainties which some ANC executive members might have about entering SA were receiving attention.

De Klerk is likely to be accompanied by his chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha at initial talks with the ANC.

De Klerk said it was disappointing that the ANC leadership continued to list preconditions despite the climate created by recent decisions by government.

This attitude, he said, was in stark contrast to the enthusiam, if not impatience, on the part of all others leaders in SA to get negotiations going.

He added: "It is also disappointing that the ANC leadership continues to talk about an armed struggle and hostilities at a time when most South Africans, supported by the rest of the world, want peace."

De Klerk added government would continue to act firmly against violence "from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country".

Beside a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order was of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiations, De Klerk said.

In an interview on television last night De Klerk said that as long as unrest such as that in Natal continued government could not lift the state of emeregncy.

De Klerk said certain arrangements had to be completed before he would be in a position to announce a date for the meeting with the ANC delegation.

He said the talks with the ANC did not constitute negotiations but were preliminary discussions to improve the climate for negotiations and to address valid problems impeding people from participating.

De Klerk stressed that negotiations would not take place just between the ANC and government, but between all leaders committed to peaceful solutions.

FW's Africa summit 'soon', says Mobutu

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's postponed summit meeting with African leaders in Zaire will take place very soon, according to the host President Mobutu Sese Seko.

In an official statement the Zairean government said: "The African summit meeting has been postponed to a later date for technical reasons and will take place very soon in Kinshasa."

The summit was postponed after the ANC pressured the leaders of Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville, Cameroon and Gabon, who were to have attended to summit at Mobutu's summer palace at Goma.

In an appeal to the OAU earlier this week the ANC called on it to block the summit meeting.

President Mobutu

De Klerk's Zaire meeting postponed

Cape Times 23/2/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's summit with African leaders has been postponed for several weeks.

The summit's host, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, said yesterday that the meeting would take place "very soon" in Kinshasa.

The seven-nation summit was originally scheduled to take place in Goma tomorrow, but was delayed following pressure from the frontline states and the ANC.

The timing of the Goma summit also sparked controversy because it had been arranged just ahead of the massive welcome home celebration for Mr Nelson Mandela in Lusaka on Tuesday.

The Lusaka event is to be attended by frontline heads of state and politicians from a number of Commonwealth countries — many of whom remain committed to the isolation of Pretoria in line with ANC policy.

In his response to the postponement, Mr De Klerk hinted that the issue was a sensitive one by noting that "now is not the time to create further divisions".

He then added: "Africa cannot afford more controversy within its own ranks."

Mr De Klerk said he had no doubt that Mr Mobutu had arranged the meeting "in good faith and in line with public statements by several African leaders to the effect that the time has come to normalise relations with South Africa.

"I agree with these statements. Moreover, I agree with the reported warning recently sounded by the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity concerning the necessity for African states to unite on a joint strategy to address the implications for Africa of European economic unity in 1992, as well as the consequences of the events in Eastern Europe."

Mr Mobutu offered "technical reasons" as the explanation for the postponement of the talks which should have been attended by Zaire, South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Togo and Gabon.

SA government sources said last night that it appeared that "a couple" of the countries had at the last minute withdrawn from the summit, increasing pressure on the others to do likewise.

However, there was confidence that the next summit could be "bigger and better".

● Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has postponed visits to Kenya and Angola set for this week, but would travel to the two countries at another time, a spokesman said yesterday. — UPI

Breyten unlikely to settle in SA

Cape Times 23/2/90

By PETER DENNEHY

POET and author Breyten Breytenbach says he might never settle permanently in South Africa again, although he would like to spend time here and take part in debate about the future.

Mr Breytenbach, who spent seven years in jail after a Terrorism Act conviction in 1975, told students at Stellenbosch University this week that he had become "too used to the cosmopolitan character of Europe".

Mr Breytenbach was on a brief visit to South Africa with the British Channel Four television network, who were making a programme on a post-apartheid South Africa.

He addressed about 200 students and academics in the students' union amphitheatre during a break in filming on Wednesday.

He urged everyone to become involved in the process of change. By becoming involved, he said, Afrikaners would lose their fears and find that the building bricks for the new South Africa already existed.

He supported the ANC's line on sanctions remaining in place, but said it was important that the international community be given a clear cut-off point on when to lift them.

Mr Breytenbach said he wanted to see a future system which was as representative as possible, with guarantees of political and economic freedom.

(327)

3 000 angry Vaal teachers burn work books at DET

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

Angry teachers hurled hundreds of green work books on to a heap in front of the Department of Education and Training's (DET) regional offices in Vereeniging yesterday during a protest march.

About 3 000 defiant teachers briefly disrupted traffic when they marched through the main street of Vereeniging to the DET's offices.

The peaceful march, organised by the Vaal Progress Teachers Organisation (Vapto) to demand better working conditions, was monitored by a large police contingent, but no incidents were reported.

The crowds arrived in buses and taxis from as far afield as Parys and Heilbron.

They sang freedom songs, raised clenched fists and carried placards with messages such as "A hungry teacher is an angry teacher", "Do away with white teachers in our schools" and "Away with the green work book".

At the DET offices the protesters angrily hurled hundreds of green work books on to a heap in front of the building.

The Vapto delegation, headed by Mr Jimmy Sithole, met behind closed doors with officials, where a memorandum of about 18 grievances was presented to Mr Gert Steyn, deputy director of the department's Orange Vaal region.

A letter from the chief director of the region, Mr F H Vorster, was presented to Mr Sithole. After reading it he refused to accept it.

The letter apparently urged teachers to return to their schools and encourage pupils to attend classes. Mr Sithole said the protesting teachers were not wasting time as suggested.

Mr Sithole said the complaints in the memorandum included unsatisfactory working conditions, poor salaries, harassment and ill-treatment of teachers and dissatisfaction over the work book system.

● Sapa reports from Pietersburg that hundreds of teachers from the Bolobedu Circuit in Lebowa yesterday staged a protest march to the local circuit inspector's office to present a memorandum outlining grievances.

● See Page 10.

DP must go beyond traditional role to stay in the game

304A

B/Day 23/7/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

THE DP is irrelevant. Seasoned public representatives are scrambling as President F W de Klerk rapidly adopts their policies while the Johnny-come-lately carpetbaggers head for Lusaka desperately looking for a new political home. So some reports would have it.

Hogwash. After this week in Parliament where Harry Schwarz had even the best thinkers in government running for cover, the DP has shown that if it chooses to be, it can now be more relevant than ever before.

Cutting through the rampant euphoria that has permeated government circles since De Klerk acted to level the political playing field, Schwarz honed in on the continuing inequality in social services which, if not addressed now, will certainly bedevil any negotiations.

How, he asked, could government justify a situation where 49% of hospital beds reserved for whites were empty while blacks were forced to sleep on the floor at Baragwanath?

Was it justifiable, he added, for government to continue pleading lack of funds for its failure to equalise spending on education when it would cost some R1,8bn to achieve the same pupil:teacher ratios for all?

Nobody, Schwarz argued, could eat a vote or constitution. "If we do not have people with equal services and equal opportunities in SA then whatever the political solutions are, they are not going to work."

His contribution, and those of his colleagues on subjects including health and education, not only exposed remaining flaws in government policy but pointed to the DP's future relevance.

The DP believes it has both a physical constituency and a constituency of liberal principles that are not represented by either government or the ANC.

If, on the one hand, it is to have any success in persuading the ANC that its commitment, whether partial or total, to nationalisation is wrong, then it is going to have to produce realistic policies to redress inequalities — in particular in regard to access to land, health services and education.

On the other, if it is to persuade government to abandon its commitment to own affairs and group rights it must produce policies that address the need for stability, and white fears of black domination.

The DP now needs to go beyond exposing inequalities and attacking flawed arguments. Detailed, costed and viable alternative policies that can either be taken to the negotiating table or even implemented while negotiations are underway must be produced.

While there have been numerous claims that some DP members, in particular co-leader Wynand Malan, are seeking a new home in the ANC, Malan scotches the suggestion. Neither the ANC nor the NP, he said in an interview, were by nature democratic.

'Both function within a value system of nationalism. We can't leave it to them to sort out the future with trade-offs that are not democratic.

"I don't forsee a possibility or a need to go for re-alignments before a democratic constitution where policy and not structures determine the need for new alliances," he said.

According to Malan, the DP's approach to negotiations would be twofold.

Firstly it would be prepared to form a one-off alliance with any organisation, including the ANC, that shared its commitment to a universal franchise on a common voters' roll in a unitary SA.

This, he said, was necessary to ensure that negotiations did not immediately regress into a polarisation between blacks and whites. "The basic first line of divide is between those proposing a democratic constitution and those who do not accept a democratic constitution."

When that initial debate was over, Malan said, the DP would then, either by itself or in alliance with others, argue the merits of federalism, proportional representation and certain policy measures that it believed needed to be entrenched in a constitution.

His co-leader Zach de Beer believes the DP will make an invaluable contribution at the negotiating table simply because it has more credibility with extra-parliamentary organisations than the NP.

De Beer identified two areas where he believed the DP could influence government and ANC thinking.

Regarding government, De Beer saw pressing De Klerk to go beyond his commitment to universal franchise and class A citizenship to an acceptance of an equal and equitable franchise for all South Africans as being of paramount importance.

Regarding the ANC, he saw the DP playing an important role in bringing the ANC leadership closer to an understanding of the needs and advantages of a free market system.

The DP is still a new political party, and it is no secret there have been deep differences between people like Malan and Schwarz. But the reality is that at this stage they have more in common with each other than any of the other actors on the political stage.

The DP might not be the major political force that the NP and ANC are, but it can still make a sizeable contribution to the country's future.

After Schwarz's performance in Parliament this week no one can doubt the DP's ability to expose the lunacy of a system that judges the killing of locusts as a general affair and the killing of other pests as an own affair.

But its future relevance will depend on its ability to produce viable alternative policies, based on its principles, that match the need for redress with the need for growth; the need for democracy with the need for stability.

LETTERS

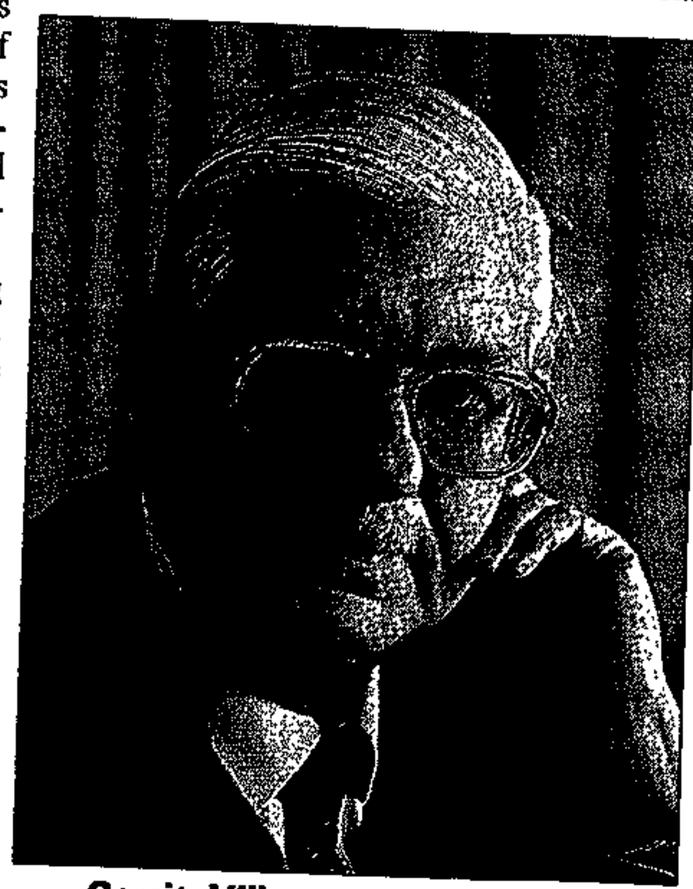
GERRIT VILJOEN F/M 23/2/90 (304A)

Professor of talks

It's said that former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger regards Gerrit Viljoen as the only truly intellectual Afrikaner leader he's met. Some regard that as high praise, others as an indictment of Afrikanerdom.

The latter view, however, would be cynical. There's no doubt that Viljoen (63), the seemingly bland and excessively polite constitutional development minister, is a thinker of great depth. As government's chief negotiator in talks about SA's constitutional future, he will be a formidable opponent.

Though he has long been regarded as a force behind the scenes in the Nat Cabinet, it's only since F W de Klerk became president that Viljoen has moved into the limelight. If De Klerk is the general directing the reform campaign, then Viljoen is his frontline commander on whose shoulders rests the important and immediate task of engaging his adversaries.



Gerrit Viljoen . . . a skilled negotiator

The fact that Viljoen is a fairly colourless politician makes him well-suited to his task. A short-fused grandstander is the last person De Klerk needs in the hot seat. Viljoen speaks well, but unemotionally; he's no flamboyant soapbox orator.

But his intellect is widely respected among political opponents, diplomats and the press. He's an unusually straight talker, for a politician; he prefers to confirm the accuracy of sound analysis — such as the inevitability of black rule and the waning of Nat power.

Viljoen was appointed to his present post (which includes national education) after last year's election in which he unexpectedly whipped his CP opponent in Vanderbijlpark.

His Cabinet experience has been troubled. He struggled for five years to manage an unwieldy black education portfolio which was being white-anted by some senior officials. It was an unfortunate episode for Viljoen — and it suggested an inadequacy in administrative ability.

But as a negotiator Viljoen is expected to shine, even though he lacks the experience of, say, Pik Botha in this field.

He studied law and classical languages at Tukkies and went on to read for an MA at Cambridge and a doctorate at Leiden. He was appointed the first rector of RAU in 1967. In 1979, in a surprise move, he was made Administrator-General of SWA. This was his first public appearance in politics. At the same time, he quit the chair of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

But his move to Windhoek was no political initiation. In the early Seventies he was regarded as a leading verkrampte intellectual and he clashed with PM John Vorster, whose policies he said would lead to political integration or political domination. Ironically, 10 years earlier he had made verlig noises, criticising laws on mixed marriages, separate amenities and population registration.

But just as his pendulum swung from verlig to verkramp between 1960 and 1970, it swung back again over the next 10 years. After only a year in SWA, he was appointed to P W Botha's Cabinet as minister of national education, where he was considered to be "enlightened".

In the mid-Eighties, Viljoen was regarded as a strong contender for party leadership in the wake of suggestions that P W was to retire. He seemed well clear of the field.

But it wasn't to be, and probably a good thing too. The charisma and courage of De Klerk reap bigger dividends in the public eye than Viljoen's personal style could ever hope to.

But in the engine room of reform, his intellect and understanding will cut far more ice than a winning smile. ■

Financial Mail

CONCENTRATION OF OWNERSHIP

304A

Learning from history?

There has without doubt been a concentration of ownership of quoted shares in this country over the past 40 years — and, accordingly, growing disparities in the distribution of wealth. It is a situation that will have to be changed in a fairer and more egalitarian post-apartheid society.

No new negotiated political dispensation can ignore this fact. So it would be well now to consider the policies that will change this situation without threatening economic growth. The ANC's solution is simply to nationalise the towering heights — the mines, banks and monopolies — and no doubt use them to create jobs for disadvantaged blacks.

This after all is how the National Party used the railways, Post Office, police, defence force, Iscor and, to a lesser degree, Eskom and some IDC-owned companies in the late Forties and early Fifties. By doing so, they actually didn't have to nationalise anything.

Presumably, this is what Nelson Mandela meant when he referred to nationalisation being part of the history of this country. In that respect, he was quite right.

It is a beguiling argument — one especially attractive to politicians seeking policies of mass appeal and more power. But there are several things that those who espouse it must keep in mind.

First, as it was introduced into the social circumstances of SA some three decades ago, it was the manifestation of the authoritarian and collectivist ethic of apartheid. If Mandela wants to perpetuate apartheid for the benefit, this time, of blacks, it is of course the road to take.

Second, when apartheid was being increased in the Fifties, the gold mining industry was booming. It is not in that happy position today. It has been overtaxed, is facing cost increases that are eroding its international competitiveness and the depths at which gold is found nowadays demands greater ingenuity both in financing and the technologies required more than 30 years ago.

Third, the concentration of ownership has taken place precisely because of authoritarian and socialist policies that apartheid itself has fostered. Exchange controls are a socialist device that assumes the State has some claim on where and in what form private wealth may be held. They are designed as a means of physically constraining those who might wish to vote with their money or their feet for a different system.

By restricting the inflow and outflow of wealth, government forces a greater share of private savings into the hands of the most efficient corporations operating in a circumscribed market. Where else can they invest?

Likewise, for many years, the authorities in Pretoria took it upon themselves to decide how many banks and financial institutions there should be in this country. This was done in the name of an orderly market. It provided a great deal of protection for the established banks and institutions. This meant that, very quickly, most of the approximately 55 independent banks were absorbed into five main banking groups. By the time this policy changed a few years ago, there were less than five independent banks left. This was a massive concentration of ownership.

The fastest way to widen ownership of productive assets would be to reverse these apartheid-spawned policies. Banking and insurance legislation is being altered now to achieve this and the authorities have been far less restrictive.

More impetus could be given to the process, too, by changing government's attitude to privatisation. The emphasis has been too strongly on raising funds for government rather than to create a share-owning democracy.

The ownership of residential land could be widened quickly by removing the Group Areas Act and giving township land, on which blacks have been resident for some time, to them, or selling it to them for a nominal sum. Precedents already exist. After World War 2, some local authorities sold land to returning servicemen at one pound sterling per plot.

Deregulation and immigration, if only from the rural to the urban areas, are important ways of spreading wealth and creating jobs. Successive waves of immigrants revitalised the economy of the United States over numerous years.

However, exchange controls are by far the greatest cause of a concentration of ownership. They are an anomaly among the policies of a government that increasingly claims to be free-market orientated.

Their justification is sought on political grounds, when both the basis of policy has altered and the results have invalidated their efficacy.

Nationalisation does not redistribute wealth. It merely places control of more assets in the hands of a few politicians and bureaucrats. And they can be guaranteed to make decisions about them by strictly political, rather than economic, lights. Therein lies impoverishment. ■

Magnus Malan — career forged in era of conflict

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

MAGNUS Malan, General *machismo* as some see him, or the political misfit, as others do, is on the warpath again, but in a rearguard action to save his own neck ... his credibility, his political career.

Forecasts vary on how — *if*, some would have it — the Defence Minister is likely to survive the current crisis over the secretly funded, secretly run Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) and allegations of complicity in alleged hit squad activities.

There is consensus that his political career was forged in an era of conflict that suited his apparently pugnacious and unrelentingly soldierly style of politics, but that the subtleties of the new season have strained his capacity for delicacy.

Even now, the concept of enemy underpins his strategy.

The grand total onslaught is a thing of the past, but the "them-and-us" rationale persists.

Second arm

General Malan's denial of having ordered political killings is a pincer movement, the second arm of which is an attack on his critics for failing to call his old enemy, the ANC, to task for its "atrocities".

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

was entrusted with the political control of one of the most powerful institutions of modern South Africa's administration: P W Botha appointed him Minister of Defence.

The partnership between the two went back a long time: Mr Botha was Minister of Defence when General Malan became Chief of the Army and later Chief of the SADF.

War talk

The affinity remained strong through the latter years of Mr Botha's career and they collaborated on the intricate, burgeoning security apparatus that fortified the State in the past decade.

The war in Angola and Namibia, the ANC's armed struggle and mounting, increasingly violent, resistance ten fearfully ironic, predictions about the future, but few have been quite as politically indelicate and defiant in their outlook as the Minister of Defence.

As recently as September 1986 he asserted that democracy was "not a relevant factor" among South Africa's black masses.

A year later, in September 1987, he boldly judged that the ANC was "not a part of the future plan for South Africa".

Earlier this month, however, he pledged his support for the De Klerk initiatives, saying the defence family recognised the need for realism and sober-mindedness and a shift in priorities.

Nevertheless observers detect in his response to the CCB controversy much the same gut rationale as he has always deployed.

As one of parliament's most experienced political observers put it: "He has an abrasive style with none of the polish other politicians have at least tried to effect. A disturbing feature of many of his statements has been the philosophy that South Africa is at war and that the end justifies the means."

Harsh

Political opponents are harsh in their judgment. One

Whatever his merits and successes as an officer — or even as a constituency MP — the political conditions now prevailing may prove too hostile, even for a soldier such as he.

General Magnus Malan ... on the warpath again, but this time to save his credibility and his political career

Opponents detect here a hint of a justification for the very activities the CCB is alleged to have committed.

His most recent statements do little to allay concerns, or answer pertinent questions, but, rather like rallying cries, set the scene for combat.

It is not surprising that his childhood dream was to become a soldier.

Born in Pretoria in January 1930, the young Magnus did part of his schooling at the Afrikaans Boys' High School in the capital, but completed it at the Danie Craven Physical Education Brigade in Kimberley.

He joined the army, aged 20, as a cadet officer and, after obtaining a BSc degree in military science at the University of Pretoria, embarked on a career that within the relatively short span of 26 years, found him at the top, as Chief of the South African Defence Force.

Just under 10 years ago, in October 1980, General Malan at home created an atmosphere in which war talk was, as many saw it, justified, or at least pragmatic.

'The last of PW's men' ... General Malan and Mr P W Botha during a visit by the then Minister of Defence to the Caprivi Strip in 1970

As political and economic isolation grew, the "Defence family" of fighting units, security structures and arms suppliers grew ... out of necessity, as the contemporary wisdom had it.

At PW's right hand, he presided over all this, and answered the total onslaught with a total strategy.

However, political and economic constraints — an increasing desire for peace and the cost-cutting imperative — began to turn the tables and General Malan's ability to adapt was strained.

Magnus Malan is rated as the last of PW's men. Still, associates say his loyalty to President F W de Klerk is beyond question.

But observers say he is a man who never managed a successful transition from soldier to politician.

Defiant

General Malan emerged well from the Erasmus Commission's inquiry into the Information scandal in 1978 when he was head of the SADF.

On behalf of the then Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, he on more than one occasion inquired from the then Secretary of Information, Dr Eschel Rhoodie, about the expenditure of money for Department of Information undercover operations which had been channelled through the parliamentary vote of the Department of Defence.

He made it clear that this was a system with which he and his Minister disagreed. This way of getting money through to Information was later dropped.

Many Nationalist politicians will be remembered for their astonishingly wrong, of-

said: "He is profoundly incompetent. However successful he was in his military career, he is an incredibly ham-handed politician. He is arrogant and has never shown an appreciation for democratic accountability. He is a man who is used to orders being obeyed, and his usual response to criticism is to vilify his critics."

This MP believed he was "a misfit in the new political scene. He has nothing to offer and is out of step with FW."

Is the Minister and MP for Modderfontein alone now in a liberal National Party?

It is notable that the only defence so far for his statements about the CCB have come from members of the National Party's defence study group who have, as one observer remarked, "tried unconvincingly to rush to his aid".

However, the secretary of the study group and long-time associate of General Malan, Dr Johannes Vilonel, recognises in the Defence Minister "an exceptional man" whose leadership of the military helped pave the way to the political developments and the moves towards peace that South Africa is now experiencing.

General Malan, he says, is a man "of great integrity and ability" and his deputy-chairmanship of the NP in the Transvaal is proof of his popularity in the party and the recognition of his peers.

General Malan's official Ministry of Defence curriculum vitae ends with a eulogy of ringing sentiments ... "His colleagues reconise him as an idealist, a man of deep Christian convictions and one who, with his manifold abilities, serves his country and his God."

It is the General's combative style and his political, rather than his spiritual, convictions that have moulded his reputation.

Breytenbach keen to participate in the debate on SA's future

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Poet and author Breyten Breytenbach says he would like to spend time in SA and take part in debate about the future although he might never settle permanently here again.

Breytenbach, who spent seven years in jail after a Terrorism Act conviction in 1975, told students at Stellenbosch University this week that he had become "too used to the cosmopolitan character of Europe". B/Day 23/2/90

Breytenbach isd on a brief visit to SA with the British Channel Four television network, with which he is making a programme on a post-apartheid SA.

He addressed about 200 students and academics in the students union amphitheatre at Stellenbosch University during a break in the filming on Wednesday. (304A)

He said it was likely he would come back to SA once more this year.

Sowetan 23/2/90

FW agrees to meet the ANC

Sowetan 23/2/90

304A

SOWETAN Reporter

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has agreed to meet a delegation from the African National Congress, clearing the way for the first formal talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

He announced yesterday that he welcomed last Friday's decision by the ANC's National Executive to send a delegation to meet him.

The ANC said then the aim of the talks would be to discuss the remaining obstacles to formal negotiations, including the state of emergency, the continued holding of political prisoners, troops in the townships and remaining "repressive" legislation.

Positive

Mr de Klerk said the ANC's "commitment to talks with the South African Government on ways and means of getting negotiations off the ground is a positve step and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means.

"I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this.

"Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere".

"Obviously legal uncertainties which members of the National Exec-

● To page 2

Sowetan 23/2/90

FW to meet ANC

304A

● From page 1

utive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa, will have to be addressed beforehand.

"These and other particulars concerning arrangements for the proposed meeting are receiving immediate attention".

However Mr de Klerk pointed out that it was disappointing that the ANC persisted in listing preconditions despite the new climate created by the Government's recent decisions.

This contrasted with the enthusiasm and impatience of all other leaders in South Africa to get negotiations going.

Struggle

It was also disappointing that the ANC continued to talks about the armed struggle when most South Africans supported by the world wanted peace.

"The South african Government is committed to a new dispensation which offers peace and justice for all.

"An armed struggle and hostilities do not fit into this pattern.

"The Government will continue to act firmly against violence from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country.

"We have the will and the ability to do just that. Beside a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order is of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiation".

Outcry over trampling of flag

23/2/90

Staff Reporter

REPRESENTATIVES of the Jewish community reacted angrily yesterday to members of the HNP and AWB's trampling on an Israeli flag at a Boksburg meeting on Wendesday.

Israeli ambassador Mr Zvi Gov-Ari condemned the recent increase in anti-Semitic statements and activities by the far right wing, and said in a statement yesterday it was sad to realise that "at the end of the 20th Century this kind of illogical and irrational hatred is still with us".

Racism

Only the ideology of racism, condemned worldwide, could be blamed for the situation in this country today, he said.

He asked all right-wing anti-Semitics to have second thoughts and to "accept the new opportunity for peace and harmony" recently afforded South Africans.

Mr Joe Fintz, chairman of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies, said the desecration of flags bearing the sacred Star of David symbol was not the only offensive act to occur in the Transvaal lately.

Angered

He said the display of the abhorrent swastika flag and the carrying of insulting banners of virulent anti-Semitic expressions at recent political rallies had also angered and deeply offended the Jewish community.

"Instead of inciting one against the other, all South Africans ... should work towards greater harmony and the promotion of peace," he said.

It is understood that advertisements bearing the board's message are to be placed in Transvaal newspapers soon.

FW's safari is postponed

304A

SESE SEKO

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's African summit in Zaire tomorrow - which was "postponed" yesterday - might not take place at all, senior Government sources conceded last night.

They admitted that the meeting might have been a mistake and that it would probably not have achieved much.

They felt that a "rebel" meeting - held despite opposition from the African National Congress and the Organisation of African Unity - would have been unnecessarily divisive at a time when the Government was seeking reconciliation with the ANC and Africa.

"We don't want to force ourselves on anyone and get people up in arms," the source said.

"We are not seeking confrontation with the ANC."

These sentiments were hinted at by De Klerk in his announcement yesterday that Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko - the host - had asked for the meeting to be postponed until a later date. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Sowetan 23/2/90

Will the ANC ever pardon the hit squads?

It may find that it has no option

W/Mail 23/2 — 1/3/90

One of the ironies of negotiations is that the ANC may provide FW de Klerk with a pretext to slip out of the 'hit-squads' fiasco. If the ANC calls for amnesty for its guerrillas, De Klerk may insist on a deal in return: clemency for policemen accused of murder

By THANDEKA GQUBULE and KHEHLA SHUBANE

AN amnesty for African National Congress fighters as well as security force members involved in death squads is likely to be a major issue on a difficult agenda when the ANC meets President FW de Klerk.

All indications are that the African National Congress and the government will have to hammer out an amnesty before all exiled members of the recently unbanned liberation movement can come home.

It seems likely that if the ANC raises this demand, De Klerk will ask for a *quid pro quo* in which death-squad members who took part in covert actions against ANC activists be granted immunity from prosecution.

Recent press reports on alleged South African Defence Force involvement in death squads are likely to place the issue squarely on the table when the two sides get together after 50 years of conflict.

A date for the meeting has not been set but it seems certain that the two parties will meet at the ANC's request within weeks.

It is also certain that both sides will have to overcome a number of difficulties in order to clear the way for the return of exiles and the normalisation of the political climate.

Can the ANC afford to pardon those involved in the killing of some of its members, like Ruth First, whose husband Joe Slovo could well be talking at the table?

What will the supporters of the ANC think of a free Barend Strydom?

Can the government afford a blanket clemency to all those involved in armed acts against the state?

What would white South Africans feel if they bumped into Robert MacBride at a shopping centre?

Communist Party chief Joe Slovo may land at Jan Smuts Airport as part of the ANC delegation.

If he can meet with FW and then climb on to South African Airways plane back to Lusaka, will this mean a blanket clemency for all? What would become of the Yengeni and other political trials?

SACP's Joe Slovo

If the political climate is to be normalised along the lines proposed by the Harare Declaration, all political trials and executions will have to cease.

The declaration firmly holds that such measures are essential for creating a climate in which free negotiations can take place, despite the difficulties that may arise.

But South Africans of all persuasions seem to have jumped the gun and are due to meet before the government has satisfied the demands of the Harare Declaration — the State of Emergency is still in force, political prisoners are still in detention and political trials continue. Troops are still deployed in the townships, as in Giyani this week.

The government has raised the possibility of releasing political prisoners and amnesty as bait to get the ANC, under pressure at home and abroad to make some gesture and join the negotiating process.

Under the Harare Declaration, the first step towards negotiations is an agreement on a ceasefire.

But although the question of hostilities may arise in the forthcoming talks, it is unlikely that a mutually binding ceasefire will be agreed upon at this stage.

What is certain is that preliminary negotiations will not strictly follow the programme outlined in the Harare Declaration as each move towards a political settlement creates problems of its own.

But despite the difficulties and contradictions, the ANC is nevertheless expected to stick to the declaration as its guideline in dealing with government pressure to drop the sanctions campaign and at least suspend the armed struggle.

While the declaration provides some clarity on what an end to hostilities could mean for the ANC, it is more difficult to determine what this would mean for the police force, the SADF and other state instruments.

For the ANC, it may mean the suspension of armed attacks on government installations and other acts of sabotage.

It will not mean the denouncement of armed struggle as a political strategy. It will also not include disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

Slovo summed up his attitude up when he said in Lusaka last week: "You can not go to a negotiating table pointing a gun, but you've got to keep it over your shoulder."

According to the Harare Declaration, armed hostilities will only be deemed to have formally ended after the adoption of a new constitution by all parties.

The ANC is now likely to ask De Klerk for a timetable for further initiatives and, with its huge constituency accustomed to discussing all issues at the most local level, it will need all the time it can get.

Abe Berry

Rightwingers want talks with FW

Star 23/2/90 (304m)

Political Reporter

Six right-wing organisations will seek a meeting with President de Klerk to warn him that the ANC's increasing provocation of Afrikaner sentiments and contempt for Afrikaner values would inevitably lead to confrontation.

The organisations said in a statement that Afrikaner sentiments were deliberately being provoked by repeated ANC statements that Afrikaans would lose its official status under a new government and that the ANC would hold its next national conference in South Africa on December 16 — the Day of the Vow.

The six leaders requesting a meeting with Mr de Klerk include Mr Jaap Marais of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party.

They said in a statement that force was being used to oust Afrikaner nationalism from the central position it had achieved and replace it with "the communist-controlled ANC".

Govt shifts focus to crucial future summit with ANC

Star 23/2/90 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government appears to have abandoned attempts to break through into Africa until it can strike a deal with the ANC and other black groupings internally.

There were indications that this crucial policy shift was made yesterday in two important announcements by President de Klerk. He welcomed the ANC national executive's decision to send a delegation to discuss obstacles to negotiation with him.

He also announced that the mini-summit with African leaders in Zaire had been postponed.

Government sources said the summit was unlikely to take place at all as it was unnecessarily provocative to the ANC and to Africa at a time when South Africa was seekng reconciliation.

The "postponement" is seen as a blow to SA's attempts to revive African diplomacy, but it also suggests the Government has finally accepted that the route back to Africa and the world lies through first addressing issues in SA.

The sources made it clear that a mixture of political pressure from the ANC and OAU, and technical problems and over-confidence on the part of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko had led to the meeting being called off.

On SABC's "Network" programme last night, Mr de Klerk conceded that ANC pressure could have played a part in the meeting being called off. The Government had accepted the need to seek a broader consensus within the country before undertaking such ventures.

The Government is now focusing its attention on the all-important impending summit with the ANC inside South Africa.

It is likely that the ANC will meet at least a delegation consisting of the Government's seven-man negotiation committee — Mr de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Mr Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Development Aid and Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Mr de Klerk has stressed that these will not be negotiations, but talks about negotiations.

The ANC will discuss the composition of its delegation at a special meeting of the national executive committee in Lusaka next Thursday which Mr Nelson Mandela will attend.

Other probable ANC delegates will be acting president Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the director of international affairs, Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Pallo Jordan, the director of information, senior NEC member Mr John Nkadimeng, as well as internal leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM.

Mandela to talk to Relly and Bloom

By Michael Chester

Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to hold talks in Soweto on Monday with two key South African business leaders to exchange views on possible new economic scenarios.

The first session will be with Anglo American's chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, who has reacted with alarm to Mr Mandela's suggestions that such business sectors as the mines and banks should be nationalised.

Most businessmen are also disturbed by Mr Mandela's suggestion that sanctions be maintained to continue pressures for faster reform.

The second round of discussions will be with the Premier Group's former chairman, Mr Tony Bloom, an ardent supporter of reform who left South Africa last year to settle in Britain.

He is expected to arrive at the weekend.

Hit squads: FW distances himself

3041

Star 23/2/90

President de Klerk, last night praised the security forces, saying they had enabled the Government to take initiatives for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Asked in an interview on SABC-TV about the Civilian Co-operation Bureau, an alleged assassins unit believed to have been under the control of the security forces, Mr de Klerk said:

"I want to distance myself from this trial by the media, and by gossip. The Government has the greatest appreciation for what the security forces have done for this country.

"If it were not for them, we would not have been able to take initiatives now towards peaceful solutions. If it were not for them, we would have had chaos and anarchy in South Africa." — Sapa.

Sanctions to decrease — Bloom

W/EARGUS 24/2/90

TONY BLOOM, former chairman of Premier Group Holdings now living in London, talks to Garner Thomson of Weekend Argus Foreign Service about how he sees recent developments in the political arena impacting on the South African economy.

TONY BLOOM

LONDON. — Two years ago, Tony Bloom woke up to the fact that he was almost 50 and looked likely to be doing the same things, in the same company, in the same country, for the rest of his life.

In spite of the fact that the company, Premier Group Holdings, happened to be one of South Africa's most successful and Bloom himself a progressive and pioneering businessmen, he decided to leave.

Predictably, because of his own outspoken opposition to apartheid, there was much speculation about the reasons behind that decision.

"I said at the time, and I've kept saying since, that I didn't leave for purely political reasons,' he says. 'But, of course, nobody would believe me. I remain devotedly and passionately South African, but where you live depends on what you enjoy doing. I enjoy living in London, but I go back to South Africa four or five times a year, so I have the best of both worlds.'

"Best" is undoubtedly the operative world. Lean, fit and relaxed, Bloom comes over as a man who has made all the right decisions.

His office, tucked away in London's quietly elegant Ely Place, is modest by comparison, his situation a lot less ulcerative than when he was piloting Premier in South Africa, and he describes the business he started in Britain as "not very newsworthy".

A committed thorn in the Botha government's side and one of the pioneers of white talks with the ANC, Bloom looks back on his experiences in South Africa with mixed feelings. There were times, he says, when he was a minority of one, even in his own company, "times when I felt I was out of step with the rest of the South African business world, or that I was on a different planet".

It's with some wryness, then, that he now looks on at the pronouncements being made in various quarters — not least among his fellow businessmen — welcoming recent developments in South Africa.

Bloom was widely vilified in some quarters for advocating the very changes that are now embraced as delivering the country from the edge of disaster — including the release of Nelson Mandela, and the unbanning and official acceptance of the ANC.

But he is "delighted and flabbergasted" at the changes now underway, and gives fulsome credit to both F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela for their courage.

"I could never see anything of substance being accomplished under Botha. In fact, I think he did the country immeasurable harm. Now, at last we have a President who is facing political and demographic realities, and I think he should be rewarded for his courage.

"As far as Nelson Mandela is concerned, I think everybody has been impressed with his extraordinary personal dignity and surefootedness. In political terms, too, he hasn't put a foot wrong. He has an extremely demanding task, keeping a number of constituents interested — including the whites — and he has done this very effectively so far."

Bloom sees the way forward as optimistic and exciting — but he also believes there will be 'a lot of pain' ahead.

"I do worry about certain things," he says. "The right-wing is an obvious and very real worry, and it's something the government will have to deal with. More than anything else, internecine warfare between the blacks will impede any move towards peaceful settlement.

Bloom also fears "unrealistic expectations" in the black community about the timescale of change. "Already there is the feeling: *Mandela is out, we're free*, but it's going to be a long haul."

In spite of what he regards simply as "pre-negotiation rhetoric", Bloom believes the ultimate direction events will take is now inevitable.

"It's clear to anyone who looks that there will be universal suffrage in South Africa," he says. "One lesson that has to be learned is that Mandela is very deeply principled, so some things are not negotiable, and I'm sure that universal suffrage is one of them."

At the same time, Bloom thinks the South African business community is unduly downcast by talk of nationalisation. "I don't see it happening like that," he says. "I have too much respect for the intelligence of the ANC leadership to think they won't take heed of what is happening in eastern Europe. Many of them have lived in exile in countries where wholesale nationalisation has taken place and could see for themselves the devastating effects.

"Having said that, I don't expect the ANC to throw out their whole Constitution. At the same time, it would be unrealistic for South African businessmen to believe they will continue to enjoy the protected environment they've had so far."

Nor will sanctions continue to be the overriding issue it was in the past, he believes.

"I'm neither a carrot, nor a stick man, but a blend of both. There is no doubt that in certain fields — such as sports — there would have been no change if there had been no sanctions. But I'm one of those people who disagree with the belief that economic sanctions have brought South Africa to its knees, and that's why things are starting to change.

"Of course, there are areas where they hurt badly — primarily in the financial area. And the psychological effect of sanctions was devastating. It was very difficult to be a South African businessman, having doors closed on you, and seeing other people distancing themselves from you.

Cape Times 24/2/90 304A

Ca

MEETING ... Brigadier Theo de Munnink interviewed by SATV after his meeting with the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver (middle).

Brigadier explains walk-out

Municipal Reporter

BRIGADIER Theo de Munnink, Officer Commanding Southern Air Command, was unrepentant yesterday about walking out of the City Hall before the Mayor's Sunday Service began last week.

However, he did pay a friendly visit to the Mayor yesterday to explain his action.

"I was explaining, not apologising," the brigadier said. "We each put our case to the other. There was no animosity."

He said that he and Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command — who is out of town at present and was unavailable for comment, had walked out of the City Hall about ten minutes before the service began.

"We walked out when we realised that Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika would be sung," he said. "The song has political connotations, and we were in uniform.

"Our decision was not made to protest against the City Council. It was done purely to avoid being involved in a politicised action."

304A

24/2/90

Apartheid's Mr Goldfinger

Anglo-American chief Gavin Relly, head of the world's largest mining combine, warns that sanctions against South Africa, together with the ANC policy of nationalisation, will drive the economy into a state where a future democractic government has no flexibility, writes LINDSAY VINCENT of the Observer from London.

"I AM entirely optimistic. Part of it may derive from the fact that all my adult life I have been unhappy with the system under which we live, and now one sees the opportunities of creating a new system which is not formally race-based. Any South African who does not find this exciting must be lacking in understanding."

Gavin Relly is nothing if not a commercial statesman for his wretched country. And as head of Anglo American, itself a state within the state of South Africa and to some minds more powerful than the minority-elected government, Relly is straddling an awesome chasm.

Anglo, the largest mining combine on Earth, owes much of its prodigious wealth and influence to the rigours of apartheid yet the company has long been a vigorous critic of the system. Some have regarded this as double-handed humbug, they seemingly include Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress.

Anglo, whose interests extend from gold and diamonds to coal and uranium, and take in non-mining businesses as diverse as car assembly and sub-tropical fruit, is at the top of the ANC list for nationalisation should the day ever dawn to herald that party ascend to power.

RELLY, who succeeded Harry Oppenheimer, allegedly one of the world's richest men, as head of Anglo in 1983, has no reservations about the ANC. Seated in Anglo's London offices on the fringe of the city, he delivers a muted tirade against the evils of nationalisation, cites the current European fall-out from the experiment of communism as proof of the follies of state-run economies and concludes: "Anyway, I do not think it will come to that."

Externally, nerves are not so cool. The Johannesburg stock market, which accounts for about one percent of the global total — and Anglo, directly and indirectly, about 30 percent of that one percent — plunged heavily last week as foreign investors took fright at Mandela's stance over nationalisation. Only weeks ago the same foreigners brought out the cheque-books in the wake of President F W de Klerk's innovations. The ground rules now seem to be three steps forward and two steps back.

Relly, who incurred the wrath of P W Botha, De Klerk's predecessor, when he helped bring the ANC in from the cold with a furtive visit to its Zambian headquarters in 1985, has yet to meet Mandela. It is something he looks forward to. It is unlikely he will have to wait long.

Relly, 64, was not a surprise choice for succession when "Harry O" stepped down at the age of 73, since he comes from the heart of Anglo tradition.

The son of a grape farmer, Relly's roots in South Africa go back to the 1820s. A Rhodes scholar who studied at Oxford, Relly returned to South Africa from war service and Oxford to dabble fleetingly with opposition politics before being introduced to the fold.

Initially the private secretary to Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, aged just 23, he then assumed the same position with his son, Harry. Executive tasks quickly followed. Relly ran Anglo's Zambian copper mines when President Kaunda nationalised them and went on to run Anglo's North American operations. He may be one of the caretakers until Harry's son Nicky has his taste of nepotism at the top, but Relly, a man with no side, is anything but a passive one.

HE is to the centre of the right in South Africa, which by some reckoning equates Relly with Britain's Mrs Thatcher. He certainly has her ear on the question of sanctions and shares her fears about a possible white backlash.

"The worst aspect of the international community's attitude, to us", he says, "is the fact that the country's international banking relationships are constricted.

"It gives us very little flexibility in our monetary policy by not having the facilities of the International Monetary Fund and normal banking relationships at our disposal.

"And the sooner that stops the better because it is inhibiting growth and we all know, as night follows day, that unless we have a reasonably vital and growing economy we are not going to be able to pick up the costs of change and the costs of establishing a more equitable constitutional system."

He dismisses ANC suggestions that nationalisation measures will be workable and effective.

"There is still a great deal of rhetoric floating around which derives back naturally to the ANC's original charter which was a Marxist-type document. And the fact that they have either been out of the real world, talking only to Marxists, or they have been incarcerated in South Africa talking only to warders ... neither of these relationships I would have thought was a great source of realism or inspiration."

HOW does he see there being more equality of wealth? "It is absolutely vital that there is, but I can see two things. I can see a growing economy where the equality is achieved by dealing out the growth, so to speak, to those who have been deprived in terms of services, education, health and housing.

"The other scenario is to try to do the same thing in a stagnant economy where the only way you can distribute is by taking it substantially away from those who are maybe thought to enjoy it at present.

"When one discovers that that does not work because the economy starts going backwards further still, you resort to the control measures of a one-party state. And this is what the world, in its sticking to sanctions, does not realise, if sanctions are really effective they will ultimately and inevitably drive the South African economy into a state where a successor government will find it has no flexibility ... and we will end up with the conventional African reaction of a one-party state, which is ultimately a reflection of defeat."

He adds: "The ANC would naturally hope to speak for all black people. Whether it does or not is completely unclear to me, and I think probably to most black people.

"I would have thought that to pretend there are no tribal differences in South Africa is simply flying in the face of reality. We have seven major tribal groupings and at least as many languages. I think any government's policy should be to emphasise the things that unite us.

"It is going to be a matter of great statesmanship to cover these very real cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences. I hope they may be covered but in the meantime we have to deal with the practical world we find on the ground."

RELLY is not of the opinion that apartheid, with compound labour, derisory wages and much else has been a marvellous fig-leaf.

Anglo has been making huge profits from a system which it says it purports to despise. "We would have made a damn sight more money if it were not for apartheid," he says.

"The economy has been inhibited from not allowing people to do their own thing, set up their businesses where they want, live where they want and have proper education. This has resulted in the bulk of the country's labour force being untrained, and incompetent in terms of modern standards.

"The whole country has been held back by this system. And as Anglo is very much a reflection of South Africa economically, it would have been a damn sight better if, over the last 40 years, we had lived in a more equitable society."

304A

Exiles hitch in FW talks?

LUSAKA. — The ANC yesterday said it was pleased with President F W de Klerk's readiness to hold talks but that it would not allow him to dictate who should represent the organisation.

National executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan described as unreasonable a suggestion by Mr De Klerk that he would look into the legal aspects of who among the exiled ANC leaders should participate in talks.

"We are pleased he has promised to meet us," Mr Jordan said, commenting to reporters on a statement and TV interview by Mr De Klerk.

"The ANC has the right to choose its own delegation to meet Mr De Klerk ... it is totally unreasonable for him to choose a delegation for us, just as we don't presume to choose his delegation," Mr Jordan said.

The ANC's media spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, yesterday said its executive committee would next week appoint delegates.

The delegation would be decided on in consultation with Mr Nelson Mandela, who is expected in Lusaka on Tuesday.

It was probable that Mr Mandela would be one of the South African-based delegates, but there was no indication as yet when a meeting with Mr De Klerk might take place.

He said there had been no communications with the government regarding "clearance" for exiles.

Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC for refusing to renounce armed struggle and for sticking to its conditions for taking part in full-scale negotiations with the government.

Mr Jordan said the ANC's conditions — including ending the state of emergency — were important in creating a normal political climate in the country which would lead to the start of negotiations.

"We cannot talk about moving towards peaceful resolution in a situation where one side of the quarrel has freedom of speech and the rest of us enjoy that at their discretion. We must be on the same plane," Mr Jordan said. — Sapa-Reuter

UDF still separate

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF is not due to amalgamate with the ANC within the next few months, the UDF's general secretary said yesterday.

Mr Popo Molefe said both the UDF and the MDM still recognised the leadership of the ANC and there was "no conflict" between the movements.

Although the South African government had given indications of a future political settlement "it has continued to retain repressive laws in its statutes" which would still enable it to outlaw various organisations.

The UDF would be very cautious about speeding up its disbandment, he said. — Sapa

Blacks support DP's march for democracy

Cape Times 24/2/90

JOHANNEBURG. — The Democratic Party (DP) received a rare show of black support yesterday when about 1 000 black people joined its march through central Johannesburg in support of democracy, peace and negotiation.

About 3 500 people participated in the march.

The party also received a glowing tribute from the UDF when the organisation's Transvaal secretary, Mr Jackson Tembu, said the DP had been "the only vioce of reason" in white politics in recent years.

At one stage the crowd changed their chant of "ANC, ANC" to "DP, DP" before entering the Johannesburg City Hall to hear DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Tembu share a platform.

The scenes contrasted to those at a meeting at Wits University last year when the presence of Dr De Beer, among other "white" political leaders, prompted a black political student group allied to the UDF to prevent proceedings by singing and chanting loudly.

Mr Tembu, congratulating the DP on the liberal stance the party had taken in Parliament which, he said, had contributed to the recent unbanning of the ANC, said the future of blacks was interlinked with the future of whites.

He added that the nature of the liberation struggle was against oppression and domination and assured white compatriots the future South Africa belonged to all — "where all will be proud to be Zulu, Jewish, whatever ..."

DP MP Mr Peter Soal later said he was "delighted" at the black participation in the march.

Several banners displayed by participants in the march were aimed at the rightist Conservative Party (CP). One said: "The CP is a banana peel on the doorstep of progress". — Sapa

Pay rise

24/2/90 (304A)

FROM PAGE 1.

members of the Government approached last night would not comment on the double increase.

One new MP said he felt rather ashamed to get such a big increase after serving for an MP for no more than a few weeks.

However most who were prepared to comment justified the increase. They said that nurses, policemen and other occupations would also be getting increases over and above the general 10 percent.

They pointed out that MPs salaries had not increased since 1987 and had dropped in relation to those of officials over the years.

Some years ago an MP's salary had been equal to that of a deputy director-general of a government department. Since then it had slipped down several rungs to the equivalent of a director.

MPs also received no 13th cheque as officials did and did not receive allowance when they were away from home attending Parliament, as officials did.

They also pointed out that a director-general of a department now earned more than a Cabinet Minister — R166 000 a year compared to R158 000.

Mr de Klerk made some of the same points in his statement. He said MPs incurred "abnormally high costs".

They had to maintain two houses and pay extra to make alternative educational arrangements for their children.

They did not receive an annual increment, a 13th cheque or housing loans.

He noted that the increase had been decided after consultation with all political parties in Parliament.

Mr de Klerk also announced that the MP's annual allowance of R10 000 for secretarial and office expenses would be increased to R18 000.

He said that the Government was giving attention to legislation to create a statutory body which would decide on politicians' salaries — "and thereby remove this issue from the political arena".

Mr de Klerk said the salary increase for politicians was based on the recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission of mid-1986.

Politicians are to get double salary increases

Star 24/2/90 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Politicians are to get a double salary increase on April 1 — a total of about 25 percent more for MPs and 17 percent for Cabinet Ministers.

This will push MPs salaries up from R75 000 to about R94 000 a year — while the R158 000 a year now earned by Cabinet Ministers will rise to over R181 000.

The double increase was confirmed by sources, including one in the Cabinet, last night, although no one wished to be quoted by name.

The Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, said he knew nothing about it.

President de Klerk announced yesterday that all politicians — from Cabinet Ministers to ordinary MPs — would get a "structural salary adjustment" of R12 000 from April 1.

This would represent a 15,9 percent increase for MPs and a 7,6 percent increase for Cabinet Ministers.

It was generally assumed that this increase was the only one politicians would get this year.

But other sources confirmed that it was in fact a special occupation increase and that politicians would also get the general 10 percent increase for public servants from April 1 which the Government announced earlier in the day. Most MPs and

TO PAGE 2.

PARKTOWN HIGH JINKS: DJ Rick Emdin and the Radio 702 boomer will provide a melodious backdrop for day of fun, prizes and excitement at Parktown Boys' High beginning at 11 am today. Among the attractions will be drum majorettes, the daredevil bike squad of the SA Defence Force and a soccer clash between celebrity teams led by John Robbie and Richard Loring.

Star 24/2/90 304A

Marathon picket at SA embassy ends

LONDON — The non-stop picket by anti-apartheid campaigners outside the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square in London ends this afternoon after 1 408 days.

Arguably one of the longest ever political demonstrations, it started on April 19 1986 to bring public awareness to the campaign for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who was freed on February 11.

A spokesman for the organisers said the picket would end with a planned mass rally and march down Whitehall to Margaret Thatcher's Downing Street office to demand sanctions against SA.

The "Free Nelson Mandela" banners will be rolled up to become collector's items among anti-apartheid campaigners, but the protests will continue at regular intervals.

The call will be ultimately for black majority rule in South Africa, but will in the interim include calls for increased sanctions, the release of all political prisoners and a lifting of the state of emergency.

Pickets will be mounted, with the usual accoutrements of soapbox, banners, posters, pamphlets, petitions and loudhailer, every weekend.

A fact little known outside the hard core of activists in London is that the marathon picket was run by the maverick City of London Anti-Apartheid Movement, which was expelled as a branch from the Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1984 for operating outside the boundaries of London.

Differences of opinion among leading activists in both groups as to how the protest movement should conduct itself were the real reason for the dispute.

Scotland Yard, which has had to mount extra police guards round the clock outside the embassy over the last four years at a cost recently estimated at R6 million, will be welcoming the picket's ending.

The traditional "Bobbies on the beat" from Cannon Row police station might however feel the change in their wallets as standing guard at the embassy was a handy source of overtime income.

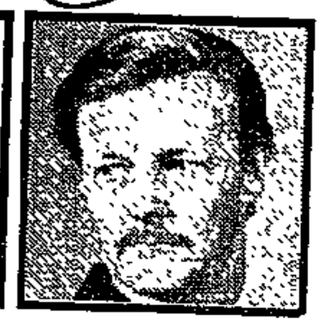
Mr Justice de Goede, Minister at the SA Embassy, said the protests political effect has been "absolute zero". — Sapa.

Four steps to bridge a chasm

Star 24/2/90 (304A)

Undercurrent Affairs

HARVEY TYSON



THE charisma and courage of two men — Nelson Mandela and Frederick de Klerk — are largely responsible for South Africa being poised at this moment at one of the more promising crossroads in history.

I mean *world* history.

Where else do you recall the leaders of two warring factions announcing their willingness to negotiate peace before battle is properly joined?

Where else have you observed a government in power voluntarily moving towards its own demise?

Where else have we witnessed two forces willing to avoid the normal path of self-destruction and aggressive testing of strength?

Yet today we see a government, whose dominant physical strength remains unchallenged, ready to talk to a liberation movement with a potential "people power" which may eventually be irresistible and is, as yet, hardly tested. The two sides are short-circuiting history. This is the highpoint. It has been reached through both sides taking risks.

Now we shall descend into pettiness as both sides manoeuvre for advantage. And we must expect a long series of crises as negotiations are attempted.

But no matter. The triumph is that two courageous leaders have agreed to take the broad high road to the future. It will be harder now to turn back. South Africa has achieved something which most analysts never thought was possible in any society.

□ □ □

The key to the future lies in a clear statement made by Mandela on SATV to the nation, and uttered in different words on different occasions by SPFW:

"Everything is negotiable. Not just the peripherals. Everything."

With that in mind, let me propose a provocative plan. It consists of four concise proposals which, taken together, cut across the basic principles of every political party and orthodox ideology everywhere.

Taken together (they stand united) my four-point proposition is:

1) Make Nelson Mandela executive State President while he still has capability as well as stature.

2) Make SPFW his Prime Minister of a federal government.

3) Grant any extreme isolationists their right to their own state within the federation, provided it is not racialistic or infringes the rights of others. Also tolerate ethnic diversity within the constitution, providing it does not allow exclusivity or political advantage for any group, or combination of groups.

4) Let socio-economic forces, by themselves, work out the economic policies of this country, rather than try to impose, or compromise on, different ideologies.

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● Mr Mandela for SP.

If you have analysed each and every utterance he has made since emerging from more than a quarter of century of imprisonment, you will see that he has confounded his critics; his supporters; friends and enemies.

His consumate skill is matched by his clear integrity (a rare quality which he, in turn, attributes to SPFW). His loyalty to his lifelong cause is matched only by his unorthodox and independent way of thought.

One of his closest "organisers" complained the other day: "The Old Man does things his way . . ."

● SPFW.

The National Party leader has shown, despite the record of his party, the kind of courage and flexibility, bounded by integrity, which fits him as a leader of a much greater South Africa — or Azania if you will — which could play a major role, not only in Africa, but in First-Third World affairs.

● Morgenzon.

The vision of an *eie boerestaat* is not peculiar. It was achieved by the Mormons in Utah, and still exists there. It is the dream of terrorist Basques in Spain and in many parts of the USSR. Why build terrorism into the new South Africa by suppressing the bitter nationalistic soul of ultra-isolationists?

For heaven's sake, give them their Morgenzon, their so-called holy, promised land. Let them go. Let them build their new *volkstaat* out of the desert. So long as they do not take what belongs to all the people; so long as they do not trespass on the rights of others, let the Oranje Republic live within a federation. Like the Basters of Namibia, they will soon rejoin their country.

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● The economy.

Quite clearly, there will have to be readjustments in the allocation of national resources. Nationalisation need not be one of them. But then frantic privatisation of resources, milked for half a century by an NP sectional government, need not be one of them, either.

Businessman Sam Motsuenyane has suggested several alternatives to nationalisation. Big Business, that part of it not too Far Right, also has a number of "adjustments" in mind.

In any case, many adjustments will just happen, when a new government with a new majority comes to constructing the annual budget and having it approved by a new Parliament.

The negotiating parties need agree on just two principles: the tests for any economic policy should be that (a) it is fair and (b) it must increase the national wealth within a year of implementation.

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I wanted to talk to you about words. Words like "jubilating" and seagulls' names, and others of grave moment. But I have not a moment to spare, except to leave you with some words of Shakespeare, who speaks with time-tested truth about the current scandal which The Star is investigating:

For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak with most miraculous organ.

(Hamlet).

And you all know Security is mortal's chiefest enemy.

(Macbeth).

A thing too bad for bad report.

(Cymbeline).

Meanwhile, our investigation has prompted a telephone call from a well-spoken English-speaker who informs us very calmly that he is going to kill the editor.

I mention it only because I happen to be rushing off to Communist China to view a billion people and a bad economic system.

Sorry to delay anyone's plans.

See you all in about three weeks.

Apartheid in reverse

Star 24/2/90 (304 A)

Zuurbekom whites bitter at rezoning of area black

PAT DEVEREAUX and SUE OLSWANG

RUSTY "For Sale" notices are the first thing one notices when driving through the lush green farmland of Zuurbekom just west of Soweto which was recently rezoned as a "black" group area.

It's a case of "apartheid laws being applied in reverse", say Zuurbekom's few remaining white residents who are being forced to sell their properties to blacks only.

Many of them do not object to selling their homes to blacks. But they are bitter because they cannot get the prices they feel they are entitled to and it seems they will not be compensated for their losses.

No compensation

"We don't mind the fact that the Government has proclaimed Zuurbekom a black area," said Mr Matthys Nortje, a farmer who once headed the area's now defunct Residents' Committee, "but we object to being forced to sell our properties for less than the real value.

"And, we object to the fact that we are not being compensated, in any way, by the Government. We basically feel we've been sold out by the Nats."

Mr Nortje said: "Initially, when the rumours about Zuurbekom going to the blacks first began, some white residents managed to get out fast and obtain realistic prices for their properties which were snapped up by affluent black businessmen, but those who are still here may be forced to settle for less because we will be terrorised until accept an offer.

"Many of us are retired pensioners and most of us are frightened and are now living behind barricades," said Mr Nortje, speaking at his securely burglar-proofed home which sports security gates on every door and two big dogs.

"One white woman was assaulted twice in one week and there have been two murders lately," he said, then quickly added: "This is not the fault of the black residents in this area, most of whom are upmarket and pleasant to live with, but there are a lot of unsavoury characters hanging around.

"I have no objections about selling my property to blacks, but I resent being forced to wait, while living in fear, for a decent offer."

Mrs Martha Nortje agreed with her husband's statements and added: "Everyone (whites) who has bought here is 'zuur' (sour or bitter).

"Most of us just want to get rid of our properties, but no one (black purchasers) can meet our price and the building societies seem reluctant to grant bonds in this area," she said.

The Nortjes, who have lived in Zuurbekom since 1946, showed the Saturday Star a thick file of correspondence between irate white residents and Government and local authorities. The file included a petition, signed by about 360 white residents, which was sent to the Westonaria Town Council before Zuurbekom was legally zoned for black development.

The petition requested that the Town Council take the necessary steps to prevent and end the influx of non-whites into a traditionally white area. It also asked the Town Council to take the necessary legal matters and apply the Group Areas Act and the foundational conditions of the West Rand Agricultural Act.

The couple also showed the Saturday Star a letter which Mrs Nortje's sister, Mrs E Bleeker, wrote to Mr F W de Klerk on their behalf which read: "Do you appreciate how it feels, after 43 years, to be surrounded by blacks — some of them restless — while daily you battle to sell your property?

The Nortjes said they would have preferred to see the Government declare Zuurbekom an "open" or "grey" area because it would have allowed them to sell at a better price.

The Nortjes also said they suspected that the mining companies would "eventually make us a low, low offer — when they see we are really desperate to sell".

Manipulated

Another white resident, Mr Johann Pelzmann, reflected a similar view.

"At the moment I refuse to sell in a highly manipulated market. My house and property would be worth well in excess of R300 000 in an upmarket white area so why should I settle for less? I could never find something like this, at the price I paid, in another area. I'm here to stay."

Approached this week for comment, MEC on the Transvaal Provinciakl Administration Mr John Mavuso confirmed Zuurbekom whites could sell to black buyers only. However, he added that no deadline had been set for the remaining whites to sell their properties. Asked whether they could be forcibly moved out of the area, he said: "We will cross that bridge when we come to it."

BITTER: Mr Matthys Nortje, a farmer who has lived in Zuurbekom since 1946, is sour about the Government's failure to compensate whites now battling to sell their homes. He holds his file of correspondence with Government officials. ● Photographs: Sean Woods.

Weeds closing in on empty, deserted school

PAT DEVEREAUX and SUE OLSWANG

THE facebrick Laärskool Zuurbekom stands deserted and the grounds sport waist-high weeds since the school closed because of a dwindling number of white pupils.

"Two years ago there were 90 children at the school. At the beginning of 1989 it opened the school term with 60 pupils.

"A week later the school closed its doors to white pupils and has stood empty ever since," said Zuurbekom resident of 44 years Mr Matthys Nortje.

Any white pupils remaining in the area are bused to school in Westonaria or Randfontein; black children attend school in Soweto.

The school was established 35 years ago to accommodate the area's growing white population.

About 10 years ago a spanking new brick building replaced the prefabricated structures which had served as classrooms for Mr Nortjes' children.

However, in May last year former Mayor of Soweto, and millionaire President of the Sofasonke Party, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, said he was finalising negotiations with the Department of Education and Training to buy the white school for use by black pupils.

Mr Tshabalala claimed at the time that negotiations for the double storey Afrikaans Primary School were in an advanced stage and said he was awaiting the reply of the DET.

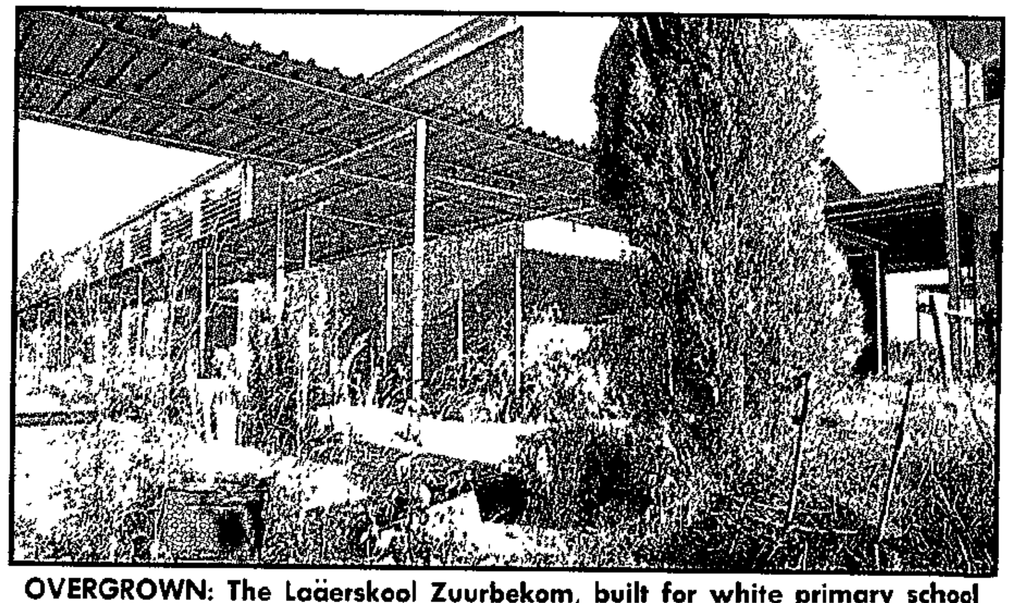
So far there appear to have been no moves by the Department of Education and Training to reopen the school for black children and the buildings remain unused.

The wealthy benefactor said he would name the school the "Sofasonke Party School".

"I would be happy if the school were staffed by more white teachers than black," he told reporters, "because of their better command of English."

However, I would like to see a black principal in charge of the school," he added.

Mr Tshabalala is currently away on holiday and could not be reached for comment on how negotiations for the school building were going.



OVERGROWN: The Laäerskool Zuurbekom, built for white primary school pupils about 10 years ago, has stood empty for the past year.

BMWs, Mercs in many driveways

PAT DEVEREAUX

IN the past, you seldom saw BMWs and Mercedes Benz cars on Zuurbekom's dusty roads.

Now they're parked in just about every homeowner's driveway.

Normally this would not be worth mentioning, except that the homeowners are mostly black.

Bishop Frederick Modise, spiritual leader of the International Pentecostal Church, was one of the first black residents to buy property in the area.

He is rumoured by other residents to own at least one Rolls-Royce as well as a number of large American cars.

Bishop Modise has bought 16 ha of ground in Zuurbekom from white residents on which he is currently building one of his many churches.

The entire property is surrounded by a white wall and each Sunday the grounds hold hundreds of cars and minibuses which bring his congregation to the church.

Mr Peggy Senne, president of the Soweto Taverners' Association, is another affluent resident in the area.

"I first bought my 2-ha plot as a nominee about four years ago for R150 000," said Mr Senne. He added that he was not residing at his Zuurbekom home at present because it was being renovated.

"Zuurbekom is currently a grey area but it has been declared black. It is a beautiful place to live and as far as I know there is no friction with the neighbours. But there are certain white residents who have objected to us moving into the area in the past," he said.

The greatest obstacle to negotiation

W/E ARGUS 24/2/90

(304A)

By DAVID BREIER
Political Correspondent

THE government believes the African National Congress demand for the release of all political prisoners is developing into the greatest obstacle to negotiation.

This week President F W de Klerk welcomed the ANC proposal to send a delegation to South Africa to discuss obstacles to negotiation. The pioneering visit could take place within weeks. But he criticised the demand for preconditions and talk of armed struggle.

There are hopes that the state of emergency could be lifted within weeks in line with the ANC's other major precondition for negotiation.

Consternation

Other preconditions in its Harare Declaration appear to be negotiable, such as the scrapping of the Internal Security Act.

But the ANC stated in London this week that the release of all political prisoners was an absolute pre-requisite for negotiations. The government's current position is that it is releasing only those prisoners jailed purely because their organisations had been banned.

There was consternation in the government this week over the implications of this demand, including the release of "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom, ending the Harms Commission investigation into police and army hit squads and releasing ANC cadres convicted of murderous attacks on soft targets.

Several solutions to the impasse over poltical prisoners are now being debated in parliamentary circles.

These include a suggestion that a committee of senior jurists be appointed to investigate the precise definition of a political prisoner and who would qualify under the definition.

This committee would have to be acceptible to both the government and the ANC and could include one or more judges as well as eminent senior counsel who have credibility with the ANC.

The final definition would have to include reciprocity applying to people with leftwing as well as rightwing sympathies, according to current debate.

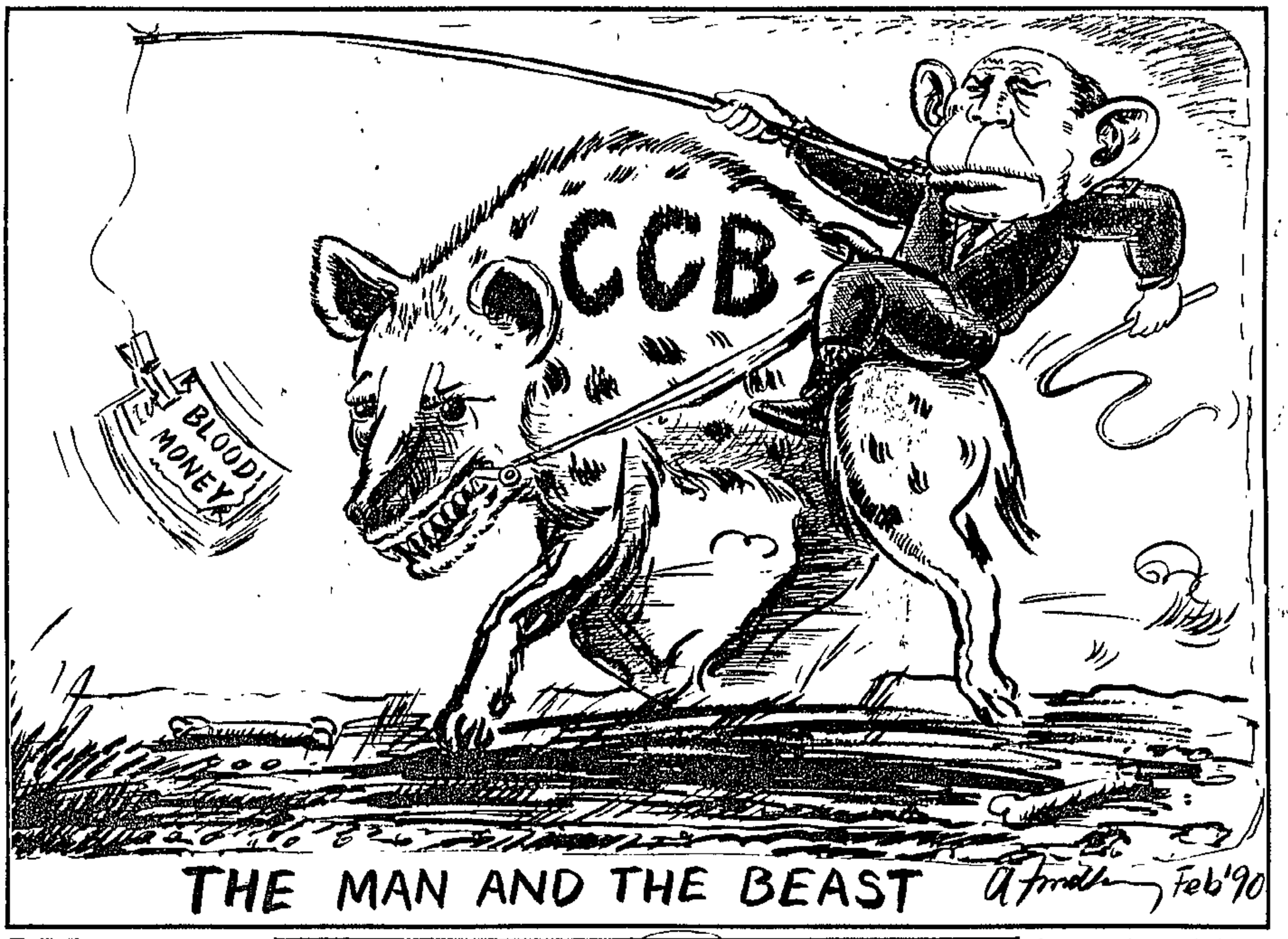
Ceasefire

It could also necessitate the release of South African agents jailed in Zimbabwe and Botswana for taking part in attacks or espionage on the ANC.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, national chairman of the Democratic Party and a law and order spokesman, said a general amnesty for political prisoners and people still sought for political crimes, would probably go hand-in-hand with a ceasefire.

He said that even the hit squads and Strydom could be part of the equation, however much that stuck in the throat.

"Amnesty will involve a degree of generosity asked for in very unusual circumstances. Political horsetrading may also play a major role," he said.



□ MY WAY

304A

With Khulu Sibiya

C/Press 25/2/90

The focus shifts to No 3 – Dr No

WHAT was going through Dr Andries Treurnicht's mind?

I tried to figure this out while he restlessly tried to make himself comfortable on the aeroplane as we returned from Cape Town.

Scores of other people who noticed the Conservative Party leader trying to keep to himself by burying his head in a book might probably have been thinking the same.

Sitting four rows away and at an adjacent angle, I had all the time in the world to study the man.

I found this exercise fascinating, as it was unusual to come so close to the man who in my book rates number three among the politicians who could determine our destiny.

The other two are Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk.

Whether we like him or not, Dr No is an interesting man.

He makes this country a talking point in the rest of the world.

He is not just official opposition leader in Parliament, but a dominee in church.

At one stage, as a leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, he came close to being Prime Minister of this country.

The man is going to be with us as we strive towards a new South Africa.

He will also be there, one assumes, in a post-apartheid era.

After almost two hours of study, I could not figure out what was going through Dr No's mind.

But a lot was going through mine.

As a man who takes delight in whipping up white emotions everytime he opens his mouth, whether it be on public platforms, or in Parliament, was he aware as he sat on that plane that the South African Transport Services would soon be privatised – and who knows – some blacks could be major sharcholders?

Would he use the same aircraft if the pilot and his captain were black?

Would he accept a cup of tea from a black air hostess?

I may be unfair to the man, his party and right-wing elements, but these questions ran amok in my mind.

Dr No will present a "Freedom Manifesto" to whites at a mass rally in Pretoria on May 26.

We know his party is looking at the public service as a battleground to fight the government or anybody who is talking about change.

What the CP should know is that the winds of change can no longer be diverted to suit it.

Democracy and non-racialism is now on the move and there is no stopping it.

My advice to people like Dr No and those on the far left is that they should team up with Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk and work out a system that would be acceptable to all the peoples of this country.

In the two weeks since he was released from prison, Mandela has met and shared ideas with almost every political group in this country.

That is something that has yet to be matched by other politicians.

That man has proved beyond reasonable doubt that he is a leader of all the people.

He has moved from the position of being a facilitator or only a leader of the ANC.

He is above party politics.

In the past we dismissed homeland leaders, community councillors and those serving in the tri-cameral parliament as stooges working against the interests of the majority of the people.

Mandela has welcomed them all with open arms.

The reason?

If you want unity and peace, talk to everybody, including your enemy.

Today's peace rally in Durban will be the most important political test for Mandela.

If he succeeds in stopping violence and unifying the people of Natal he will go down in history as a great man.

Should he fail, we must brace ourselves for a protracted arnachy in Natal that is likely to spill over into other areas.

Politicians look to DTA as a possible future role model

S/Times 25/2/90

Harald Pakendorf

examines the potential for new alliances in South African politics

30 CA

THE unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela have changed the face of South African politics for ever — and no one know this better than the political parties within the parliamentary system.

There are frequent news reports — and speculation — about the Democratic Party: Will it form a coalition with the National Party? Will its members simply join the NP? Will some of its MPs join the ANC?

What is the future of the DP?

But, of course, the same questions ought to be asked of all parliamentary parties.

What is the future of Solidarity, of the Labour Party, of the Conservative Party, and yes, the National Party?

Frankly, bleak, if they carry on as before.

You cannot say, as Mr Gerrit Viljoen has done, that you believe in universal franchise, admit that you will no longer be running the country in five years' time and then blithely add you expect to be part of the Government thereafter — if you haven't done something about your support base.

Why should any future government take account of the NP? It only represents just over six percent of the total vote in the country. Incidentally, for the CP that figure is three and for the DP, two.

All political parties are asking themselves the question — where to now?

It is not in official forums, not in the caucus, not in committee, but late at night the truth is admitted: "We have to do something."

Suddenly everybody looks to the DTA in Namibia and says: "It managed to forge an alliance based on political ideals which transcend race, colour and language.

"Then it went ahead and drew some 30 percent of the vote in the Namibian constituent election. That was enough to make it such a major force that it acted as a brake on Swapo's radical intentions."

Should we not be doing the same, all political parties are asking themselves. Or something similar.

Just sticking to the present power base is clearly not going to be enough.

The implications are quite fascinating: will the NP, the party of apartheid, open its doors to all races? Will it go into coalition with other parliamentary parties and perhaps even some extra-parliamentary ones?

The same for the DP, the LP and the others: where to now — and how?

Adapt

Take the LP, for example. Its leadership might be very proud of the positive response it has had from ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, but by no means can that be said of all its MPs and a substantial part of the coloured population.

They would rather join the NP than the ANC.

The rapidity of change — and the desire to adapt to it realistically — is a positive sign.

Take the NP. One needs a good deal of imagination and goodwill to believe what President De Klerk said on February 2 was foreshadowed in his party campaign a bare five months previously.

It fought the DP on the issue of marches, talking to the ANC, being seen with the SACP — and then went beyond what the DP had done during the election campaign.

Which, naturally, has left the DP trying to gets its breath back.

But, having opened up the political scene, the NP, like the others, is casting around for ways in which to survive as a viable political entity.

It does not see itself as just a facilitator, a party which will influence the future rulers. It wants to remain part of that ruling group.

To do that, its present power base *must* be expanded — somehow.

The CP has defined itself out of that option by taking a clear-cut racial view, thus defining itself as a permanent minority. Which it is.

S/Times 25/2/90

FAST-FORWARD WI

(304A)

with FW

by Peter Vale

director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape

WHEN someone hits the fast-forward button the audience invariably panics.

Whoa!

What's happening? Where's the storyline? There's suddenly no connection between recognisable dialogue and the picture on the screen. Confusion reigns as all the comfortable assumptions about the future are overturned.

The instinctive reaction is to fiddle for reverse. Go back to where the narrative is familiar. In the comfort of the living-room this, of course, is possible. In the real world there is no going back: the fast forward button is, well, for real.

By design, not accident, F W de Klerk hit the fast-forward button on February 2: there will be no return to old South African ways.

Risks

By a paradox so splendidly South African, the speech which opened Parliament returned the country, legally speaking, to the early 60s, simultaneously catapulting it into a new political epoch.

The result was a train of events which many never expected to see in their lifetimes. The unbanning of the exiled movements raised the prospect that many families could finally be reunited. Then came the raw drama of Nelson Mandela's appearance from prison: for one wonderful afternoon South Africa was fully part of the new world order.

Suddenly all public and private issues were weighed from a different perspective, time-frames drastically altered and risks increased or diminished, contingent upon where one started.

The debates on the country's future were immediate, even pressing: there could no longer be dithering on this or that guarantee. Individuals, parties and movements scurried for positions as tomorrow's promises became today's truths.

Each previously proscribed word which the ANC had uttered was turned over to see what, if any, hidden meaning it concealed. Every photograph of the remarkable Nelson Mandela was scrutinised for the smallest trace of evidence that — just perhaps — he was the man who could deliver South Africa from the torment to which it seemed fated.

And as the faces on television and the voices on the radio changed, so too did the very words which are used to describe our politics.

The country has entered upon times of high emotion; no single South African can have been indifferent to what has happened or what is happening. They are also times of increased expectation or gnawing uncertainty depending on where one stood — politically speaking — before the President's speech.

At such times even the most level-headed personality is prone to the momentary impulse with its destructive effect on the search for a new society.

Some whites will resort to that old stand-by emigration. Long encouraged to believe that the ANC are black racists determined to create an economic wasteland, they will migrate to Manhattan, Melbourne or Montreal.

But however much this will slake individual or family angst, it goes nowhere in dealing with the complexities of trying to find a common destiny. Plainly, a leakage of skills only adds to the sum total of unsolved problems.

Others will barricade themselves behind an uncompromising stand on this or that issue in the emerging debate on the future. Take the two areas which have strongly resurfaced since the President's speech — race and the economy.

Grim

It is no accident that both have gained such prominence. After all, in tandem they were responsible for the contradictions which have marked the country's past: relative prosperity and the unbridled passion with which its peoples have confronted one another.

If the response of whites is foolhardy — and the surface of right-wing activity suggests we should not be indifferent to this possiblity — the outlook is grim.

Declining foreign confidence will collapse if confronted by visions of armed whites clinging to power, privilege and prerogative at the edge of a continent where blacks are in the majority. This was the official mindset which F W de Klerk inherited and whose adherents, with great patience, he seems to have liberated from its hold.

Equally, the spectre of whites driven into the sea, which so possessed an older generation, would not have been accepted by the international community. The ANC — as we have all only recently learnt — never saw this as an option: its members were largely unconscious of the colour divide which fixated and eventually capped the energy of South Africa's whites.

If imprudence pushes us towards obsessively staking out narrow economic claims, the country itself faces a form of self-mutilation.

Consider, for a moment, the international impression created by a new government blindly plunging Africa's strongest economy towards, say, East European-style collectivism.

In the eyes of investors this will be senseless, if only because this style of economic management has been discredited in the eyes of those who for decades have been its most earnest disciples.

But, equally, what will the same investors make of a new government which inherits an economy retarded by decades of racial discrimination, then promptly ensures that the self-same material divides are sustained in the name of growth and equity? Even a hard-nosed Wall Street analyst will maintain that such a policy is a certain recipe for a resurgence of social tension.

The increased tempo of recent events stands in direct proportion to the necessity to calmly debate all the elements, all the nuances which underpin the discussion about the future. At the same time, we constantly need to reflect on the dilemmas faced by our adversaries.

Mistrust

Only these will ensure a robust debate both in the transitional phase and in the new South Africa. To ensure it will mean developing traits which are not readily associated with the South African personality: discipline and restraint. If old suspicions and crude mistrust are not quietly deliberated our worst fears on our future may be realised.

South Africans stand at the edge of a unique moment in their history: few people have the opportunity to begin again. If anything, the fast-forward button has heightened the prospects of us emerging from our murky past with our most important structures intact.

NP split on 'open party' debate

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE possibility of a racially-open National Party is emerging as an interesting possibility in internal discussions among NP members on the party's future role and structures.

The debate has been sparked by President F W de Klerk's drive for a "new South Africa" — and the assertion by his chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, that the NP may have a diminished role in future government.

Along with the Democratic Party to its left, NP strategists are examining what identity will suit it best in the emerging new deal.

The NP faces a fundamental dilemma: how to reconcile its basic philosophy of ethnic group identities with an image of more inclusive South Africanism.

(30CH)

Secure

In the euphoria after President De Klerk's epochal opening of Parliament speech this month, some Nationalist MPs believed the party was positioning itself to move away from strict adherence to "group" structures.

But senior NP figures quickly dampened this tendency.

The debate is being spurred, nevertheless, by the fact that, over recent years, the NP has changed its make-up but has not adapted its structures and image.

Since the rise of the Conservative Party, the NP has lost its secure base in Afrikanerdom — and gained what may yet prove to be the majority of English-speaking white voters.

But even this, as reform accelerates, is not enough to guarantee the NP first-post status in white politics.

S/Times 25/2/90

304A

Book gives just a glimpse of knives that cut down PW

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE most tantalising and most frustrating thing about the first book on former President P W Botha's demise is that its authors both uncover and yet fail to explain one of the leading political intrigues of our time.

Like all absorbing political intrigues, it involves the flashing of knives behind closed doors and the hand-to-hand combat between powerful personalities that manifests its eventual consequences in the pages of history books.

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These are the intrigues that absorb those students of politics who subscribe to the dictum that you will never fully understand the policies without really knowing the personalities who make them.

This particular mystery is: who are the two Ministers — probably (some say definitely) still in the Cabinet — who provoked President Botha into repudiating his Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, thereby setting the cantankerous President, on a collision course with his own avowed intention of reforming South African politics?

It was a day early in February, 1986, recount the authors of Leierstryd (Leadership Struggle), Ebbe Dommisse, editor of the National Party newspaper Die Burger, and its long-time political correspondent Alf Ries.

Mr Pik Botha made a remark at an international news conference that was to dog him and white politics in the years to follow. Yes, he had said, he foresaw a day when SA would have a black president.

Ries and Dommisse quote Mr Botha directly on an account of the subsequent events.

On the day of what could be counted as an indiscretion only in the arcane politics of the time, President Botha paused in the corridors of Parliament to tell his Foreign Minister good humouredly that he would have to correct the false impression.

Later, and to the shocked amazement of all, the President rose in Parliament and delivered a stunning rebuke of the Foreign Minister and his remark. This was such an extraordinary event that Mr Botha's political confidants told him he could only rescue his integrity by resigning.

Then, in August last year when President Botha's imminent fall was apparent even to himself, a contrite head of state called Mr Botha to his Tuynhuys office.

There, in gestures of pathos, the President-in-decline presented Mr Botha with a letter opener, walked up to the gold presidential seal kept in a glass case and said he had wished to hand it over to his successor in more pleasant circumstances.

Then he told Mr Botha that he had repudiated him three years before against his will.

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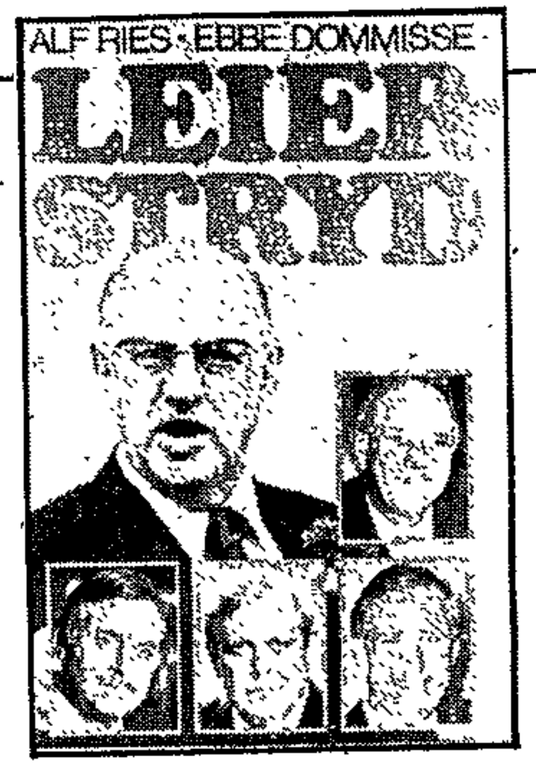
Two Ministers had come to him, the President said, and "threatened" him that if there was no rebuke they would raise the issue in Cabinet and the Government could be made to fall.

The authors stop coyly short of even speculating who the two Ministers were — although they leave hints that they are fully conversant with the whispers in inner circles on the identities of the two.

And that's where both the strength and the weakness of the book lies. Ries and Dommisse are the political commissars of an organ officially designated by the NP as a mouthpiece. Their intention is definitely not to see that any harm comes to the party.

But the peculiarities of their insiders' view allows them to spice it with tasty political bon mots.



Read it if you're interested in how President Botha came to be known as the Groot Krokodil — blame a former editor of Die Burger, Professor Piet Cillie; why Pik Botha, until just recently the country's most popular white politician, could only get 16 votes in the presidential race — he disdained socialising with lesser colleagues; how Pik got his nickname — a black-and-white baby suit made the infant Botha resemble a penguin ("pikkewyn" in Afrikaans); and why Pik doesn't like black stockings.

When it comes to the awesome, final days of the fall of P W, however, the book tends to tell the true story almost by default.

Tuynhuys had become a "Kruythuys" (Gunpowder House), a heavily-guarded political arsenal, and even the influential Ries and Dommisse had long since been denied the access traditionally their prerogative.

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So the account contains little that wasn't read at the time.

Of the great anguish that undoubtedly accompanied the playing out of the great drama in Westbrooke and Tuynhuys, much is suggested but little recounted.

It is, finally, perhaps, a measure of the extraordinary powers of P W Botha that he has retained the fierce and silent loyalty of the unconventional circle of faithful officers of his doomed Tuynhuys empire.

□ *Leierstryd by Alf Ries and Ebbe Dommisse (Tafelberg), R34,95.*

NGK chief and mayor defend 'political' black hymn

By ALAN DUGGAN

WHITE South Africans this week defended the Xhosa hymn Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika after a new controversy erupted over its "political implications".

Long regarded as an "alternative" South African anthem, the hymn has been sung countless times at church services, political rallies and other events — but mostly by blacks.

Now it is heard increasingly in white circles — and took two senior SADF officers by surprise last week when they turned up for the annual mayoral Sunday church service in Cape Town's city hall.

Brigadier Theo de Munnik, OC Southern Air Command, and Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command, caused a stir when they walked out. Brig De Munnik said later that it would have been inappropriate for them to remain at the service in uniform as the hymn had "definite political implications".

The mayor said he accepted this explanation but added that he did not agree with the brigadier's viewpoint. He said he regarded Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa) as a beautiful hymn.

Prayer

Adopted as the national anthem of several African countries, the hymn has become associated in the minds of many whites with political defiance and the black struggle. But churchmen, politicians and many others have defended it as "a form of prayer".

Professor Johan Heyns, Moderator of the NG Church, said there was no reason to fear the hymn.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was penned in Xhosa by a mission school teacher, Enoch Sontonga, and first sung publicly in 1899.

Sixty-six years later, the African National Congress adopted the soul-stirring hymn and began singing it at the close of meetings.

The TRAPS of history

S/Times 25/2/90.

(304A)

Lawrence Schlemmer, who is one of SA's most respected social scientists, warns of the dangers that litter the path towards the establishment of a new South Africa

WITH the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SA Communist Party, debate about future policy in a "New South Africa" has at last been unshackled.

It is hugely commendable — but one of its most constructive benefits is that one is now more readily able to discern the policy traps that lie ahead.

Most will agree we have an unfortunate and tragic past. From the time of the narrow commercial concerns of the Dutch East India Company onwards, through the arrogance of British imperialism and of King Shaka to the era of grand and less-grand apartheid and the response of the "armed struggle" we have accumulated a formidable debt to political wisdom and strategic good sense.

One must presume, however, that societies can mature as a result of their historical experience and the experience of others in comparative situations.

In fact, ANC leaders have pointed to one benefit of their long-drawn-out struggle as being the fact that they will be able to learn from the policy mistakes of earlier post-colonial governments in Africa.

Prospects for increasing balance and judicious caution in the policies of both major political forces in South Africa: the ANC and the National Party, are encouraging in comparison with their more rigid traditional positions.

The Government is increasingly showing respect for the conditions under which our economy can prosper and while attempting to limit state spending has tended to increase its relative expenditure on services like black education, which underpin economic efficiency and social stability.

From Mr Slovo, who is undoubtedly influential in ANC circles, we have a recent statement suggesting the commitment to the nationalisation of major industry enshrined in the Freedom Charter is not necessarily appropriate today.

The trap of good intentions

trap is aptly captured by the well-known and cynical saying that "evil is usually met by equal and opposite virtue".

Put more directly, one should never judge a policy only on the basis of manifestly good intentions.

Quite aside from the fact that a play on good intentions such as social justice, equality, non-racialism, participative democracy and the like is often a shield of propaganda which hides, defects and lulls critics, policy should be judged mainly on the basis of what it is likely to achieve in the real and imperfect world

first rule of policy evaluation should be: Try to disregard captivatingly good intentions and look only to the likely effects.

The second trap lies hidden in the assumption that after some sort of negotiated constitutional settlement South Africa will be or can be restructured as, not a "better" society, but a "new society".

From the ANC to South African businessmen and even to Cabinet Ministers, one hears fervent and hopeful, but meaningless, political chanting about a "new society".

ent occupations. Studies from the 50s onward, however, show 80 to 90 percent correlations between occupational status in the USSR and European capitalist societies.

Ten years after "liberation" the condition of the mass of blacks in relation to the majority of whites in Zimbabwe is broadly the same as it ever was.

Throughout the world, the coherence, the values and the support within the family system are more important for human progress than social policy. Basic patterns in society tend to persist. These few random facts and examples are not intended to discourage the search for better social and economic policy.

Good policy can bring about more rapid social progress. When policy-makers believe, however, that they can transform or restructure society, they over-reach themselves, they miss opportunities to speed up incremental reform and quite often do more harm than good.

What normally happens, or can happen, in societies, both socialist and capitalist, after major political change, is that new categories of people gain entry to the middle and upper-middle classes and, if economic and social policy is based on realistic appraisal of resources, the condition of the poor can be improved.

No policy on this earth is likely to achieve more than this, and many policies propounded by ideologues will do a lot worse.

Sound policy thinking starts when use of the words "new society", "restructuring" and "transformation" stops.

Suicidal economic heroism

Recent writing on economic policy aligned to the Mass Democratic Movement (Alec Erwin, Stephen Gelb) is refreshing in its rejection of older — in Gelb's words — simplistic economic ideologies.

Lessons of Eastern Europe are being absorbed. Some interesting policy ideas are emerging.

Much of this writing, however, signals a danger of coming conflict between a representative state and large corporate capital — the "private bureaucracies" (Gelb's words).

There is a persistent fear (or resentment) of the power of large corporate capital, perhaps because the large corporations are best able to resist the central planner's attempts to direct production and resource flows.

At the same time, no attempt is made to try to prove that size in itself influences the nature of production or investment decisions.

If this conflict ever materialises, it could constitute one of South Africa's bloodiest economic disasters. The re-investment of profits by shareholders of these corporations is a major growth factor in the economies of all of southern Africa.

If the capital flows are tampered with, the entire region will experience a greater loss of capital investment than the tragic loss of billions of rands of capital that has occurred over the past five years.

All major corporations have overseas operations and massive disinvestment will be on the cards.

Alec Erwin, in his paper at the recent Paris conference of the ANC, refers to South Korean and Taiwanese government intervention in the market with approval. These success stories were based on intervention of a very special kind, however.

There, the governments worked with major private capital to facilitate its exports, support its research and development and increase its competitive advantages. Incentives to increase production of mass consumer goods would be compatible with the Far Eastern model.

Good policy cannot be built on historical fixations, and the recent rash of threats of nationalisation of large companies, however sweetly and reasonably Mr Thabo Mbeki may articulate them, signal an economic war no one can possibly win.

The thoughts above have no more than identified the terrain of policy debate about our future.

The thoughts are based on two main convictions. Good policy is based on the realisation that there are very clear limits to what governments can achieve by way of national development.

Where governments have been successful it has been where they, with humility, have ensured rights, made the policy environment predictable and provided incentives for the removal of constraints in the way of voluntary effort, collective efforts by the people and entrepreneurship.

S/Times 304 A

25/2/90

Mr Nelson Mandela, who confirmed his commitment to nationalisation soon after his release, rapidly softened his line by adding the qualification that nationalisation would have to be negotiated and discussed with industrialists.

While this slight retraction is unlikely to restore business confidence in him, it at least points to a learning curve.

There is, however, still serious cause for concern about what policy might be likely under a representative government in the future and the potential consequences are such that present policy signals must be firmly and intensively debated.

A discussion of detail would fill this journal's entire centre section. In any case, the major policy traps which lie hidden in the green grass of "restructuring" are forged on the basis of a few major assumptions about how societies, economies and policies work.

This is the proper level to begin to think about policy.

The first faulty assumption or

Throughout the world, most tangled webs of regulations which smother initiative, most bloated bureaucracies that soak up capital resources, cause inflation and chronic budget deficits and survive on levels of taxation which chase away investment, are built on good intentions on the part of governments.

The fallacy of transformation

Each new control division or planning agency is perfectly defensible in the light of some problem or need.

The real pathology develops when, virtually inevitably, the initial regulation or allocation of administrative resources does not work or work well enough.

This is followed by the typical response of adding more staff or regulations to bolster the programme. Economic distortions and bureaucratic rigidities multiply like bacteria in the swarm of good intentions. Perhaps the

If there is anything social science should have taught us it is that "social transformation" is not within the reach of politicians or bureaucrats. Has no one read Animal Farm?

Present racial inequality makes the urge to restructure perfectly understandable — the surface political logic is unassailable. But can the expectations thus raised be met?

In South and Central America, notwithstanding all its revolutions or other political convulsions, the descendants of the indigenous Indians or imported slaves still tend to be on the lower social rungs and the descendants of the Spanish-Portuguese settlers still tend to be the elite.

The US civil rights movement induced a transformation in US race policy, but 30 years later the black inner-city ghettos persist and the gap between poor black people and the great American middle class has hardly closed.

After the revolution in the Soviet Union, official policy was deliberately directed at equalising the status and rewards of differ-

Common ground in talks

Political Staff

THE DP and the Labour Party (LP) achieved common ground last week in separate talks with the ANC's Nelson Mandela on the need for greater co-operation among political groups in forging a non-racial democracy.

Further meetings between the two parliamentary parties and the ANC are planned following their exploratory talks in Johannesburg.

LP leader Allan Hendrickse said after a 40-minute meeting that Mandela had "acknowledged our past differences but indicated the time has arrived for these to be forgotten. He emphasised the need for a greater togetherness in striving for the creation of a new non-racial and democratic SA."

It was agreed to meet again to discuss "various strategies and options for achieving social justice".

Earlier, an ANC and MDM delegation met a DP delegation consisting of DP co-leaders Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan; and Peter Gastrow.

Worrall said in a statement afterwards that they discussed their relative positions "and talked more on the basis of future co-operation than on policy matters".

A discussion on policy matters would come with a "more fully representative delegation" of the ANC.

MPs' salary bill is R30m

(304A) B/Day 26/2/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — The R12 000 a year across the board salary increase, plus 10%, granted to MPs and Cabinet Ministers at the weekend will raise the annual amount paid to parliamentarians to more than R30m.

It was confirmed at the weekend that in addition to the increases announced by President F W de Klerk on Friday, the parliamentarians would also qualify for the 10% non-pensionable allowance granted to all public servants.

This means the 31 Cabinet Ministers receive a total salary package of R185 800 a year which includes an allowance of R36 615 — equivalent to an 18% increase.

The 12 deputy Ministers will receive a package of R134 100, including an allowance of R28 116. Ordinary MPs will receive a salary of R94 500 a year, equivalent to a 26% increase.

In addition they are entitled to participate in a car scheme which effectively provides a free medium-sized vehicle over four years. They receive 18 free return flights a year and thereafter pay 20% of the cost of a flight. They also receive cheap housing while Parliament is in session.

De Klerk also announced that the amount that directly elected MPs could claim for running constituency offices would be increased from R10 000 to R18 000 a year.

The increases announced by De Klerk amount to a 7,6% increase for Ministers and a 15,9% increase for ordinary MPs.

De Klerk said the increases were in line with a report of the Schlebusch commission of inquiry into the remuneration of political office-bearers.

Government, he said, was giving attention to the creation of a statutory body which would determine the remuneration of political office-bearers in future.

He wished to draw attention to the fact that MPs had to incur abnormally high costs to earn their salaries.

MPs did not receive an annual increment, a 13th cheque or housing loans.

304A

DP MP Peter Soal and party co-leader Zach de Beer at the Johannesburg City Hall after Friday's march. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Zach: DP could work with ANC

ACHMED KARIEM

THE possibility existed that the DP and the ANC could work together, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said on Friday.

But it was "still too early to talk of an alliance", De Beer said in an interview after the march by 1 500 people for democracy, peace and negotiation through Johannesburg on Friday received strong black support.

The DP was praised by UDF Transvaal secretary Jackson Tembu when he said the party had been "the only voice of reason" in white politics in recent years.

At one stage the nonracial crowd changed their chant of "ANC, ANC" to "DP, DP" before entering the Johannesburg City Hall to hear De Beer and Tembu, who shared a platform.

Tembu said it was a pleasure for the UDF to be part of the march.

Paying tribute to the DP for its position in Parliament which, he said, had led to the ANC's unbanning, Tembu said the future of blacks was interlinked with that of whites.

"It's now up to all of us to see that the negotiation process that we have cried for proceeds and brings about a democaratic SA," he said.

He added that the liberation struggle was against oppression and domination and he assured whites that the future SA belonged to all.

De Beer told the crowd that his meeting on Friday morning with Nelson Mandela meant that the "foundations have been laid of a friendship which bodes well for all". The DP delegation to Mandela consisted of De Beer, Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Peter Gastrow.

Most SA whites back FW — poll

RDM 26/2/90

304A

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk's latest initiatives have the support of most white voters, but the Conservative Party has also increased its support.

An opinon poll by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport showed that it a was the Democratic Party which had lost support since November last year.

Support for the DP seemed to be drifting to the National Party. The poll also indicated a shift of English-speaking support to the National Party.

ELECTION

The nationwide poll showed that the various parties would receive the following percentages of the vote if an election were held now (the figures for November 1989 appear in brackets): National Party 46,3 (41,6) percent; CP 31,O (27,6) percent; DP 18,3 (24,6) percent; HNP O,6 (O,8) percent; and abstainers 3,8 (5,4) percent.

Questioned on among other things the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the poll showed that 57 percent of the votes unconditionally supported his release while 32 opposed it with the rest uncertain.

Since November the National Party's English-speaking support has increased from 29,6 percent to 42,1 percent, while 41,1 percent supported the DP.

The NP is also ahead among Afrikaners but here the CP is much closer to it. In all, 49 percent of the Afrikaners said they still supported the NP while 42,8 percent said they supported the CP.

MAKING PROGRESS

Another interesting development was that the CP was suddenly making progress among English-speakers — 12,7 of this language group now supported the CP, an increase of more than five percentage points in hardly three months.

If to this was added the O,5 percent of the English-speaking group which supported the HNP, this meant that more than 55 percent of this language group now supported the largely Afrikaans political parties.

More of the voters were pessimistic than a year ago. At present 40 percent felt optimistic while 50 percent said they were optimistic last year. Last year the pessimists came to 15 percent but now they were 29 percent.

30KA

DP is the big loser in new shifts

Political Correspondent

SUPPORT for both the National Party and the Conservative Party has grown significantly among white voters in the past three months — but the Democratic Party has shed about 25% of its support.

The shifts are largely attributable to the migration of English-speaking white voters to the two Afrikaner-dominated parties, according to the latest Mark en Meningsopnames survey published in Rapport yesterday.

The nationwide telephone survey conducted earlier this month found that the support levels for the NP had grown from 41,6% in November to 46,3% despite a right-wing backlash against the reforms announced by President F W de Klerk.

The NP's increased popularity has taken place at the expense of the DP, which has shrunk in popular support among whites from 24,6% to 18,3%.

In the past three months support for Mr De Klerk's party among English-speaking whites has grown from 29,6% to 42,1%. Indeed, the NP is now the most popular party among English-speakers, with only 41,1% still supporting the DP.

The Conservative Party has also grown appreciably in its support levels since November — from 27,6% to 31,0%. English-speaking support for the CP has grown by more than five percentage points in the past three months and now stands at 12,7%.

This means that nearly 55% of this language group now supports parties dominated by Afrikaans-speakers.

Among Afrikaners, the NP (49%) remains more popular than the CP (42,8%).

DP 'most coherent' party in S Africa

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party was the most politically coherent organisation in the country, DP national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe said at the weekend.

"This means we can promote the new South Africa and a non-racial constitutional system more effectively," Mr Van der Merwe told a fund-raising meeting in Worcester.

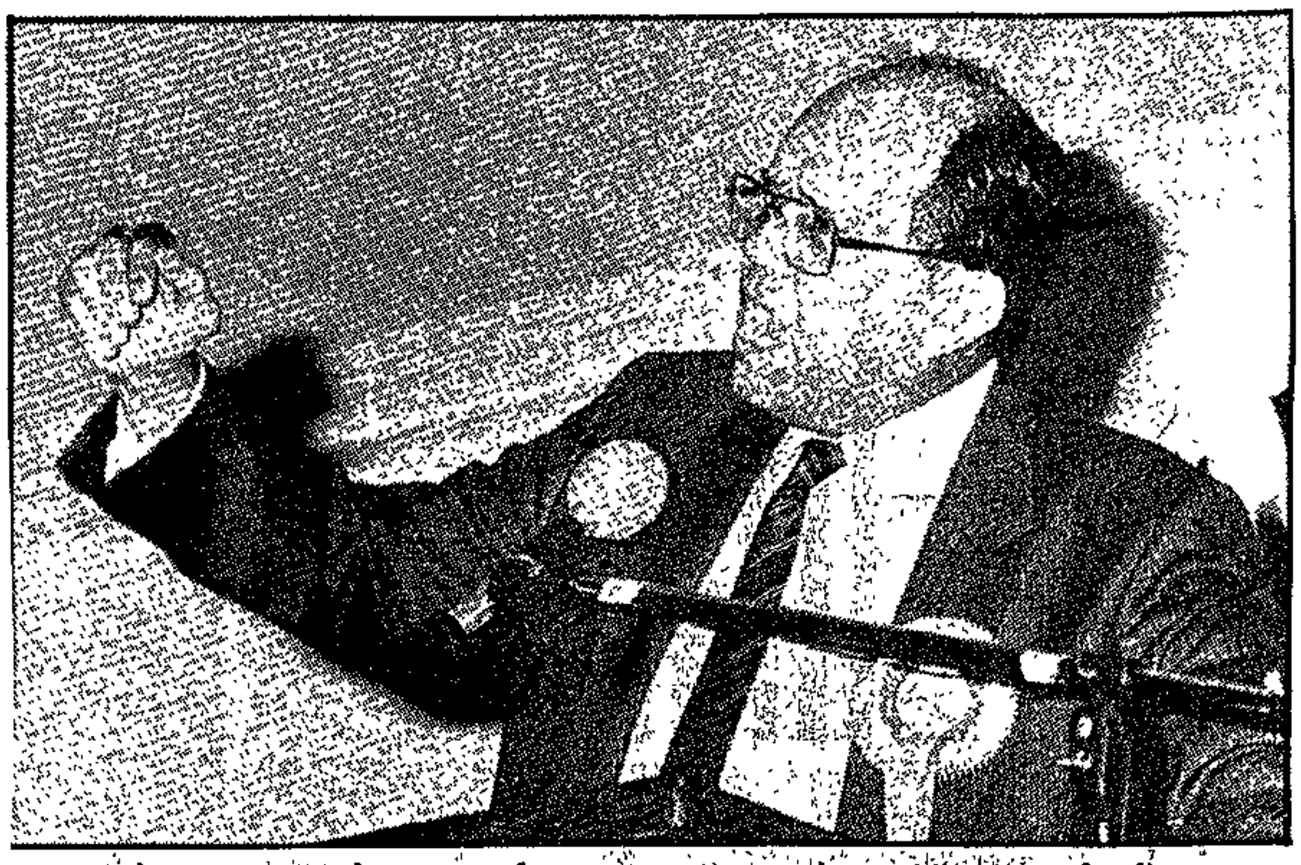
"The DP can interpret events likely to take place in the current political climate because we have been contemplating such events for many years."

Mr Van der Merwe said it was crucial that the DP participated independently in the negotiation process itself, "because it is the DP more than any other organisation that will be negotiating for human rights, for democratic values and for freedom".

All CCB operations suspended, says Malan

Feb. '90

304A



General Magnus Malan . . . refuses to resign and won't answer further questions on the activities of the CCB until the official probe is over.

All activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau had been suspended pending the outcome of judicial investigations, the **Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan**, said.

He also said, in the snap debate on hit-squad allegations, that slain Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski was a paid Military Information agent.

He said he would not resign, and repeated an earlier statement that he gave no orders or authorisation that crimes be committed.

"I announce here that the Chief of the SADF has done the following: all activities of the CCB have been suspended pending the outcome of judicial investigations."

NO ACTION

"This necessarily means that neither I nor the SADF will in future react to any direct or indirect questions on the whole matter. This could prejudice the entire official investigation."

General Malan said allegations had been made of SADF involvement in the murder of Mr Lubowski.

"I reveal today here that Mr Lubowski was a paid agent of Military Intelligence. I am assured that he did good work for the SADF.

"The Head of Staff, Information, General Witkop Badenhorst, would thus in no way have approved action against Mr Lubowski."

He said allegations had been made about the spending and handling of money in the CCB.

The head of the SADF, as accounting officer of the department, had issued a statement about this on Saturday and he had nothing to add except that he was satisfied that this was in accordance with Treasury approved policy and that procedures for financial accountability and control of special operations were adequate.

Such transactions were subject to the Auditor General's audit.

Covert actions of the SADF's Special Forces were authorised. Authorisation occurred according to command structures and procedures.

"The SADF's case is healthy, as also now when it is protecting the climate in which the new South Africa is to grow to maturity.

"Against this background I will not resign over the pressure on myself and the Defence Force.

"I have no intention of bowing to the witchhunt against me, which is now also coming suddenly from the ANC.

"The Government of which I am a team member therefore can and will not allow that the will, morale and ability of the SADF to defend South Africa and to protect peace, be thrown onto the bonfire of untested investigations and private trials.

"Therefore I regard the so-called Katzin investigations of the Star and alternative press as in no way an extension of official investigations."

"The role of the SADF in serving the country and combating terrorism is healthy to the core. I therefore stand by my news release of February 19 that I gave no orders and no authorisation that crimes be committed.

"Neither did the Chief of the SADF."

General Malan said he had discussed the sensitive nature of covert SADF operations repeatedly in Parliament.

"I state clearly that where official investigations, on grounds of proven and tested evidence, bring to light malpractices in the CCB, a surgical cut will be made to remove the problem.

"The SADF has always regarded itself as subject to the law."

He said there were many leaks about the CCB in certain newspapers.

"Those responsible have access to an incomplete picture and they are doing South Africa and the SADF a disservice."

CAMPAIGN

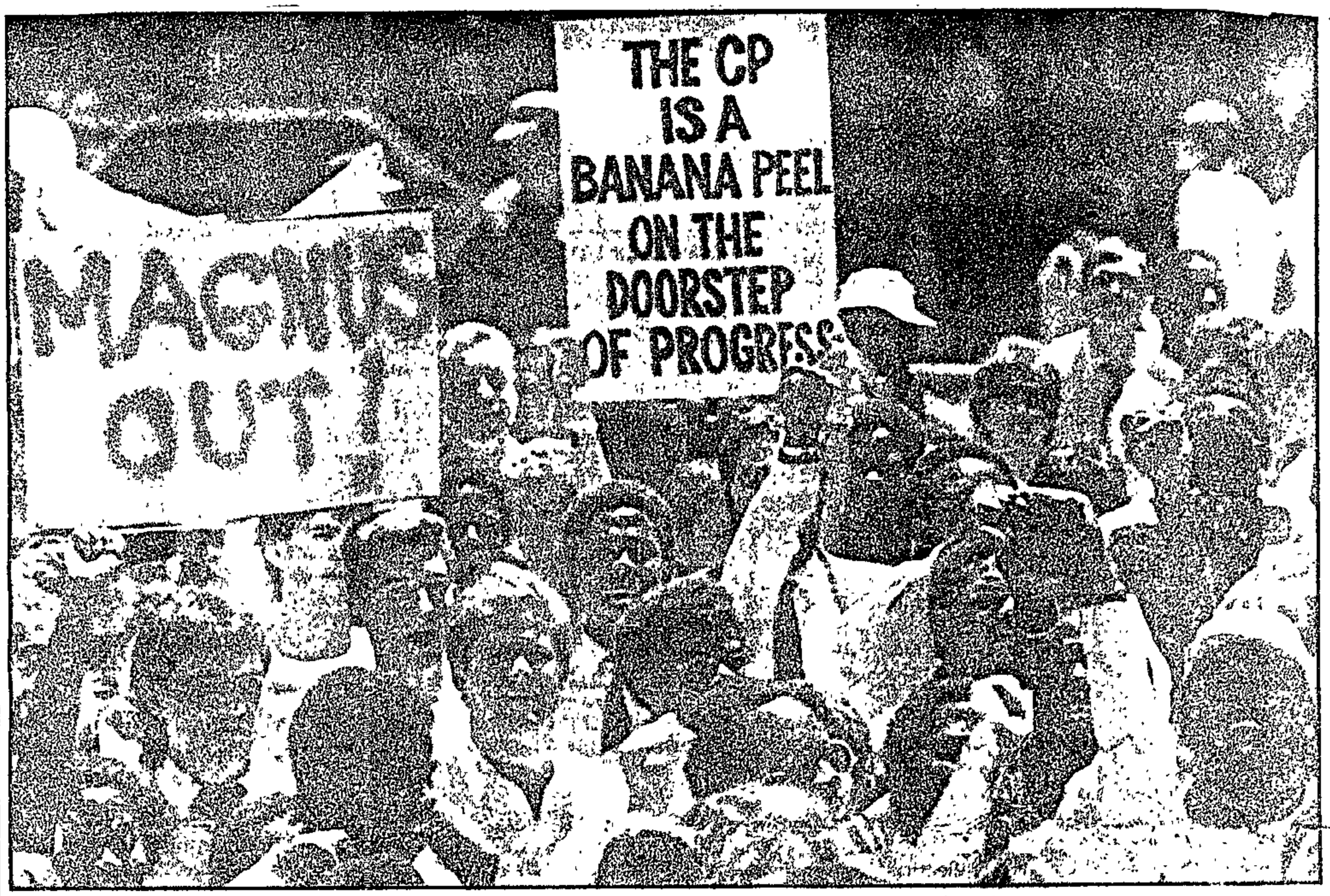
He said the debate took place against the background of a fierce campaign against the security forces and the SADF in particular.

"A small section of the SADF's Special Forces, the CCB, is being used as the stick by which the whole campaign is being conducted, and into which the entire SADF and its command structure is being drawn."

He was being described in this campaign as a remnant of a previous era.

When those seeking his blood were finished with him, it would not be the end. The command structure of the SADF would follow.

This process would inevitably lead to the total collapse of South Africa's defence capability. The campaign was a slap in the face for the country's men in uniform. — Sapa.



FREEDOM MARCH: DP supporters were joined by members of the Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum, ANC and UDF in the march down Harrison Street to the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday.

Spectrum of colours at DP's peace march

Star 26/2/90

PAT DEVEREAUX

304A

THE Democratic Party's yellow and blue colours yesterday flew alongside a prominent flag of the Star of David as a crowd of about 3 000 supporters marched along Johannesburg's Harrison Street to the City Hall.

The symbolic march for "democracy, peace and negotiation" was led by DP party co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer and DP members Mr Peter Soal, Mr Douglas Gibson and Mr Tony Leon, as well as Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan and Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.

The crowd, including members of the Black Sash, the Five Freedoms Forum and student groupings were joined by a large group of toyi-toying black supporters wearing ANC and UDF T-shirts.

A wide variety of banners were displayed attacking the right wing, the Group Areas Act and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Addressing the group in the City Hall, UDF Transvaal secretary, Mr Jackson Tembu, said: "It is a pleasure for the UDF to be part of this historic DP march for freedom and democracy."

He praised the DP for "being the only voice of reason in white politics" and congratulated the party on its parliamentary achievements — which had contributed to the recent unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Tembu received a standing ovation after he told the crowd: "I would like to say to whites that this land belongs to all who live in it and we would like to march with you to this South Africa where all of us will be proud to be Zulu, Jewish, whatever ... as South Africans.

"We as the UDF and the ANC have marched with the DP because we believe our future is interlinked with whites in South Africa," he added.

Addressing the gathering, Dr de Beer mentioned the DP co-leaders' first meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, which took

● TO PAGE 2.

BARA BAROMETER

DP march

Star 26/2/90

● FROM PAGE 1.

place earlier. "It was a real privilege to meet Mr Mandela. He is a fine gentleman.

"We agreed it would be premature to release a joint policy declaration but this morning the foundations of a friendship were made which bodes well for all South Africans."

The Nationalists had moved dramatically towards DP policy, but the Group Areas Act and separate schools and hospitals still had to go.

Despite recent progress, South Africa was still not a democracy. Even though President de Klerk had promised that the country would soon be a democracy, the DP would be pushing for this.

On negotiations, Dr de Beer said: "Good business is only done when the other side is satisfied. In negotiations one must think of the other side as one's partner."

Magnus Malan to face resignation calls

Political Staff Star 26/2/90 (304-A)

Heated debate is expected later today when Defence Minister General Magnus Malan faces opposition demands for his resignation for his handling of his portfolio on the allegations surrounding the SADF's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

The Democratic Party called for the snap debate as a matter of urgency to address allegations concerning the operations of the CCB.

Allegations include that the CCB had infiltrated and spied on the South African Police, the National Intelligence Service, other State departments and other organisations and individuals in South Africa, and that members of the bureau were being sought by police in connection with political assassinations in South Africa and Namibia.

The DP said the issues surrounding the CCB had moved beyond the terms of reference of the Harms Commission of Inquiry into political killings, and that it would discredit Parliament if the matter were not debated.

This follows weekend reports that the CCB cost the taxpayer about R28 million a year, and that it had been in existence for about 10 years, operating within southern Africa and in most European countries.

Rapport newspaper quoted an unnamed former member of the unit, who claimed that some members had died in the service of the CCB.

Unbanning of SACP condemned

ARGUS 27/2/90

THE chief opposition spokesman for law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, introduced a draft resolution condemning the government for unbanning of the South African Communist Party.

He said the SACP was a danger to the State and threatened the proper maintenance of law, order and democracy.

He also called on the government to account for its dialogue with the African National Congress, which was in conflict with an explicit undertaking to the contrary; its silence before the general election about its intention to abolish Acts such as the Population Registration Act and its failure to enforce the current laws of the country.

Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said the CP had every right to feel unhappy about the government not having given any indication of the steps it intended taking as announced by the State President.

"A person would also not deny the right of the CP to mobilise in times of confusion. However, if they want to remain relevant on the long term and and really represent the interests of their bases, they will have to take stock, make peace with reality and think strategically.

Mr Malan said the DP was convinced that the best way to argue against any ideology lay in the democratic process as a mechanism through which various interest groups in a community could improve their own interests and through which policy differences could be solved.

KEEP TO THE RULES

the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the ANC and other organisations which had now been allowed to play on the fields opened up by the State President's initiatives had to keep to the rules of the game.

He said that if these organisations had said they were seeking peaceful solutions, this had to be interpreted to mean that there would be no more talk of violence and that violence would not be practised any longer.

There had in fact been a considerable decrease in violence.

CP members knew in their innermost being that President De Klerk had performed a masterstroke by pulling the carpet from under those who wanted to use violence.

BREAKING THE LAW

Mr Chris de Jager (CP Bethal), said that by failing to apply the Internal Secuirty Act against the SACP, cabinet ministers were breaking the law as well as their ministerial oaths.

Mr De Jager said laws could only be made and scrapped in parliament, and not by decree.

Nationalists were mistaken if they thought that the SACP could enter the country, establish offices and further its aims, because they thought the law had been amended by decree.

The State President's remarks on the unbanning of the SACP could not ignore provisions of the Internal Security Act which allowed a maximum 10-year jail sentence for furthering the aims of communism.

Mr De Jager said Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and others were openly statin, that the armed struggle should continue, but sect. n 54 of the Internal Secuirty Act said people guilty of furthering political aims by violence were guilty of terrorism. This law had not been repealed.

He said this was permissible when they did it, but if he were to do so he would be jailed. — Sapa

Secret funds audit report 'limited'

Political Staff

AUDITOR-GENERAL Mr Peter Wronsley has pointed out that he is allowed to publish reports on the special defence account, but only with the approval of the Minister of Finance and the State President.

He was responding to a newspaper article which said that the funding of the Defence Force's controversial Civil Co-operation Bureau was buried in the huge special defence account beyond public scrutiny.

The article pointed out that the account was subject to audit but that the Auditor-General "may not publish his findings". Mr Wronsley said this was not quite true and might give the impression that "anything goes" in the auditing of this account.

He said his department did audit the account. But section 6 (3) of the Auditor-General Act limited how much he could report on the account.

This section stipulated that he must report on this account, and other specified secret accounts "with due regard to the special nature of the accounts and shall limit such report to the extent to which the Minister of Finance in consultation with the State President and the Auditor-General, may determine".

Mr Wronsley pointed out that in his report of 1988/1989, he had been given approval to publish several examples of thefts, irregularities and variations of contracts in the special defence account.

This included two cases of theft amounting to R156 370 that had not yet been finalised and which the Department of Defence had brought to the attention of his office.

Diverse briefings for SA envoys

Cape Times 27/2/90 (304cm)

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA's leading diplomats will be briefed this week on local developments by personalities as diverse as President F W de Klerk, former Manchester United goalkeeper Gary Bailey and Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.

The heads of mission will also be lectured by a former colleague — Dr Denis Worrall, who was South Africa's ambassador to London before quitting in 1987 to fight the National Party in the election.

One of the government's favourite whipping boys in recent years and current executive director of Idasa, Dr Alex Boraine, was originally slated to brief the diplomats, but was later removed from the programme — apparently because one of the speakers would need more time.

One of the more curious items on the briefing programme is a talk by Dr J N Reddy, the leader of parliamentary party Solidarity, on the role of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu in the politics of negotiation in Natal.

Welcoming the heads of mission in Cape Town yesterday, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha urged them to engage each other in vigorous debate and ask critical questions at briefings during their stay in Cape Town.

Willem Steenkamp joins President's Council

Cape Times 27/2/90

(30XA)

Political Staff

THE Cape Times defence correspondent, Mr Willem Steenkamp, yesterday quit journalism to become a member of the President's Council after being approached by a cabinet member to join the nominated body.

Mr Steenkamp said President F W de Klerk's speech on February 2 had changed everything and it was obviously a new era.

The appointment of Mr Steenkamp, 49, was announced yesterday by the Cape leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, who is also the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises.

He said Mr Steenkamp was "a distinguished author and playwright. He has also been an active member of the Citizen Force for 22 years and is holder of the Pro Patria medal, the John Chard medal and the Chief of the SADF Commendation medal".

Mandela is in Zambia today

304A

Nelson Mandela

KUALA LUMPUR.- Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad left yesterday for Zambia to meet Nelson Mandela and leaders of SA's neighbouring countries.

Mahathir, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sridath Ramphal were invited by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda to attend the meeting in Lusaka today and tomorrow, foreign ministry officials said.

Mahathir was accompanied by Abdul Majid Mohamed, deputy secretary-general of the foreign ministry.

Last week, Mahathir said that while welcoming the SA government's release of Mandela from prison and lifting of the ban on the ANC, Malaysia felt that all sanctions must continue until apartheid is completely dismantled.

Mahathir said he regretted that Britain had lifted sanctions blocking new investments to SA.- Sapa-AP

Creda Press.
KNL-Web.
ABC Press.
Promedia.

76. CTP.
Printpak.
Perskor.
Nasionale Media.

77. CTP.
Sneller Data Set.
Perskor.
Nasionale Media.
Printpak.

78/85. CTP.
Promedia.
Aurora Printers.
Dreyer Printers.
ABC.
Creda.
Belmor Group.
Natal Witness.

86/87. Printpak.
Perskor.
Creda.
ABC.
CTP.

(2) Yes.

(3) Tenders for printing contracts are dealt with by the Government Printer.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Mandela, Sisulu and Mothopeng: charge of treason 304A

1. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Law and Order: Hansard 27/2/90

(1) Whether a charge of treason was laid against Messrs Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Zeph Mothopeng with the South African Police in Cape Town on 12 February 1990; if so,

(2) whether any criminal proceedings have been instituted in respect of the above-mentioned persons since that date; if so, what proceedings; if not, why not?

B317E.INT

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, in terms of section 5 of the Police Act—Act No 7 of 1958—the SA Police have a legal obligation to investigate "any offence or alleged offence" that comes to their attention. This judicial obligation places the responsibility on the SA Police Force to investigate any offence or alleged offence which is reported. Although they have frequently had to do so under difficult circumstances, over the years the SA Police have conscientiously carried out this responsibility. That is still the case today.

In this regard I should like to emphasise that in the execution of their prescribed duties, the SA Police act without fear or favour, regardless of a person's race, gender, status in the community or political ties.

The final decision about whether a prosecution should be instituted or not does not, of course, rest with the SA Police. This is the exclusive prerogative of the Attorney-General who is the Director of Public Prosecutions in our legal system. Accordingly a dossier is handed to the Attorney-General who decides whether a criminal prosecution should be instituted or not. He can also call for a further investigation if he so desires. Hansard 27/2/90

In the case under discussion here today, I hereby confirm that on 12 February 1990 the hon member for Bethal laid a charge with the SA Police in Cape Town. The case docket was handed to the Attorney-General of Cape Town by the SA Police on 22 February 1990. His decision is still being awaited.

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, I thank the hon the Minister for his reply. I also thank the SA Police for the attention they gave the matter.

The hon the Minister said "if a charge is laid", but I think that section 5, which he quoted, also states "if the police should become aware of that". It is not always necessary for a charge to be laid. If it is clear that an offence has been committed, the police can act on their own initiative.

I find it amazing that in this case no action was taken before a charge was laid. The very fact that the police investigated the matter means that they at least thought the charge had some substance. [Interjections.]

Hon members who are interjecting must remember that the police are doing their duty and that they know what their duty is. At some or other time they will also be doing their duty for the benefit of those hon members. [Interjections.]

This is a serious matter. I think it is a serious crime being committed against the State, or allegedly being committed. Only this morning it was reported on TV that they are still invoking the threat of violence, On several occasions after the charge was laid they again did so. I therefore find it somewhat disquieting—I am glad the hon the Minister of Justice is here—that in *The Argus* of 16 February it was reported that the Ministry of Justice had telephoned Mr Mandela and told him that they needed photographs in order to get his passport ready for him.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Well I never.

→ continue

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Mandela leaves the country today. He has obtained a passport to leave the country. [Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Minister in all seriousness whether, if I had proclaimed that there should be an armed uprising against the State to overthrow the Government, the Ministries would also have helped me obtain a passport to leave the country.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Never. You are not a communist [Interjections.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: These are the aspects we find disturbing. It is these aspects which make it seem to us that as far as this matter is concerned, no attention is being paid to the law any longer. It seems as if the action taken is less severe, for the sake of efficacy, than would be the case, for example, if right-wing elements were involved. [Interjections.]

Dr D J WORRALL: Mr Speaker, it is quite correct to say treason is the highest of political offences. Our history, if one considers it, and especially the Afrikaner's history, is rich with acts which have been treasonable or bordering on treason.

One thinks in this respect of De la Rey, of De Wet, Kemp and Jopie Fourie. There are many such instances. [Interjections.]

What those people did, was out of idealism or out of a sense of correcting or rectifying injustice. [Interjections.]

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: They were prosecuted!

Dr D J WORRALL: This is also true of Mandela, Sisulu and many Black political leaders. Inevitably, people like that become heroes. They somehow capture the minds, hearts, imagination and the wonder of their people, and if this is true of De la Rey, De Wet and Kemp, it is also true of Mandela, Sisulu, Biko, Rick Turner and also of Lubowski.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: It is scandalous for you to compare Mandela with those Afrikaner leaders!

Dr D J WORRALL: In the months that lie ahead we in public life have an obligation to see those people in those terms and to respect the admiration, the political respect and the political and historic memory of those who respect them because that is what is important. Do this and we will be nation builders.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, when the hon member for Bethal took the floor I wondered what he was going to say, but now I discover that he really has nothing to say.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have nothing to say.

*The MINISTER: I merely gave the hon member the facts of the matter. The hon member also went off at such a tangent, asking the hon the Minister of Justice about passports that Mr Mandela supposedly obtained. Apparently he had nothing to say to me. [Interjections.] I see him laughing very heartily, because he knows I am right. [Interjections.]

The hon member says I should have a look at section 5 of the Police Act. I should like to quote it to the hon member verbatim from the Act. It deals with the functions of the SA Police. [Interjections.] I quote:

> The functions of the South African Police shall be, *inter alia*—
>
> (a) the preservation of the internal security of the Republic;
>
> (b) the maintenance of law and order;
>
> (c) the investigation of any offence or alleged offence; and
>
> (d) the prevention of crime.

That is precisely what I quoted to the hon member in my reply. Therefore the hon member cannot say that we had not read the relevant section before I drafted my reply to him.

The hon member also alleges that we are less severe in the action we take against left-wing elements than we are in the action we take against right-wing elements. [Interjections.] Here we have other hon members also singing in the choir when, in fact, they do not know what it is all about. They have a vague notion, but they really do not know what is going on. [Interjections.]

*An HON MEMBER: The Cossack choir!

Continue pp 161 | 162 →

*An HON MEMBER: Koos, there are two chairs for the Cossacks up front . . . [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER: The hon member for Overvaal has not even been there yet, and he is already singing in the Cossack choir! [Interjections.]

*Mr F J LE ROUX: Sit down if you have nothing to say!

*The MINISTER: No, hon members are laughing at the hon Cossack sitting there next to the hon member. [Interjections.]

I should like to give hon members the assurance, as I indicated in my reply, that it makes no difference to us whether the relevant person is of a left-wing or right-wing persuasion, because . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, the most revealing incident in this whole debate has just taken place. I am referring to the fact that after the hon member for Berea stood up here and defended people who had committed high treason, saying that they did so out of a sense of idealism and conviction, that hon Minister did not reprimand him. [Interjections.] He tried to crack a joke at the hon member for Bethal's expense. It is incredible! This just goes to show this Government's approach to the offence of high treason . . .

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: F W is also sitting there smiling!

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: . . . particularly when it is committed by left-wing elements. That is precisely why, this afternoon, we have had this interpellation . . .

*Dr J J VILONEL: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: It has repeatedly been said that someone should not be addressed by name. The hon member for Overvaal said: "F W is also sitting there smiling" as if he and the hon the State President were on a par.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Who is Rooi Koos?

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! I merely want to tell the hon member for Langlaagte that after the debate on this interpellation has concluded I intend to say something about this matter. The hon member for Roodepoort may proceed.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: This whole attitude is also reflected in the Government's arguments in regard to other laws. In this regard I want to refer to statements made by the hon the Minister of Justice in a debate here yesterday. I consulted the Hansard record and found that yesterday the hon the Minister defended the unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, arguing that the ANC and the SA Communist Party no longer posed any threat to law and order in South Africa. That was precisely what this hon Minister argued here yesterday.

In the meantime, after the unbanning of the ANC and the Communist Party, there are bomb-blasts here in the Cape Peninsula, and the hon the Minister and his hon colleague, the Minister of Law and Order, know this. [Interjections.] This just goes to show the attitude of these people.

Secondly, in this House yesterday the hon the Minister of Justice said that the section in the Internal Security Act prohibiting communism or the promotion of communism in South Africa had been abrogated by disuse. [Time expired.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, if the section has been abrogated by disuse, it will be the first section placed on the Statute Book in 1982 and abrogated by disuse within a period of eight years. [Interjections.] It is very strange, because if that section has been abrogated by disuse, why was it necessary to unban the Communist Party on 2 February? Surely there would no longer be any crime of which it was guilty. [Interjections.]

We should like to know which other sections in this Act have been abrogated by disuse, because I may wrongly have laid a charge in terms of section 54. Perhaps it has also been abrogated by disuse, because no one is sure what the law is any longer. The fact that it is on the Statute Book does not necessarily mean it is still law, because perhaps it has been abrogated by disuse!

*An HON MEMBER: That is absolutely ridiculous.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, it really seems to me as if I was right in saying that the hon members should not have directed the interpellation at me, because now they are engaged in altercation with the hon the Minister of Justice about what he supposedly said yesterday. [Interjections.]

P.T.O. →

I just want to say that hon members accuse us of not taking action against left-wing elements and of only taking action against right-wing elements. There are equally many accusations from left-wing elements alleging that we treat right-wing elements with kid gloves. So we know we are right; we are right in the middle, and that is where we want to be in the fight between these opposing parties. I merely want to tell hon members that the hon—no, he is not an hon member, and never will be—Mr Eugène Terre-'Blanche utters just as many threats of violence. What he regularly says is that when this Government falls, violence will break out. He also says that if the ANC were to take over in South Africa, violence would break out. That is why we must all tread lightly in talking about violence and not so glibly accuse people of perpetrating acts of violence.

In regard to what the hon member for Berea said, let me also just say—my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice, also said so yesterday—that the communist ideology is totally unacceptable to us on this side of the House. We specifically want to deal communism a knock-out blow, and we have dealt communists a knock-out blow over the past 40 years by way of legislation. We think we can now do an even better job by doing so in the hearts and minds of people. We shall do so by pointing out to them what communism actually stands for. [Interjections.] That is precisely what we are doing.

We have not grown soft on communism. Not by a long shot. There are millions of people in the world who join us in saying that communism is out. We therefore want to tell those hon members they have no premium when it comes to opposing communism. We are still fighting communism. We are going to win, while you are not going to manage it. [Interjections.]

If the hon member for Bethal has any questions about these matters, he must put them to my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice.

I have already indicated that the SA Police will act fearlessly and investigate any complaints that are laid.

Debate concluded.

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! That concludes Interpellation No 1. Before proceeding to put Interpellation No 2, I should like to focus hon members' attention on the fact that I have noticed during the past few days—I do not know the background—that repeated references are being made to "Rooi Koos". [Interjections.]

Last year or the year before last I gave a ruling on this in the House. My ruling was that hon members must not deliberately be addressed by their first names or nicknames, or shouted at or addressed across the floor of the House. I want to make a serious appeal to hon members to uphold and abide by Mr Speaker's ruling.

Hon members must not wait until problems crop up, and then ask Mr Speaker to solve them. I am therefore asking that we treat one another with the necessary respect. Normally I do not hear nice remarks made in a soft tone of voice, even if first names or initials are involved. I try not to hear that, but when hon members do so deliberately, let me tell them that they are not abiding by the Chair's ruling, and I request hon members' co-operation in this regard.

Free settlement areas

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

(1) Whether the Government is prepared to declare entire local authority areas as free settlement areas; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether the Government is prepared to amend legislation to allow for a non-racial franchise in electing a single local authority for such free settlement areas; if not, why not?

Hansard 27/2/90 B335E INT

*The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, this is an amazing question from the DP. Not one of the three factions—four, if one counts the hon member for Claremont—making up the DP today, has ever been in favour of the Free Settlement Areas Act. [Interjections.] We know that the DP once again rejected the concept of free settlement areas during the past election.

I assume from that question that a change has taken place in the DP, because the hon member for Houghton would like to know whether we would be prepared to open up entire areas so that he may propagate this concept, which is embodied in the Free Settlement Areas Act, in the circles in which he moves. I welcome this change of policy on the part of the DP. [Interjections.] I welcome their willingness to co-operate

within the framework of the Free Settlement Areas Act. [Interjections.]

Legally, there is nothing in the Free Settlement Areas Act which prohibits the declaration of an entire local authority area as a free settlement area. As with any other application, however, such an application would have to be dealt with by the Free Settlement Board. Such a request would therefore have to be considered in accordance with the provisions of that particular Act before the Government took a decision on it on the basis of the advice it received from that board.

The board would have to deal with a number of matters, such as the prevailing social and socio-economic conditions. I do not want to trouble hon members with those aspects. Those matters that have to be taken into consideration, appear in the Act.

The Government would then consider the recommendations made by the Free Settlement Board. If we were satisfied that it was in the interests of the community, we would seriously consider opening such an area. I just want to point out to hon members, however, that there are, in fact, some problems with the legislation in regard to the determination of local government within such a free settlement area. [Interjections.] We are looking into this and we shall furnish a reply in this regard. [Interjections.]

I see that the hon member for Green Point is once again waving flies away. Let me tell him at once, with regard to the second part of the question, that the Government is of the view that universal franchise should apply at local authority level. It is furthermore a point of departure of the Government that there ought not to be domination of minority groups at any level of government. [Interjections.] Universal franchise at the local authority level must therefore be structured in such a way that the rights of minority groups are protected. [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Speaker, contrary to what the hon the Minister said, the DP still believes that, as Dr D F Malan put it in 1950, group areas are the essence of apartheid. We also believe that they have disfigured our country, distorted property economics, skewed free-market principles and radicalised generations of Coloureds and Indians in this country. In short, the Government, by introducing free settlement areas, has tacitly acknowledged that group areas were a colossal experiment in social engineering which has, in fact, been a dismal failure.

When free settlement areas were introduced, we were told that they were going to be based on the principle of "live and let live". We only wish that were the case. On the evidence so far, and based on what is likely to happen in the foreseeable future, we believe that isolated free settlement areas will not be the birth of the brave new South Africa, but could become an aborted experiment in racial zoning.

We would have thought that the failure, economically and from a physical point of view, of the homelands had proved once and for all the futility of drawing lines on a map. Isolated free settlement areas, as contemplated, could become instant ghettoes, a rigged experiment doomed to failure because it violates the basic laws of supply and demand and the free market.

As a recent example of the hon the Minister's thinking on this, or that of the Free Settlement Board, we have a proposed free settlement area for Johannesburg which, in just one instance, completely ignores any community interests and slices out half an island of integration in a sea of segregated suburbs.

We think that this could be a reckless experiment which could be consigned to long-term oblivion, but which could produce drastic short-term consequences. We therefore believe that it is necessary to scrap group areas and not to use them as a bargaining chip, and short of that step, to declare entire municipalities free settlements. This at least will create large-scale space. It will also remove the inferior voting rights and second-class services which residents in free settlements will have to endure. The current legislation with management committees in free settlement areas, makes them toothless bodies, and they will have to co-exist in the same area as the parent White municipal authority. The Act clearly does not contemplate entire city-wide free settlements. If the Government is sincere about this, the Ministers' Council which has the power in the House of Assembly should immediately encourage or instruct the Free Settlement Board to investigate in order to declare all major metropolitan areas as city-wide free settlement areas, and Parliament should repeal the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas

P. T. O

304A

PARLIAMENT 1990

Improved terms for P O workers

Political Correspondent

Post Office workers are to be given full collective bargaining rights under the Labour Relations Act. These are to be phased in via amendments to the Post Office Act.

The Post Office is to be subjected to the provisions of the Labour Relations Act in the forseeable future, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprises, said when he presented the Post Office Budget to Parliament yesterday.

Dr de Villiers said the amendments to the Post Office Act would offer management and organised labour the opportunity of developing the necessary negotiation skills to enter the more complex arena of the Labour Relations Act without undue disruption.

Record Post Office budget presented to Parliament

Phone rentals, postal charges to go up

By Peter Fabricius

Phone rentals will go up R3 and post on standard mail by 3c a letter in new tariffs to be introduced on April 1.

These were among several tariff increases announced in a record R8 088,5 million Post Office budget presented to Parliament yesterday by Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

The average increase in tariffs would be an "absolute minimum" of 4,3 percent and would apply only to unprofitable services, he said.

Dr de Villiers said the Post Office would show a surplus of R4 million this year. But the tariff increases were nonetheless needed to avoid high financing costs on loans for capital expenditure which would have pushed up the Post Office's debt ratio.

Some of the main tariff increases were:

- Telephone rentals to rise from R18 to R21, but rentals for social and other pensioners would not increase.
- Post on standard letters to go up from 18c to 21c.
- Surface post on a 1 kg parcel would be increased by 20c from R1,90 to R2,10.
- Handling costs per telegram up from R3,50 to R4.
- Telegram tariff per word up from 13c to 15c.
- The phone rental on party lines up to R22 a month.
- The special low phone rental discount fee of R25 for installing phones which social pensioners pay will be extended to other pensioners who earn the same or less than them.

Other announcements included:

- A new optical-fibre undersea telephone cable connecting South Africa to Europe to be installed by 1993/94 at a cost of about R500 million.
- A new house telephone system to be introduced enabling intercom conversations between up to four extensions.
- Cordless telephones to be legalised.

The total estimated expenditure for the Post Office in 1990/91 was R8 088,5 million, 12 percent more than in the present financial year.

Operating expenditure would be an estimated R6 116,7 million — 15,7 percent more than in 1989/90 because of normal growth in business, cost and price increases and higher financing costs from anticipated higher interest rates on loans and exchange rate adjustments.

Capital expenditure was estimated at R1 739 million — R105 million or 6,5 percent more than in 1989/90. This was still only a 7 percent real increase.

Operating surplus

Capital spending would mainly be aimed at projects which generated the most revenue.

The revenue for 1990/91 was estimated at R6 353,2 million, up R375,2 million or 6,3 percent.

After operating expenditure and other appropriations of R6 349,5 million had been deducted, a small operating surplus of R4 million would remain.

With this surplus, R669 million would have to be borrowed in 1990/91 for financing capital spending. It would be "irresponsible" to take up such large loans, Dr de Villiers said.

Also, the Post Office was compelled to continue rationalising the tariff structure gradually to phase in more cost-related tariffs for unprofitable services and phase out cross-subsidising.

			EXISTING TARIFF	NEW TARIFF
Telephone Rental & Installation (Main services)	Rental		R18,00	R21,00
	Installation	Social pensioners	R25,00	Unchanged
		Other	R140,00	Unchanged
	(Telephone calls and Telex charges remain the same.)			
			EXISTING TARIFF	NEW TARIFF
Standardised letters	Inland			
	Surface mail		18c	21c
	Airmail		18c	21c
	(Including postcards & aerograms)			
			EXISTING TARIFF	NEW TARIFF
Telegrams	Handling		R3,50	R4,00
	Tariff per word		13c	15c
			EXISTING TARIFF	NEW TARIFF
Parcels	1kg parcel		R1,90	R2,10
	Telephone backlog down by 20% from 120 900 to 96 000			

Rule is 'best man for the job'

The Department of Posts and Telecommunications had eliminated all racially discriminatory measures, the Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

Introducing the Post Office budget for 1990/91, Dr de Villiers said the Post Office fully subscribed to the principle of equality of labour.

With the scrapping of discriminatory measures, Post Office personnel of all population groups could participate in the provision of adequate postal and telecommunications facilites.

They could also render services to all communities that would form part of the new SA.

The only criteria for the employment of people would be educational qualifications, experience, age, language proficiency and personal qualities.

Dr de Villiers said candidates of all population groups competed on an equal footing for promotion following the compilation of combined merit lists.

When effecting promotions, however, local circumstances would be taken into account.

All restrictions pertaining to supervisors had been eliminated, and the policy of the "best person for the post" was being applied. — Sapa.

General's presence an obstruction, says Worrall

304A

STAR 27/2/90

The continued presence of General Magnus Malan as the Minister of Defence could only obstruct the process of justice and he should be suspended from it until the Harms commission of inquiry had completed its work, **Dr Denis Worrall (DP Berea)** said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Introducing a special debate on the SA Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), the party's chief spokesman on Law and Order said the background to the debate was a series of assassinations of prominent political figures, most of the Left, and most recently Dr David Webster and Mr Anton Lubowski.

There had been a failure of police investigations to get results, until a breakthrough by a "courageous policeman", Brigadier Floris Mostert, and his men in Johannesburg, and the revelation of the secret unit, the CCB, within the Defence Department.

Its activities were believed by these police investigators to relate to these assassinations.

Brigadier Mostert had said in an affidavit that members of the CCB were specifically involved in the Webster and Lubowski murders.

Dr Denis Worrall, Democratic Party MP, speaking in the special House debate yesterday.

The Rand Supreme Court had found that he and his investigators had good cause to arrest and detain those concerned.

Dr Worrall said Brigadier Mostert's statements were not those of "some irresponsible radical", but those of a senior policeman in the course of his duties.

The DP had asked for the debate because it felt a situation in which the police were investigating the army needed to be opened up; it wished to see the principle of civilian control over the military re-established; and it believed an inquiry was in the interests of the country and the Defence Force.

"We believe that the activities which are being investigated betray the loyalties of South African servicemen — past and present."

Dr Worrall said General Malan had said in a press statement on February 19 that he had issued no orders to anyone to commit murder.

The question then arose, Dr Worrall said, what had he in fact authorised?

The public and Parliament wanted to know whether he knew of anything which linked the CCB to the murders of Dr Webster and Mr Lubowski and which could be of assistance to the police in their investigation.

"How deep and how wide it goes we do not know. We believe the Harms inquiry will get to the bottom of it."

Dr Worrall said he wished to pay tribute to the role the press had played in the whole matter. — Sapa.

Star 27/2/90 (304A)

Public servants are up in arms

Dismay at politicians' double rise

Staff Reporter and Political Staff

Public servants are angered by the additional 16 percent increase granted to Members of Parliament.

Dr Colin Cameron, in his most strongly-worded statement in 11 years as president of the Public Servants Association, warned of a "show of force" from dissatisfied public servants.

The executive of the Public Servants' Association (PSA) was meeting in Pretoria last night to decide on a plan of action regarding the 10 percent increase for civil servants and the "lavish" increases for MPs.

At meetings of public servants in Johannesburg, George and East London, there has been deep dismay that public servants were getting only 10 percent from April 1.

The Government has defended the double pay increase for politicians by saying it is necessary to attract "competent" people into politics.

The double increase will push MPs' salaries from R75 000 to about R94 000 a year and Cabinet Ministers' pay from R158 000 to about R181 000.

The chairman of the Commission for Administration, Dr Piet van der Merwe, has said that many public servants will also get notch increases, pushing them up the scale

Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers said critics of the politicians' pay increase forgot that it was a high risk to go to Parliament. The average career lasted only a little more than seven years.

The latest increases did not fulfil the recommendations of the Schlebush Commission, which investigated politicians' pay a few years ago.

If the best professionals were to be attracted to politics the remuneration package could not be too unattractive.

He said it was almost impossible for MPs to supplement their income.

Political issue

Parliamentarians do not receive housing subsidies or a 13th cheque.

They also do not receive a kilometre allowance and MPs representing rural constituencies have to cover distances.

"It is not our terrain to comment on the validity and merits of increases to parliamentarians, that is a political issue," said Dr Cameron.

"We are concerned with what effects our members.

"If you argue, as Dr de Villiers does, that to encourage professionals to embark on a political career you have to offer attractive renumeration, then the same argument is valid for attracting capable people into public services.

"The magnitude of the increases granted to parliamentarians endorses our argument that you have to make adjustments to attract capable and experienced people into the public services," said Dr Cameron.

The 10 percent increase for 981 000 public servants in government and provincial administrations, education, the police, the defence force and labourers and nurses was announced by Dr Wim de Villiers, Minister of Administration and Privatisation, at noon on Friday.

Six hours later, President de Klerk announced an additional R1 000 a month increase for MPs — 16 percent for ordinary MPs and 7,6 percent for Cabinet Ministers — as well as increased monies for their secretarial services.

The PSA has in recent months called for a 20 percent increase for public servants, and most public servants were optimistic they would get at least 12,5 to 15 percent.

Public servants would not be fobbed off with 10 percent, sources said

In the police, too, there were signs of protest.

Police and nurses have been assured of further increases later, while for teachers the increase comes over and above the 12 percent from March 1.

Posts and telecommunications officers will get 10 percent from April 1, Dr Dawie de Villiers has announced.

Resistance can also be expected from the Posts and Telecommunications Workers' Association, which demanded a doubling of the minimum wage.

Public servants and members of the protection services were living in pressurised times, and were suffering from a lack of morale, and with restrictions on their right to strike they could react with a work-to-rule.

The South African Nursing Association (Sana) said in a statement that after two years of representations the Commission for Administration had finally indicated it would recognise the association.

"This means the association will be able to make direct representations to the Commission regarding nurses' salaries and their conditions of service ... and ... might in future be involved in collective bargaining with the Government as employer, and not merely acting in an advisory capacity."

Dr Wim de Villiers said in reaction he realised that the increases did not meet requests of staff associations.

He pointed to the need for sacrifices to reduce inflation and ensure future economic growth and stability in South Africa, and said the Government did not only expect sacrifices from its own employees but also from the private sector.

In a statement issued through the Bureau for Information, President de Klerk said the Government was giving attention to the creation of a statutory body which will determine the remuneration of political office bearers in future and thereby remove this issue from the political arena.

Mr Hans Olivier, general manager of the Public Servants Association, told The Star yesterday public servants found the Government's attitude hypocritical and unacceptable when taking into account that MPs were getting an actual pay hike of 26 percent and Ministers were getting about 18,5 percent.

"There is great unhappiness in the public service," said Mr Olivier.

Dr Dawie de Villiers ... need to attract competent people.

Dr Piet van der Merwe ... public servants will get notch increases.

Dr Colin Cameron ... argument applies to public service.

Dr Wim de Villiers ... asks all to tighten belts.

UK MPs do well on perks

LONDON — British MPs earn £26 700 (about R117 480) a year but can boost that to £100 000 (R440 000) with perks.

They enjoy free first-class travel with British Rail, a generous mileage rate, cheap food and drink, poll tax exemptions and much more. All these helped soften the blow recently when British Airways moved to end one of the MPs' favourite perks — being able to fly first class while paying only economy fares.

The free rail travel deal is worth up to £10 000 (R44 000) a year, with wives also allowed free travel. MPs also get a secretarial allowance which many hand over to their wives.

Cabinet Ministers have a basic salary of more than £50 000 (R220 000) and similar perks to the MPs. — London Bureau.

NP wants groups rights - Viljoen

THE Population Registration Act in its present form would not survive the negotiation process, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during debate on a private member's motion, he said groups would have to gain a new status though negotiation, through being released from negative connotations of the past.

There was a suspicion that the group concept was just a mask for continuing apartheid.

In negotiations the National Party would still stand for the protection of group rights - that minorities should not only be protected, but make a real contribution in decision-making, especially over those matters which protected them.

Viljoen said the Conservative Party accused the NP of not informing voters properly about its policy, but the NP had in its programme of action for the election clearly stated that the Population Registration Act would have to be drastically adapted. - Sapa.

Politics emerges as big market mover

GRETA STEYN

MANDELA-watching is taking precedence over money supply and other figure watching in the markets as politics emerges as one of the major market movers.

Volatility in the gilts market — a factor in options pricing — has more than doubled to above 9 from 4, reflecting the importance of foreign investors. Overseas buyers who had been bullish on SA's political situation now hold about R6bn of gilts.

A spin-off of the activity generated by the foreign participation is that the options market has to adjust to a new trading environment. Participants have become wary of writing options and prices have soared.

First National treasurer Ken Russell said: "There was a time when a five-point move in the spot rates was considered fairly excessive. These days, a 25-point move either way is nothing out of the ordinary."

Trying to predict movements of gilts rates on the basis of SA economic fundamentals was a futile exercise, as political perceptions of foreigners had become a vital element. If foreigners start getting out "we've got trouble".

304A

Belief

The financial rand market has calmed down.

"The realisation has taken hold that a new government will not nationalise everything in sight," Russell said.

However, the market is discounting a new economic order in SA with more emphasis on state control and less on free markets. With the violent swings over, the investment currency has lost about 3% in the past week. It closed at R3,59 yesterday, mainly on creation of financial rands in London as foreigners sell SA equities. They have largely retreated from gilts.

Standard Merchant Bank treasurer Chris Kenny said the finrand no longer feared nationalisation — but there was a belief that "some kind of redistribution of wealth" would take place.

The fundamentals that should determine the finrand's level, such as equity sentiment, had become important again. Quite apart from politics, Kenny said, a view that SA golds had been over-priced in terms of the gold price could also account for the generation of finrands in London.

The commercial rand has so far seen only positive spin-offs from political developments. Dollars continue to flow into the market in the form of foreign trade finance. Yesterday the rand hardly weakened against the dollar, in spite of the twin bearish factors of the US currency's strength on foreign markets and gold's weakness. It closed marginally weaker at R2,5450 from Friday's R2,5410 and gained on the crosses.

POLITICS

Foreign Affairs set to begin selling the world a new SA

B/Day 27/2/90

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Department of Foreign Affairs is to launch a major diplomatic offensive overseas to sell the "new SA".

BOTHA

Heads of SA missions from around the world are in Cape Town for a week's orientation on the latest developments in the country and are to be addressed by a variety of speakers, including President F W de Klerk.

Opening the conference yesterday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha praised ANC leader Nelson Mandela for his appeal to the warring factions in Natal to throw their weapons 'in the sea.'

Now SA's diplomatic corps would be faced with spreading the message of the new SA to see that foreign resentment and mistrust of SA was also thrown in the sea, Botha said.

"We stand before one of the greatest opportunities in our history," he said.

"We have been experts in crisis management in the past. Are we going to be experts in managing success and opportunity too?'

He said it was good for SA's diplomats to come back to the country at this time to see "if they can swim in the new pool".

There would have to be freedom of association without one group being dominated by another, he said.

"The process of give and take has already begun. The new SA must be built on this basis," Botha said.

The Department of Foreign Affairs's role would now be to inform the world of the new SA, to put the policies of all parties honestly and to carry the message to governments, opinion-formers and key figures abroad.

☐ It was reported yesterday the diplomats would be briefed this week on local developments by personalities as diverse as De Klerk, former England, Manchester United and Kaiser Chiefs goalkeeper Gary Bailey and Sowetan editor Agrey Klaaste.

The visitors would also be lectured by former colleague Denis Worrall, who was SA Ambassador to London before quitting in 1987 to fight the NP in the election.

One of the more curious items on the briefing programme is a talk by parliamentary party Solidarity leader J N Reddy on the role of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu on the politics of negotiation in Natal.

Fuchs queries assault verdict

28/2/90 By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs has asked a series of probing questions in Parliament about the court case in which a Piet Retief farmer was given a R100 fine for assaulting a crippled labourer who later died.

Mr Fuchs said yesterday that the Democratic Party was shocked by the death of partly paralysed farm labourer Mr Ekathi Xaba, who died after being beaten by his employer, Mr Wilhelm Rabe of Piet Retief.

Mr Rabe was fined in the Piet Retief Regional Court on February 12 this year.

Mr Fuchs said: "The tragic death of Mr Xaba and the circumstances which surround the assault on him by his employer raise certain questions:

- "Why were witnesses who were present at the time of the vicious assault not called to testify on behalf of the State?
- "Why did the court find that there was no link between the assault on Mr Xaba and the cause of death?
- "Why was Mr Rabe, who was convicted of assault, fined only R100?"

Government 'sympathetic' to idea

Star 28/2/90 (304A)

Entire cities could become free areas

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government was sympathetic to proclaiming entire cities as integrated free settlement areas, **Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel** indicated in the Assembly yesterday.

The Government was also investigating the possibility of integrated single local authorities in such areas.

Mr Kriel was replying to questions from **Mr Tony Leon, (DP Houghton)** during a mini-debate on free settlements.

Mr Leon said there seemed to be confusion and differences of opinion in the NP on its free settlement policy.

He attacked the proposal to declare free settlement areas in several Johannesburg northern suburbs including half of Houghton.

This proposal completely ignored any community interests since it "sliced out half an island of integration (half of Houghton) in a sea of segregated northern suburbs.

Mr Hernus Kriel ... serious consideration.

"It is a reckless experiment which will be consigned to long-term oblivion but could produce drastic short-term consequences," said Mr Leon.

Evidence so far suggested that isolated free settlement areas could become constant ghettos — "a rigid experiment doomed to failure because it violates the basic law of supply and demand".

Mr Leon added that the present legislation provided for management committees to run free settlement areas.

These would be inferior "toothless bodies" similar to existing coloured and Indian management committees.

Mr Kriel said there was nothing in the Free Settlement Areas Act to stop anyone applying for entire cities to become free settlement areas.

The Free Settlement Areas Board would consider such an application in the light of all the relevant socio-economic concerns. The Government would "seriously consider" any board recommendation, "in the interests of the community".

Pressed for a definite answer, Mr Kriel said he was "sympathetic" to whole-city free settlement areas.

Mr Kriel said the Government was also looking into the possibility of a non-racial franchise for electing single integrated local authorities in free settlement areas.

Mr Paul Cloete, chairman of the Namaqualand Residents Association, speaks to police at the entrance to Parliament before he and a delegation were allowed to present a memorandum to the House of Representatives.

Star 28/2/90 (304A)

Nama protesters march to Parliament over Bill

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A 20-strong delegation of Namaqualand residents marched to Parliament yesterday to present their objections to the Mier Rural Area Bill, now before the House of Representatives, and to present a memorandum calling for its withdrawal.

Namaqualand Residents Association chairman Mr Paul Cloete and two members of the delegation, accompanied by their attorney, were allowed into Parliament after waiting outside the entrance gates in Parliament Street for about 30 minutes.

There was a strong police presence, including a large riot-control van.

BIRTHRIGHT

At a press conference at St George's Cathedral hall before the march, Steinkopf resident Mr Cloete and other northern Cape speakers explained why they rejected the Bill, which aims to end trusteeship of the land and pave the way for private ownership of the area.

Mier, also known as Rietfontein, is a "coloured reserve" in the Gordonia district, just below the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park. It is the second biggest of 23 such reserves and has a population of about 5 000.

Mr Cloete said the Bill threatened to deprive all residents of their birthright to land which had been in the community for generations.

Although their rights were affected, residents had not been consulted. The Bill legalised the sale of farming units and "the alienation of our inheritance".

"We view the Bill as a dangerous epidemic that threatens the rights of residents in all our rural reserves," he said.

If approved, the Bill would end the trusteeship of the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the House of Representatives over most of Mier and allow private ownership of "our inheritance and birthright".

GUINEA PIG

"It appears to us that the relevant Minister is using Mier as a guinea pig to alienate trust land into private ownership without first considering that a future constitution for a new democratic South Africa is about to be negotiated," Mr Cloete said.

Open cities needed — DP

Free areas plans are opposed

28/2/90

304A

By Louise Burgers, Municipal Reporter

The Johannesburg City Council will oppose the proposed declaration of 13 eastern suburbs as free settlement areas. This follows the acceptance last night of a Democratic Party motion.

The DP motion that the council record its opposition to the latest Free Settelement Board investigation was supported by the Conservative Party, the three independent councillors.

The chairman of the Free Settlement Board, Mr Hein Kruger, last week announced an inquiry into the areas of Bellevue, Yeoville, Berea, Doornfontein, New Doornfontein, Judith's Paarl, Lorenzville, Bertrams, portions surrounding Joubert Park and a portion of Houghton Estate.

Verbal vote

The DP leader in the council, Mr Ian Davidson, believes there were NP councillors in favour of his party's motion.

After the verbal vote, the chairman of the council, Mr Jan van Blerk, moved that the "ayes" had won.

"I think he moved to prevent a division of the vote. If there had been a tally, the Nats would have been severely embarrassed," said Mr Davidson.

"This is a major triumph for the DP.

"We actually managed to persuade the council that opening up parts of Johannesburg is not the way."

The management committee is now obliged to submit the DP resolution on behalf of the whole council in representation to the Free Settlement Board.

During the debate on the motion, the chairman of the management committee, Mr Jan Burger, said free settlement areas could solve many problems and legalise the present situation.

He added that the country could not "stand still" while the negotiation process was under way.

In introducing his motion, Mr Davidson asked how areas such as Hillbrow, Pageview, Braamfontein and the Central Business District, all multiracial and represented by NP councillors, were excluded from the proposal.

"The areas subject to this experiment will create major problems, and the boundaries that have been chosen are to circumvent political tension.

"We need an "open cities" Act. They must call a moratorium on free settlement investigations."

The leader of the CP, Mr Jacques Theron, said his party supported the motion because of its stance on group rights.

Racial conflict

The NP was forcing racial conflict by declaring white areas open to other races, he said.

DP councillor Mr Sias Reyneke accused the NP of keeping the Free Settlement Board investigation secret.

"This management committee knew about these proposals on February 16.

"They had the moral obligation to tell the voters affected by the investigation."

A-G gets dossier on Mandela and Sisulu

28/2/90 Parliamentary Staff 304A

CAPE TOWN — Charges of high treason laid against Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng by the Conservative Party have been investigated by police and a dossier has been submitted to the Attorney-General.

This emerged in an interpellation debate yesterday on a question put by CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensitive approach.

Mr de Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mr Mothopeng over their repeated, public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Mr Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted. It was a "serious issue", he said.

Mr Vlok said it was up to the Attorney-General whether the matter went to court or not.

Dr Denis Worrall, DP co-leader, appealed for a more sensitive approach, citing Afrikaner heroes to illustrate his argument.

South Africa's history was rich with "treasonable" actions. "One thinks of Slagtersnek, of Koos de la Rey, of Christiaan de Wet, of Jopie Fourie ... all persons, who on the grounds of idealism ... rebelled against the State."

He added: "If this is true of a De la Rey and a De Wet, then it is also true of a Mandela, Sisulu and Biko, a Turner and a Lubowski."

New drought relief scheme

CAPE TOWN — The House of Assembly administration hoped to announce a drought relief plan which would benefit farmers who worked to conserve their farms rather than those who exploited their land and then looked to the State to take over the risk in the bad years. This was said by Agricultural Development Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk in the debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill. — Sapa.

304A 28/2/90 Star

The Right retreats to ever-smaller laager

Star 28/2/90 (304A)

PATRICK LAURENCE highlights the intellectual retreat the Conservative Party is engaged in as it wrestles with an alternative to a racially mixed South African state.

The Conservative Party sniffs blood and bays as President de Klerk, having shocked white conservatives to the core by unbanning the ANC and unconditionally freeing Mr Nelson Mandela, stumbles under a burden inherited from his predecessor.

But, in spite of its bravado, the practicalities of CP policy are shaky. The right wing's fall-back position is, in a sense, more dramatic than strike action, even than a coup d'etat: it is a retreat into a smaller white fatherland, a process which necessarily involves abandonment of vast tracts of South Africa to the black majority.

Increasingly the notion of withdrawing to a "white fatherland" or an Afrikaner volkstaat or national state, where whites will be in the majority, is mooted in right-wing circles as the only way in which to avoid rule by the black majority.

The idea is no longer confined to the fringe of the right wing. It has moved closer to the core and is beginning to enter, perhaps even permeate, the thinking of the CP.

Two of the chief proponents of the white fatherland concept are Dr Carel Boshoff and Mr Hendrik Verwoerd; they are the son-in-law and the son respectively of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the former Prime Minister whose fanatical propagation of separation of the races earned him the epitaph "high priest of apartheid".

Dr Boshoff is an influential man in his own right. He is a former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and a co-chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

He established the Volkswag with his wife, Anna, when the Broederbond opted for power-sharing with the black majority. He believes power-sharing leads inevitably to majority rule or, not to put too fine a point on it, means black government.

It is an illusion to think that a power-sharing deal can be struck with black "moderates", as they demand nothing less than the radicals, he argues.

"The only chance of survival for the Afrikaner people is an Afrikaner volkstaat," he asserts.

If the Afrikaner does not want to be "irrevocably sucked in and swallowed by the black multitudes", he must take the most radical option possible and secede from South Africa, geographically, constitutionally and economically.

He quotes Dr Verwoerd approvingly: "I would rather have a smaller South Africa that is white ... than a large state that has already surrendered to black domination."

Dr Carel Boshoff is one of the chief proponents of the white fatherland. He is a son-in-law of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, whose propagation of separation earned him the title "high priest of apartheid".

But he is proposing a more drastic remedy than his father-in-law: Dr Verwoerd advocated the establishment of minuscule tribal states for blacks and the excision of these statelets from South Africa.

Dr Boshoff stands for the withdrawal of whites into a tribal state and the abandonment of the rest of South Africa to blacks.

Mr Verwoerd, an executive member of the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers, has already started to implement the policy advocated by Dr Boshoff.

The Oranjewerkers — the name derives from the Dutch House of Orange and symbolises the European origins of the Afrikaner — have started to build an Afrikaner volkstaat near the small hamlet of Morgenzon in the Eastern Transvaal.

Like Zionist settlers in Israel, the Oranjewerkers have started to buy land in Morgenzon for their state and to encourage whites inspired by their ideas to settle there as pioneers.

The neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has changed the emphasis of its original policy to incorporate the white fatherland concept. Its aim is to re-establish the 19th Boer Republic, which means, prima facie, surrendering vast tracts of land in the Cape and Natal.

The difference between the Oranjewerkers and the AWB is one of degree and methods. The Oranjewerkers will settle for a smaller fatherland and uses argument, not threats of revolution, to achieve its end.

Increasingly, however, the terminology and rationale of the volkstaat is used in the rhetoric of the CP. The notion of self-determination in a white fatherland is propagated by the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in speeches in Parliament and at rallies.

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe talks about negotiations with black leaders — but not the ANC — to determine the boundaries of the white state. He concedes that the presence of blacks in areas previously claimed as inalienable white territory, means that some of these areas will have to be abandoned.

Soweto, the huge township adjacent to Johannesburg, is one example. Hillbrow, in the heart of Johannesburg and the most densely populated suburb in South Africa, is another.

Hillbrow is nominally a white residential area, but blacks have moved in to claim large parts of it as their own.

Thus, even in CP circles, the Verwoerdian concept of a large white state on 87 percent of South Africa, surrounded by several nominally independent and tiny black states, is being modified. The white state is getting smaller and the area conceded to blacks larger.

The question now is whether the right wing will have the will and the power to win the right to their own white fatherland and whether, in the last analysis, they will be prepared to sacrifice their wealth and, if need be, their lives for it.

Senior Black US Reps here next month

Sowetan 28/2/90

30419

WASHINGTON.- A 10-man delegation from the US House of Representatives is to travel to South Africa today to assess recent changes in the country and meet with various leaders.

House of Representatives Speaker Mr Tom Foley announced on Monday the team would be led by Congressman William Gray, the most senior black in the US Congress.

Mr Gray piloted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), which imposed a series of economic sanctions on South Africa, through the House of Representatives in 1986.

The delegation is scheduled to be in South Africa until March 6. In that time it will meet with President FW de Klerk, representatives of the ANC (it could not be established yesterday whether Mr Nelson Mandela would be available to meet the US lawmakers or whether he would be travelling outside South Africa during their visit), officials of the UDF and labour and religious leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In addition to Mr Gray, the delegation is to include Mr Howard Wolpe (who visited South Africa last month), Mr Dean Gallo (Republican from New Jersey), Mr Steny Hoyer (Democrat from Maryland), Mr Ron Dellums (Democrat from California and chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus), Mr Steven Solarz (Democrat from New York), Mr Mike Andrews (Democrat from Texas), Ms Beverly Byron (Democrat from Maryland) and Mr Jim McCrery (Republican from Louisiana).

Mr Solarz visited South Africa several years ago, when he likened his meeting and discussion with the then State Pesident, Mr PW Botha, as similar to taking a cold shower.

The delegation is weighted in favour of representatives who advocate a hardline on South Africa.

ARGUS 28/2/90

Treason charges dossier handed to A-G

Political Correspondent

CHARGES of high treason against Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng by the Conservative Party have been investigated by the police and a dossier has been submitted to the Attorney-General for a decision, parliament has been told.

This emerged in a debate yesterday on a question by the CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensitive approach.

Mr De Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mr Mothopeng over their repeated, public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Mr Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted. It was a "serious issue", he said.

Mr Vlok, who confirmed that the charge was laid on February 12, said the dossier was forwarded by police to the Attorney-General on February 22.

It was up to him to decide whether the matter went to court or not.