

S. A GOVT. & POLITICS

1990

JANUARY

New year promises to be 'a bit better'

Staff Reporter

South Africans will enter 1990 slightly less gloomy about the country's prospects than they were last year, but no more positive than they were two years ago. (30 & A)

Some 42 percent of people, interviewed by the Markinor research group for the latest Gallup Poll, said 1990 would be a better year than 1989. This compares with 36 percent last year and 43 percent in 1987.

While 29 percent believe the new year will be worse than 1989, 21 percent expect prospects to remain the same as previous years — an outlook similar to that expressed two years ago.

"The recent election has generated a certain degree of optimism," says Markinor director Christine Woessner.

"This is a worldwide trend. The level of optimism almost always goes up following an election. But in our case, the degree of optimism is not that high. This is probably because people are waiting for delivery on election promises."

The poll findings are based on a survey of 2 300 urban adults, 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks, part of an international year-end poll carried out in 36 countries by Gallup International.

A considerable 51 percent of whites interviewed felt that industrial action would increase in 1990, compared to 29 percent of black respondents.

More South Africans than last year — 25 percent as opposed to 18 percent — expect 1990 to be a peaceful year on the international front.

Respondents in South America, the United States and Israel are also relatively optimistic about the prospects for international peace in 1990.

All Gordon wants in 1990 is a silent partner

Staff Reporters

When casting around trying to formulate New Year resolutions a few tips could be picked up from well-known personalities.

Actor and TV personality Gordon Mulholland says that as far as he is concerned "New Year resolutions are a load of bull. Nobody sticks to them."

But he did suggest if anyone could find him the perfect wife, "one that does not matter all the time", he would consider 1990 a good year.

Dr Zach de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party: "I would dearly like to understand what Mr F W de Klerk's constitutional policy really is."

A lot of golfer Tony Johnstone's New Year resolutions centre on arch rival John Bland.

First and foremost he wants to "kick Bland's backside".

Then he would like to win the Order of Merit on the South African tour again, "and rub



Dr Zach de Beer . . . would like to understand F W's policy

Bland's nose in it".

But, more seriously, he plans to try to mix golf and family life as well as possible.

Recently freed ANC treason trialist Mr Elias Motsoaledi simply wished everyone a happy 1990.

Popular trainer Mrs Jean Heming wanted "more win-



Gordon Mulholland . . . no point in resolutions

ners". *Star 2/1/90*

Boksburg management committee member Mr Koos van der Merwe hoped his council would be able to fight off negative publicity in 1990 and build on the achievements of 1989.

"We will work towards a better relationship with the coloured community who refuse to

negotiate with us due to the radical factor in their midst.

"In the New Year we will also take a hard line on the Government's reform programme. We will insist that the State President negotiates not only with the radical ANC but the Conservative Party and the radical whites for a future South Africa," he said.

South African Black Taxi Association publicity secretary Mr Michael Ntatleng said firstly, he hoped for more safety-consciousness among taxi drivers and secondly, he hoped for more peace in the industry.

Mr Rod Bechus, Johannesburg bookmaker said: "As a bookmaker I'm not going to lose on Ormond Ferraris's horses any more."

The *Star* theatre critic Garalt MacLiam came up with an unusual but practical resolution: "I'm going to wash my car." He did not say how often.

Resigning as ambassador was 'scary'

Dr Worrall's political jump into the dark

My
Decade
1980s



The 1980s was a momentous decade in world history, but how did it affect individuals? The Star asked several well-known South Africans to look back and say what this past decade has meant to them.

When Dr Denis Worrall quit the NP and stood as an independent against one of the main contenders for the presidency, Mr Chris Heunis, in the 1987 election, he was lauded for "raising the stakes to dizzy heights". Political commentators however, predicted that his career would "surely flounder" if he lost the Helderberg seat. He proved them all wrong, revealing a remarkable capacity to survive. He spoke to DAWN BARKHUIZEN.

"The hardest part of my career in the Eighties was the decision to resign as ambassador and break with the Government at the beginning of 1987. That entailed very personal moral and philosophical considerations.

"Although I was sure I had to do what I did, it was a jump into the dark and quite scary because I did not know whether I would land on my feet," Dr Denis Worrall (54) said.

But land on his feet he surely did — as he has through several political flutters.

The man who has been called a "disciple of reform" and a "vulture Prog candidate" admits he is no stranger to controversy.

As the NP's ambassador to the Court of St James he unsettled anti-apartheid groups when he went "swinging around Britain, talking to potential investors and wooing MPs".

In 1987 he well and truly set the cat amongst the pigeons when he quit the NP and stood against Mr Chris Heunis in Helderberg.

Soon after that he found himself at the centre of yet another political furore when Mr Wynand Malan deserted him to form the National Democratic Movement.

Undeterred by his critics, he stood firm and emerged in 1989 as the most popular figure in the DP triumvirate.

"I am not unwilling to make unpopular decisions," he says.

No easy measure

"If I have been successful it is because, like most other people, I kept my eye on the ball and worked hard. A politically astute and supportive wife has been a big help.

"But I don't know whether I would call myself successful. Politics is not like turning a company around or making a personal fortune or winning Wimbledon. There is no easy measure.

"I have also learnt a big lesson — just how much kindness, warmth and decency there is in ordinary people."

In the decade ahead he is, on a personal level, concentrating on seeing his three teenage sons into responsible adulthood.

Politically he says he has no aspirations to become State President.

"I just want to help as far as I can in the birth of a new South Africa of which my children and your children will be proud."

When he went to London in 1984, political analysts said it was unlikely that this energetic and eloquent man would end his tenure with the kind of ignominious reward meted out to his predecessor, Mr Marius Steyn. Mr Steyn was appointed ambassador to the Transkei.

The analysts were certainly correct on that point.



Dr Denis Worrall ... was not sure whether he would "land on his feet" after resigning as ambassador to London.

1980 — National Party MP for Gardens. Appointed chairman of the first Constitutional Committee of the President's Council.

1981 — Turns down ambassadorship of Australia.

1982 — "Goes under, but not out" and accepts ambassadorship to Australia. Reports of a rift between the South African Government and Dr Worrall.

1984 — Appointed ambassador to London, a key diplomatic post during a stormy period when widespread unrest put South Africa under the international microscope.

1985 — Sustains a barrage of world criticism over the Langa shootings, a visit to Northern Ireland and increased lobbying for sanctions against South Africa.

1986 — Weathers a damning Commonwealth report and a chorus of outrage at the emergency clamp-

down, a vigorous campaign for sanctions and P.W. Botha's infamous Rubicon speech. Turns down an offer of ambassadorship to Washington.

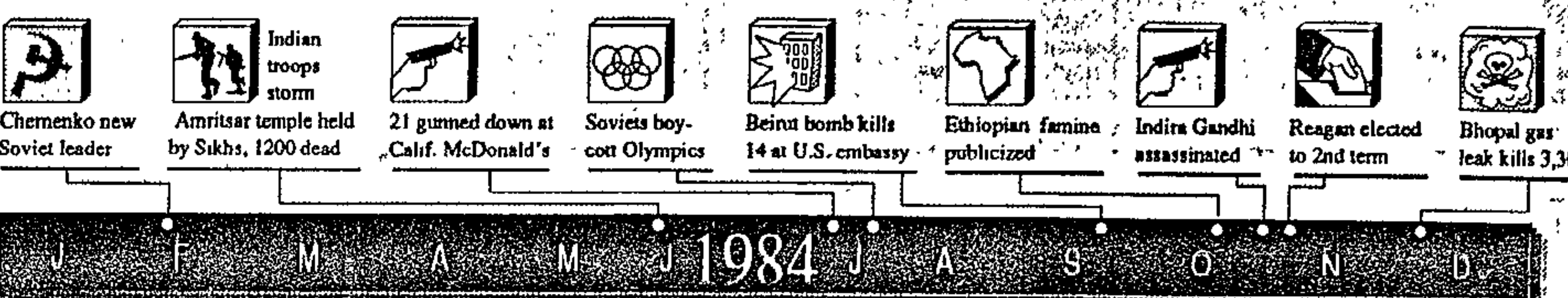
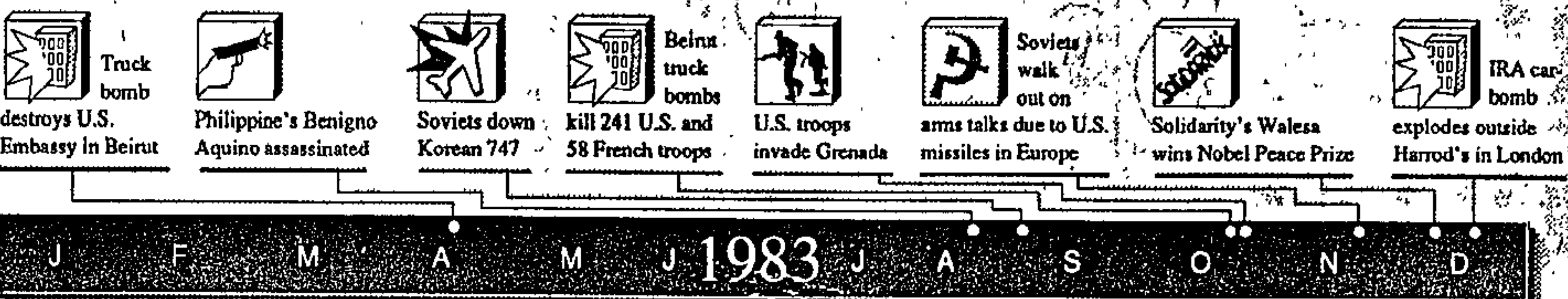
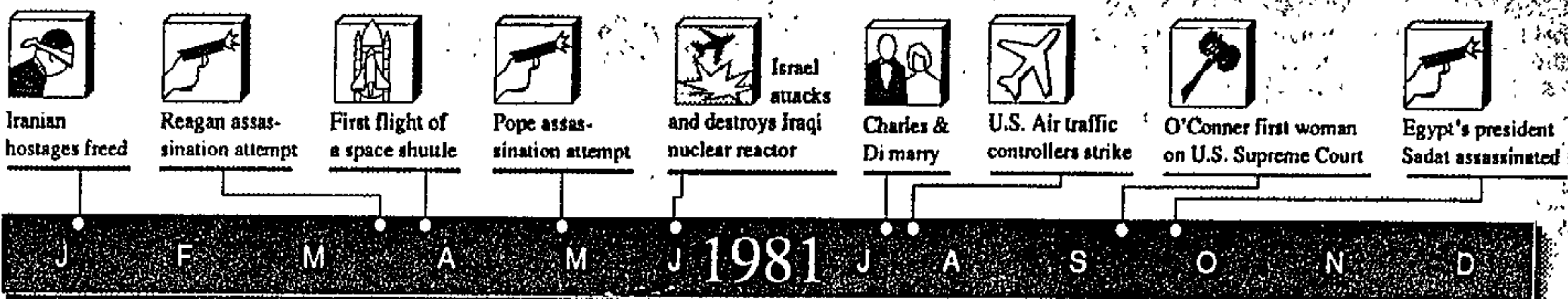
1987 — Quits the NP. Stands as an independent against the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Helderberg. He is narrowly defeated by 59 votes. Forms the Independent Movement.

1988 — Forms the Independent Party.

1989 — IP disbands along with the NDM and the Progressive Federal Party to form the Democratic Party of which Dr Worrall is co-leader. DP wins 33 seats in the September general election, Dr Worrall being elected MP for Durban Berea.

A DECADE OF NEWS

A Chronology of Major News Events of the 1980s



J F M A M J 1983 J A S O N D

- Chernenko new Soviet leader
- Amritsar temple held by Sikhs, 1200 dead
- 21 gunned down at Calif. McDonald's
- Soviets boycott Olympics
- Beirut bomb kills 14 at U.S. embassy
- Ethiopian famine publicized
- Indira Gandhi assassinated
- Reagan elected to 2nd term
- Bhopal gas leak kills 3,300

J F M A M J 1984 J A S O N D

- Gorbachev new Soviet leader
- Terry Anderson kidnapped
- TWA jet hijacked; man is killed, 39 held hostage 17 days
- Live Aid concerts held for African famine relief
- Mexico City earthquake kills 7,000
- Rock Hudson dies of AIDS
- Achille Lauro ship hijacked
- Colombia volcano erupts; 25,000 die in mudflows
- Terrorists attack El Al counters at Rome and Vienna airports

J F M A M J 1985 J A S O N D

- Challenger explodes
- Marcos flees Philippines; Corason Aquino becomes acting president
- Olof Palme, Swedish Prime Minister, assassinated
- U.S. attacks Libya in retaliation for a West Berlin discotheque bombing
- Explosion occurs at Chernobyl nuclear power station
- Toxic gas from volcanic lake kills 1,746 in Cameroon
- Iran-Contra affair revealed
- Dupont Plaza fire in San Juan, Puerto Rico kills 97

J F M A M J 1986 J A S O N D

- Terry Waite kidnapped
- Waldheim barred from U.S. because of alleged Nazi war crimes
- Iran-Contra hearings open
- Iraqi missile hits USS Stark killing 37
- West German teen-ager lands Cessna in Moscow's Red Square
- Rudolf Hess commits suicide in Spandau Prison
- U.S. stock market crashes
- Palestinian uprising begins
- Philippine ferry collision kills 1,600

J F M A M J 1987 J A S O N D

- Soviets begin withdrawal from Afghanistan
- U.S. begins summer of drought, heat, fires and polluted beaches
- Iranian passenger jet shot down by USS Vincennes
- Oil platform explodes in North Sea killing 167
- Ben Johnson stripped of gold medal
- Bush elected U.S. president
- Armenian quake kills 25,000
- Bomb explodes on Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland

J F M A M J 1988 J A S O N D

- Japan's Emperor Hirohito dies
- Alaska oil spill
- Explosion on USS Iowa
- Ayatollah Khomeini dies
- Protests crushed in China's Tiananmen Sq.
- Columbia drug war sparked by assassination
- Voyager passes Neptune
- Major earthquake hits San Francisco Bay area
- East European communist regimes driven out by protests and borders are opened

J F M A M J 1989 J A S O N D

Beginning of the end for apartheid

In Johannesburg, the 1980s will be remembered as the 10 years it took for apartheid to start dying in the city.

In the decade from 1980, everyone stood around watching the death throes, but nobody, it seemed, had the courage to deliver the coup de grace.

Finally, it was the National Party quiet man, management committee chairman Mr Jan Burger, who announced the official municipal end of segregated swimming pools, recreation centres and, early this year after the formalities have been completed, segregated buses.

Residential apartheid is still on the statute books, but early in the 80s house-hungry blacks simply thumbed their noses at the Group Areas Act, and moved in, first to Hillbrow, which is now 40 percent black, then Mayfair and the other white inner-city suburbs.

Entire city

Free settlement areas are still in the pipeline, but rumour has it that the ruling NP in the council has already discussed opening the entire city to all races.

Overall, the 80s have been good years for this city. Not only were there positive, if slow, moves to give all races a place in the Highveld sun, but the central business district has seen unprecedented growth, including the advent of the spectacular "glass" buildings reflecting the passing parade in their windows.

Suburban shopping centres have created a whole new weekend lifestyle for residents, and pavement vendors, including the beerwors roll brigade, introduced pin-striped stock exchange executives to outdoor eating and the aroma of cooking food in city streets.

Over the last 10 years, Johannesburg's budget more than doubled to R1.8 billion and although councillor Mr Issy Schlapobersky warned in 1982 that "the man-in-the-street will not be able to meet the increased charges of this budget", costs kept rising and inevitably the man-in-the-street kept paying up.

Nothing and everything has changed in the city council.

At the start of the decade, The Star reported plans to muzzle wordy speakers — with any councillor who made a "tedious, repetitious or irrelevant speech or used offensive or unbecoming language" risking being ejected.

"So what happened to the 'muzzle plan'?"

A hotly contested issue at the start of the decade was direct representation on the council for the 100 000 coloureds living within the city boundaries. Mr A G Louw of Bosmont asked how long the whites thought they could go on playing God to the coloured people.

That was in 1980 and nothing has changed except that the coloureds have been told they cannot meet in the all-white Civic Centre.

The council has been controlled by the National Party throughout the last 10 years, ruled for much of that time by a coalition of the NP and Mr Francois Oberholzer's Independent Ratepayers' Association. We enter the new age with the NP still tenuously in control.

In 1980, Johannesburg faced a serious problem with West Park Cemetery having 14 years to go until it was full.

The solution was upright burial, said councillor Mr David Nette, but at the end of the decade West Park still had another 14 years to go and privatisation had become the buzzword.

So the introduction of an American-style municipal burial park is imminent.

The Braamfontein Spruit trail was launched by the council as a walking trail in 1981, but for

Moves to give all a place in Highveld sun

Apartheid still lingers, and South Africa's largest city still has many problems, but overall the last decade was a good one for the city of Johannesburg, writes Municipal Reporter SHIRLEY WOODGATE.

commuters a light rail system was put on hold, then revived and the 90s could see the launch of the new transport system.

No doubt about it, "transport" conjures up visions of the minibus-taxi, the travel mode of the 80s and the scourge of motorists.

The council's commitment to women's lib saw the appointment of women bus drivers to solve staff shortages in 1982.

Sadly, the tragedy of the decade involved the bus which plunged into the Westdene Dam, drowning 42 children from Vorendene High School.

The redevelopment of Newtown was mooted in 1981 after the council studied the implications of the consultants' report for two years and urban consultant Mr Nigel Mandy predicted that redevelopment plans for the 59 ha area could breathe life into old places of character.

Despite opposition from some members of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society, who wanted to go north, the Rand Show was moved from 31 ha Milner Park, which the council donated to the University of the Witwatersrand, to Nasrec in the south of the city.

That was also where the new Soccer City was built in record time while the council's commitment to sport saw members voting to save the Ellis Park rugby complex in 1983 and the management committee putting up R4.3 million for the Wanderers cricket stadium last year.

At Ellis Park, the shape of the ball and the goalposts changed when soccer matches were allowed on the hallowed turf. At other times, the stands rocked to the sounds of music when record crowds gathered for another innovation of the 80s, multi-racial concerts in the park.

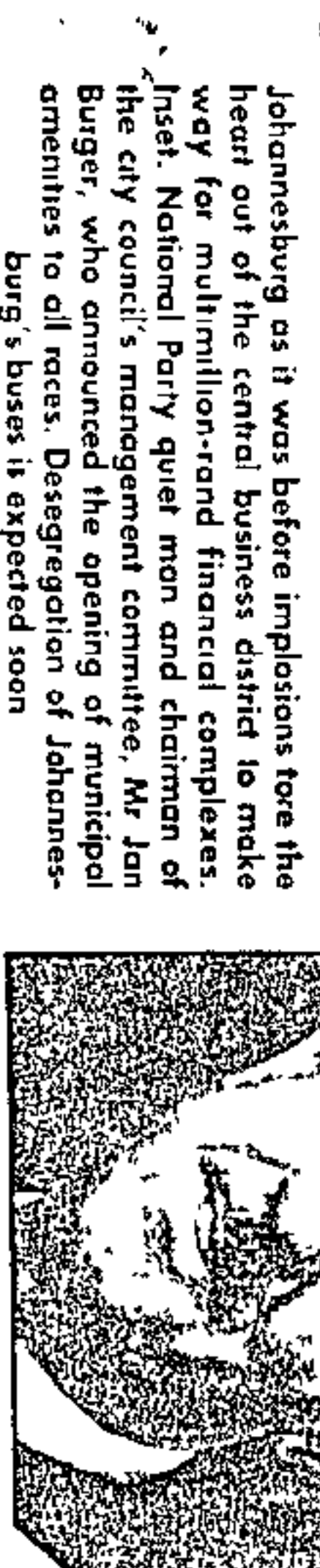
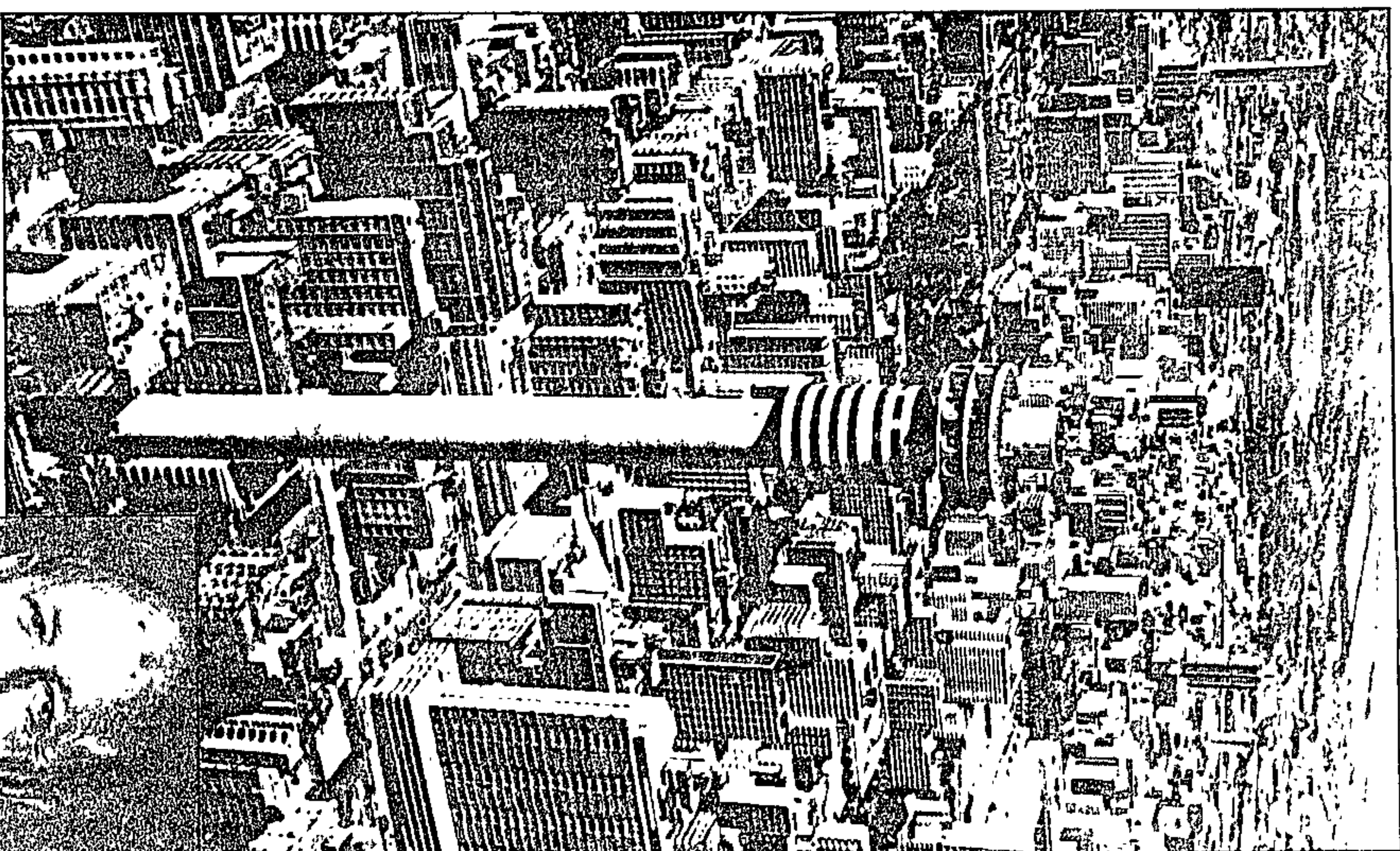
Eight years of drought led to water restrictions. Rosebank became the shopping mecca for the northern suburbs, 14th Street in Pageview was transferred to the new Oriental Plaza, leaving Indian residents of the suburb to fight for their right to live in the area their forefathers had inhabited before the turn of the century.

Implosions, regional services councils, where blacks and whites sat around the same table, a false start for the city's first toll plaza, which the courts disallowed in Winchester Hills — all these were among the events that hit the headlines in the 80s.

Lastly, there is the cultural side of the past decade.

The Joubert Park Art Gallery trebled in size and Mr Oberholzer slammed two "snobbish" acquisitions a Bacon and a Picasso, later allowing the residents to foot the R700 000 bill for his choice of art, a larger-than-life statue of George Harrison erected near Bruma.

Despite its achievements and progress, Johannesburg has not only seen the demise of two major theatres, but enters the 90s with a revamped African Theatre that is only half complete.



Johannesburg as it was before implosions tore the heart out of the central business district to make way for multimillion-rand financial complexes. Inset: National Party quiet man and chairman of the city council's management committee, Mr Jan Burger, who announced the opening of municipal amenities to all races. Desegregation of Johannesburg's buses is expected soon.

Europe's old spectres rise again

Star 31/1/90

(304A)

With our entry into the last decade of the century, old prejudices and tensions are re-emerging among many nations, writes
ROGER BERTHOUD of The Independent.

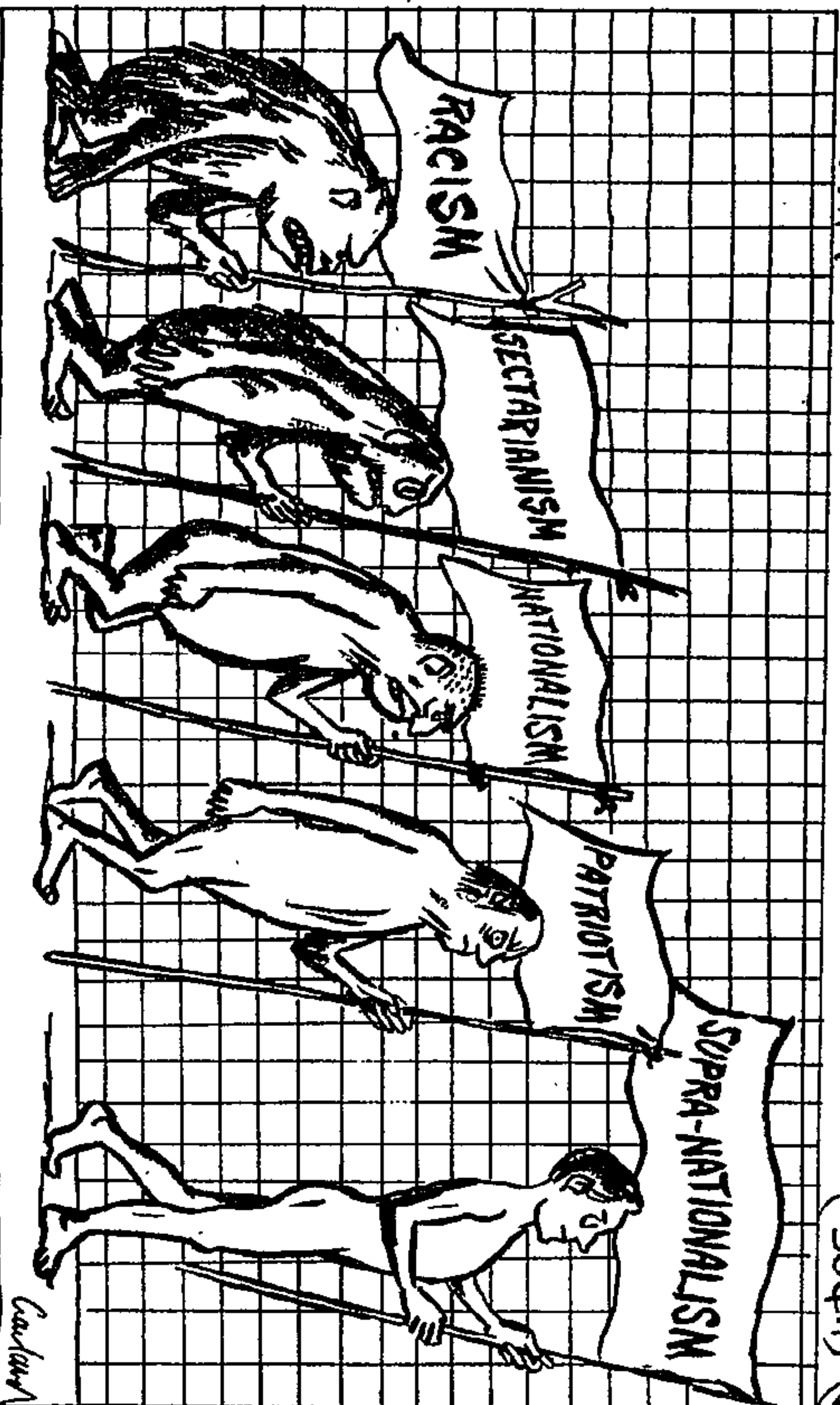
As the sound of ideological warfare dies around the world, older concepts are back in the headlines, and likely to stay there.

Nationalism, patriotism and sectarianism inspire mixed emotions. We applaud nationalism when it helps people within the Soviet Union — like the Balts or Georgians — to throw off centralised control from Moscow. We find it ugly in the guise of the Serbian nationalism which triggered World War 1 and now threatens to tear Yugoslavia apart.

Nationalism is usually aggressive. Patriotism is more contained, even if tending to shade into chauvinism and racism.

Racism is patriotism's ugly cousin, springing as it does from the conviction that human beings of one race, colour and physiognomy are superior, or at least preferable, to those of different race and appearance. The irrationality of racism is evident. Arabs feel superior to blacks; Chinese, Japanese and whites to almost everyone else, including one another.

Sectarianism is often allied to na-



tionalism. It has brought the horrors of the Inquisition to contemporary Iran, and damaged the name of Islam throughout the non-Islamic world. It fuels the enmity of Christian Armenians and Islamic Azeris in their bitter territorial dispute within the USSR.

Centuries of wars in Europe showed the dangers of expansionist nationalism. Much the greatest achievement of the European Community — one too often taken for granted — is to have made armed conflict between its member states unthinkable, despite their long history of mutual slaughter.

With fear of Soviet-led communism rapidly being removed as a bonding agent for the West, that contribution (aided and abetted by the Nato alliance) is all the more important.

In Eastern and central Europe, old tensions between Hungary and Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey, Yugoslavia and Albania, even between Czechs and Slovaks, are re-emerging, threatening to give the last decade of the 20th century an eerie re-

Chancellor Helmut Kohl on his visit to Dresden recently aroused old fears. There is once again talk of how the balance of power in Europe will survive the emergence of a unified Germany.

If all these ancient tendencies and emotions have survived, virtually intact, the horrors of four decades of communism controlled from Moscow, how can Mrs Margaret Thatcher suggest that Britain's national identity might be in some way jeopardised by the EC's Brussels "bureaucracy"?

"We want a Europe of independent states and free peoples, co-operating closely wherever that makes sense, yet relishing their identity and resisting overweening bureaucracy," she said before last June's elections for the European parliament.

Any such overweening bureaucracy would, in reality, be much more likely to provoke a reaction, in the form of unpleasantly florid symptoms of Britishness and xenophobia, of the sort associated with football matches and Costa del Sol holidays.

private citizens, to exercise their freedom and independence at the expense of others. That is why democratic governments devise laws to secure the greatest good for the greatest number.

Treaties and agreements seek to achieve the same end in relations between countries. The Treaty of Rome, which underpins the EC, is the most ambitious attempt in Europe's history to ensure and maximise the long-term well-being of its states, without threatening or impoverishing those outside.

In talking about the EC, Mrs Thatcher has also said (in Paris on November 18): "It would be very ironic if we were insisting that Eastern Europe moves to full democracy and full human rights as a condition of aid, while we ourselves take something out of the heart of parliamentary control and out of democratic accountability."

Such thinking is surely opportunistic and dangerously short-sighted, as well as confused. The surge of patriotism which attended the demise of communist domination of Eastern Europe simply helped to bring Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to the level of freedom enjoyed by all eventual EC member states except Spain and Portugal soon after World War 2.

The emerging East European democracies are now seeking economic aid from those Western countries whose prosperity has been mightily boosted by the creation and development of the EC.

That prosperity would never have been achieved if old enmities and rivalries, notably those between France and Germany, had not been replaced by co-operation within a strong framework of the European Community, with the necessary regulatory mechanisms in Brussels.

Underlying Mrs Thatcher's attitudes to the EC is the conviction that the British way is best, and in particular that the British version of parliamentary democracy is unrivalled.

Yet, judged by results, those claims are obviously untrue. However entertaining the House of Commons may be, and however accountable the executive may be to the legislature, the country is in many ways a mess compared with continental counterparts such as France, Italy and West Germany.

By most definitions of democracy, it is undemocratic that decisions which could be taken at local levels more in touch with public opinion should be taken at the centre.

Mrs Thatcher claims to be a believer in personal initiative and freedom. Yet she has made Britain ever more centralised, and her contempt for local government is open.

It seems to me unfortunate that Mrs Thatcher should be appealing to latent British nationalism at a time when supra-national institutions, notably the EC, offer the best chance of containing both a unified Germany and the potential nationalisms of newly liberated East

SAP HARD PRESSED BY BOOST IN CRIME

DURBAN — The incidence of serious crimes has escalated remarkably in SA since March. However the restrictive budget, coupled with the shortage of manpower, is making the maintenance of law and order by the SAP an increasingly difficult task; according to newly appointed Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe.

Speaking in Durban hours after his appointment, Van der Merwe said the police force was entering

Own Correspondent

the most difficult phase it has ever faced.

Van der Merwe said there had been a marked increase in serious crimes since March — with armed robberies soaring to an average monthly increase of 20% in comparison with the same months in 1988.

"The sudden increase in every kind of crime, from brutal armed robbery to sophisticated white-col-

lar fraud, can be attributed to a trend of higher criminality among certain sectors of our population," he said. *NDM 3/1/90*

□ Sapa reports sixteen people were murdered in Soweto over the New Year weekend, SAP Public Relations Officer for Soweto Capt M J Ngubeni, said yesterday.

He said police arrested 401 people for murder, attempted murder, robbery, rape, car theft, assault and road offences. *(304A)*

Black market in forex booms as Mugabe eases restrictions

HARARE — The black market in foreign currency has boomed in Zimbabwe since President Robert Mugabe's government last month allowed travellers to bring back up to R6 000 worth of goods every 30 days without an import licence.

The Herald newspaper reported yesterday that "well placed sources" said some foreign diplomats were making over their funds to Zimbabwean racketeers at double the official rate of one of R1,20 to Z\$1.

SA tourists are reportedly being offered of Z\$2 for a rand.

Zimbabweans are limited to a R540 a year holiday allowance which may be accumulated over three years, with the result that the births registry and passport office are jammed with a two-year waiting list as they try to spot bogus applicants seeking to claim multiple allowances.

Black marketeers are now able to bring

MICHAEL HARTNACK

in R72 000 worth of goods a year in the hope no questions will be asked

The Herald said the most wanted currency was the US dollar, selling at a 250% black market premium.

Economists believe many of Zimbabwe's estimated one million unemployed have no other livelihood than as agents or couriers for the "briefcase businessmen" who finance the "shopping trips". Motor spares or consumer goods bought in Pietersburg are retailed here at a 2 000% mark up.

Some bankers believe R200m worth of goods may have been imported in this way from SA last year, reducing the significance of government statistics which show a move away from SA to Britain and West Germany as Zimbabwe's major supplier.

Top equity dealer dies

MANDY JEAN WOODS

ONE of the JSE's most respected and well-known equity dealers, Francois Steinmann, 41, died last Thursday of a heart attack.

Steinmann was a director of the firm J D Anderson. He is survived by his wife Linda and three young children.

J D Anderson director Randall Carter said Steinmann, an active sportsman, died while playing squash.

"Everyone who knew him spoke highly of him. There were 700 people at his funeral, all friends. I think that says it all."

He joined his company in 1968 and became a member and partner in 1978.

Things are looking better, South Africans say

BENJAMIN COCKRAM

SOUTH AFRICANS are slightly more optimistic about the year ahead than they were last year. But whites are less optimistic than blacks according to a Gallup poll.

The poll, conducted locally by Markinor, embraced 1 000 whites and 1 300 black.

It showed about 42% of people polled said 1990 would be a better year than 1989.

Whites are more pessimistic than blacks

about future prospects, the poll showed. Thirty-five percent of whites expected the new year to be worse than 1989, while only 29% of the blacks shared this opinion.

Twenty-nine percent of those polled expected 1990 to be worse than 1989, and 21% thought it would be much the same.

SHAREHOLDERS TO PREFERENCE

ights offer by Bankorp of
arare offer of 3 026 206

Daughters of banned editor in visit to SA

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 to January 1989:	668
February 1989 to December 28 1989:	453
Past 120 hours' official toll:	15
TOTAL:	1 136

SACC 'left out' of church meeting ^{Star 11/90} (304)

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) said in a statement yesterday it was concerned to learn from media reports of a meeting scheduled for January 19 at which church representatives would discuss and plan a "peace conference" to be held later in the year.

"At no stage have either the convenor of the conference or the organisers of the January meeting communicated with the SACC on this issue," said the statement.

"Nevertheless, following Mr F.W. de Klerk's invitation to all churches in South Africa to participate in wide-ranging and in-depth discussions with his Government, the SACC has solicited from its member churches and organisations their responses. Once the process has been completed, the SACC will formulate a collective response to Mr de Klerk's call," the statement said. — Staff Reporter.

Cricket tour may cause wave of violence Hain

15 Dec 4 11 80

LONDON — Sports activist Peter Hain yesterday warned President F W de Klerk and rebel England cricket captain Mike Gatting that the tour could spark a "wave of violence" serious enough to upset SA's reform programme.

Hain, who made a secret nine-day visit to SA before Christmas, said government and white sports officials had "dangerously underestimated" the extent of affront and anger the tour plan had aroused among black sportsmen, political leaders and communities. He said the visiting players, due to

IAN HOBBS

arrive in SA around January 18-20, faced siege conditions.

One black cricket official told him anger against the tour, which was being "bankrolled by taxpayers' money," could cause violence "tantamount to civil war" and be the cause of deaths.

In separate letters to De Klerk and Gatting, he said the conflict would cause political damage to SA and wreck hopes of ending sports isolation.

He said he had met black sports and political leaders who would lead mass

demonstrations against the rebel team "come what may".

Disruptive protests would range from pitch invasions to bombardments from model aircraft and the flashing of mirrors into players' eyes.

Tour manager David Graveney said all players had thought long and hard about the tour — and none had indicated any wish so far to withdraw.

□ Sapa reports that, in what is being seen as a potentially vital step towards returning SA to international sport, members of the SA National Olympic Committee will meet officials of the

International Olympic Committee's Commission for Apartheid in Paris next Tuesday.

SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee head Sam Ramsamy said the political changes taking place in SA necessitated a fresh approach, and SA would be told "exactly what we want for international sport to be resumed".

□ SA Rugby Board president Danie Craven yesterday said he told Hain during an interview in Stellenbosch just before Christmas the SA Council on Sport was hampering the progress of sport in SA rather than helping it.



Hain, left, with Craven during his visit to SA

'Stirring stuff' on business, political fronts

For Dr Zach de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, the Eighties have been an exciting time. He described his decade to LOUISE BURGERS.

Dr Zach de Beer's decade has been full of business triumphs and political upheaval. He resigned from Parliament in May 1980 to pursue his business career and returned a few years later as parliamentary leader of the PFP.

The first half of his decade was taken up with the planning of the future of the life insurance company African Eagle, of which he was chairman. He was also a director of Anglo American in charge of personnel and chairman of LTA.

During that time, Anglo American Life was formed after a merger between African Eagle Life and Guarantee Life.

Very impressive

"It was AA Life which subsequently, in the mid-Eighties, merged with the old Southern Life to form the Southern Life Association. The assets of the life company were R750 million when I went to African Eagle Life and the assets of Southern Life today are R12 billion. Very impressive.

"In South Africa, politically, these were the PW years. And it's interesting because, in his earlier years, P W Botha was seen as a reformist, much as F. W. de Klerk is now."

As a director of the Urban Foundation in 1980, Dr de Beer was concerned with getting the Government to recognise the permanence of blacks in urban areas.

"The Urban Foundation was in the forefront of moves for Government to recognise them and, of course, home ownership

"In 1983, P W Botha put forward his proposals for the tricameral parliament. We in the PFP campaigned for a 'no' vote on the grounds that the proposals excluded black people altogether and were gerrymandered to the disadvantage of the Indian and coloured people.

"The way the referendum was structured, the Conservative Party also had to vote no, although their objection was different to ours.

"The effect of this on the electorate was very confusing. After a hard campaign it seems probable about half the PFP voters voted against the party on that occasion.

"It was a terrible blow for (Dr Van Zyl) Slabbert and probably started the disillusionment which led to his early retirement in 1986.

"Meanwhile, the institution of the tricameral system in 1984 led to unrest throughout the country on a large scale, the state of emergency was instituted and lifted after a period and then reinstituted.

"In August 1985 we had the Rubicon speech and that caused world banking community to withdraw South Africa's facilities. That in turn accelerated a process of economic

Star 4/11/90

304A

My Decade 1980s



The 1980s was a momentous decade in world history, but how did it affect individuals? The Star asked several well-known South Africans to look back and say what this past decade has meant to them.



Dr Zach de Beer... feels, on the whole, it was a rather depressing decade but acknowledges there were some milestones on the road to a more equal and open society.

1980: Dr de Beer, director of personnel for Anglo American and chairman of LTA, resigns from Parliament to become chairman of African Life
1981 to 1982: Anglo American Life formed after merger between African Eagle and Guarantee Life
1983: PFP campaigns for a "no" vote in tricameral referendum
1984: Unrest leads to imposition of state of emergency
1985: Rubicon speech prompts world banking community to withdraw South Africa's facilities
1986: Chairman of Southern Life. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert resigns from Parliament
1987: PFP decimated in general election
1988: Dr de Beer takes over as PFP leader. Unity talks begin with Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan
1989: Democratic Party formed. Dr de Beer becomes parliamentary leader of the party

decline and that, with minor ups and downs, has continued up to the present."

Although Dr de Beer feels this decade was "very depressing", the advent of the trade union movement, the scrapping of many colour bars — in particular the elimination of job segregation, the opening up of hotels, cinemas, restaurants and other facilities — and the announcement that the Separate Amenities Act was to be scrapped, were positive moves.

Milestones

"They are all milestones along the road to a more open and equal society."

In 1986 he took over as chairman of Southern Life.

The resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert the same year was "stirring stuff".

"We knew the PFP had only partially recovered from the blow of the referendum and for us to have been leaderless for

any length of time would have been a disaster.

"It was then that Colin Eglin showed his enormous magnanimity. He had been pushed out of the way to make room for Slabbert in the first place and he now acceded to the general request that he come back as leader. It was a very difficult thing to do.

"He started very well, but within the year found himself facing a general white election. P W Botha fought that election on an extremely tough right-wing platform and the effect was that he decimated the PFP and gave the CP the kiss of life."

Dr de Beer took over as leader of the PFP in August 1988. His priorities were to fight the municipal elections, mainly in Johannesburg, and get a merger going with Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

His wish for the 1990s is to see a nonracial democracy operating in South Africa.

Pik's Hungarian visit should boost trade and co-operation



Mr Botha

BUDAPEST — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has held talks with Hungarian counterpart Mr Gyula Horn in the first known visit of a senior South African official to a Warsaw Pact country.

Hungarian Foreign Ministry sources indicated that Mr Botha would leave today for an unknown destination.

South African Foreign Affairs sources said he was not expected to visit other countries.

Commercial, academic and tourist contacts between South Africa and Hungary have increased in recent months. Other issues that may have been discussed during Mr Botha's visit included landing rights for South African Airways, and access to South African mining technology.

Hungary's Foreign Ministry gave only sparse details of the previously unannounced visit, saying Mr Botha was making a two-day visit.

The SA Foreign Affairs Department said Mr Botha was visiting Hungary "to acquaint himself with recent events in ... Eastern Europe and inform the Hungarian government of the latest developments in South Africa".

A Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria, Mr Thomas Markham, said further comments on Mr Botha's Hungarian visit would be available on the Minister's return at the weekend. Mr Botha left South Africa on Tuesday.

The Hungarian state news agency, MTI, said Hungary expected the visit to boost trade with Pretoria and ease visa restrictions between the two countries.

Mr Botha was also to meet the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the League of Free Democrats opposition groups, MTI said.

Mr Miklos Szabo of the League of Free Democrats said the meeting with Mr Botha was a protocol meeting.

"But we'll take the opportunity to express to Botha the need for radical reform in South Africa," he said.

"At the same time, we are of the view that international relations ought not to be subjugated to ideological considerations," Mr Szabo added.

An indication of the shift in Hungary's attitudes towards Pretoria came last November, when it abstained in a UN General Assembly vote on tougher sanctions against Pretoria.

Yesterday's news angered African members of the UN, who last night pointed out that Hungary was a member of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, set up in 1963, which has been in the forefront of the campaign against Pretoria.

4/11/90

SKILLED WORKERS

Hungarian radio stated clearly that the question of Hungary and South Africa establishing diplomatic relations would not be discussed.

Budapest Radio quoted a Hungarian Foreign Ministry statement as saying: "The aim of his talks cannot be the immediate establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, but that could happen later on as relations gradually improve."

Hundreds of East Europeans were reported to have responded to Pretoria's recruitment campaign aimed at reducing South Africa's chronic shortage of skilled workers. — Staff Reporter-Reuter-AP-Financial Times News Service.

Lucky punter wins

In a fizz over

Wolpe arrives in South Africa

By Kaizer Nyatumba (3044)

A United States congressional delegation led by the chairman of the House of Representatives' Africa Subcommittee, anti-apartheid hardliner and sanctions advocate Congressman Howard Wolpe, arrived in South Africa yesterday on a five-day fact-finding mission.

On their arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Mr Wolpe said he and his colleagues had come to SA "to learn" and would meet President F W de Klerk, Cabinet Ministers and extra-parliamentary leaders, possibly including the recently released ANC leaders.

MUM ON MANDELA

Mr Wolpe, who is accompanied by fellow Democrat Mr Alan Wheat and the only Republican in the delegation, Representative Constance Morella, refused to say whether they would seek a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela and whether permission to see him had been sought from the authorities.

Mr Wolpe said the delegation would hold a press conference at Jan Smuts before their departure on Tuesday. From here they will fly to Harare.

Mr Wolpe, who represents the majority opinion in the House of Representatives, which has twice voted in favour of imposing fresh sanctions on SA, refused to say whether they would hold talks with the ANC in Harare.

Mr Wolpe is also head of a bipartisan

task force on South Africa in which House Republicans and Democrats have worked out a formula for exerting pressure on South Africa and which will get the support of the Senate and the Bush administration.

The delegation was met at the airport by US Ambassador Mr William Swing, a number of US representatives and members of the press.

US Information Service spokesman Mr Larry Schwartz described Mr Wolpe as "the key player" in deciding US policy on Africa.

He has always been active in the drive for the imposition of severe sanctions on Pretoria and was critical of the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy towards SA.

BRIEFED

A few hours after their arrival the American lawmakers were briefed by US Consulate and Embassy officials at the Carlton hotel where they held a series of meetings in the afternoon.

SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and Father Smangalis Mkhatswa also met the congressional delegation at the Carlton yesterday.

Mr Wolpe and his colleagues plan to meet various South African leaders in Johannesburg and Pretoria today.

Details of their itinerary were withheld from the press.

Congressman Wolpe answers questions from the press at Jan Smuts Airport.



LABOUR PARTY

New shadows

F/M 5/1/90 (304A) (485)

The row over the use of a purported substantial secret cash pile by Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse is heading for a legal showdown. It has also cast yet another shadow over the party's participation in the coming parliamentary session.

Roy Williams, a former trustee of party funds and member of the powerful executive committee, says he plans to take Hendrickse to court. He wants to force him and other party officials to disclose details of transactions he believes may be irregular.

Williams, a former MP and now on the President's Council, was expelled from the party shortly before the start of its annual congress in Kimberley last week. He had hoped to raise the secret fund issue during debates. He was kicked out for going to the press with allegations of irregularities.

Attempts by other delegates to raise the issue at the congress were effectively suppressed by chairman Andrew Julies.

Williams's expulsion before he was able to challenge party leaders on anonymous donations and the use of secret funds has raised tensions in the party, particularly among some of the more "leftwing" MPs.

Shortly after Williams's allegations were published, the party's PRO, Peter Hendrickse, said the party did not want to debate its financial affairs in public — but Williams was welcome to raise the matter at the congress. He was expelled before he could do so.

His allegations centre on a "discretionary fund" over which Allan Hendrickse has control. He claims that of a recent anonymous donation of R250 000 to the party, R10 000 each was paid to Hendrickse and party secretary Abe Williams, and R30 000 was paid into a discretionary fund. The rest apparently went into the party's regular funds. It seems that the two amounts of R10 000 may have been reimbursement for expenses but officials are reluctant to discuss the matter.

Hendrickse has also declined to give further details. He denied that his fund was in conflict with the party's constitution as claimed by Williams. He said he had the right to handle the fund in the manner he saw fit and was not answerable to his critics.

The financial row has placed a new shadow over the LP's continued participation in parliament. In recent months it appears to have been completely overtaken by political developments and has probably lost the powerful leverage it had over government.

Though Hendrickse was unanimously re-elected leader he apparently lacks the unequivocal backing of all his MPs.

His biggest headache is expected from several MPs particularly upset by Williams's summary expulsion. They believe it is neces-



Hendrickse ... refusing to provide the detail

sary to challenge the Hendrickse clan's clique-ish control of the party and to strengthen efforts in opposing government and identifying with the broader mass movements.

While direct opposition to Hendrickse did not happen to the extent expected at last week's congress, there were signs of growing dissatisfaction. Some of his chief lieutenants were ousted, including Own Affairs Health Minister Chris April, who lost his post as national vice-president.

Hendrickse rejected suggestions that the party was becoming politically irrelevant and claimed credit for pressing government to make some of the substantial reforms of recent years. He said the party would continue to fight apartheid.

ANGOLA F/M 5/1/90

It takes two

Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos's latest proposal for ending his country's 15-year-old civil war basically restates Luanda's terms for doing a deal with Jonas Savimbi's Unita — whose conditions are no less one-sided. Thus it seems that the mediating role of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is likely to remain fruitless. Unita has yet to respond.

In his New Year address Dos Santos put forward an eight-point peace plan under which he offered to hold free elections within five years. However, it does not mention the creation of a multi-party system, on which the US (Unita's chief backer) insists. On the contrary, Dos Santos says emphatically he does not intend abandoning a one-party solu-

F/M 5/1/90 (304A) (485)

tion for the country, nor renouncing Angola's socialist vision. He demands that Unita must recognise the country's sovereignty as well as the MPLA government's legitimacy.

The plan includes proposals for a ceasefire with Unita but does not address the crucial question of Savimbi's role. It envisages, again, the establishment of a national army incorporating Unita forces as a condition for negotiations. This seems a non-starter. Also proposed are a law allowing free association and a national census preparatory to free elections.

The Dos Santos peace proposal came just days after Unita claimed that the Fapla had launched a major attack on rebel-held Mavinga, in the south-east of Angola, as a prelude to an assault on Jamba (Savimbi's headquarters).

The surprising thing in the Angolan conflict is the inability of the superpowers to prevail upon their respective clients to clinch a settlement — especially in view of their new-found consensus on resolving regional disputes. The SA Institute of International Affairs' Andre du Pisani observes that US policy towards Angola is unchanged from that under Ronald Reagan; nor has Moscow redefined its relationship with the country. "You cannot expect successful mediation if the relationship between patron and client is unchanged," he says.

For all that, "the equation is not all negative," adds Du Pisani. The pressures on both sides (MPLA and Unita) to reach agreement are immense, and there is a momentum for peace in the region.

This is borne out by the peace moves in Mozambique, whose Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi this week announced Maputo's readiness to talk directly to the rebel Renamo group. Mocumbi also reported that the mediators in the conflict, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, now feel that "conditions are becoming ripe for direct talks."

SATS STRIKE F/M 5/1/90

Desperate days

The Sats strike could soon be over. SA Railway & Harbour Workers' Union spokesman Elliot Sogoni says the union is desperate to settle.

The union appears to have little hope that any of its demands will be met. In fact, it appears to have adopted a strategy of damage control, aiming mainly at getting back the jobs of 22 380 sacked strikers. (Sats says 3 551 strikers are still employed.)

Maritzburg poll this month

SW 1/1/90 Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Municipal voters in Maritzburg will go to the polls on January 24 to indicate whether people of all race groups should be entitled to acquire and/or occupy premises in any part of the city.

The referendum is in accordance with a resolution adopted by the city council last month.

The referendum will enable the council to provide the Government with the feeling in Maritzburg towards an open city.

Any person whose name is reflected in the current municipal voters rolls for the white, coloured and Indian areas is entitled to vote.

JANUARY 1990

"Angry with the selectors? No, what makes you ask?"

Picture of Koornhof grabs the media's fancy

304A

WASHINGTON — South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Dr Piet Koornhof, rarely gets his name on the front page of American newspapers these days.

So when a full-colour picture of him in the company of America's pre-eminent black leader, the Rev Jesse Jackson, was published on the front page of *USA Today* this month it caused something of a stir.

The picture was taken at the international ecumenical prayer breakfast held in a Washington hotel on Martin Luther King's birthday.

The picture of Dr Koornhof and Mr Jackson holding hands with the widow of Martin Luther King, Mrs Coretta Scott King, and singing "We Shall Overcome" was published in other newspapers and sent across the world.

It sent a signal to Congress, where it was raised at the press conference given by Mr Howard Wolpe and the delegation that recently toured South Africa.

The picture was positive publicity for the government of Mr F W de Klerk which money could not buy.

Reluctant

In South Africa, the picture raised the question of how South Africa's ambassador came to be at a prayer breakfast holding hands with Mr Jackson.

In his book-lined office overlooking Washington's embassy row, Massachusetts Avenue, Dr Koornhof was at first reluctant to talk about his contacts with American black leaders.

He did not see anything unusual in his having close links with a man like Mr Jackson, who only two years ago was campaigning for South Africa to be declared a terrorist state.

An aide who was with him at the prayer breakfast had previously confided that Dr Koornhof had

South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Dr Piet Koornhof, rarely grabs headline attention in the US these days, but a picture of him and the Rev Jesse Jackson singing "We Shall Overcome" grabbed the media's fancy this month and went to the front page nationwide in the US. DAVID BRAUN reports.



"We Shall Overcome" . . . Dr Piet Koornhof, the widow of Martin Luther King jun, Mrs Coretta Scott King, and the Rev Jesse Jackson.

taken an entire table at the event, inviting nine people to be his guests.

As the proceedings got under way, the various ambassadors present were introduced to the guests (in alphabetical order, according to country). Each envoy was asked to stand to receive applause.

When it got to Dr Koornhof, the master of ceremonies said it seemed too good to be true that the South Africa ambassador had come.

The applause was so warm and long, that the master of ceremonies asked Dr Koornhof to stand again so people could see him.

At the end of the breakfast, when the finale, "We shall overcome",

was about to be sung, Dr Koornhof received a summons from the main table on the rostrum. "Please come up and join us."

That was when the picture was taken.

The gesture of goodwill towards the South African representative was obviously well-meant and given in the true spirit of the slain Dr King. But not a little credit for the occasion should be given to Dr Koornhof.

The ambassador said in this week's interview he was ready and willing to talk to anyone who agreed there should not be a violent solution to South Africa's problems.

It turned out he had known several leading black Americans for many years, having met them and even entertained them in his home in South Africa during the years he was in the Cabinet.

Mr Jackson, Mr Andrew Young, Mrs Coretta Scott King and former tennis star Arthur Ashe were among the names he mentioned as he recalled his earlier contacts with black Americans in his various capacities as Minister of Sport, Minister of Immigration, Minister of Mines, Minister of Co-operation and Development and chairman of the President's Council.

When he was appointed ambassador to Washington he already had a considerable list of contacts he could draw on.

Fellowship

The religious thread that runs through black American politics has also been of considerable assistance to the ambassador.

For close on 20 years he has been associated with Fellowship, an informal interdenominational Christian group that seeks to draw in leading figures all over the world.

Fellowship — that is all it is known as — includes luminaries such as US president Mr George Bush and other world figures.

It was therefore only natural that Dr Koornhof should take a large table at the international ecumenical prayer breakfast.

He goes to many prayer breakfasts, and he is a frequent visitor at some of Washington's leading black churches.

Through this fellowship, Dr Koornhof has had access to, or at least something substantial in common with, a great many movers and shakers in Washington, Democrats as well as Republicans.

This has made him acceptable in circles one would ordinarily not expect to be open to the representative of South Africa.

11
th
er
cr
qt
ba
19
to
bu
be
tio
tot
194
tal
pla
wil
con

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has begun to strip away the layers of apartheid race laws but analysts say more reforms are needed if he is to end South Africa's economic isolation and restore growth in the 1990s.

"The most powerful threat to De Klerk this year is...the challenge of the economy," said Robert Schrire, professor of political science at the University of Cape Town.

Gold and politics remain crucial determinants of South Africa's economic future and prospects for both are uncertain.

With bullion, the country's biggest export, hovering around 400 dollars an ounce and foreign debt repayments draining billions of dollars from the economy, analysts say De Klerk has little option but to step up the pace of political change.

Dilemma

"De Klerk realises that the status quo cannot continue. The dilemma he now faces is how to get the economy moving again. If it continues to stagnate, he will face enormous pressures in the next election," Schrire said.

Political and economic analysts agreed that only a determined programme of accelerated political reforms would persuade Western nations to roll back sanctions and encourage a return of overseas investment to the siege economy created by De Klerk's predecessor P W Botha. Botha quit last August

FOCUS

Still more for FW to do

304A

Sowetan 5/1/90

Sapa-Reuter



Observers say more reforms are expected from State President FW de Klerk if he is to end South Africa's economic isolation.

after a decade of rule. His refusal to dismantle apartheid and his heavy reliance on the police and army to enforce it left a disastrous economic legacy.

Foreign banks, under anti-apartheid pressures, cut off credit lines to South Africa in 1985. Scores of foreign companies, mostly US multinationals, disinvested. The United States, the European Community and a range of individual countries

imposed trade sanctions against Pretoria.

Average annual growth in gross domestic product (GDP) - the value of goods and services produced - of six percent in the 1960s and four percent in the 1970s shrank to about one percent in real terms in the 1980s.

Blacks

Unemployment among blacks soared to an estimated 35 percent and inflation jumped to around 15 percent, three times the average of South Africa's main trading partners.

The value of the rand - now worth about 39 US cents - dropped by about

two thirds against the dollar during the 1980s, halved against sterling and plummeted against all other major currencies.

South Africa hopes to have achieved two percent real growth in GDP for 1989. But most economists predicted this would shrink to less than one percent in 1990 because Pretoria has been forced to brake growth and generate a large surplus on its balance of payments current account. That surplus would be swallowed up by heavy repayments on its R51 billion foreign debt, they said.

"If a continued drain

on economic growth is to be avoided, South Africa must strive to re-enter international capital markets," said Standard Bank, the country's biggest bank, in an economic review.

De Klerk's limited political reforms recently prompted some cautious foreign investment in shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange for the first time in years.

Apartheid

But analysts said only the scrapping of bedrock apartheid laws and the start of serious negotiations between the white government and the voteless black majority about power sharing could bring about an end to the country's financial isolation.

"Political barriers remain the key issue and it is therefore crucial that the current increasingly positive foreign perceptions of this country be strengthened," said Standard Bank.

The release of jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela is widely regarded as a minimum requirement if sanctions are to be eased.

"Mandela's release would help stop disinvestment by US companies operating here and possibly lead to the lifting of other sanctions. But it would not help if he is released into a political vacuum so it must be followed by negotiations with black leaders," said Wayne Mitchell, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, which represents about 130 US firms still in South Africa.



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment. One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Council/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Hungary, SA agree on links

LONDON — SA and Hungary agreed yesterday after talks between their foreign ministers to start a gradual process of establishing official diplomatic relations.

In what is believed to be the first time an SA Minister has visited a Warsaw Pact country, Foreign Minister Pik Botha met his Hungarian counterpart, Gyula Horn, for discussions on developments in Eastern Europe and southern Africa.

In a telephone call from Budapest, Botha described the discussions as "in depth, very positive, useful and instructive".

No details of the process towards official diplomatic relations between the two countries were given, but Horn said in a statement issued in Budapest his government would maintain dialogue with SA within the ambit of his country's rejection of apartheid.

Observers expect the first milestone in relations to be the setting up of "interest offices" in each other's capitals.

Botha's visit was prominently reported in Hungarian newspapers and on radio and television, and it was pointed out that Hungary was interested in deepening economic and humanitarian co-operation with SA.

On dialogue with SA, Horn stressed his government's commitment to the realisation of human rights in all countries and its resolute stand against discrimination of any kind on the basis of race, nationality or minority.

Hungarian foreign policy was aimed at openness and, rather than isolation, it preferred negotiations to solve problems straining international relations.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that the ANC last night accused its former close ally and military supporter Hungary of holding treacherous negotiations with SA.

The movement, which is being increasingly left out in the cold by Eastern Europe, called on all African governments to reconsider their links with the Budapest government.

The ANC's unprecedented protest against a Warsaw Pact nation was delivered to Budapest as Botha ended talks.

With the direct backing of the 50-nation OAU, the ANC accused Hungary of "cynically betraying" an undertaking, given just 10 days ago, that the new Budapest government would have "no contacts with the apartheid regime".

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in

□ To Page 2

SA and Hungary

□ From Page 1

London has called on protestors to mass outside the Hungarian embassy today to stage the first demonstration in its history against an Eastern European nation.

Representatives of the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) are expected to lead the demonstration — which would have been considered unimaginable just three months ago.

Both the SACP and the ANC claim the Hungarian government, whose Communist Party voted itself out of existence two months ago, is negotiating banking, heavy industrial, tourist and air route ties with SA, and that formal diplomatic links could follow.

Senior ANC sources confirmed they were devastated by Botha's visit.

They now knew the Hungarian government had decided some time before to "form a partnership with apartheid" and accused Hungary of the "betrayal of the majority of SA and all African people".

Political commentators in London were told the ANC feared that Moscow tacitly supported the new Budapest-Pretoria links, and that other Warsaw Pact country's could follow the Hungarian example.

It was felt that the newly pragmatic Russians would not stand in the way of any positive move, including nailing the lid on the coffin of sanctions, if it helped pressure Pretoria and the ANC into talks for a negotiated settlement. — Sapa.

● Picture: Page 3

against humanity.

also
ian
sur-
not
cal,
nks

ted
ian
out
in
ian-
re-

000
in
hat
the
ed.
Mr
ars
of
the
The

life
fer-
was
rity.
Ser-

ced
s of

Rights group optimistic about change under FW

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

5/11/90

WASHINGTON — For the first time in more than four decades of power, the South African Government appears to have begun to retreat from apartheid and the repression required to sustain it, a leading US human rights monitoring organisation has declared.

Human Rights Watch, a New York-based group which monitors and promotes human rights throughout the world, yesterday released a 381-page review of the Bush administration's record on human rights in 1989, covering US policy toward 50 countries.

It found overall that public positions taken by the administration revealed a widespread disregard for human rights.

While the administration supported change in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, most notably in South Africa and Burma, it failed to embrace human rights throughout the world.

Human Rights Watch called on President George Bush to take steps to ensure a far more prominent role for human rights in the administration's foreign policy of 1990.

The group said at a press conference in Washington yesterday South Africa was one of the bright spots in the administration's policy in 1989. The administration had called for an end to the state of emergency, the freeing of political prisoners and the abolition of various legislative pillars of apartheid, and had backed these demands with a specific timetable for change.



IMPROVING

304A

In a 15-page section on South Africa in its report, the group said President de Klerk's rhetoric had emphasised negotiations, but popular leaders of the disenfranchised majority could not envisage negotiations under the current restrictive climate.

It said: "Nevertheless, there are indications of an improving human rights situation, for example, the release, without restriction, of eight long-term political prisoners, including Mr Walter Sisulu, the dismantling of the feared national security management system, and the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia following ... a fair and free election."

Hungary, SA aim to establish official ties

Pik's diplomatic coup enrages ANC

304A

London

First moves by Hungary and South Africa towards closer official relations have been greeted with a howl of rage from the ANC and anti-apartheid groups.

A statement issued after discussions in Budapest yesterday between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Hungarian counterpart Mr Gyula Horn made it clear South Africa and Hungary have agreed to start a gradual process of establishing official ties.

At a press conference, Mr Botha said the purpose of his visit to Budapest had been purely "informational". He had wanted to hear at first-hand of developments in Hungary and Eastern Europe, and Hungary had wanted to hear from him the present course of events in South Africa.

"I did not come here to establish diplomatic relations," he said, adding that the two countries would nevertheless move forward together towards closer relations. The news agency MTI reported "Both sides expressed their intention to gradually establish official relations".

Condemned reception

Mr Botha described the 4½-hour meeting with Mr Horn as "very positive, useful and instructive".

The ANC "unequivocally" condemned the official reception of Mr Botha.

"This unprincipled act demonstrates both bad faith and a cynical disregard for international agreements," the ANC said in a statement issued in Lusaka yesterday.

The ANC said Hungarian government representatives assured the ANC only 10 days ago it would have no contact with the South African Government. Three weeks ago, Hungary voted with the rest of the world at the United Nations to continue effective action against South Africa.

The ANC also opposed South African recruitment of Hungarian skilled immigrants, "because there were millions within South Africa who were denied their citizenship".

Anti-apartheid activists are to stage a protest outside the Hungarian embassy in London today to protest against Mr Botha's visit to Budapest.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, has written to the Hungarian ambassador in London. He said: "At a time when the people of Hungary are striving for freedom and democracy it is a matter of the gravest concern that your government should host the Foreign Minister of a regime whose policies of apartheid represent a crime against humanity."

Archbishop Huddleston also sent a telex to the Hungarian Foreign Minister, seeking assurances that Hungary would not enter into economic, political, military or diplomatic links with South Africa.

Mr Botha's visit was reported prominently in the Hungarian media and it was pointed out that Hungary was interested in deepening economic and humanitarian co-operation with Pretoria.

In view of the roughly 10 000 ethnic Hungarians living in South Africa, it was likely that visa requirements between the two countries would be relaxed.

● The visit to Hungary by Mr Botha confirmed the worst fears about the consequences of change in Eastern Europe, the Zimbabwean newspaper, *The Herald*, said today.

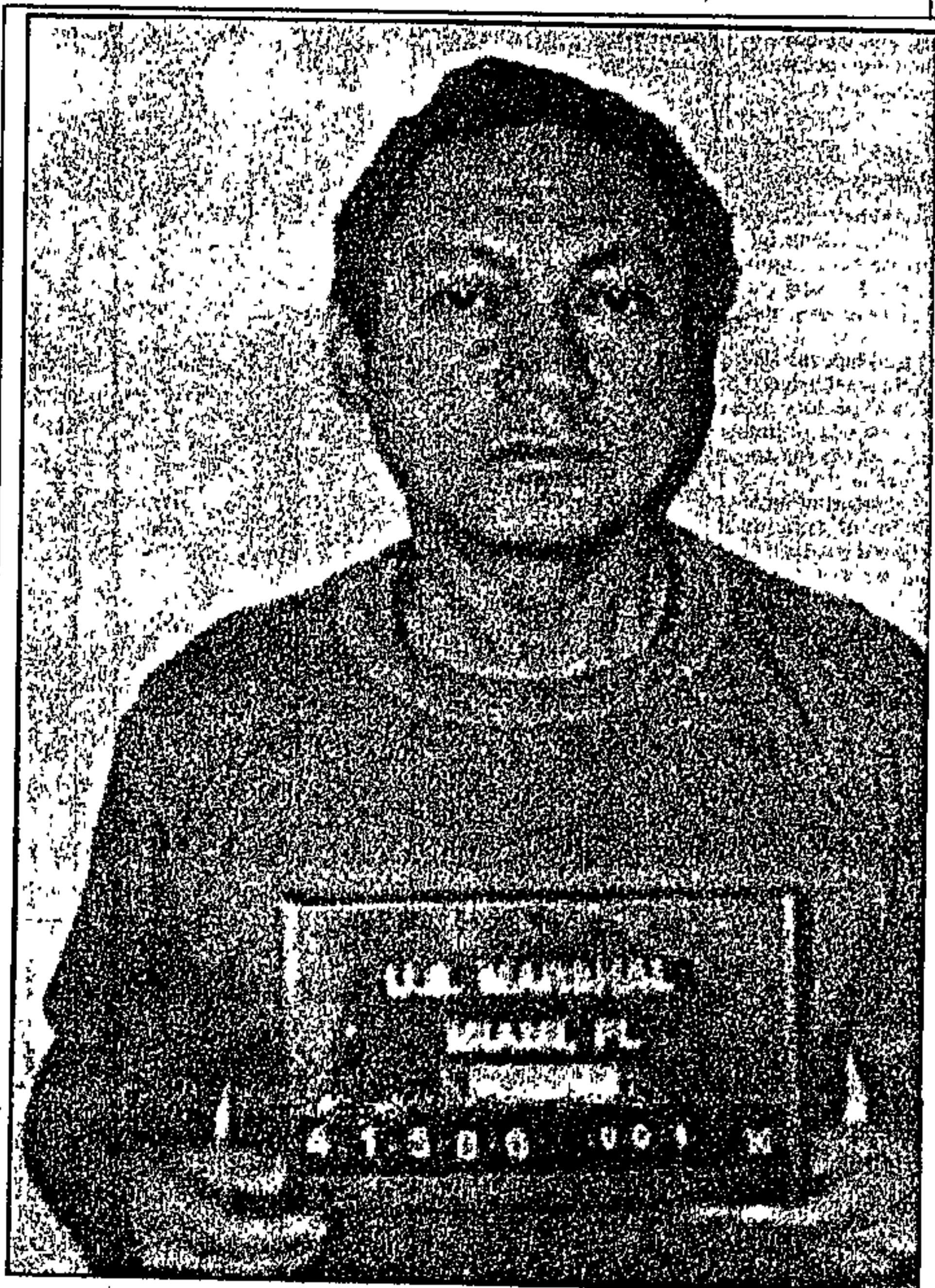
The paper said the good life white South Africa was offering Warsaw Pact emigrants was at the expense of the majority.

— The Star's Foreign News Service and Sapa

● See Pages 3 and 9.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations



IN THE BAG . . . General Noriega poses for a US Justice Department "mugshot" appearing in court, where he refused to plead.

Rights group optimistic about change under FW

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — For the first time in more than four decades of power, the South African Government appears to have begun to retreat from apartheid and the repression required to sustain it, a leading US human rights monitoring organisation has declared.

Human Rights Watch, a New York-based group which monitors and promotes human rights throughout the world, yesterday released a 381-page review of the Bush administration's record on human rights in 1989, covering US policy toward 50 countries.

It found overall that public positions taken by the administration revealed a widespread disregard for human rights.

While the administration supported change in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, most notably in South Africa and Burma, it failed to embrace human rights throughout the world.

Human Rights Watch called on President George Bush to take steps to ensure a far more prominent role for human rights in the administration's foreign policy of 1990.

The group said at a press conference in Washington yesterday South Africa was one of the bright spots in the administration's policy in 1989. The administration had called for an end to the state of emergency, the freeing of political prisoners and the abolition of various legislative pillars of apartheid, and had backed these demands with a specific timetable for change.

IMPROVING

In a 15-page section on South Africa in its report, the group said President de Klerk's rhetoric had emphasised negotiations, but popular leaders of the disenfranchised majority could not envisage negotiations under the current restrictive climate.

It said: "Nevertheless, there are indications of an improving human rights situation, for example, the release, without restriction, of eight long-term political prisoners, including Mr Walter Sisulu, the dismantling of the feared national security management system, and the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia following a fair and free election."

Reforms 'not forthcoming' for the media

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — At least 150 journalists have been arrested in South Africa since the beginning of the anti-apartheid defiance campaign in early August 1989, the United States-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) has claimed.

The committee has updated its chronology of events in South Africa since mid-1985 to include the period between January 1 and October 31 1989. The chronology is an almost daily list of actions taken against journalists in South Africa.

The list for the first 10 months of 1989 details 90 events.

The CPJ said some of the 150 journalists arrested since last August had been detained several times. Film and equipment had been almost routinely confiscated on many of these occasions.

"While the arrests have rarely involved charges or long detention,"

De Klerk can end economic isolation

Sta 6/1/90

3044

CHRISTOPHER WILSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has begun to strip away the layers of apartheid race laws but analysts say more reforms are needed if he is to end South Africa's economic isolation and restore growth in the 1990s.

"The most powerful threat to De Klerk this year is the challenge of the economy," said Robert Schrire, professor of political science at the University of Cape Town.

Gold and politics remain crucial determinants of South Africa's economic future and prospects for both are uncertain.

With bullion, the country's biggest export, hovering around \$400 and foreign debt repayments draining billions of dollars from the economy, analysts say De Klerk has little option but to step up the pace of political change.

"De Klerk realises that the status quo cannot continue. The dilemma he now faces is how to get the economy moving again. If it continues to stagnate, he will face enormous pressures in the next election," Schrire said.

Political and economic analysts agreed that only a determined programme of accelerated political reforms would persuade Western nations to roll back sanctions and encourage a return of overseas investment to the siege economy created by De Klerk's predecessor PW Botha.

Botha quit last August after a decade of rule. His refusal to dismantle apartheid and his heavy reliance on the police and army to enforce it left a disastrous economic legacy.

Foreign banks, under anti-apartheid pressures, cut off credit lines to South Africa in 1985. Scores of foreign companies, mostly US multinationals, disinvested. The United States, the European Community and a range of individual countries imposed trade sanctions against Pretoria.

Average annual growth in gross domestic product (GDP) — the value of goods and services produced — of six percent in the 1960s and four percent in the 1970s shrank to about one percent in real terms in the 1980s.

Unemployment among blacks soared to an estimated 35 percent and inflation jumped to around 15 percent, three times the average of South Africa's main trading partners. The value of the ... — now worth about

39 US cents — dropped by about two thirds against the dollar during the 1980s, halved against sterling and plummeted against all other major currencies.

South Africa hopes to have achieved two percent real growth in GDP for 1989. But most economists predicted this would shrink to less than one percent in 1990 because Pretoria has been forced to brake growth and generate a large surplus on its balance of payments current account. That surplus would be swallowed up by heavy repayments on its \$20 billion foreign debt, they said.

"If a continued drain on economic growth is to be avoided, South Africa must strive to re-enter international capital markets," said Standard Bank, the country's biggest bank, in an economic review.

De Klerk's limited political reforms recently prompted some cautious foreign investment in shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange for the first time in years.

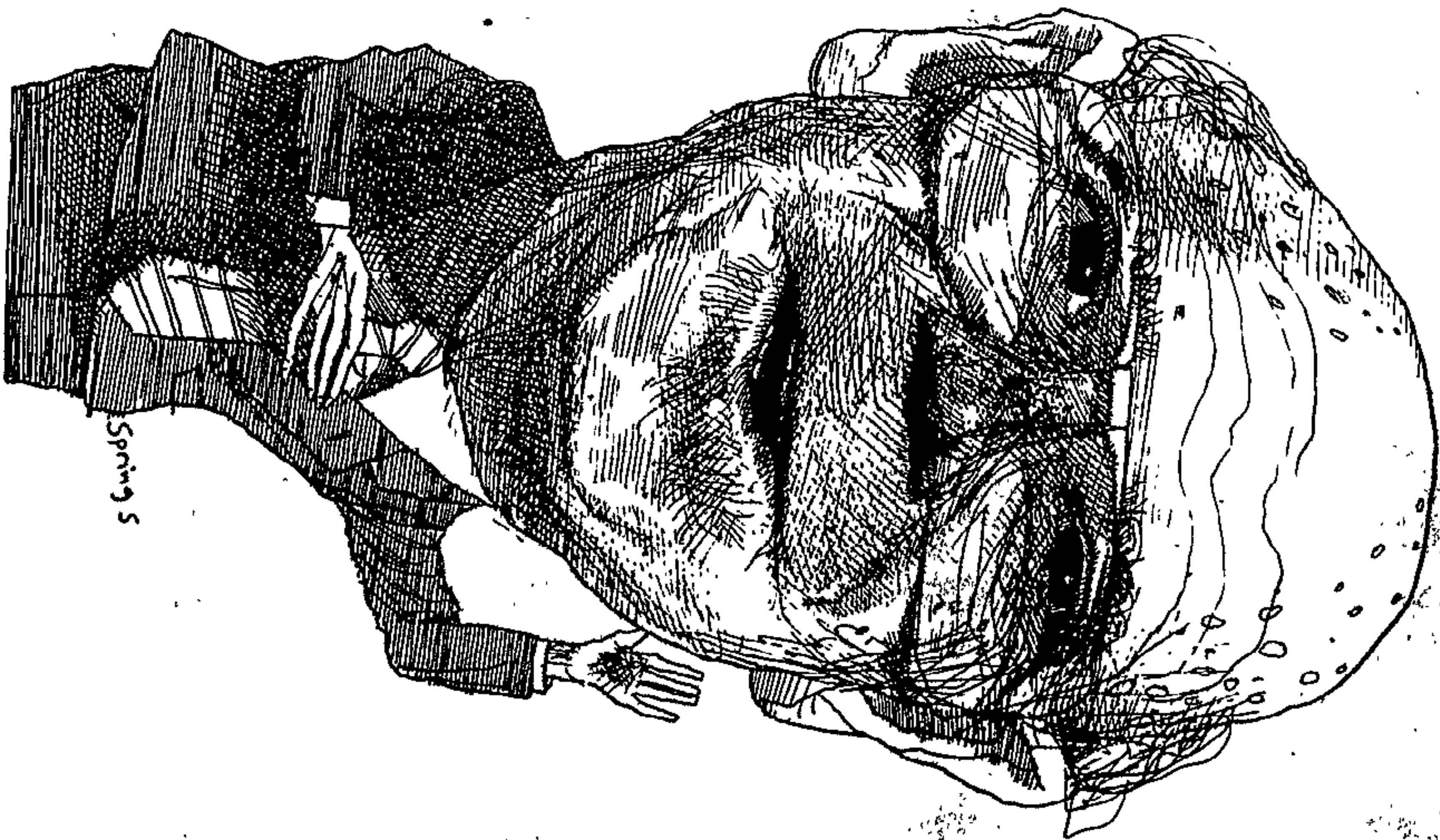
Political barriers

But analysts said only the scrapping of bedrock apartheid laws and the start of serious negotiations between the white government and the voteless black majority about power sharing could bring about an end to the country's financial isolation.

"Political barriers remain the key issue and it is therefore crucial that the current increasingly positive foreign perceptions of this country be strengthened," said Standard Bank.

The release of jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela is widely regarded as a minimum requirement if sanctions are to be eased.

"Mandela's release would help stop disinvestment by US companies operating here and possibly lead to the lifting of other sanctions. But it would not help if he is released into a political vacuum so it must be followed by negotiations with black leaders," said Wayne Mitchell, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, which represents about 130 US firms still in South



Spring 5

SA-Soviet contacts are a step forward

PAT DEVEREAUX and
LOUISE BURGERS

REVELATIONS by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday that South African and Soviet government representatives have had regular contact were hailed last night by right and left-wing parliamentary political leaders as "a diplomatic step forward".

But extra-parliamentary MDM leaders have slated the Minister's meeting with the Hungarian officials, saying it will undermine international anti-apartheid campaigns.

And news of the visit shocked overseas members of the anti-apartheid movement.

Both the ANC and various anti-apartheid organisations intend to make urgent representations not only to Hungary, but all Eastern Bloc countries to put a brake on what appears to be a slide into South Africa's orbit.

It is not the contact between Mr Botha and Hungary's foreign ministry that concerns them as much as the prospect of the two countries extending their economic links. This would undermine the international sanctions campaign against South Africa.

At a press conference on his return from a two-day visit to Budapest, where he held talks aimed at new trade and diplomatic links with Hungary, Mr Botha disclosed that South Africa and the Soviet Union are "holding regular meetings about closer relations".

'Touch of irony'

He also said it was time "the ANC discovered that their brother comrades along with their ideologies in eastern Europe were gone, and the ANC should realise that what they wished to introduce to South Africa had died in the Soviet Union".

Reacting to Mr Botha's recent trip and the disclosure of SA-Soviet contact, Dr Zach de Beer, the Democratic Party parliamentary leader, said: "The news that our Government is in regular contact with the Soviet Union carries more than a touch of irony for those of us who have endured all the National Party's propaganda about a Moscow-inspired total onslaught on South Africa."

"But one must not be diverted by such considerations. I must express relief and pleasure that the Nats have matured sufficiently to do this. The peace, security and, ultimately, the prosperity of our country will depend largely upon the external relations we can establish with all the great nations."

"I believe that this development reinforces the urgent need for South Africa to alter its internal policies radically, to abolish all race discrimination and to build a united nation based upon equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law."

'Buttress status quo'

Releasing a statement on behalf of the MDM, United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said: "We are angry that the Hungarian government has officially received Mr Pik Botha."

"The meeting will have the effect of undermining the international campaign for the isolation of South Africa, a campaign which Hungary has always supported."

"Just as disturbing is the possibility of the recruitment of skilled Hungarian immigrants to South Africa. In our experience the effect of bringing skilled workers to South Africa from Europe has been to buttress the status quo by affording a special place to Europeans at the expense of black South Africans."

who are denied the most elementary human rights.
"The MDM has welcomed the struggle of the people of eastern Europe for freedom and democracy. We call on the people of eastern Europe, including Hungary, to continue the support which they have given to the anti-apartheid struggle for many years.
"As far as contact with the Soviets is concerned, we have only Mr Botha's word. It has not been confirmed by the Soviets, so we cannot comment on that.
Conservative Party chief information officer Mr Koos van der Merwe said his party welcomed Mr Botha's diplomatic moves.

"He is simply doing his job. The trend to try (to) establish diplomatic relations with Eastern (Bloc) countries is not a new one. Every country must try to establish as broad a diplomatic base as possible."
A Foreign Affairs spokesman has confirmed that meetings were held between Soviet and South African Government representatives. But he denied the Min-

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and NEIL HOOPER

THE ANC will respond cautiously to President FW de Klerk's recent reform moves in its first official reaction since the Government started steps to get negotiations going.

Sources close to the ANC in Lusaka said yesterday that the ANC's annual birthday message — to be delivered by acting leader Mr Alfred Nzo tomorrow — will be more important "for what it does not say" than for its actual contents.

It will also reflect an uncertainty within the organisation on how to respond to the De Klerk moves while attempting to placate factions inside the organisation who are dead against any form of negotiation.

These divisions were widened on Friday

when Foreign Minister Pik Botha announced that the Government is now ready to tackle "the obstacles" to negotiations.

This is considered to be a "code word" for what the ANC has labelled preconditions to negotiations as set out by the recent Harare Declaration, subsequently endorsed by the United Nations.

This is the clearest indication yet that the Government will soon:

● Release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;

● Lift the state of emergency;

● Remove troops from black townships;

● Announce a moratorium on "political trials" and executions.

The Government's moves are designed to seize the initiative on negotiations and force the ANC to respond. It may lead to foreign governments, especially the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, "leaning" on the ANC to adopt a more conciliatory approach.

Sources in Lusaka said the annual message would be mild compared to similar speeches made in the past by ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Mr Tambo is recuperating in a Swedish hospital after a stroke. It is considered highly unlikely that he will return to the helm of the movement he has led for more than a quarter of a century.

This has already sparked speculation about his successor. According to the ANC's constitution, Mr Nzo is second in line. However, although he is highly regarded as an organiser, there are doubts about his ability to lead the ANC in the most vital phase of its history where diplomatic skills are of the essence. At 64 he belongs to the older generation of leadership.

The two main contenders to the throne appear to be Mr Thabo Mbeki, 47, the ANC's secretary for external affairs, and Mr Chris Hani, 47, the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Mbeki is a highly regarded negotiator and skilled diplomat who initiated most of the ANC's recent contacts with South African groups, including senior Broederbond members. He is said to represent the faction in the movement which is in favour of exploring the possibilities of talks with the SA Government.

The leadership issue will come to a head later this year when the ANC's quadrennial consultative conference meets to elect a leader and members of the National Executive Council.

There is also strong support for Mr Nelson Mandela's leadership. The feeling is that his decades as the world's most celebrated prisoner have increased his in-

ternational stature and make him a natural successor to Mr Tambo.

There are, however, also question marks about his age — 71 — and his health.

According to ANC sources, the Mr Nzo will tomorrow name 1990 "The Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa".

It is expected to dismiss the Government's reaction to the Harare Declaration as "political gamesmanship" and commit the ANC to continu-

ing the armed struggle.

It will recognise advances made by Mr De Klerk but emphasise that while the obstacles remain in place there can be no talk about negotiations.

One of the most significant statements expected is the ANC's approval for its supporters working from within apartheid.

This would include structures such as the independent states and self-governing homelands, and so-called apartheid bodies such as the police and prisons service.

It will be seen as referring to General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei, Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and the controversial policeman, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

Traditionally the annual message salutes the ANC's revolutionary allies such as the SA Communist Party, the SA Congress of Trade Unions and the "patriotic forces within South Africa" involved in strikes and campaigns against conscription.

On peace negotiations with SA, the ANC is expected to state that the Harare Declaration and its endorsement by the United Nations is intended solely for the purpose of ending the apartheid system as quickly and with as little bloodshed as possible.

It will dismiss the Government's response as "political gamesmanship" which has nothing to do with any serious effort to advance towards a mutually acceptable agreement to end apartheid.

ANC likely to
(2) (304A)
pussyfoot in
Sunday Times 2/01/90
its response
to moves by
Government

DP demands inquiry

S/TIMES (3044) 7/1/90
THE GOVERNMENT is to come under strong opposition fire in Parliament over its handling of police hit squad allegations.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday his party would continue its efforts to get to the bottom of the revelations.

"We believe F W de Klerk made a serious political mistake when he refused to

By DRIES van HEERDEN

appoint a judicial commission to investigate the matter."

Dr Worrall, the DP's main spokesman on Law and Order, said Mr De Klerk had squandered an opportunity to prove to South Africa that his administration was different from that of his predecessor,

Mr P W Botha.

"In spite of the findings of the McNally commission he still refused calls for a judicial commission. The only inference that can be drawn is that he is afraid information could be revealed that would embarrass members of his administration.

"We will not allow this issue to fade away," Dr Worrall said.

C/pen 7/1/90.

304A

Dangers of one-party rule

In his book *The Prisoners of Tradition and the Politics of Nation Building* CHARLES SIMKINS

examined South Africa's chances of moving towards a multi-party democracy. He believes this will happen if the country's interest groups maintain their independence. Today eastern bloc countries are demanding multi-party democracy - having learnt this has to be spelt out.

Simkins, a professor in the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town, talked to Jill Wentzel in *Institute of Race Relations News*.

WENTZEL: In your book you emphasise the importance of multi-party democracy as opposed to the one-party state.

You also emphasise the importance of pluralism. Could you explain these terms.

SIMKINS: There are two competing traditions of democracy in political philosophy. The first tradition is based on representative or parliamentary democracy. This involves competition between two or more parties and gives rise to what people now call multi-party democracy.

The second tradition is based on council democracy, with as much direct democracy at the grassroots as possible - what people now call a one-party state.

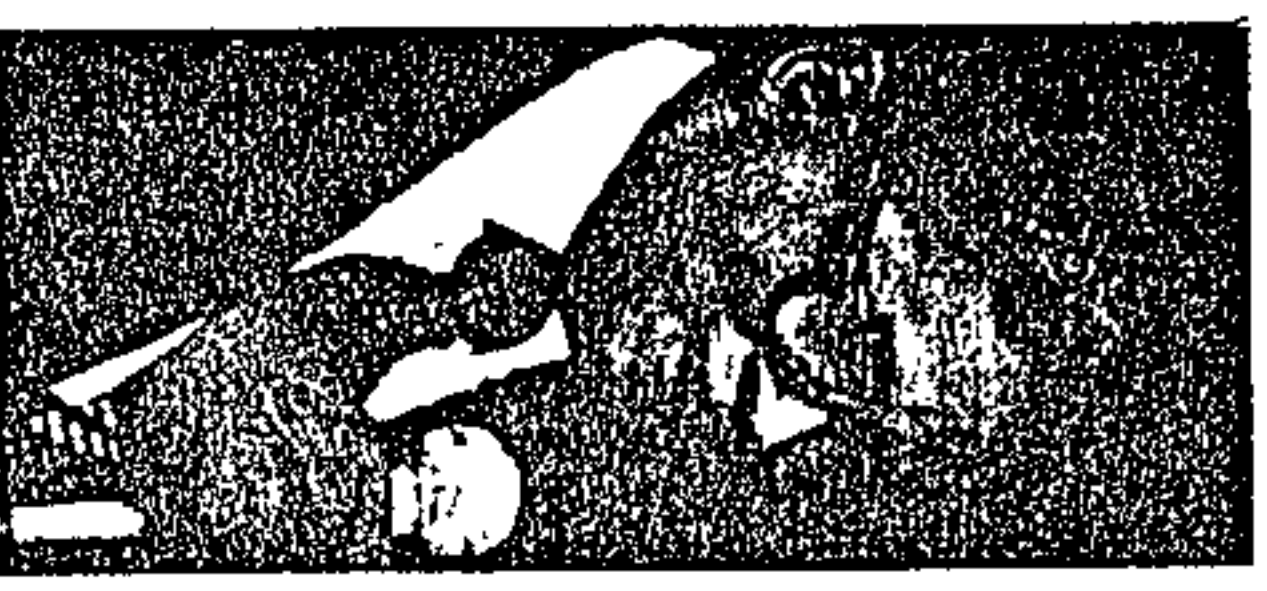
In this system there is no competition between parties because one party attains dominance and outlaws all others.

WENTZEL: Does that mean political parties are forbidden in council democracies?

SIMKINS: In a one-party, council democracy system, there is one overall political organisation into which everybody has to fit.

In Zambia, for example, the ruling party is the one

Some of the organisations that can make a difference



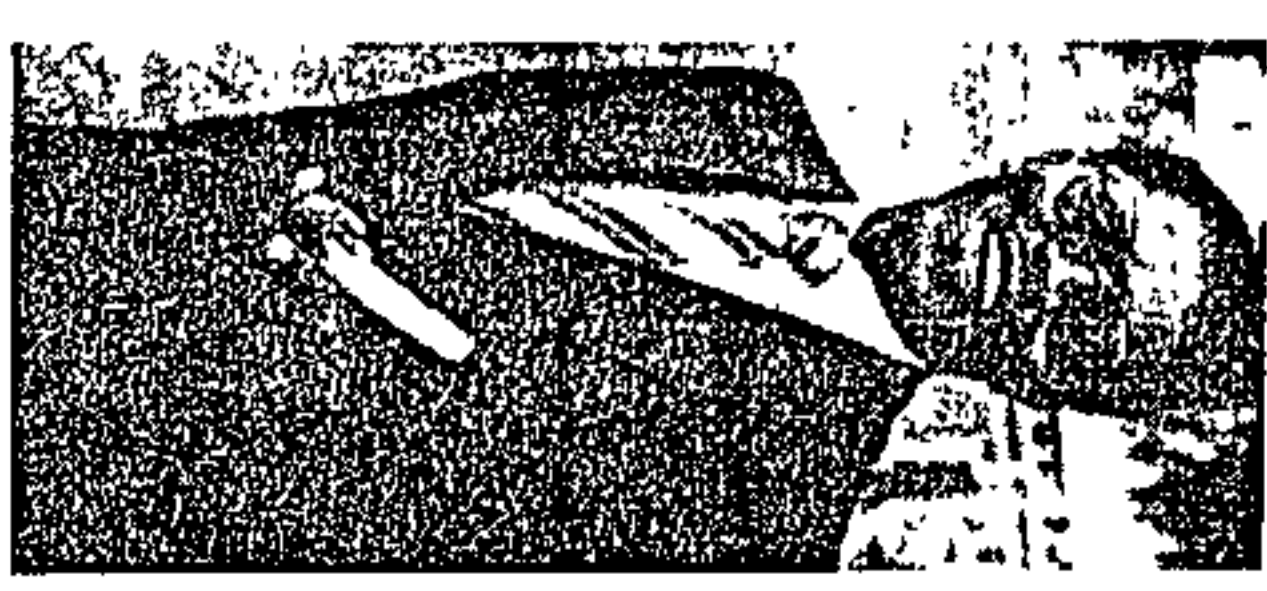
Nafcoc's Motsuenyane



Sam Ntseke



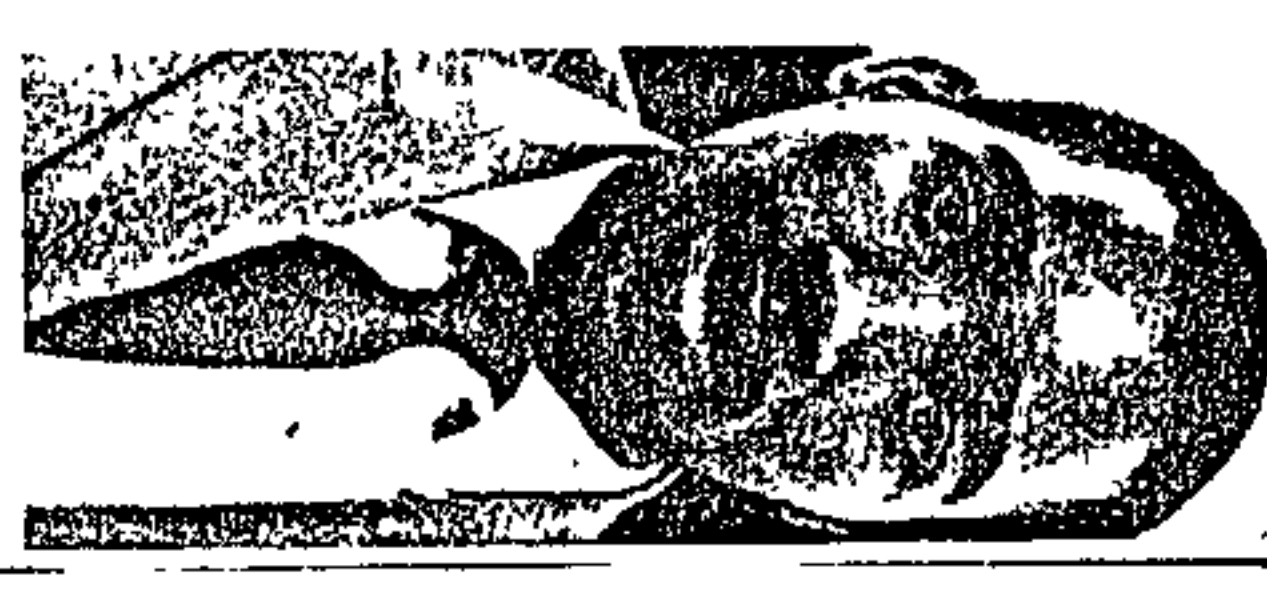
Sabata Ngcoya



James Nkomo



The NEC's Vusi Khanyile



BLA's Moseneke



Dikgang Mosenene

Black Sash's Sheena Duncan

Achib's Lawrence Mavundla

Multi-party democracy is a solution, says academic

Prisomers you imply it might not be so easy to achieve a multi-party democracy in South Africa. But since your book was published early this year, the ANC has

partyism is stronger. On the black side there are encouraging indications from Inkatha and the ANC. I think the real prospects on the black side depend on whether one overall winner emerges or whether the smaller black groupings will be strong enough to maintain themselves over time.

What whites do will affect the prospects on the black scene and vice versa.

Progress by whites towards dismantling statutory discrimination

associations, teachers' associations, lawyers' associations, trade unions, sporting bodies and clubs, and organisations like the Black Sash, National Cross, National Education Crisis Committee, church organisations, Nafcoc, the Black Lawyers' Association, hawkers' association Achib and Sabra.

There should also be special interest groups representing people living in informal housing, pensioners and disabled people.

the ANC

They should be building specific alliances as teachers, but are constantly at risk of being made a transmission belt for an agenda which is not their own

This threat increases if there are high levels of public violence.

Politics stop where violence starts. Interest group activity can only happen in a genuinely political situation, where people can pursue their interests with some guarantee they won't be "taken out" if other

strategies - and they don't have any say in whether they think these wider strategies are effective or desirable.

WENTZEL: What

Do you believe most South Africans do not have this understanding, or that specific power blocs do not have it, or both?

SIMKINS: Many peo-

politics stop where violence starts. Interest group activity can only happen in a genuinely political situation where people can pursue their interests with some guarantee they won't be

politics stop where violence starts. Interest group activity can only happen in a genuinely political situation where people can pursue their interests with some guarantee they won't be

politics stop where violence starts. Interest group activity can only happen in a genuinely political situation where people can pursue their interests with some guarantee they won't be

politics stop where violence starts. Interest group activity can only happen in a genuinely political situation where people can pursue their interests with some guarantee they won't be

Stalin used to refer to them as a system of 'transmission belts'. 7

In Zambia, for example, Unip is the one party and all political debate takes place within it. Factions may form over temporary issues, but on the whole this is regarded as a dangerous thing, so factions are discouraged.

WENTZEL: How would you define pluralism?

SIMKINS: Pluralism is often loosely used as another word for multi-party democracy. Political pluralism is the idea that divergent interests should be organised in divergent parties which then compete for public support.

WENTZEL: In a one-party state you do have elections. Is there no way of removing certain interest groups from within a one-party state?

SIMKINS: We know

The great difficulty of the one-party system is that a political elite at the top runs the whole society and treats all other social institutions as subordinate. Stalin used to refer to them as a system of "transmission belts". When that happens there are no checks and balances against the abuse of power.

China, for instance, followed disastrous agricultural policies under the Great Leap Forward in the 1950s. and because there were no checks and balances these continued for three years until they had starved 30 million peasants to death.

WENTZEL: In

come out in favour of a multi-party democracy, the Democratic Party has won 33 seats on a multi-party democracy ticket government has indicated support for a Bill of Rights which enshrines the right of free association.

Bearing this in mind, as well as that Inkatha also subscribes to multi-party democracy, would you say the chances of achieving this in South Africa are now much stronger?

SIMKINS: The interesting development in white politics is the erosion of the old solid Nationalist Party majority - so on the white side multi-

Progress by whites towards dismantling statutory discrimination will allow new interests to emerge which will straddle the colour line.

Developments within the Soviet Union, and particularly the Soviet Union's own policy towards southern Africa, has also stirred a new acceptance of multi-party democracy in the ANC.

WENTZEL: In *Prisoners* you say: "It is essential that a range of vital and independent groups emerge." Can you give examples of the sort of groups you mean and explain why they are important?

SIMKINS: They constitute independent centres of power which check the use of state power.

The sort of black and white groups that exist already are business

living in informal housing, pensioners and disabled people.

Specific interest groups tend to cut across political allegiances and act independently of political organisations. For example, within organisations like Sabta and Achib you'll get followers of Azapo, Inkatha and the UDF.

WENTZEL: You warn there are circumstances that would overwhelm these interest groups? **SIMKINS:** The danger is they may have their specific identity overridden.

Take the example of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA). Its purpose is to represent teacher interests in the Cape, but it finds itself constantly having to manoeuvre in relation to the Labour Party and

their interests with some guarantee they won't be "taken out" if other groups are against them.

WENTZEL: You say in *Prisoners*: "If currently independent special interest groups are compelled to join national political organisations, this will bode ill for the development of cross-cutting cleavages and social checks and balances."

What do you mean by "compelled to join national political organisations?"

SIMKINS: Take sport. For example, the ability to construct a decent sporting order is prejudiced by wider nationalist objectives. The slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" means sportsmen are compelled to sacrifice their interests for the sake of wider political

about the trade unions telling the hawkers they are workers and must serve the working class struggle, and the hawkers replying they are hawkers, not workers.

Would that be an example of an independent group emerging that refuses to be compelled to join a national grouping?

SIMKINS: Yes, the hawkers are asserting their specific interests.

WENTZEL: We have spoken of the need for a limited state with strict checks and balances against tyranny, and provisions for participation of all political groups of any size.

Do you believe means we stand a chance of getting on South Africa?

SIMKINS: The idea that everybody pays service to the military idea shows the pe of the idea.

interests with some guarantee they won't be 'taken out' if other groups are against them. 7

204A

ANC says it will not be 'terrorised' into negotiating with the SA govt

3041

HARARE — The ANC said yesterday its forces would not be "terrorised" into negotiating with the SA government, and the armed struggle would continue to be a critical component of its strategy.

In a statement marking its 78th anniversary, the ANC said it could not be expected to enter into a negotiating process until it enjoyed the same freedom to engage in political activity as the National Party.

The organisation said the F W de Klerk regime still had a long way to go before it could claim it had ended repression.

"Therefore, whether the potential for a

political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system," it said.

All South Africans who valued freedom, justice and peace should unite and put an end to apartheid, transforming SA into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

The ANC national executive committee declared 1990 "the year of people's action for a democratic SA", in which all democratic forces would require even more ex-

tensive political and material support from the world's anti-apartheid forces.

The message said it was important to further strengthen in every way the organised formations of the democratic movement, adding that there were some weaknesses in how the membership was organised, the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership, as well as the contact of these formations with the people.

"One of the most important lessons... is that there needs to be greater interaction among all the forces, in a conscious effort

to think and plan together on a continuous basis," the message said.

There was need for clarity of thought in terms of the people's tactical and strategic objectives to face the challenges of "this pregnant moment in our history".

"Facts have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation. The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly and not over-estimate or under-estimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents," it said.

The ANC had also made it clear that the Harare declaration was not meant to be a substitute for other forms of struggle but to be an additional weapon in its struggle.

The organisation paid tribute to governments and people all over the world for the work they had done to sustain the campaign for SA's isolation.

"The apartheid system continues in place. It therefore still remains for the international community to use the most effective weapon in its hands, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to help bring about a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity," it said. — Sapa.

53 percent back De Klerk — poll

A total of 53 percent of South African white voters are to some extent satisfied with the way the President, Mr F W de Klerk, is running the country, a nationwide survey showed yesterday.

The Mark & Meningsopnames poll was conducted for the Sunday newspaper *Rapport*.

Asked how satisfied they were with President de Klerk, 11 percent said they were "extremely satisfied", 24,6 percent were "satisfied" and 18,4 percent "satisfied to some extent".

Conversely, 13,4 percent of those polled were "very dissatisfied", 11,7 percent "dissatisfied" and 10,2 percent "to some extent dissatisfied".

In a *Rapport* survey in November,

56 percent felt that meaningful changes had already taken place.

In January 1989, 14,8 percent of the sample were "very satisfied" with the performance of former president Mr P W Botha and 23 percent were "satisfied". *skw 8/11/90*

Yesterday's poll showed that should an election take place, 41,6 percent would vote for the National Party compared with 41,1 percent last June.

A 3,7 percent increase was recorded in those who would vote for the Conservative Party — 27,6 percent now as opposed to 23,9 percent in June.

The Democratic Party showed a drop of 3,6 percent in support since the 1989 poll

IF WE are to go by President F W de Klerk's rhetoric and quite a few of his actions, he is a man in a hurry. He has announced he will create a different SA where racial discrimination will truly be a thing of the past.

Of course, just as the poor will always be with us, so will those who are quite unimpressed by any move away from discrimination. To them any such change is "cosmetic" — a mere tampering with the appearance of discrimination which does nothing to alter the awful reality of racial oppression. They will never be happy, even if De Klerk were to introduce universal franchise on a common electoral roll. After all, is it not well-known that political democracy can only be a facade as long as economic democracy lags behind and capitalism remains?

So we must resign ourselves to the carping of those, here and abroad, who have a vested interest in apartheid and will keep on demanding those "real" changes which for them will somehow never come.

But even if we accept that some pretty significant improvements have been taking place in recent years, and that the new leader does mean what he says, we can still ask ourselves: how rapid can reform actually be? What are the chances of doing away with apartheid in our time, say by the end of the century?

There are good reasons why we should not be too optimistic. One is that institutions tend to develop a resilience of their own. They have their vested interests which will resist the onset of change, and the prospect of ending up as losers. They will need inducements to abandon a status quo which seems incomparably less hazardous than the new world which reformers tell them is essential for survival. Those in possession will stage rearguard actions which will delay change and quite possibly sabotage it altogether.

Vested interests a delaying factor on the reformist road

HENRY KENNEY

However deplorable, such behaviour makes sense. Who is to ensure that guarantees given to the potential losers will be kept? In SA, who can guarantee the ruling white minority that majority rule will not lead to that expropriation of its property rights which it fears? It is a depressing thought that SA is, after all, still one of the freer countries on a continent where brutal incompetence and economic stagnation have been the rule and not the exception.

So we can expect plenty of institutional inertia in De Klerk's SA. Perhaps most obviously, white civil servants are bound to be hostile to reforms which they foresee will lead to their replacement by members of other races. Such apprehensions will be and have been reflected at the ballot-box, as Andries Treurnicht so well knows and so much looks forward to.

But does it follow that apartheid will remain alive and well and that the Randall Robinsons and other heroes of the anti-apartheid lobbies will continue to flourish? Actually not. Surprisingly, perhaps, the work of US economist Mancur Olson can give us some idea of where we are heading. In a book ambitiously titled *The*

Rise and Decline of Nations, Olson has argued that a group with a common interest "will be able to collude or organise for collective action only slowly and with great difficulty". Once achieved, however, it "is normally bad for efficiency, growth and macro-economic performance".

Such groups are, in effect, distributional coalitions more concerned with redistributing national income to their own members than with enlarging it.

They have been most common in relatively stable industrial societies with unchanged boundaries, allowing collusions and collective action groups to emerge over time. But Olson has also found them in SA, where the most conspicuous distributional coalition for so long was organised white labour.

"South African consumers of all races paid higher prices because of the higher costs growing out of the discriminatory policy, but, as in other countries, they were not organised."

Olson asked himself "what necessary conditions must be met if the

South African system, and the cartellistic gains it provides for many, are to be preserved over the long run?"

Apart from the need for police and military power, he argued that "the system could not possibly survive for many generations unless the demarcation between races was preserved."

"If less-favoured groups could enter the more-favoured groups, as they would have massive incentives to do, wage differentials could not be maintained. A continuation of the processes that generated the coloured population would make the system untenable in the long run, and even in what ... would be the medium run."

Olson's logic is compelling, his conclusions far less so, based as they are on information out of date even in 1982 when his book appeared. His theory implies that the system can only survive if the races remain rigidly separated.

He also saw this as the perception and policy of the South African government. "Just as the restrictions on the use of African labour in skilled and semi-skilled jobs increased over time, so did the rules separating the populations into rigid categories and forbidding sexual relations in mar-

riage, or otherwise, between them." Most of this was dead wrong when Olson wrote, and has become more so since. The Population Registration Act remains a blot on the statute books, but controls over black labour and its use had long been declining and have continued to do so.

Nor could Olson have been more mistaken about the laws on interracial sex. In fact, in terms of his analysis we are clearly heading for a society where apartheid will truly be dead and buried in, say, 20 years.

Why then has government, so committed these many years to white rule, allowed all this to happen? Partly because it had no choice. The pass laws had to go as they could no longer keep blacks out of "white" areas. Partly because politicians respond to pressures of the moment, and it seemed a good thing at the time to get rid of something like the Mixed Marriages Act.

De Klerk is plainly set on a course which must end in the demise of white rule. Whether he is aware of this is not so plain. But invoking the traditional Nationalist bottom line of continued white control has become a fantasy.

We can conclude that current trends in South African society must within the next few decades bring an end to apartheid. Yet resistance to these trends is bound to become more bitter and intense as defenders of the past realise their implications. Whether SA, after apartheid, will be worth living in will depend to a large degree on how creatively government responds not only to justified demands for change, but also to the intransigence of those who want as little change as possible.

As that great conservative, Edmund Burke, once wrote: "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation."

□ Kenney is a lecturer in the Business Economics Department at Wits.

Ivan Bushilo brings himself up to date with the news, outside his forest shelter.

Picture: REUTER

in newspapers about the recent changes in Soviet public life. — Sapa-Reuter.

Most whites back FW (304A) survey

ALMOST 57% of the white electorate supported President F W de Klerk's steps towards reform in SA during his first few months in office, a Sunday newspaper's opinion survey has found.

The survey by Mark en Meningsopnames, published in Rapport yesterday, polled 2 000 whites nationwide. Of those who responded, 41,5% felt the pace of reform was just right; 23,3% said it was too slow; and 15,3% said reforms were moving too fast.

Nearly 19% said they did not believe government's reforms and did not want to commit themselves to an opinion. This group included people to the left and right of the political spectrum, Rapport said.

Of the Afrikaners polled, 42,6% said the pace of reform was just right; 9,1% wanted faster reform; 21,1% said the pace was too fast; and 26,8% did not believe in De Klerk's reforms at all.

Of the English speakers polled, 47,3% felt the pace of reform was too

EDWARD WEST

slow while 39,6% felt the pace was just right.

Rapport's survey found the need for faster reform was most strongly reflected in the 16-24 age group.

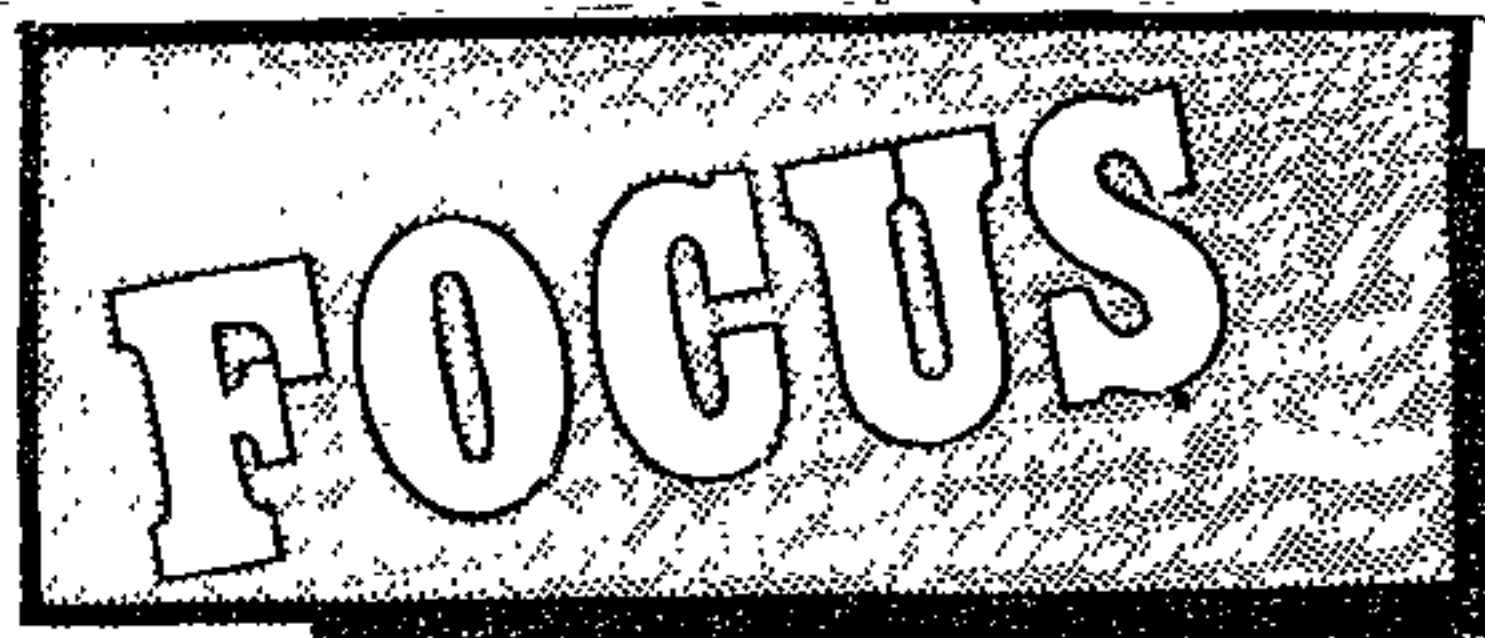
While the NP won a 41,6% vote of confidence, 27,6% stood by the CP and the DP's support dropped from 28,2% to 24,6% in November.

Rapport said in an editorial that De Klerk enjoyed the support of a majority of the white electorate, but this power base depended on visible progress and a decrease of tension within SA.

De Klerk could lose support with every step towards reform if they were not counter-balanced by positive action within the black community. Blacks should be made aware that their aspirations could be reached, and whites that they would not lose their own dispensation.

3/10/90 2/11/90

Tradition means giving votes to the most obscure of all classes - our ancestors. It is the democracy of the dead. Tradition refuses to submit to the small and arrogant oligarchy of those who merely happen to be walking about - Gilbert Chesterton, English novelist, critic and writer.



THE year was barely a week old when the tremors caused by the black matric pass rate sent journalists searching for superlatives fit enough to denounce the apparent rot that had set in at school level of a community already beleaguered by setbacks and persecution because of its colour.

Ask a teenager from this community where Bucharest is and chances are you will face a blank expression.

The editor of a higher opinion journal in America last year wrote in his columns of the crisis in American education that in that country at least 70 million people are unable to read their state's Constitution or a complicated menu and about the high school girl who thought that the Holocaust was a Jewish holiday.

And they don't have apartheid education in that country...

What then does Foreign Minister Pik Botha's detente dance in the East Bloc mean to the average high school pupil? Let Mr Botha answer that question.

The immediate crisis does not need a political rally, or a march or T-shirts and flyers.

If the dictum that schools serve the wishes and expectations of the society they belong holds, and if society cares more about the race and creed of its people than the ability to reason and critique within the brain of the scholar, then society has sunk, and is waiting to drown.

The dying of a nation cannot be stopped if it attempts to reach for a higher being without securing a firm foothold. However much, the Government talks to foreign governments, this will not get rid of the rot that has set in.

Perhaps it is a strategy. There are no complaints from white parents and white children seem to be doing well at school.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

And what about the new god, His Greatness FW de Klerk. Wasn't it he who created integrated universities and segregated schools? Oh no, His Lordship has reported that he has no sleepless nights - he went to a white school, so did his children...

Storm

Scribes have for weeks prophesied that His Greatness was going to lead us from the storm of iniquity to a land and time of justice for all.

In the meantime the rot had settled so deeply among black people it would take the passing of a generation plus radical action (immediately) before we can see black

SA fiddles as black education rots away

Sowetan 8/1/90

304A

structural and mechanical engineers, surgeons, scientists, computer and systems engineers that will emerge from the black community to lead the infrastructure.

But then again maybe the present government does not want to see black people advance.

They sure would love for the rich and famous to be able to spend winter in Budapest, East Berlin and Bucharest...

And what is the Left going to do. Hold a rally, print a few T-shirts, a few flyers or posters, go and see the ANC, rename the streets of Soweto?

Sham

In an essay on Rudyard Kipling, George Orwell once wrote "All Left-wing parties in the highly industrialised countries are at bottom a sham, because they make it their business to fight against something which they do not wish to destroy."

"They have internationalist aims and at the same time they struggle to keep up a standard of life with which those aims are incompatible."

"We all live by robbing Asiatic coolies, and those of us who are 'enlightened' all



Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been busy making friends in the east.

maintain that those coolies ought to be set free; but our standard of living, and hence our 'enlightenment' demands that the robbery shall continue."

Apartheid and its effects have become an industry, those fighting it would not be able to maintain their position of "enlightenment" and

standard of life if it was to die tomorrow.

The leadership in all the liberation movements have either got an adequate education (otherwise the podium would be vacant) or are past school-going age with ossified dogmas that do not include educational progress at grassroots but "removing the shackles of slavery"

South Africa today is moribund: down below, on the ground, earthworms have eaten society away, while above they're dancing the Negotiation Shuffle, singing the Funeral March of Apartheid, arranging a march or two and securing diplomatic relations with an obscure democracy - to hell with the children.

General to probe arrest of Pik's son

CAP Tint 8/1/90

3044

Crime Reporter

A TOP-LEVEL police investigation has been ordered into last week's arrest of the 35-year-old son of Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

A day after Thursday's court appearance of Mr Piet Botha, a professional rock musician, on fraud allegations, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Don Brunette, decided to withdraw charges against him.

"An investigation into the matter was ordered on Friday," a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said. The spokesman declined to comment further till the completion of the investigation.

The investigation will be conducted by Lieutenant-General Jaap Joubert, commanding officer of the police's detective branch.

General Joubert is in charge of investigating the assassination of anti-apartheid university lecturer Dr David Webster.

He also recently investigated Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's allegations of the riot police's "brutal" handling of unrest situations.

Mr Pik Botha was reported in a Sunday newspaper as saying that he would demand an "investigation into the circumstances that led to this humiliation of an innocent man".

Sapa reports that the charges were dropped following representations made by lawyers acting for the complainants, Rebel Discount Liquor Stores, who said on Friday night that

the charges, involving R11 000, were the result of a "misunderstanding" when certain cheques were presented to a bank.

Mr Joe Rabinowitz, of the firm Fluxman, Rabinowitz and Rubenstein, said last night that on investigating the matter, it was found that the charges were the result of a misunderstanding.

Mr Brunette confirmed that he received a request from Rebel's attorneys to withdraw the charges. He studied the docket on Friday night and said that in his opinion no fraud had been committed.

He said the matter involved the apparent sale of a restaurant more than a year ago by Mr Pieter Botha and an undertaking by the new owner to honour certain debts, including some cheques held by the liquor store and intended for the payment of liquor bought in September 1988.

Mr Rabinowitz said there had definitely not been any pressure from anyone on the matter and he would "not consider reacting to pressure".

Mr Piet Botha is reported as saying that the arresting policemen had not allowed him an opportunity to prove his innocence.

"They also denied me the right to call my attorney," Mr Botha said.

His father joined in criticising the police's action and was quoted in the Sunday newspaper as saying: "A few phone calls could have proved that there was no case against my son. I want to know why this wasn't done."

Suzman to lecture at Summer School

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mrs Helen Suzman will deliver a series of lectures on her work and her experience in Parliament for the annual University of Cape Town Summer School later this month.

Mrs Suzman was invited by the UCT Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies.

The director of Extramural Studies, Ms Ingrid Fiske, said the lectures were a tribute to the veteran politician's achievements as well as a fitting occasion for the 40th anniversary of the Summer School.

Ms Fiske said that interest in the series was "phenomenal", and that it



Veteran politician . . . Mrs Helen Suzman.

was already fully booked two days after being announced.

The Summer School runs from January 22 to January 26.

Video recordings of the lectures will also be screened.

The subjects Mrs Suzman will lecture on are: Pass laws: restrictions on the movements of Africans (January 22); Prison laws and detention, from the 90-day clauses to the emergency regulations (January 23).

Opposition experiences 1952 to 1989: The ministries of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha (January 24); Special issues relating to women (January 25); Unfinished business: The death penalty to the abolition of the apartheid state (January 26).

De Klerk reforms backed by 57% of white electorate

CAPL Ticks 8/1/90 304A

Wolpe and FW will meet today

Own Correspondent

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Nearly 57% of the white electorate supported Mr FW de Klerk's steps to reform South Africa during the first few months of office as president, a recent Rapport survey found.

The survey polled 2 000 whites nationally. Of the total who answered the poll, 41,5% felt the pace of Mr De Klerk's reforms were just right, 23,3% said they were too slow, and 15,3% said they were moving too fast.

Nearly 19% said they did not believe in government's reforms and did not want to commit themselves to an opinion. This group included people to the left and right of the political spectrum, Rapport said.

Of the Afrikaners polled, 42,6% said the reform pace was just right, 9,1% wanted faster reforms, 21,1% said the pace was too fast, and 26,8% said they did not believe in Mr De Klerk's reforms at all.

Of the English-speakers 47,3% felt the pace of reforms too slow and 39,6% felt it was just right.

The need for faster reform was most strongly represented in the age group of 16-24 years, the survey found.

The Nationalists received a 41,6% vote of confidence, the Conservative Party was backed by 27,6% and Democratic Party support dropped from 28,2% to 24,6% in November.

Rapport said in an editorial that Mr De Klerk enjoyed the support of a majority of the white electorate at present, but this power base was dependent on visible progress and the decrease of tension in SA.

Mr De Klerk could lose support with every step towards reform unless these were counterbalanced by positive action from within the black community.

Blacks should be made aware that their aspirations could be reached and at the same time whites should be reassured that they would not be losing their own dispensation.

To equate these two ideas was almost impossible, but if it did not happen radicals would eventually tear the country apart, the editorial said.

JOHANNESBURG. — US Congressman Howard Wolpe meets President FW de Klerk in Pretoria today to complete his five-day visit to South Africa.

Well-known for his pro-sanctions stance, Mr Wolpe is chairman of the US House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Africa.

On Friday he met Mr Walter Sisulu and other recently released ANC leaders, including Mr Govan Mbeki, for an hour.

He also met Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and various political leaders.

Mr Wolpe will address a press conference before his departure from Jan Smuts Airport tonight.

SA 'delighted' to have visit by Jesse Jackson

Star 9/11/90 304A
By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — America's pre-eminent black leader, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, is to visit South Africa in an effort to facilitate communication between the different groups and to update himself on the latest situation.

Mr Jackson's visit could coincide with the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Sapa reports that South African Embassy spokesman Mr Patrick Evans said Mr Jackson's visa "is without restriction". He was expected during the opening of Parliament on February 2, which Mr Evans described as the most important political event of the year.

"We're delighted that he will be there."

A vociferous hardline activist against apartheid (in 1988 he persuaded the Democratic Party to agree to declare South Africa an official terrorist state if Mr Michael Dukakis won the US presidential election), Mr Jackson has been invited to South Africa by the SA Council of Churches (SACC) and African National Congress executive Mr Walter Sisulu.

FIRST—HAND

SACC general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said in a letter inviting Mr Jackson to South Africa that he believed a visit would help him gain first-hand knowledge of the new complex dynamics of the situation in South Africa "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the USA ... to act accordingly to force this regime to negotiate with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the people of South Africa ..."

Mr Jackson has also had invitations to meet Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk leaders.

Pretoria's decision to grant visas for him and his retinue was announced by Mr Jackson after a meeting with Pretoria's ambassador to Washington, Dr Piet Koornhof, yesterday.

Mr Jackson said he hoped to meet a broad cross-section of people.

CP leader forced to leave broking firm 304A



● THERON

THE CP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Jacques Theron, has been forced to leave his stock-broking firm because his partners object to his political profile. *8 Dec 79 9/11 90*

Theron, the leader of the four-man CP caucus and former partner in Theron De Witt Morgan and Co, said yesterday he was asked to leave the firm at the end of December.

His partners had not objected to the amount of time he spent on council business, but had found his "political profile a bit high", he said.

Sources in the stock broking community said some of the major institutions had chosen not to deal through Theron's company after his election as CP council leader.

Theron had virulently opposed the opening of Johannesburg's amenities to all races and the establishment of free settlement areas.

EDYTH BULBRING

Theron said his partners had been disturbed by his television appearance relating to the separate amenities issue and had not liked newspaper coverage of his views.

He had never felt his political life compromised his business dealings with clients.

Business should refrain from penalising businessmen for participating in politics as this could chart a dangerous course, he said.

Theron is now operating alone in a new company, Theron and Co.

Former partner Philipus De Witt said yesterday the extent of Theron's political activity and not the nature of his politics had jeopardised business.

It was not true Theron's views and activities had cut the firm off from the major institutions, De Witt said.

Star 9/11/90 (304A)

CP leader is 'victim of his racist views'

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The forced resignation of Mr Jacques Theron, Conservative Party leader in the Johannesburg City Council, from his stockbroking firm was proof that politics and business were indivisible.

This was the reaction of Democratic Party deputy leader, Mr Paul Asherson, to Mr Theron's resignation at the end of December from Theron de Witt Morgan and Co which he helped to launch 16 years ago and where he was a senior partner.

Mr Theron, who is now trading next door as Theron and Co, said his partners had asked him to resign because of his high political profile. His move follows rumours on the JSE since November that large institutions had shunned his firm after he was elected a councillor on a CP ticket.

Mr Asherson said: "Mr Theron has become a victim of his own evil and racist views.

"Business has to take a political view and cannot continue to hide behind its products and profits. Business people in the new South Africa should band together to support others who subscribe to a 'liberal' agenda."

The National Party's Mrs Marietta Marx, who is deputy chairman of the management committee, said: "Although I am sorry that (Mr Theron's) politics have affected his business career, I am on record as saying there is no place for the CP in this day and age."

Star 9/1/90

304A

Boerestaat Party reacts to ANC call

Staff Reporter

The Boerestaat Party (BSP), in reaction to a call by the ANC for South Africans to unite and finally put an end to apartheid and transform the country politically, yesterday called for the establishment of free "volkstate".

The leader of the BSP, Mr Robert van Tonder, said the dispensation of free "volkstate" (nation states) would be insisted upon where emphasis would not be on racism or colour but on "volkskap" (membership of the nation).

All nation states must be completely free politically and culturally and may co-operate economically, like the EEC of Europe, he added.

"The Boerestaat policy must also not be confused with the racist policy of the Conservative Party which vaguely talks of separation of whites and other races and which wants to keep the whole of the RSA."

"The BSP will restore the former Boer Republics," he explained.

Star 9/11/90

CP criticises Craven over Hain meeting

Pretoria correspondent

THE Conservative Party has criticised South African Rugby Board president Dr Danie Craven for not disclosing his meeting with British anti-apartheid activist, Mr Peter Hain.

The CP spokesman on Internal Affairs, Mr Daan van der Merwe, said Dr Craven had made himself guilty of a serious lapse in his civic duty by not informing the authorities of his intention to meet Mr Hain, who made a short surprise visit to South Africa last month.

Mr van der Merwe said Mr Hain's illegal entry into the country was further proof of the Government no longer being in control of "the entry into the Republic of enemies of this country". (304A)

He said the internal security and control were seriously at fault for allowing Mr Hain's free movement in the country.

"The CP calls on the Government for the umpteenth time to come to its senses and to look to the interests of its people and the country," Mr van der Merwe said.

Hartzenberg

fears for the future

The ANC's only goal was to take control of South Africa and negotiate about white surrender, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in Pretoria yesterday.

9/11/90
The Government's attempts to "accommodate" the ANC were strengthening the organisation's position and weakening that of whites, he charged.

SKW
Dr Hartzenberg said the ANC's announcement that its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was to intensify its "violent struggle" was an indication that the Government's "attempts at a negotiated settlement are off course".

"The ANC has only one goal before it and that is to take control of the entire country on its conditions. The ANC will only be prepared to negotiate about white surrender.

"The Government's present actions of giving in to ANC demands only increase terror, as is clearly seen from the ANC statement." — Sapa.

'Boer' vow on talks

3048

THE leader of the Boerestaat Party, Robert van Tonder, yesterday reiterated the party's determination to represent the boerevolk at any negotiating table.

SA Press Association

together economically like the EEC in Europe.

"The boer states' (boerestaat) policy should also not be confused with the racist policy of the CP that talks vaguely about separation between whites and those of another colour, and that wants to retain the entire country as its territory.

"It should also not be confused with Professor

(Carel) Boshoff's idea of a state for 'Afrikaners' (white and brown) in the desert. The BSP has resumed the freedom struggle of the boer people ... and will restore the internationally recognised former boer republics," Van Tonder said. - Sapa.

In a statement referring to the ANC's message about a united democratic and non-racial South Africa, he said he had told State President FW de Klerk last year the leaders of the BSP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Transvaal Separatists would represent the boers at the negotiating table, and the boer republics of the Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid were boer ground and were not negotiable.

He said they would also insist on a dispensation in which emphasis will not be placed on racism and colour but on nationhood (volkskap).

"All people's states (volksstate) must be completely free politically and culturally and can work

President's Council seeks comment

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council is calling for comment in connection with its investigation into a policy for a national environmental management system. *Star 9/11/90*

According to a statement by the secretary, Mr J Weilbach, the Council's three committees will consider the following:

- A Committee for Constitutional Affairs — all legal aspects and legislation as administered by government departments, provincial administrations and local governments.
- A Committee for Social Affairs — all social, demographic

and ecological aspects (306A)
● A Committee for Economic Affairs — all economic implications of production methods by mines, industries and the generating of power, in order to prevent pollution and/or damage to the environment.

Interested individuals and organisations are asked to submit memoranda before February 28, and may be asked to give evidence at a later stage.

For further information contact Mr J Knoetze, (021) 45-5541, or The Secretary to the President's Council, PO Box 3601, Cape Town 8000.

UNLESS President George Bush has something up his sleeve that he isn't talking about (he has begun to show a tendency in this regard), 1990 threatens to be a dullish year for the US-SA relationship. There is neither the interest nor the money — nor the imagination — to make it otherwise.

The focus, it hardly needs to be said, is elsewhere — on the collapse of communism in central Europe and, domestically, on the divvying up of the so-called peace dividend (whether or not such a thing actually exists).

There will, of course, be the usual talk of further sanctions in Congress, but it will be little more than background noise, taken seriously only by the activists and industry lobbyists who keep it alive.

Locally, the drumbeat of divestment and selective purchasing laws will continue, perhaps most notably in New York where newly elected Mayor David Dinkins has promised to keep. The damage has been done, however, and a couple more vindictive little ordinances will scarcely make any difference.

Some, including Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, believe that 1990 might well be the year when at least some of the sanctions already on the federal books begin to be rolled back, especially if President F W de Klerk can plausibly be argued to have met the conditions laid out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Realistically, the best that can be expected is a bit of symbolism, perhaps the suspension of the landing rights ban. Even then, breaths should not be held.

This is an election year. All 435 congressmen and a third of the Senate must face the voters, and none, therefore, is likely to be in court-

All quiet on the Western front as US sidesteps SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

geous mood. It must be remembered that the constituency for lifting sanctions exists, if at all, only in a few very isolated pockets.

On the other hand, anyone who votes to ameliorate current law can expect, at the very least, to have to explain himself. Such are the dialectics of the issue that any explanation will always be controversial.

On the other hand, it is more than probable that the Congress's Democratic leaders, Senate majority leader George Mitchell and House Speaker Tom Foley, will do their best to ensure that there are no substantive votes on SA this session.

This means Bush will be discouraged from recommending changes to the CAAA or the lifting of the mandatory US veto on SA applications for IMF finance. It also means Congressman Walter Fauntroy's financial sanctions package (hearings on which are scheduled for February 22) and any other viciousness proposed by Congressman Howard Wolpe's self-styled "task force" on

SA, will be allowed to languish in committee.

For this and other reasons, the Rev Jesse Jackson's forthcoming trip to SA should be regarded with polite indifference. Whatever legislative or policy agenda he returns with, he will not have had a road to Damascus epiphany on sanctions.

No matter, for while he may not yet be yesterday's man, his own Democratic Party devoutly wishes that he was. It has come to view his more Third Worldly prescriptions as a divisive plague that has helped deny Democrats the presidency in the past two elections.

There can be little question as to why Jackson wishes to travel to SA at this time. His political nakedness rendered increasingly visible by the victories of inclusive black politicians like Virginia governor-elect Douglas Wilder, he is in desperate

need of clothes. Taking charge of US policy towards SA, or at least being recognised as the chief black American spokesman on the subject, might afford him some sort of loin cloth.

For this he is to be pitted more than feared, for whatever scrap of covering (or should I say coverage) he does acquire in SA will only serve to emphasise just how bare he has become.

Like Jackson, SA is now for most mainstream US politicians and policymakers principally a source of embarrassment, a topic to be avoided. Certainly, Dinkins must privately be rueing the day he invited Archbishop Desmond Tutu to attend his inauguration last week, since all it succeeded in doing was reopening black-Jewish wounds that Dinkins had spent much of his campaign trying to mend. Seldom has the broad spectrum of US Jewish organisations been so united as it was in condemnation of Tutu's remarks during his visit to Israel. "Standard Third World radical," Dinkins's predecessor

senior, Ed Koch, called them in a New York Post column. "Clearly an act of malice."

Such outrage is significant because, rightly or wrongly, Tutu is viewed in this country as the spokesman for black South Africans in this country. And while the immediate flap will be shortlived, the longer-term consequences will be to push the SA issue still further under the mat.

As it is, few serious politicians want to deal with it seriously because of its associations and their capacity to generate the most virulent forms of political rhetoric.

At one level, that may be a good thing. As long as SA has "stand clear" written all over it, the less chance it has of becoming the kind of political football it became in the Reagan years. The downside is that at some point a number of tough political decisions might usefully be taken, decisions that will not be taken as long as the moderate and sensible fear to come anywhere close.

The year 1990 ought, if De Klerk stays the course, to be the year in which the US begins rolling back its sanctions and comes firmly out in favour of the proposition that true democratisation in SA can come about only in circumstances of sustained economic growth, growth that the international community will actively support and help finance as long as Pretoria remains committed (and rather more so than Mikhail Gorbachev) to the development of a genuine, non-racial and liberal democracy.

Unfortunately, 1990 will not be that year, nor will any other in the immediate future, because SA is a country the US would rather not think or talk or act or spend about seriously. It is a place Jesse Jackson visits and is therefore doomed, with the rest of its subcontinent, to ghetto-like inconsequence.

LETTERS

No special treatment in Botha case — police

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police and the Transvaal Attorney-General's office, who have launched investigations into last week's arrest of Mr Pik Botha's son, Piet, said yesterday that their response to the incident would have been the same no matter who the victim was.

In the aftermath of Mr Botha's demands for "a thorough investigation into the humiliation of my son" — arrested on charges of fraud — the head of police public relations, General Herman Stadler, said: "The mere fact that the man in question is the son of a minister is irrelevant."

"It is expected of the police that they act immediately on any complaint, and I don't think this incident is any different."

Lieutenant-General Jaap Joubert, deputy CID chief, is leading the inves-

tigation into Mr Botha's arrest.

Mr Botha claims the arresting officers denied him access to his attorney or the chance to make a phone call to establish his innocence, while the Sunnyside police station where he was taken was adorned with a picture of a white wolf.

The charges against Mr Botha were dismissed on Friday by Attorney-General Mr Don Brunette when it transpired that there was no case of fraud to be made against him.

"What is strange is why a warrant for Mr Botha's arrest was made out on New Year's Day when the police had had their evidence for several months beforehand," Mr Brunette said.

"My investigations have been to find out why a warrant for Mr Botha's arrest was issued. I would do the same for any father who came to me with a complaint concerning his son."

David Owen calls on SA president

BY PAUL (304A) EDYTH BULBRING 9/1/89

BRITISH Social Democratic Party leader David Owen arrived in SA yesterday on a five-day trip as a guest of Rio Tinto Zinc.

Owen met President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday afternoon, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said. No details of the talks were given.

He will fly to Namibia today where he will visit Rossing mine and meet Swapo officials, a senior diplomatic source said.

He will return to Johannesburg on Thursday and fly back to London the following day.

Y, Tuesday, January 9 1990

Wolpe and ~~220~~ ³

FW in talks

8/12/89 EDYTH BULBRING

304A

9/1/89 US CONGRESSMAN Howard Wolpe told President F W de Klerk yesterday he would reconsider his stance on sanctions if De Klerk took steps to remove obstacles to negotiations leading to the establishment of a democracy, a source close to the talks said.

Wolpe, Congressman Alan Wheat (a Democrat) and Constance Morella (a Republican) spent 90 minutes in "productive and rational" talks with De Klerk yesterday.

Issues discussed at the meeting included the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC, which were seen as obstacles to talks.

9/1/90 Wolpe told De Klerk while he recognised changes had been made, he wondered how significant they were. BIDM

De Klerk gave Wolpe the assurance that he was committed to fundamental change and would take further concrete steps to remove these obstacles.

FW scrutinises ANC statement

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is studying an ANC statement which says the organisation cannot be expected to enter negotiations until it enjoys the same freedom to engage in political activity as the NP. *15/05/89 9/11/89*

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said he would decide later whether to comment on it, Sapa reports.

The ANC issued the statement, marking its 78th anniversary, on Sunday.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a statement yesterday that the ANC's only goal was to take control of SA and negotiate white surrender.

He said government's recent attempts to acknowledge the ANC "and even to accommodate it" were strengthening the ANC's position and weakening that of whites.

He said the ANC's recent announcement that its military wing was going to intensify its "violent struggle" against SA was "a clear indication that government's attempts at a negotiated settlement are off course".

ANO reports the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (SAASC) yesterday confirmed "Soviet public" support for the ANC in its struggle.

An SAASC statement said the ANC's wide support among SA's people "is convincing evidence of the just nature of the cause the ANC is fighting for".

● See Page 4

304A

Enemies of old now potential allies

Star 9/1/90
30441

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's visit to Hungary last week underlines a cardinal reality in the new world of *glasnost* and *perestroika*: the old certainties are crumbling and new opportunities emerging.

The opposite side of the coin of that simple truth is that the enemies of yesterday have become the potential allies, if not the dependable friends, of today.

The visit of Mr Botha to Budapest as the envoy of a government whose policies have been declared racist in the United Nations, let alone his reception by the Hungarian Foreign Minister, would have been unthinkable before the rise to power in the Soviet Union of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

One of the signs of the new order is the thaw in relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union: it is a relatively small shift on the world geo-political scale but it has immense potential significance to southern Africa.

Easing of hostility

Looking back one can identify the events in the past year which marked the easing of hostility between Pretoria and Moscow:

- The appointment of a senior academician, Dr Boris Asoyan, as Soviet Charge d'Affaires to Lesotho. He received South African journalists and exchanged ideas with them over tea and sweets and initiated open dialogue with Afrikaner students.
- The constructive role played by the Soviet Union in helping to end the Angolan

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's visit to Hungary last week and the thaw in relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union have immense potential significance for southern Africa. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

and Namibian conflicts.

- The reported secret visit to South Africa of the Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, and the Soviet Union's offer — made through Mr Adamishin — to help arrange negotiations between the South African Government and the ANC.
- Mr Botha's warm response to the Soviet offer. Instead of condemning the Soviet Union for meddling in South Africa's internal affairs, he approvingly drew attention to the "neutral tone" of Mr Adamishin's statement.

Where the Soviet Union was once identified as the evil force orchestrating the "total onslaught" against South Africa, it is emerging as a possible honest broker.

It is in this context that Mr Botha's talks with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Mr Gyula Horn, should be seen.

The overthrow of Stalinist-orientated governments in Eastern Europe has created new openings for the South African Government. Mr Botha has been quick to take them.

A visit by Mr Botha to Moscow, once a preposterous notion, can no longer be dismissed as absurd; beyond that, on the far distant horizon, lies an even more startlingly development, the re-opening of formal diplomatic relations between Moscow

and Pretoria.

For the immediate future there are more mundane prospects of improved trade links between South Africa and Eastern Europe and the recruitment of skilled East Europeans as immigrants to South Africa.

Neither development should be dismissed as marginal.

On trade, Dr Andre du Pisani of the Institute of International Relations remarks: "The flag often follows trade." It is a sign of contemporary trends that Professor Philip Nel, of Stellenbosch University's Institute for Soviet Studies, has just completed a book entitled "A Soviet Embassy in Pretoria?"

Present contacts between Pretoria and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union clearly stop well short of formal diplomatic relations.

But even now they are political significant; they help confer a degree of acceptability and, thus, respectability on President F W De Klerk's reformist administration.

The old aphorism used to be: "The road to world acceptance lies through Africa." Now, observes Dr du Pisani, it is being modified either by substituting the words "Eastern Bloc" for "Africa" or by adding them.

The inflow of immigrants from Eastern Europe raises the ironic image of a new generation of settlers, reared in communist-dominated countries, helping to augment white numbers in South Africa and thus, potentially at least, helping to prolong white rule.

Negotiated settlement

The angry reaction to Mr Botha's visit by the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement indicates that Mr de Klerk's extra-parliamentary foes are well aware of the dangers to them of these new developments.

But, Professor Nel says in an illuminating article in the journal *Indicator*, *South Africa*, the ANC is gradually responding to Soviet pressure to seek a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict.

The Soviet Union has been the main supplier of arms to the ANC for its "armed struggle"; it is thus not in a strong position to resist Soviet pressure for a switch in tactics.

Its ally, the South African Communist Party (SACP), has proved more intractable, Professor Nel states; he attributes its independence to increased support in the black community for the SACP.

He concludes: "Ironically, it may be no longer true that the SACP represents the Soviet viewpoint in the ANC, but rather that the ANC does, as it draws closer to Moscow and *perestroika* than does the SACP."

SA 'delighted' to have visit by Jesse Jackson

Star 9/11/90
By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — America's pre-eminent black leader, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, is to visit South Africa in an effort to facilitate communication between the different groups and to update himself on the latest situation.

Mr Jackson's visit could coincide with the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Sapa reports that South African Embassy spokesman Mr Patrick Evans said Mr Jackson's visa "is without restriction". He was expected during the opening of Parliament on February 2, which Mr Evans described as the most important political event of the year.

"We're delighted that he will be there."

A vociferous hardline activist against apartheid (in 1988 he persuaded the Democratic Party to agree to declare South Africa an official terrorist state if Mr Michael Dukakis won the US presidential election), Mr Jackson has been invited to South Africa by the SA Council of Churches (SACC) and African National Congress executive Mr Walter Sisulu.

FIRST-HAND

SACC general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said in a letter inviting Mr Jackson to South Africa that he believed a visit would help him gain first-hand knowledge of the new complex dynamics of the situation in South Africa "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the USA to act accordingly to force this regime to negotiate with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the people of South Africa..."

Mr Jackson has also had invitations to meet Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk leaders.

Pretoria's decision to grant visas for him and his retinue was announced by Mr Jackson after a meeting with Pretoria's ambassador to Washington, Dr Piet Koornhof, yesterday.

Mr Jackson said he hoped to meet a broad cross-section of people.

Star 10/9/90

Jackson to hear 'broad base' of views in SA

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Reverend Jesse Jackson says he will not restrict his time in South Africa to listening to the views of just one group of people, but will try to meet whoever invites him.

He was reacting in an interview to criticism that he was going to South Africa at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches (SACC) and Mr Walter Sisulu of the African National Congress merely to update himself on the changing situation so that he could apply pressure in the United States to increase punitive measures against the country.

"The key to making life better for everybody in South Africa is communication. I hope the media will play a constructive role in that process and not incite people's fears. If we are to challenge people to pursue their hopes and not their fears, we can all make a real contribution," he said in the interview.

"The SACC and Walter Sisulu are my primary hosts in South Africa, but it is significant that an even broader base of people have expressed an interest in dialogue. It is important that we begin to build bridges where there have been walls, and that we overcome the mistrust and the fear and begin to act out the peace that we hope for.

"It is significant that the Dutch Reform Church and the National Religious Broadcasters have also sent an invitation, as has the SA Institute for International Affairs," Mr Jackson said.

● See Page 11.

Workers down tools at four Mondi plants

Labour Reporter

About 800 workers at several Mondi Board Mills plants are on strike over wages, in the first major labour dispute of the year.

Mr Sakhele Buhlungu of Cosatu's Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union said workers were on a legal wage strike at plants in Springs, Belville, Felixton and Piet Retief.

Mondi's Mrs Brigid Hopkins said only a small number of Piet Retief workers were affected.

Mr Buhlungu said workers in the remaining plant at Umgeni were negotiating with local management, which had threatened legal action if they downed tools. However, they were expected to join the strike today.

The dispute centres on union demands for a 26 per cent rise in the current hourly minimum rate of R4,29. Mondi said yesterday its 16 per cent offer would bring the minimum wage to R970 a month.

In a statement yesterday the union said it believed the company could give a "reasonable" increase. In 1988 Mondi had boosted after-tax profits by 75 per cent and paid out R52 million in dividends.

Mr Buhlungu said Mondi had offered to reopen talks but had indicated that its mandate was exhausted and it could not increase its overall pay offer.

there was doctor said.

● Tonight/ Page 1

In search of common ground

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk today begins his planned series of talks with church leaders — aimed at preparing South Africans for negotiations — when he meets the conservative Church Alliance of SA.

The alliance, with member churches belonging to the white Dutch Reformed Church, a faction of the Zionist Christian Church, Rhema Churches, the Reformed Independent Churches Association and the Fellowship of Pentecostal Churches, claims to represent 10-million members from 900 denominations.

De Klerk's planned talks with churches are partly aimed at involving the clergy in changing the racial attitudes of their parishioners and creating a climate for negotiations. His brother, Wimpie de Klerk, wrote in an article for the Los Angeles Times last year that F W was likely to involve the churches in creating a climate for negotiations.

Yet, theologians have pointed out, the majority of SA churchgoers are black and the churches most belong to have long been pushing for negotiations despite pressure and hostility from the state.

It was only two years ago that then President P W Botha insinuated that

certain clergy were agents of the "ANC/SACP alliance" and were tools of Marxists.

Just under 100 days after assuming office, De Klerk appealed to churchmen to meet him, saying churches must "within the boundaries of (their) framework and calling involve (themselves) in the creation of a Christian and just new SA".

The churches and state have differing views on the "boundaries and framework" they should involve themselves in, one observer noted. He suggested that if the President wanted the churches to assist him, he would need to refrain from defining churches' boundaries.

The largest and most representative churches are precisely those with which government has come into bitter conflict for the past two decades.

The largest church body is the SACC which represents about 15-million churchgoers. Its more numerous members are the Methodists (2,2-

CHARLENE SMITH

million), the Anglicans (2-million), the Council of African Independent Churches (1,5-million), NGK-Church in Africa (1-million), the NGK-Sendingkerk (750 000) and the Lutheran Church (600 700). The Catholic Church, which has observer status at the SACC, has 2,4-million members.

About 75% of the membership of the mainstream churches is made up of black churchgoers.

The independent African churches have grown rapidly in recent years and account for a fifth of all Christians, according to a study by UCT theologians. They are generally apolitical, although three of the four main church bodies of the separatist and indigenous churches, which form one of the two main groups of independent churches, have prominent anti-apartheid churchmen as leaders, including the Rev Allan Boesak, and are affiliated to the SACC.

The Zionist churches, which discourage their members from political involvement, have more than a million members. More than 2-million black Christians from Zionist and Apostolic churches are represented on the United Apostolic Ministers Council.

Other than fringe white rightwing churches, most churches have taken stands against apartheid in the past two years. Even the NGK — which initially provided the theological justification for apartheid — has in recent times become increasingly critical of apartheid. Dr Willem Nicol of Pretoria University allied in 1988 for the disengagement of the churches from the military and police.

Last year the NGK intervened with the new President to permit the march in Cape Town of 30 000 people against apartheid and the state of emergency. It also circulated a working document calling on the church to facilitate the negotiation process.

Most mainstream churches have in the past year pledged to work towards "social justice and reconciliation".

The churches have become increasingly aware of their potential role in creating a climate for negotiations and possibly taking part in future negotiations. They have said they will assist the President on a give-and-take basis, and major churches will call for, among other things, an end to the state of emergency, the release of detainees, the unbanning of organisations and the return of exiles.

One churchman pointed to Isaiah 65:20-23, which Boesak quoted when calling for the formation of the UDF in January 1983, as the basis for a future envisaged by most mainstream churchmen:

"Babies will not longer die in infancy, and all people will live out their lifespan. People will build houses and they will live in them — they will not be used by someone else. They will plant vineyards and enjoy the wine — it will not be drunk by others. The work they do will be successful and their children will not meet with disaster."

Fresh row over results

WHILE the crisis over the matric results continues a new row has erupted.

Thousands of failed matriculants who want to have their examination papers re-marked will have to wait until July to know their fate.

This directive was issued by the Department of Education and Training when hundreds of failed matric pupils converged at DET's offices demanding that their scripts be re-marked last Friday.

The DET is also demanding R33 for each examination paper to be re-checked.

If, after re-marking the examination papers a pupil is found to have passed matric, he or she will have to wait until next year before enrolling at a university because the results will only be released after six months.

Deputy chief education specialist and public relations officer of the DET, Mr Richard Chernis, said because the department's examination centre was under tremendous pressure marking about 170000 examination papers for private candidates and college pupils and it would take at least three months before the scripts

By MZIKAYISE
EDOM

of the failed matriculants are marked and the results are released.

"It is unfortunate that we cannot re-mark the papers now," he said.

Chernis denied that the re-marking will take at least six months.

Among those who were turned back by the DET on Friday were Sophie Gwebu and Jeanette Rafedile, both of Alexandra township, near Johannesburg.

They were both pupils at Morningside Mirvah Private School and they wrote their examinations at Alexandra High School.

Rafedile failed History and Biology.

Her mother Mrs Johanna Rafedile said her daughter was given a form to fill and submit it together with R66 before her examination papers are re-marked.

Gwebu failed English and Afrikaans. Her mother Mrs Sinah Gwebu said: "The delay in re-marking the papers may shatter my daughter's education plans."

Jackson visit raises many expectations

Sowetan correspondent 304 A

WASHINGTON - The imminent visit to South Africa by leading US anti-apartheid activist the Reverend Jesse Jackson has raised different expectations as to the contribution he may make towards ending the conflict in the country.

Jackson, a candidate in last year's US presidential elections, is generally regarded as the leading spokesman for American blacks. An often highly controversial figure, he has involved himself in numerous domestic and international social issues.

He has long been a leading activist against apartheid and a highly vocal critic of the South African Government. Jackson was responsible for the Democratic Party adopting a resolution in its 1988 presidential election policy platform which would have obliged the new US President, if he was a Democrat, to declare South Africa a terrorist state. That would have automatically imposed a new series of harsh economic and other sanctions on South Africa.

Jackson's confrontational style has not endeared him to Pretoria, which has turned down several of his applications for a visa to visit South Africa in recent years. The decision to allow him to visit now may have a lot to do with the "Pretoriastroika" created by President F.W. de Klerk's new government.



Jesse Jackson - to visit SA.

Hurry and get your ads in!

THE hour we have long dreaded has come - we have to inform you that our Sowetan Business advertising rates went up by R1.50 on December 1 last year.

We decided to charge your adverts at the old price for as long as we could.

The good news is that the new rate only comes into effect on Monday. This means you can still pay at the old rate until Friday.

To add to this you can book for as many Thursdays as you want at the old price but these must be placed by Friday afternoon.

Increase

However, coming back to this increase we must make the point that overall advertising rates went up by R3, but the township entrepreneur still only pays 50 percent in terms of our sponsored advertising scheme.

Politics, business 'indivisible'

shaw
19/1/90

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

3048

The forced resignation of Mr Jacques Theron, Conservative Party leader in the Johannesburg City Council, from his stockbroking firm was proof that politics and business were indivisible.

This was the reaction of Democratic Party deputy leader, Mr Paul Asherson, to Mr Theron's resignation at the end of December from Theron de Witt Morgan and Co, which he helped to launch 16 years ago and where he was a senior partner.

Mr Theron, who is now trading next door as Theron and Co, said his partners had asked him to resign because of his high political profile. His move follows rumours on the JSE since November that large institutions had shunned his firm after he was elected.

Mr Asherson said: "Mr Theron has become a victim of his own evil and racist views.

"Business has to take a political view and cannot continue to hide behind its products and profits."

Claims of Somali-SA talks

THE Foreign Affairs Department could not confirm yesterday that three senior Somali officials had recently held talks with SA government officials, including Foreign Minister Pik Botha. (304A)

Exiled Somali sources said in London earlier that the chief of staff and son of the Somali president, Maslahah Said Barre, the deputy chief of staff and head of the navy, Said "Marino" Ali, and the permanent secretary in the ministry of foreign affairs, Ahmed "Qaybe" Mohammed, had spent three weeks in SA in November and December.

They allegedly stayed incognito at a hotel in Pretoria and made a brief tour of the country's armaments factories. b1 Day 10/11/90

However, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday: "The names did not ring a bell." — Sapa.

Bankruptcy finally brings communism to its knees

By ANTHONY SAMPSON
of The Observer.

What was the common cause behind all the sudden surges of freedom at the end of the Eighties, and the collapse of autocratic regimes — even Rumania — which were forced to abandon their dogmas? Behind all the rhetoric there was a matter-of-fact reason: bankruptcy.

It was certainly a remarkable capitulation to capitalist logic. The speed of the conversion has been almost as rapid as the reverse process 40 years ago, when half the world was taken over by ideological autocracies and disappeared from the capitalist embrace.

In the one year of 1948, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Rumania were consolidated under communist governments; Mao's army swept through China; and North Korea became a communist republic. They all retreated behind iron curtains, beyond democratic control — and beyond any sensible accounting.

Deadly enemies

There was another much less noticed defeat for democratic capitalism in 1948 in South Africa, where the new apartheid leaders pledged to abolish black rights, to reverse the liberal trend, and to maintain white supremacy. They claimed to be the deadly enemies of the communists, by which they justified much of their ruthless suppression that followed.

But the two systems had much in common. Because they were undemocratic, they were increasingly corrupt, providing privileges for their own people at the expense of those without power. And their avowed ideologies helped to justify a contempt for human rights which was reminiscent of religious wars, as they rooted out heretics and apostates. They hanged, imprisoned and tortured in the name of maintaining the purity of their system.

Behind their ideological facades

Capitalism comes to the rescue

they were more like any old autocracy giving jobs to the boys. And because they were corrupt and undemocratic, they didn't work.

Now, 40 years later, these autocracies appear to be crumbling as rapidly as they came. And for the same basic reason: they have run out of money, and they can't recover without the support of both their own people and the rest of the world.

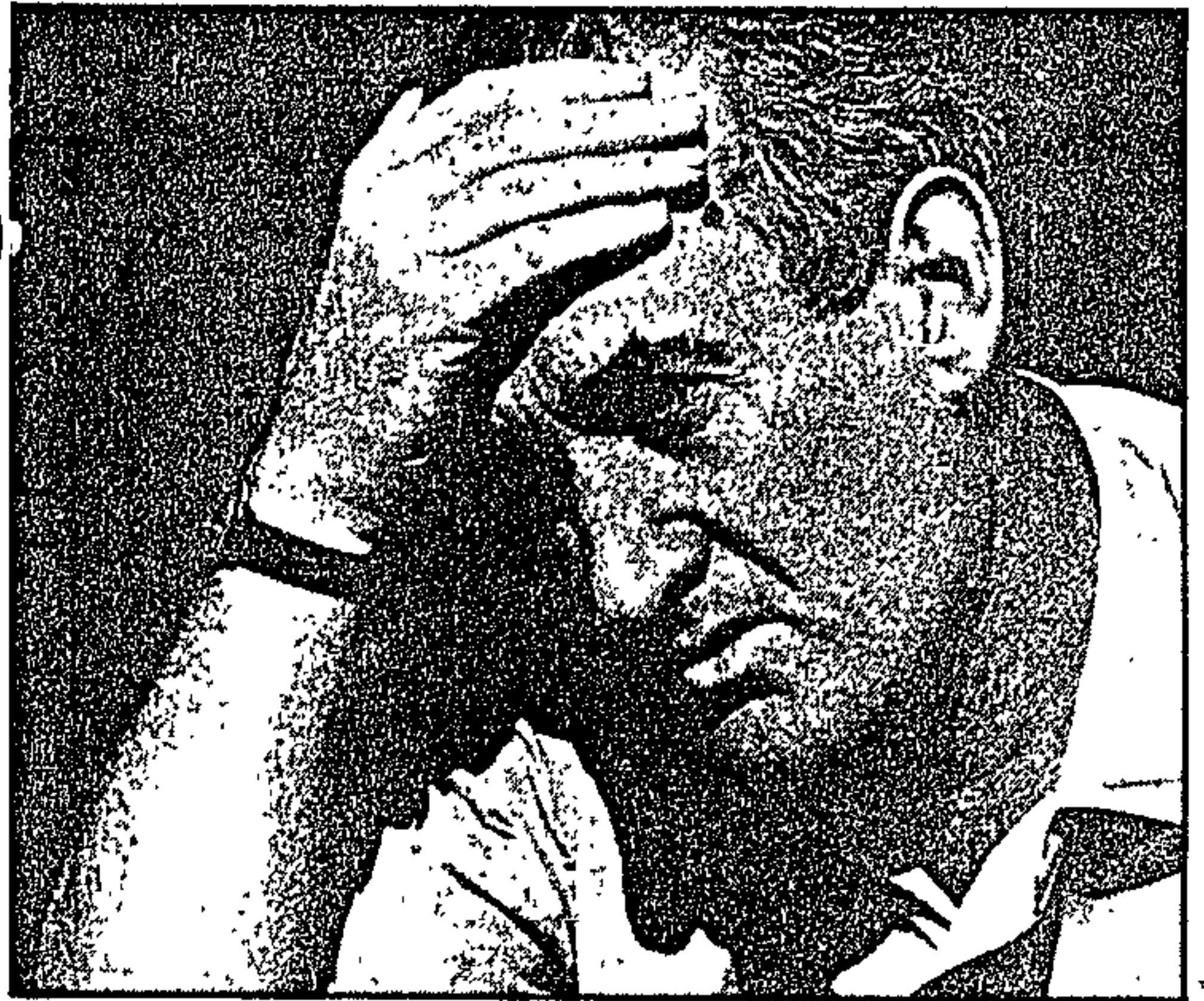
In Moscow, Mr Gorbachev felt compelled to embark on perestroika and glasnost because he realised the the Soviet empire was unmanageable, and could not be turned round without greater freedom and openness.

In Pretoria, Mr de Klerk has moved out of Namibia because he could not afford to maintain South Africa's mini-empire; and he released political prisoners and restrained his police because he needed international loans and black support for any future growth.

Other African states further north have been compelled to realise — under pressure from their foreign bankers — that corruption and dictatorship are bad for business.

But it is much too easy to assume that capitalism automatically safeguards democracy and human rights. The past horrors of South Africa were committed in the name of maintaining Western values and defeating communism; and Western interests were prepared to support or condone them.

There have been many successful capitalist systems, all the way from Hitler's Germany to Noriega's Panama, which have suppressed human rights in the name of anti-communism.



Anthony Sampson . . . "Autocracies appear to be crumbling as fast as they came — because they've run out of money."

The real challenge to Western democracies will come in the next few months, as they face the appalling cost of rescuing these bankrupt economies.

The first flush of freedom in Eastern Europe will be followed by a fearful anti-climax and disillusion, as people realise that the end of autocratic communism does not mean rapid prosperity.

The claims on the West to fund Eastern Europe will get still heavier, as Hungary goes the way of Poland, and as the Soviet Union itself faces its oldest enemy, General Winter.

But Africa also has desperate needs for more loans and assistance. And if South Africa continues to liberalise, its requests for some kind of Marshall Aid will be much more acceptable.

The competing pleas for more funds, from the South and the East, will pose agonising choices for the

Western world in the nineties.

No doubt Japan will play a growing role with a beady eye on the future development of the Soviet Union. But that will put new strains on Japan's already tense relationships with America; and not even Japan can bridge the gap between what the bankrupt nations need and what they will get.

There is only one obvious solution: The long-term diversion of funds from military to peaceful spending; the so-called "peace dividend".

But taking on the military-industrial establishment has daunted countless American politicians since Eisenhower; and Mr Gorbachev may well prove more effective in confronting his generals than Mr Bush. The ability to maintain a thriving economy without preparing for war, as Lenin would have said, is the final test of the capitalist system.

The decision to grant Jesse Jackson a visa to visit this country might have a lot to do with Pretoria's desire to show the world a new, moderate face, reports DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The imminent visit to South Africa by leading US anti-apartheid activist the Rev Jesse Jackson has raised different expectations as to the contribution he might make towards ending the conflict in the country.

Mr Jackson, a candidate in last year's US presidential elections, is generally regarded as the leading spokesman for American blacks.

An often highly controversial figure, he has involved himself in numerous domestic and international social issues.

He has long been a leading activist against apartheid and a highly vocal critic of the South African Government.

Terrorist

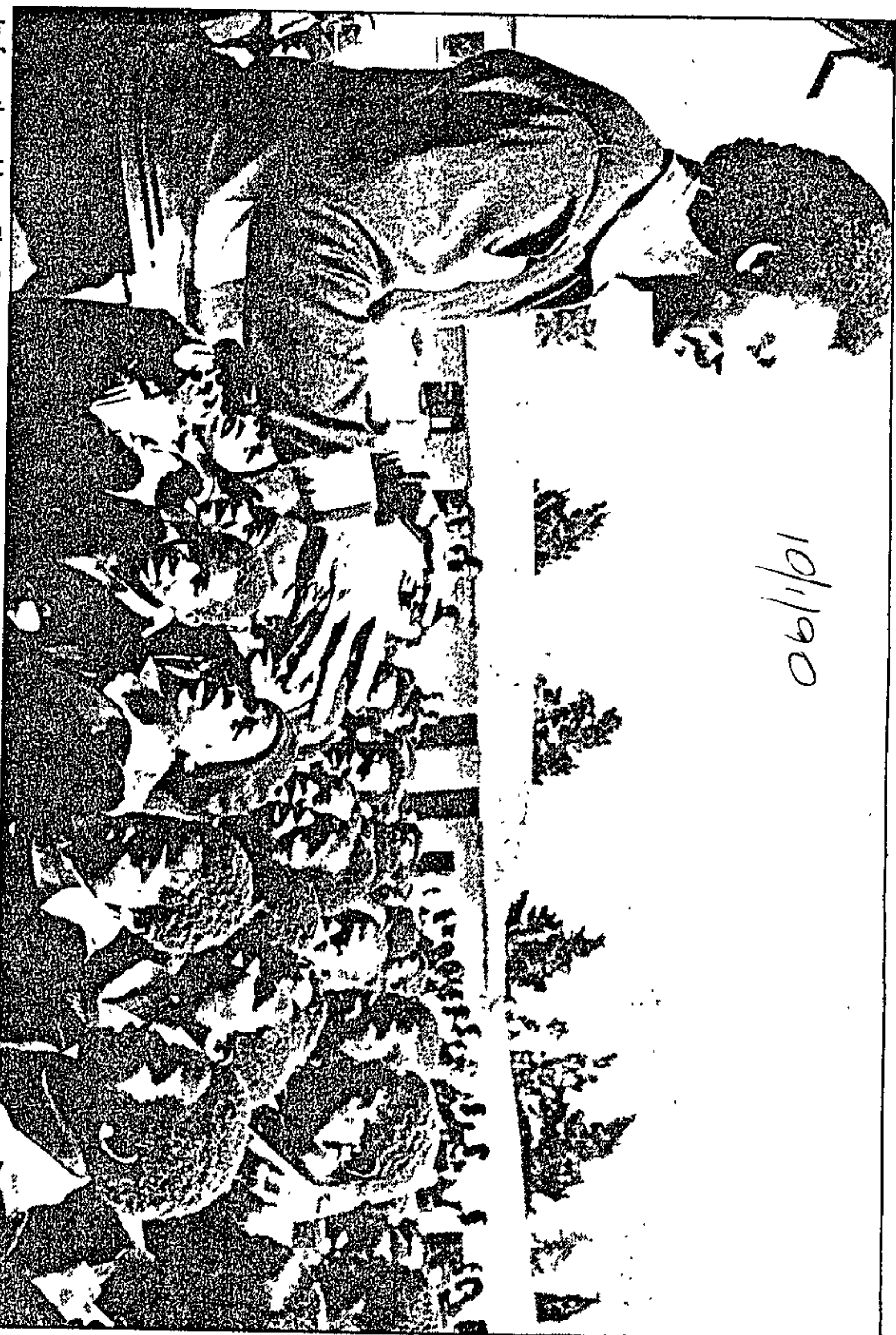
Mr Jackson was responsible for the Democratic Party adopting a resolution in its 1988 presidential election policy platform which would have obliged the new US president, if he were a Democrat, to declare South Africa a terrorist state.

That would have automatically imposed a new series of harsh economic and other sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Jackson's confrontational style has not endeared him to Pretoria, which has turned down several of his applications for a visa to visit South Africa in recent years.

The decision to allow him to visit now might have a lot to do with the "Pretoriaistria" created by President F W de Klerk's new Government, and Pretoria's desire to show to the world a new, moderate face.

There are indications, however, that the SA Government



In from the cold... The Reverend Jesse Jackson talks to Soweto schoolchildren during his previous visit to South Africa in 1979. This time, the American anti-apartheid preacher might possibly play a constructive role in fostering dialogue between the South African Government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

believes Mr Jackson could be extremely useful in promoting dialogue between the various South African groups.

Mr Jackson, furthermore, might be sufficiently impressed by progress in South Africa to be persuaded that now is not the time to impose additional sanctions.

At least some elements in the South African power structure are hopeful Mr Jackson might turn out to be a moderating influence in Washington, adding support to President Bush's view that Pretoria needs to be given an opportunity to put its house in order.

Expectations on the other side of the South African political fence are a little different.

Mr Jackson has been invited to South Africa jointly by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and Mr Walter Sisulu, elder statesman of the ANC.

Mr Chikane said in a letter inviting Mr Jackson last week that he believed a visit by the US leader would help him gain first-hand knowledge of the new, complex dynamics of the situation in South Africa "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the US, particularly the administration, to act

accordingly to force this regime to negotiate with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the people of South Africa."

"Your presence could also exert pressure on white South Africa, particularly the De Klerk Government, to create the necessary conditions conducive for meaningful negotiations," Mr Chikane said in his letter.

The necessary conditions are presumably the demands made by the Mass Democratic Movement, ANC and other groups to lift the state of emergency, release remaining political and security prisoners, and so on.

Mr Jackson was careful to steer a neutral course when probed this week by the media as to what exactly he hoped to accomplish in South Africa.

He said it would be presumptuous for him to define a role for himself, but with all his experience and personal knowledge of many black and white South African leaders, he hoped he could impress upon them all the need for communication, reconstruction, reconciliation and peaceful development for a new South Africa.

He hoped to talk to a broad cross-section of leaders so that his concerns could be heard.

Specifically on the issue of sanctions, Mr Jackson avoided calling for additional measures (which might be significant or it might be expedient, in view of the fact that his visa could presumably be withdrawn).

However, it was quite plain that he was not in favour of lifting sanctions at this stage.

He said: "The issue of sanctions corresponds with the system and the extent to which the authentic leadership sits around a common table. They, the people who live there, can together determine when apartheid and sanctions should end. After all, one is a response to the other."

"So in some sense it is like the Montgomery bus boycott in the US. When asked when the boycott of the buses would end, the people answered it would end when they were allowed to sit in the front of the bus."

Noble aims

The issue, he added, was not the methodology of dealing with the system but the system itself and the people who must agree to now form a relationship. The power was in the hands of the people to end apartheid and sanctions.

Similarly, Mr Jackson was adroit at handling the issue of whether President de Klerk should be allowed to meet President Bush.

"If in fact we achieve the noble aims of one South Africa no longer divided by race or sex or religion or fear, perhaps then everybody will communicate with everybody," he said.

Mr Jackson was complimentary about recent moves by President de Klerk and statements made by the South African leader, which he said were positive and a step in the right direction.

But the word had to become flesh, he said. The recent meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had been encouraging as a start, but the process needed to continue to its logical conclusion.

061110

FW bid to keep peace on track

DANIEL SIMON

304A

IN A bid to prevent further clashes between Unita and Angolan government forces, President F W de Klerk last year sent an urgent letter to his Angolan counterpart urging him to keep the fragile peace initiative moving. *Blom 10/1/90*

This was disclosed by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria yesterday. He said De Klerk had sent a letter to Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos on December 22 1989 expressing his concern about the "imminent threat" of a major military offensive by Fapla forces.

Botha said De Klerk expressed the opinion that any escalation in military activity from "whatever quarter" would be a severe setback.

"The State President addressed an urgent appeal to Dos Santos to give practical expression to the spirit of reconciliation which had characterised events in our sub regions in 1989 so as to enable all Angolans to begin to find peace which had eluded that country for so long."

Botha said that in a response Dos Santos replied his government was committed to achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

□ Sapa-AP reports that it was announced in Harare that a meeting of eight African leaders, scheduled to take place in Luanda today, had been postponed indefinitely.

The meeting was to discuss ways of ending the conflict in Angola.

□ Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva travels to Washington today for a two-day official visit that includes talks with President George Bush on southern Africa.

Last week, a top Portuguese foreign ministry official flew to Luanda for discussions with Dos Santos in advance of Cavaco Silva's Washington trip, reports Sapa-AP.

No hidden date, FW tells churchmen

Mandela release at 'dynamic stage'

slw 11/11/90 304A

By Carina le Grange

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela has reached a "dynamic" stage, a church delegation was told yesterday by State President Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Ray McCauley was part of the delegation of the Church Alliance of South Africa (Casa) which held a consultation with Mr de Klerk at the Union Buildings.

Mr de Klerk apparently told Casa, however, that he "did not have a hidden date in his drawer" for Mr Mandela's release.

Doppers

The meeting with Casa was Mr de Klerk's second meeting with a church group yesterday. Earlier he met a delegation from the Gerformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika (GKSA, also known as the Doppers).

The Casa delegates said after the meeting, which lasted almost 1½ hours, that Mr de Klerk was asked to speed up constitutional reform, remove all discrimination based on race and to consider lifting the state of emergency.

Casa did not, however, raise the issue of universal franchise, saying that a free and equal vote was a political question and as such fell outside the ambit of the church.

Casa had asked for yesterday's meeting with Mr de Klerk more than two months ago — before Mr de Klerk issued his invitations to churches for a church/State consultation.

Casa is an alliance of pentecostal, reformed and some African independent black churches. Delegation leader Mr Poen Ba-

denhorst said it represented 15 million people in South Africa of which 10 million were black.

He said Casa had told Mr de Klerk that "as Christians we cannot have discrimination".

"The alliance clearly stated its position that there should be a free and democratic political system in our country, free from ideological bonds like racism and Marxism. We believe that all citizens should be free to express their political standpoints in a peaceful way."

Casa asked that the lifting of the state of emergency be considered, provided all people concerned commit themselves to peace.

"It would be irresponsible for the Government to lift the emergency if necklacings and violence continues," he said.

Death penalty

He said Casa also expressed its concern about increasing pressure in South Africa on the abolition of the death penalty, the relaxation of control of publications and films of a pornographic nature and requests for abortion on demand.

A GKSA spokesman, Dr Chris J Malan, said the GKSA's hour-long meeting with Mr de Klerk was a "heart to heart talk on the subject of reconciliation and justice" and came about in reaction to the open invitation by Mr de Klerk for churches to have talks with the State.

The meeting was described as having taken place in a cordial, positive spirit at which important matters were discussed. No further details were given.

● See Page 8

New realism in SA — Owen

WINDHOEK — There was a new realism in both SA and Namibia which boded well for future co-operation between the two countries, British Social Democratic Party (SDP) leader David Owen said yesterday. (3049)

Owen was speaking at the end of a short visit to Namibia, where he met president-to-be and Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, other senior Swapo leaders and UN officials.

He said he had detected a new realism on the part of Nujoma about the future relationship between Namibia and its southern neighbour. (3049)

During talks with SA's President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he had been given the impression SA was serious about allowing Namibia to make a success of its independence. 8/2 am 11/1/90

If independence in Namibia worked, and if it raised living standards for the disadvantaged without destroying the prosperity of the private sector, change in SA would be made easier, Owen said.

Namibia could also serve as an example to Angola of how former enemies could co-operate for the good of a country.

As regards SA, he said with the ANC virtually recognised by the NP government and the release of Nelson Mandela a definite possibility in the near future, he believed serious negotiations could get underway before the end of the year.

He was optimistic about De Klerk's approach to change, which seemed to favour open-agenda negotiations. — Sapa.

Mugabe lashes SA for 'too slow' reform

Sowetan 11/11/90
HARARE - Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said he believed steps being taken by the South African Government against apartheid were too few and too timid to be meaningful, the news agency Ziana reports.

Apartheid remained fully in force in South Africa, as decreed by both statute law and practice, he said when he opened the 10th Commonwealth Speakers' and Presiding Officers' conference at the Harare International Conference Centre.

He said as Zimbabweans were preparing to celebrate the 10th anniversary of their independence next April they remained mindful of the plight of others in the Southern African region specifically those in South Africa.

South Africans, he said, were far from enjoy-



Robert Mugabe.

ing the same status and circumstances, born of national freedom and independence, as Zimbabweans did.

"While some steps are apparently being taken to ameliorate the climate of repression and oppression that governs the life of the African majority, these steps are, in our view, too few and too timid to be meaningful." - Sapa.

Boere volkstaat 'election' set for May 31

11/11/90 Political Reporter 304A
A rightwing "general election", organised by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Boerestaat Party and the Transvaal Separatists, would be held on May 31 countrywide, AWB spokesman Mr Kayes Smith said yesterday.

This was decided at a secret meeting of the three organisations in Pretoria on Tuesday, at which details of the secession of a Boere volkstaat from the Republic were discussed.

Mr Smith said organisers were currently tour-

ing the country to issue a special volkstaat identity document to supporters which would make them eligible to vote.

Elections would be held in existing Parliamentary constituencies. However, there would be no official party representation in the volksraad (general assembly).

Although elections would focus on areas in the original Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Free State, as well as Vryheid in Natal, elections would be held in other constituencies if the necessary support existed.

Church call for free and democratic system

CONSERVATIVE churchmen yesterday called on President F W de Klerk to institute a "free and democratic political system — free from the ideologies of apartheid and racism".

The Church Alliance of SA, which claims to represent 10-million churchgoers, said it was concerned about the continuing state of emergency, but could not support it being lifted until "people can commit themselves to live in a peaceful way".

The 11-member delegation included

CHARLENE SMITH

representatives of the Zionist Christian Church, the SA Fellowship of Pentecostal Churches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the United Apostolic Ministers' Council in Africa.

Rhema Bible Ministries head Pastor Ray McCauley said he had asked De Klerk when Nelson Mandela would be released and was told that the President did not have "a date in his drawer".

The churchmen said they had been sym-

pathetically received. They expressed the view that sanctions, abortions and the abolition of the death penalty were contrary to biblical teachings.

Members of the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK), an arch-conservative breakaway branch of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, also met the President and said cordial discussions had taken place.

They gave no further details.

Both the alliance and the GK planned further meetings with other churches and with government leaders this year.

Key Market

SA AND THE EAST BLOC

New-found lands

Doing business in the East makes economic sense for SA



In the century-and-a-half since Marx proclaimed communism "the solution to the riddle of history," the world has witnessed innumerable conflicts centred on ideology. This war of ideas —

which has given rise to real wars — is now, many feel, waning. The rule of absolutism is, they argue, in a state of decline.

For this reason the Nineties "bid fair to become the most fruitful period in the history of civilisation." Looking ahead from a year in which the history and thinking of the previous 50 had been stood on its head, Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet President and indisputably the catalyst, sounded an optimistic note in his New Year message — notwithstanding the nationalistic flames licking around the edges of the Russian heartland.

In SA, too, the collapse of an absolutist system of social control — apartheid — is opening up a future of great promise — and danger. Since we survive on the periphery of world concern, what is occurring in Eastern Europe was at first perhaps too little reported or understood; except by way of an example of the speed at which change can happen — when it is devoutly wished for. But now — with diplomatic contacts with the East Bloc very much on the agenda, and increased trade a definite prospect — it is becoming apparent that changes in the Russian empire do indeed have a direct bearing on our fortunes.

There are the skills which the SA economy

can fruitfully recruit; and as new markets open up and the formerly communist zone is to an increasing extent assimilated into a renaissance Europe, it makes sense to win friends and influence people there as much as with the traditional allies of the West.

There arises, too, the problem of what to put in the place of defunct systems. Just as Eastern Europe is seeking to find and foster the values of the market and personal liberty, SA's route into the future needs clearer definition and intellectual and material commitment. Glasnost — in the sense of a greater openness to ideas across frontiers — should follow the more formal insignia of diplomacy and should be beneficial.

But if we are to benefit from the crumbling of Marxist-Leninism, we need to understand the perspective from which Gorbachev spoke and the difficulties which lie in his path. Few would deny his use of epochal language. It took nearly a quarter of a century for the Union Jack to be run down over the British Empire. The Red Star of the Communist Empire in Eastern Europe has been toppled in seven months.

How the politics of the newly freed peoples of Eastern Europe will shake down will take time to emerge. The Warsaw Pact is nominally intact. But 1990 will be free-election year in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Rumania. (Poland, which produced the first non-communist

government, is not due to have fully free parliamentary elections until 1993.) And the wave of nationalism sweeping the Soviet Union will be given fresh impetus in March when all 15 republics vote for new state governments.

But the roots of Gorbachev's revolution were economic. The function of glasnost and political freedom was essentially to replace, through perestroika, ossified economic systems and methods which had failed. Hence Soviet academics talk of using "capitalist structures but not the capitalist system."

Will it work — or will chaos ensue?

Perestroika has yet to produce the goods. Gorbachev spoke of the "most difficult year since perestroika was launched in 1985." He was hopeful, however, saying "1989 has seen the sowing of grains. It is not easy for them to grow in our soil and they

need constant care. But if they take root, and we must see to it that they do, they will yield rich fruit."

Going down the road of the free market may be a slow business. Rather than add price reforms (to ease bottlenecks) to the problems of ethnic unrest, the Soviet government appeared to take a step backwards last month. Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov announced a new five-year plan and, while it will be directed to switching resources into consumer goods at the expense of heavy industry, it will employ old-style "command economy" methods. This may help ease social tensions but it puts off the day of real economic reform.

The plan also, however, embodied a target to bring down the budget deficit from 10% of GNP to 2.5% by 1993, with big cuts in arms spending — a process already under way — and Third World "aid" which is to be reduced by 20%. There will be no more guns for Africa (Angola US\$2bn and Ethiopia \$8bn over the past 10 years) or Vietnam. The recent restoration of relations between Syria and Egypt is seen as a response to Moscow's reining in. So too is the markedly cooler climate in which SA's "liberation" movements now have to operate and which is one of the factors propelling them towards negotiation.

The rage with which the ANC greeted the news of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's successful trip to Hungary reflects an awareness of how swiftly problems on the frontiers of the superpowers' ambit can be reassessed. It



Ryzhkov



F/M 12/1/90

304A

has been known for some time that Moscow has been impatient with the ANC's strategies — it may be Africa's oldest black nationalist organisation but that is also an indication of its lack of success.

Even if there is not wholesale perestroika in the East Bloc — and these countries have little or no democratic tradition — a preparedness to bite the bullet of economic reforms will inevitably have a spillover effect. With Poland and Hungary seemingly prepared to do just this — and with East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Rumania following suit — the changes in the East hold the potential for growth of an entirely new order for SA's major trading partners

in the OECD. For political reasons the Warsaw Pact may remain but Comecon (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) seems doomed.

Czechoslovakia, with support from Poland, is expected to call this week for Comecon's dissolution — and wants to annul multilateral agreements reached during the organisation's 40-year existence — or it will resign. Whole sectors of Czech (and East German) industry are tied to supplying the USSR.

Eastern Europe's potential is for the doubling of GNP during the next 10 years to \$1 000bn, equal to that of West Germany. Gavyn Davies, chief economist at Goldman Sachs in London, claims that the opening up of East Germany "may have a similar effect on West Germany as the discovery of oil had on the UK." A flood of capital goods to the East is expected and it is estimated that total investment over the Nineties required to close the gap with EEC economies will be of the order of \$800bn — with the Soviet Union requiring as much as \$25bn a year.

While cautious about the outlook, even the OECD is projecting a sharp rise in trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with imports climbing by \$33bn to \$139bn by 1991 while exports to the West increase by \$25bn to \$142bn.

There is no shortage of anecdotal evidence to support the trend:

□ 1 000 joint venture projects in the USSR — such as APV, the UK food and drink equipment maker whose sales to the Eastern Bloc have risen tenfold to £100m in a year, which is converting former vodka plants into breakfast cereal factories and is discussing using a disused missile silo for a processed cheese operation;

□ Telfos of Britain has taken 51% of Hungary's Ganz railway rolling stock maker and expects to quadruple sales;

□ The addition of 3m new lines to Hungary's telephone network will require up to 40% imported technology;

□ Last year, the USSR doubled its trade with South Korea; and



Straddling East and West ... new ideas, new markets

□ Well before Botha's Budapest excursion representatives of SA mining equipment firms were seen in Warsaw. They have been among the first too arrive.

"The risk is very high but then so is the reward," said David Roach, of Morgan Stanley. "Investors manufacturing products that meet a real need inside these economies, which are also suitable for Western export markets, will be most likely to succeed."

The main risks lie in the transition period towards market-orientated economies and in the external funding which will be needed. Commenting on the developments east of the Elbe, the OECD's *Outlook* for 1990-1991 said: "Events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are moving too rapidly to identify the specific directions economic developments will take. They face massive challenges ... Classic stabilisation problems are signalled by high or hyperinflation, large budget deficits which have been largely monetised, heavy external debt and current account deficits in convertible currencies."

Poland — which has secured a \$1bn loan, to help stabilise its currency as it moves to full convertibility, and IMF help — is about to have talks with the OECD on how to get through its painful adjustment process which could mean the loss of 400 000 jobs. The OECD has even suggested the need for a temporary incomes policy — of which it normally disapproves — because in the absence of any consumer credit normal disci-

plines on demand such as high interest rates are not available.

The question of who will put up the money for the East's revival is a major qualification to all projections. A National Westminster Bank's market intelligence department review said: "Clearly, in the aftermath of the Latin American debt problem, the bulk of BoP support will be provided only by Western governments whose decision will depend on wider political and strategic considerations."

Apart from Rumania, which ran down its debt (see table) at the cost of internal misery, the bank sees a danger that borrowing could "quickly rise to levels which have proved unsustain-

able unless dramatic hard currency export growth can be achieved."

Without external investment, however, exports to the West cannot grow because of what the OECD calls "the inability to produce the quality of goods demanded." But if this happens, and with the exception of Poland and Hungary, debt ratios are not extreme, the NatWest sees "slow, uneven progress towards greater wealth creation" as the most likely development.

"In theory, rapid progress is possible," it says, noting the availability of relatively cheap and skilled labour, especially in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. "But, on balance, this is unlikely. The risk of failure is still considerable and could take a number of forms: a return to repression, corruption and incompetence or a drift towards extreme Latin American conditions as misguided attempts to protect jobs result in even more severe distortions. We expect modest and gradual success but undue optimism is unjustified."

It adds the caution that these developments do not become the cause of another international debt crisis in the Nineties. It is clear, however, that the economic news of the next year — and probably of the Nineties — will be centred on the East. It is imaginative as well as realistic for SA to seek, even this early, the maximum advantage in what could fairly soon become a resource-hungry, though capital-starved, economic bloc. ■

MEASURING THE EASTERN PROMISE

	GNP 1988 \$ bn	Growth 1988 %	Pop m	GNP per capita \$	Debt* \$ bn	Service ratio* %
Bulgaria	38	5	9	4 244	7	28
Czechoslovakia ..	118	2,5	15,5	7 600	5,6	16
E Germany	160	0,5	16,7	9 360	21,5	42
Hungary	28	0,1	10,7	2 621	19	45
Poland	69	2,8	37	1 818	39	44
Rumania	71	1,5	23	3 072	2	27
USSR	1 420	1,6	286	4 956	39	21

* Hard currency debt and ratio of service payments to hard currency exports

Source: National Westminster Bank

TV film row reaches UK parliament

LONDON — Reaction to anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Peter Hain's recent secret visit to South Africa and the TV film he made about sport has reached the British Parliament's order papers, with the tabling of a Notice of Motion criticising him, accompanied by an amendment which would nullify this and praise him instead.

The motion, put by pro-SA Conservative MP Mr John Carlisle, of the Freedom in Sport

Association and fellow Tories, and opposed by Labour MPs, is unlikely to come up for debate in the House of Commons, traditionally serving more to put specific views on public record.

Mr Carlisle's motion calls on the House to express its concern at the "massive deception" and distortion of facts presented by the TV programme, which was broadcast on Monday night, and calls for equal TV time for a programme presenting the "true

facts of South African life".

The Labour MPs' amendment instead calls on the House to welcome the TV programme's "exposure ... of the appalling discrimination against black sport in South Africa", commends Mr Hain for having defied the South African Government, and calls on the British government to strictly enforce the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement against sporting contact with the Republic. — Sapa.

'FW must now run with the ball'

Hain launches plan for SA sport

By Alan Robinson,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Peter Hain has drawn up a detailed, five-point plan which he believes could lead to South Africa's early re-entry into international sport.

Launching the proposal yes-

terday, Mr Hain said: "If the five conditions are met in full I believe we could see Springbok tours again much sooner than many have supposed.

"I am sure black sports officials are willing to negotiate. It is up to white sports officials and President de Klerk to pick up the ball and run with it now."

The Hain plan calls for:

- Negotiations to establish genuine non-racial sports structures from school and club level upwards.
- These negotiations to coincide with talks involving the Government, the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement to establish a constitutional settlement.
- New legislation that will outlaw racially exclusive or segregated clubs and school sport, with all sports leagues at all levels to be non-racial by law.
- Further legislation to open all sports and leisure facilities — pools, parks, sports centres etc — to all races and giving the right of appeal to a Race Relations Court to anyone denied entry of race grounds, and
- Government and business to launch a multi-million rand crash programme to upgrade black sports facilities and the State to equalise its sports spending on black and white sport.

The proposal was formulated after Mr Hain's recent secret visit to South Africa.

Soviet radio support for Pik

3061 By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A Soviet Union radio station has come out in support of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's recent diplomacy with Hungary. *Star 12/1/90*

It said South Africa could hardly be an exception to the new socialist thinking of co-operation with any country of the globe and described it as an opportunity to secure stability in an interdependent world.

Mr Botha's visit to Hungary would have been impossible without the changes taking place in the socialist countries (of eastern Europe) and in South Africa itself,

an international broadcast of the Moscow radio station said in a commentary which was monitored on a Soviet international service by the US State Department.

According to a transcript of the commentary, both Pretoria and Budapest had a lot to tell each other.

What was happening between the two countries, it said, should not be regarded as sensational. There was a regular search of ways from confrontation and pressure to dialogue and political solutions. This had been an opportunity to secure stability in an interdependent world.

F/M 12/1/90



304A

LOOKING EAST

Loosening the chains

At first glance, it is fairly paradoxical that eastern European countries — Hungary in particular — where long-denied personal freedoms are now in rapid ascent, should appear anxious to trade with SA where similar freedoms remain substantially denied. Their sympathies, it would seem logical to assume, should instead lie with the suppressed black majority.

While SA's traditional trading partners in the West have imposed trade embargoes in high indignation at this country's social policies, the people of eastern Europe — who have lived under similar if not more oppression — are showing an increasing desire to trade with a devil of the same hue as the one they are casting out.

The explanation is simple, but intriguing, and it is one to which the ANC, and most countries north of the Limpopo, should pay close attention. It is that the oppressed people of eastern Europe have learnt that the adequate satisfaction of their daily living requirements is more desirable than the creeping and inevitable poverty that collectivist or redistributive government brings in the name of spurious social justice.

It will take more than the persuasive skills of the sophisticated young comrades in the ANC to convince the ordinary people of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania that the collectivist oppression under which they have lived for so long has brought anything like the social justice that "liberation" movements believe so essential to southern Africa.

The revolution taking place in eastern Europe now is a peaceful one — with the exception of Rumania. There is a clearly manifest desire, even within the Soviet Union itself, to recreate the institutions of democracy and reduce poverty in a way that does not spill more blood. The ANC is unlikely to find continuing support for an indiscriminate armed struggle in those quarters.

The Soviet bloc spends something like US\$10bn each year on military assistance to dictatorial regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is unlikely that the vast amounts of capital, technology and skills that this bloc says it requires from the West will be forthcoming while it continues to spend sums like that on fomenting socialist revolution.

Moreover, without Soviet arms to sustain them, the socialist governments of eastern Europe are falling like ninepins. Is there any reason to believe that without Soviet arms African socialist governments will prove any more durable?

There is, too, within eastern Europe, and especially in the Soviet Union, an awareness of the perils that minority races face when swamped by egalitarian collectivists. The Soviets have never been able to achieve in their domains the degree of national homogeneity that has been one of the outstanding achievements of the North Americans. The reason is that the Soviets sought to enforce uniformity, rather than encourage

cohesion through the guarantee of common individual freedoms. Those who are rejecting that system within their own borders are unlikely to continue supporting it elsewhere.

The SA government, almost alone among governments in this part of the world, appears to be moving away, though too slowly, from the socialist policies that have so impoverished eastern Europe. Elsewhere in southern Africa, most other black governments are moving in the opposite direction.

The stability of many African governments, as Western aid declines and Soviet arms support diminishes, may well be in question as a natural consequence of the revolution in eastern Europe. When the black dictators of Central Africa have to generate their own domestic revenues to finance the opulent lifestyles of their bureaucrats, and counteract the poverty that their own policies have created among the mass of their peoples, their survival could become increasingly less certain.

If SA's reform initiative continues, it will not only be the most prosperous country in Africa, it could also become, by comparison with its neighbours, the most stable.

Simply put, black socialists are going to find reducing sympathy and increasing impatience among those who have lived under socialist dictatorships in eastern Europe for their claims here of the "agony" of having no vote, while black incomes are rising faster than white incomes, the shops are full of food and desirable consumables, and the degree of individual freedom exceeds that in most other black states.

The ANC has every reason to be concerned at the developing trade and other contacts between SA and eastern Europe. For if that revolution fructifies into a more democratic and prosperous region, then the ANC's own negotiating strength will be eroded and it could be intimidated either into a settlement or relegated into perpetual impotence.

Far from being on the brink of taking over SA, the ANC may well in the period ahead be facing the most crucial test in its long history — ironically on the eve of the release of Nelson Mandela.

What it needs to do is demonstrate that it does not want simply to take over the coercive machinery of apartheid and use it to the benefit of its own elite, under the guise of bringing greater social justice to all the people of this country. The way to do that is to forswear socialism, abandon violence, cease to disrupt the provision of services as a means of protest, and seek to enhance the integrity of its leaders to facilitate negotiation with government.

The evident desire last weekend of so many Soweto parents to have their children return to school is a move in that direction. It is a response to the F W de Klerk reforms that is both constructive and encouraging. It demonstrates that there is a desire here too among ordinary people for peaceful progress towards greater prosperity rather than the destructive waste of violent revolution. ■

THE ANC F/M 12/1/90

More signals (10A) (304A)

The thrust of the ANC's 78th anniversary message of January 8 is on the politics of negotiation.

It strikes a balance between keeping the

(10A) F/M 12/1/90 (304A)
door open to talks while, at the same time, trying to keep up pressure on Pretoria. Tough talk about keeping armed cadres at their posts, and the standard calls for tougher sanctions, should not be surprising in this period of position bargaining.

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is saluted "for the immeasurable contribution they have made to bring us to the stage where we can pose the prospect of the transfer of power to the people as a matter of practical politics."

However: "The conditions which obliged us to take up arms remain unchanged. The ANC remains an illegal organisation. The State of Emergency continues and a whole series of repressive laws remain on the statute books. We have no constitutional means to change the government of the day."

Therefore, the ANC believes: "It still remains for the Pretoria regime to create a climate conducive to negotiations. In putting forward this universally accepted demand, we are not asking for special favours. We are asking that all who should participate in any process of negotiations should enjoy equal political opportunities."

The message goes on to say that "democratic forces will not be terrorised into negotiations and cannot be expected to enter into such a process until they enjoy the same freedoms to engage in political activity as does the National Party."

Dealing with the ruling party, the ANC observes: "These days, the NP also speaks of its commitment to end apartheid... Its leaders must, however, understand if we remain unconvinced and sceptical and demand that they translate their words into actions."

The ANC reiterates its belief that SA belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

Pretoria "can confirm from its own files" that "we repeatedly asked successive white rulers to enter into negotiations with genuine representatives of our people... Even when we were compelled to take up arms, we tried to conduct a humane war with as few casualties as possible."

The ANC says it put forward the Harare/UN General Assembly Declaration, for a "political resolution" of the SA conflict. This proposal is "intended for the sole purpose of ending the system of apartheid as quickly and with as little bloodshed and destruction as possible."

"So far, Pretoria's response to this historic proposal has amounted to nothing more than political gamesmanship, which has absolutely nothing to do with a serious effort to

Continue p 36

→ continue from p33.

F/M 12/1/90

(304A)

advance towards a mutually acceptable agreement to end the apartheid system."

While recognising certain advances, like the MDM taking advantage of political "space" to hold rallies, it complains that "that great son of our people" Nelson Mandela, and others, remain in prison; that the emergency stays in place; that organisations and individuals remain banned and restricted. Government "still has a long way to go before it can claim that it has ended repression."

"Therefore, whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system. It ought to be obvious that we, who are the victims of this heinous system, can never act in a manner designed either to perpetuate it or to lead to the loss of even more lives."

At least some of what the ANC sees as stumbling blocks to talks are almost certain to be removed next month. Mandela's release is confidently expected in February; President De Klerk is expected at least to relax the emergency provisions.

The ANC believes it is "thanks to the heroic struggles we have waged up to this point, (that) the situation has arisen whereby there is probably no thinking South African today who does not expect that change must come to our long-suffering country." However, "it is a moment that harbours both the potential for change and the ever-present danger of a terrible bloodbath. What the outcome will be depends on the balance of

forces, the steadfastness of the democratic movement and the wisdom of all the people of our country."

Significantly, the word socialism is absent from the message — though New Year greetings are extended to "our revolutionary allies, the SA Communist Party and Sactu."

Great emphasis is placed on the need for unity around the perspective of "one, democratic and nonracial SA." Rejecting any notion of group-based rights, it calls for an elected constituent assembly to confront "De Klerk's manoeuvres to draw us into an apartheid structure which would parcel out meaningless portions of power in a so-called power-sharing arrangement that would leave the white minority as the dominating force."

The focus of the ANC offensive will be to end repression and apartheid and build a nonracial democracy "from below," through mass action.

"The challenge remains on F.W. de Klerk's table, for him to act from above in pursuit of these same goals without whose realisation our country can never know peace, stability and development."

MANDELA'S RELEASE

FIM 12/1/90

(20) (20) (3041)

Waiting for February

This time — after various false alarms (or impact-absorbers) going back at least three years — it seems to be for real. Nelson Mandela, the world's most famous political prisoner, is expected to be released within weeks, probably in February, after more than a quarter of a century in jail.

The latest predictions follow the euphoric reaction of Winnie Mandela after visiting her husband on Monday to discuss "preliminary arrangements" for his release. She doesn't normally smile for the cameras.

Yet, judging by his talent to surprise and retain the initiative, President F W de Klerk could still confound all predictions.

Does he mean to release Mandela later this month? Unlikely. For one thing, Jesse Jackson arrives from the US, and government would not like any kudos for the release to attach to him. For another, suggests an MDM source, it would be in the interests of both government and the MDM to plan the event carefully. A surprise date would mean only a few less flags, it is suggested, with no other political purchase. The stumbling blocks of the past are gone, the source adds, and it's now just a question of timing. On the other hand, could this be yet another rumour cultivated to deaden the impact of his release? Government has certainly handled the build-up with great shrewdness.

David Owen, a visiting British politician, met De Klerk on Monday and concluded that he was in a hurry to prepare the ground for negotiations; that he could announce certain reforms (including a partial lifting of the State of Emergency) when parliament opens on February 2 and that Mandela would probably be out in late February.

Another pointer to a February release: a delegation of the UDF national executive applied to visit Mandela at Victor Verster prison and was informed by the Justice Department that they may see him "sometime after February 2" (though they're aware this could be a ruse).

Interestingly, a government source points

out that the release timing is also up to Mandela who may well prefer a date of his own

What will Mandela do when freed from prison? Will he automatically assume the leadership of the ANC or MDM? Their spokesmen all tell you that Mandela is a "disciplined" member of the ANC — witness the consultations and report-backs he has had with those outside — and that he

will become part of a "leadership collective." De Klerk, they reckon, should forget any hope he might have of splitting the ANC, or the ANC/MDM alliance, or the MDM.

They entertain no notion whatever of any leadership tussles, internally or externally. What precise office Mandela will hold is not, they claim, considered to be very important. After all, "Mandela is Mandela; his position is unique."

He is seen as a "genuine South African leader" who transcends even the ANC; almost what Gandhi was to Indian independence. For this reason he is also seen

as the man who will be in the best position to allay white fears.

MDM sources have no doubt that he will play a leading role — especially this year and assuming that government agrees to enter talks.

But that surely is the name of the game now and, since Mandela himself has already held direct talks-about-talks with various Cabinet ministers, he is uniquely placed however you look at it.

Mandela's release, says a UDF leader, "is going to fundamentally change the political climate in SA."





Dr David Owen, leader of the British Social Democratic Party and former foreign secretary, met former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday. ● Picture by John Hogg.

Owen: no increase in sanctions yet

Visiting British parliamentarian, Dr David Owen, believes the world will not increase sanctions against South Africa in the present climate of political reform.

But he still believes sanctions are one of the legitimate pressures which the world can use to force the South African government to the negotiating table.

"A sensible negotiation strategy is to hold onto sanctions until the crucial parts of negotiation are closer," Dr Owen said when addressing the media at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

Speaking shortly before his departure for London, Dr Owen said he believed ANC leader Mr Nelson

Mandela will be free in time for Namibia's independence celebrations.

Dr Owen, leader of the British Social Democratic Party and former foreign secretary, said he had met State President Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on Monday.

"Mr de Klerk did not specify a date for Mr Mandela's release, but I do believe he will be free before Namibia's independence. I also have no doubt the

● TO PAGE 2.

SUE OLSWANG and SAPA 3048

P.T.O.

Gear up for talks, US Govt urges SA blacks

Nov 13/11 90
LUSAKA — The United States yesterday urged anti-apartheid movements to prepare for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen hinted in a satellite interview with African journalists that Pretoria was ready for negotiations.

"The message that I have for the blacks in South Africa is that you must continue the struggle. But I think the emphasis right now should be on negotiations."

"I believe Nelson Mandela is likely to be released in the next few weeks."

"This should set the stage for real negotiations. I urge the Mass Democratic Movement to take advantage of it by developing its negotiation strategy," Mr Cohen said.

— Reuter.

Door opening for SA, says Soviet envoy

Sta/3/1/90

2777

304A

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

SOUTH Africa's reform programmes are opening the door for its return to the world community as an equal and generally recognised member, says one of the top South Africa-watchers in the Soviet government, Mr Vyacheslev Ustinov.

Mr Ustinov says he was told by South African officials that the reform programme to be submitted to Parliament by President de Klerk next month will be a constructive one that will make it possible to start dismantling the apartheid system.

Closest contact

As ambassador at large in the foreign ministry, Mr Ustinov has been more closely associated than most Soviet officials with South African diplomats and officials through the Angola-Namibia negotiations. He has visited South Africa for meetings of the Joint Commission supervising the Angola and Namibia agreements.

In an interview reported by the Africa News Organisation, Mr Ustinov was asked to give his views on whether the coming parliamentary session will boost the process of change in South Africa.

He observed that this process had begun under former President Botha, who, while considered by some to be a dictator, had been associated with the scrapping of several of the most pernicious apartheid laws.

Since Mr de Klerk became President the process

'We're all waiting' for De Klerk's reform programme

had gained momentum, he said.

"The reforms proceed in the right direction," he said, "but it is too early to say whether they have become irreversible."

More radical reforms would have to take place.

Mr Ustinov said that "we are all waiting for the programme of change promised by De Klerk", which was expected to emerge in the parliamentary session in early February.

Programme's promise

"Then it will be possible to say whether De Klerk is willing to go further than Botha did.

"According to South African officials with whom I spoke as a member of the joint commission on the verification of the accords on south-western Africa, it is going to be a constructive programme that will make it possible to start dismantling the apartheid system.

"Only an immediate political breakthrough towards democratising South African society and granting the African majority the right to participate in the country's political life can restructure society on new equitable and democratic principles of a non-racist state."

Star 13/1/90

Indian, coloured voters down

MCKEED KOTLOLO

304A

THE number of white voters registered in South Africa last year has increased by 19 944, while the number of coloured and Indian voters has dropped.

By the end of December last year the House of Assembly had registered a total of 3 156 643 voters, the House of Representatives 1 563 286 and the House of Delegates 532 915, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, announced yesterday. The figures for 1988 were 3 139 699, 1 563 286 and 1 748 728 respectively.

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

'Time is ripe' to free Mandela

Cipres 14/11/90
"IF the reforms of State President FW de Klerk have changed the attitude of the outside world as much as we suspect it did, we can only guess what the effect will be of the release of Nelson Mandela," *Beeld* says in an editorial.

He had been seen for many years as a martyr of apartheid who had been built up to a larger-than-life figure.

Steps like the release of seven prominent ANC leaders, permission for urban protest marches and the abolition of petty apartheid were much less important than Mr Mandela's release in the eyes of outsiders.

It would be ironic if Mr Mandela's high profile in the outside world led to an improvement of South Africa's image. "It is certainly not what our enemies intended with their

agitation over the years."

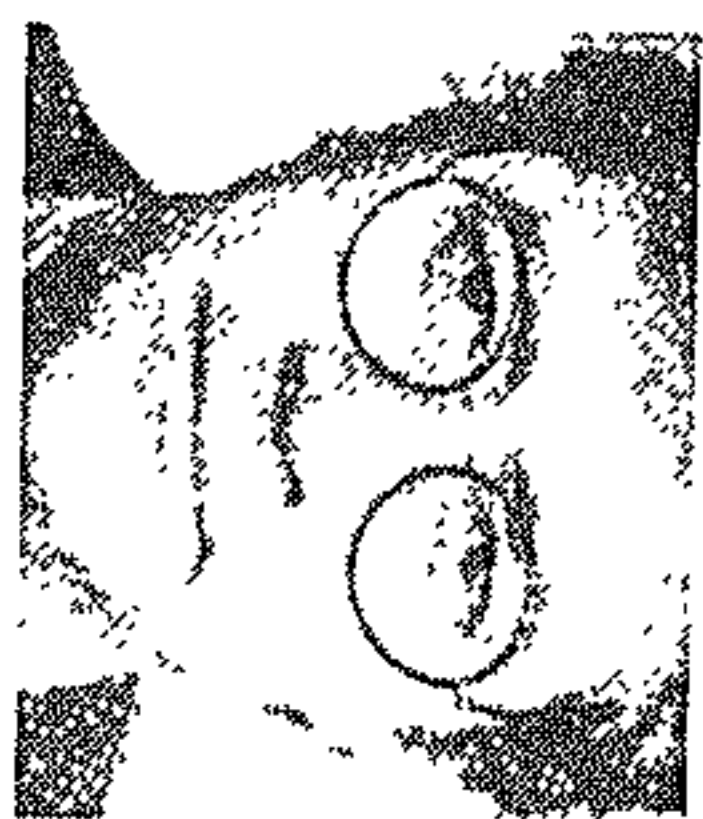
Of much greater importance was the question of what would happen inside the country. For years politicians feared his release would stir up emotions countrywide and would cause unprecedented unrest.

"How ripe the time for his release has become is evident because mass meetings have been held for ANC leaders, street protests have already taken place, the ANC is practically unbanned and the heavens have not fallen. The thought that Mr Mandela will be released has taken root so strongly that it would not be a surprise any more."

If expectations were not satisfied, a lot could be lost of the favourable conditions.

The sooner Mr Mandela is released, the better, says *Beeld*.

THE



by Lester
Venter
Political
Correspondent

Box 1
14/1/90

MANDATE FOR RECTOR

THE world's attention is grasped by blossomings of liberty and democracy in what were until very recently captive nations. In that atmosphere the timing of the release of the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, has become one of the main international speculative issues.

This time, however, South Africans will not be reading about awesome but far-off events. Mr Mandela's release will signal the start of a process of events that will, in all likelihood, eventually change the way they live.

Certain

Naturally, when State President F W de Klerk first contemplated Mr Mandela's release even before he formally took office he, like everyone else, could not foresee the happenings that have swept Eastern Europe and created a new mood in the world.

Those happenings have a significance greater than can be fully comprehended at present — and the setting free of the man, who for so long has symbolised political bondage, may very well become the convenient metaphor for the bewildering events of recent months.

Without all this, the consequences of Mr Mandela's release would have been difficult enough to predict. Now they are more so.

Nevertheless, as South Africans prepare themselves for this seminal event, some things are certain: that it will have pen-

● Mr Mandela will not, indeed cannot, be released "into a vacuum".

● His release will change the ANC and the way the SA Government deals with it.

● Finally, it will not be the end but the beginning of a new chapter of change.

When Mr De Klerk's government-in-waiting began contemplating power in the run-up to last year's election, he and his closest advisers knew they would have to tackle head-on the issue that had been started in the last years of his predecessor's rule — Mr Mandela's release.

At the time, the release was targeted for some time between late this month and the end of March. Although the timing is not yet fixed, and probably won't finally be until hours before it happens, that target still remains.

The negative reason behind the release — that Mr Mandela, turning 72 this year, could not be allowed to languish forever in jail, and die there to become a permanent symbol of martyrdom — is now more inconceivable than ever.

Recent

In making the decision to release Mandela, it was also realised by the De Klerk government that it could not for ever put off talking to the ANC.

So many South Africans of stature were already doing so that the Government's refusal was rapidly becoming not only absurd, but a splitting of hairs.

Yet the Government remains stuck with the problem that it cannot enter serious discussion about the nation's future with an organisation it has banned. That would

merely pile one absurdity upon another.

So Mr Mandela's release will have to be accompanied by the unbanning of his organisation. That is largely what is meant by "not releasing him into a vacuum".

Having said that, though, the Government cannot baldly recant and unban the ANC with a mumbled apology. Some quid pro quo will be necessary, and it is likely to be in the nature of a ceasefire or truce.

The Government has already opened the way by seeking from the ANC a "commitment to a peaceful solution".

Esteemed

Something along these lines is undoubtedly already in the pipeline. There have been many ministerial contacts with Mr Mandela, and it would be foolish to assume that Mr De Klerk's own meeting with his prisoner was no more than a gesture of pre-Christmas goodwill.

This immediately raises the question of Mr Mandela's status within the ANC. The ANC today is an organisation characterised more by its dualities than its homogeneity.

It is divided between its communists and its nationalists, its external and internal wings, its negotiators and its militants, and the two distinct generations within it.

Mr Mandela's release will have a dramatic impact on these divisions. It is likely to favour a rise of the nationalists against a decline of the communists.

Apart from a kernel of hardline communist ideologues like Mr Joe Slovo, the ANC's communists are largely a loose affiliation of old-

timers who called themselves communists in the 1950s, mainly because the communist movement of those years was synonymous with non-racism when hardly any other was.

The organisation's former general secretary and life-long Mandela confidant, Mr Walter Sisulu, for example, is one of those. So is Mr Govan Mbeki.

Today they are esteemed for their moderation. And, besides, the point that communism has become an embarrassment even to communists need hardly be emphasised.

Mr Mandela's impact on the external-internal divide remains to be seen. But if anyone can reconcile those who have commanded the struggle from the diplomatic lounges of the world's capitals and those who have faced the daily brunt of State action, Mr Mandela can.

Mr Mandela's favouring of negotiation above military action is implicit in everything that happened up to now. Remarkably, he has proved his negotiating credentials while still a prisoner — even though it may be cynically said he has hardly had an option.

The point, nevertheless, was made once again this week by Mr Sisulu in interviews broadcast in America and South Africa. Along with the generation gap comes the leadership issue in the ANC.

Quite ominously this week, the ANC said Mr Mandela would be accorded "a position on the executive".

True enough, it did not say what the position would be — but it did reveal that Mr Mandela's assumption of the leadership was not a given fact.

This potential blood-letting in



the unforgiving ways of politics is partly defused by the fact that the present leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, is receiving care for a stroke in a Swedish clinic specialising in brain-damaged patients.

And any of the younger pretenders, like Mr Thabo Mbeki, would surely not rate themselves against Mr Mandela.

Disagree

In any event, the ANC would do well to acknowledge that, whatever it does, the world will consider Mr Mandela the leader. All these factors taken together, a split between the "negotiators" (who are pre-

pared to compromise) and the hardline communists and militarists, is not inconceivable.

It will be that willingness to give while taking, with an absence of bitterness, that the Government and South Africans in general will have to count on in Mr Mandela.

And it is a remarkable expectation from a man who has spent the prime of his life locked away for something the ANC asked for since its inception in 1912, and that his jailers now propound as a great good of their own invention: Negotiations for a common future.

The final certainty is that nothing, after all, is certain. The two sides have agreed to nothing more

than that negotiations are desirable.

Beyond that, they disagree on how the negotiations should take place. The ANC, for example, wants an interim government installed while a constituent assembly writes a new constitution. The Government will not even entertain the thought.

They disagree, too, on what will be negotiated. The Government wants to negotiate a role for a demilitarised ANC in a group-based society with heavy ethnic and racial overtones. The ANC will not even entertain the thought.

Still, the situation is not without hope. A crack in the impasse emerged only this week when Mr Sisulu spoke of a "transition period" — and indicated it could take 10 years.

His remarks, though, as much represent a split in ANC thinking as they do a way of breaking deadlock. The months following Mr Mandela's release will show which way the balance will tip.

No change — Wolpe

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

THE three-man US Congress delegation visiting South Africa saw little attempt by State President FW de Klerk to allow a negotiated political settlement.

The delegation consisted of Howard Wolpe, Democrat and co-chairman of the Congress Black caucus, Alan Wheat and Republican Constance Morella. They met cabinet ministers, Walter Sisulu, the UDF, Azapo, Cosatu, Nactu, Rev Frank Chikane, Inkatha, and the Conservative Party.

At a Press conference before their departure, Wolpe said five conditions spelled out in a recent United Nations resolution had to be met before negotiations could take place.

Failing this South Africa could face renewed sanctions, he said.

The conditions were the release of political prisoners, the lifting of restrictions on organisations and persons, removal of troops from the townships, an end to the state of emergency and the repeal of legislation such as the Internal Security Act.

"Blacks can walk on the beaches, but until they walk to the ballot boxes, there has been no fundamental change," said Wheat.

The delegation said recent changes such as the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act left significant elements of the apartheid system unchanged.

The three referred to "statutes such as the land Act of 1913 and 1936, Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the legal fiction of so-called independent states and the reliance on severe security laws".

On the recent release of ANC and PAC leaders, they noted that hundreds of other political prisoners were still in jail or on Death Row.

The delegation slated the banning of the ANC rally in Bloemfontein.



Howard Wolpe



Alan Wheat

"South Africans are still being denied permission by the government to exercise basic rights of freedom of assembly and expression.

"What Congress does in the months ahead will be determined by the actions of the South African government," said Wolpe.

Hit squads: 'FW must take blame'

S/Times
14/11/90

304A

THE Democratic Party has laid the blame for continuing revelations of police brutality at the door of President FW de Klerk's government.

The DP's spokesman on Law and Order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said "excessive and threatening language over the years" had created the climate for abuse. President De Klerk's failure to act decisively on revelations had helped create the impression that certain individuals can "get away with murder".

Vicious

And, Mr Van der Merwe said, it must now be asked if anxiety about the involvement or awareness of some Cabinet Ministers had not influenced President De Klerk's refusal to appoint an independent investigation into police excesses.

Mr Van der Merwe was reacting to further revelations, including personal confessions by policemen, in the Afrikaans weekly, *Vrye Weekblad*.

"It's simply no longer possible to suggest that the events that have been re-



TIAN VAN DER MERWE

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

vealed were the work of a handful of maverick policemen," he said.

"The evidence is overwhelming of a vicious and violent system of behaviour on a scale so large that it cannot have taken place without the explicit or, at least implied approval of people in very high places."

Mr Van der Merwe singled out the former State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, for

the habitual use of language that "implied that acts of violence enjoyed the blessing of the Government".

Attempts by these men, particularly in Namibia, to block murder prosecutions against security force members "obviously reinforced this impression".

"To what extent has the possible knowledge of involvement of certain Cabinet Ministers influenced Mr De Klerk not to appoint a judicial commission, but in-

stead to institute criminal proceedings against certain people?" he asked.

President De Klerk's administration was being "contaminated" by the "continuing revelations and confirmations" — and its failure to respond created the impression that "the Government has something to hide".

The latest revelations concern the activities of a British citizen, Peter Caselton, who said he worked for the security police's A1 (foreign operations) section.

In 1982, he said, he planted a bomb in ANC offices in London, after which he was received by the security police in SA "as a hero".

Renegade policeman Captain Dirk Coetzee earlier alleged that the explosives were sent to England in a diplomatic bag.

According to *Vrye Weekblad* and Capt Coetzee, Caselton was a close friend of Mr Craig Williamson, who has previously admitted his activities as a police spy and is now a member of the President's Council.

DP slams Nat failure to act on revelations of rampant brutality

Let's have action, FW

Back up your
words with
action, says
Mogoba



STANLEY MOGOBA

BACK up words with actions was the message sent to the South African State President this weekend by the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

Speaking at a banquet to mark the opening of the headquarters of the MCSA's sister Methodist denomination in South Africa, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Johannesburg, Mogoba called on Mr FW de Klerk to give immediate amnesty and free passage to all.

This would include the release of all political prisoners and detainees, allowing refugees back into the country, and lifting the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other black consciousness movements.

These acts, said Mogoba, "would be a signal that the new dispensation has come. Mr FW de Klerk needs to act with expedition to bring about surgery that can effect healing in our land.

"The time of fear and mistrust rightly belong to history. *Sowetan 15/1/90*

"A slow, almost reluctant, change can only encourage pre-historic conservatives and other extremists to force their way on to the stage of history.

"Mr de Klerk, in the name of God, heed the biblical call: 'Let my people go'." Mogoba pleaded before the capacity crowd, which included a large delegation of Americans and the mayor of Johannesburg.

Mogoba said he welcomed the invitation to speak to the State President, "but he needs to understand that when and if the speaking takes place, actions need to follow.

"There is no point in leaders of churches, or delegations, meeting the State President and not being able to see tangible results flowing from their representations."

However, he said he had to give De Klerk credit that in the one instance representations had been made by the bishop to him in the past few months, "tangible results flowed very fast. I refer to the unbanning of a past president of the MCSA, Rev Dr Simon Gqubule." - Sapa.

Back words with action, FW urged

Back up words with actions — that was the message sent to the South African State President this weekend by the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

Speaking at the opening of the Johannesburg headquarters of the MCSA's sister Methodist denomination in South Africa, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Mogoba called on Mr F W de Klerk to give immediate amnesty and free passage to all.

This would include the release of all political prisoners and detainees, allowing refugees to return and lifting the ban on the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and other Black Consciousness movements.

These acts, said Dr Mogoba, "would be a signal that the new dispensation has come", but he warned that "a slow, almost reluctant, change can only encourage pre-historic conservatives and other extremists to force their way on to the stage of history".

He pleaded before a capacity crowd: "Mr de Klerk, in the name of God, heed the biblical call: 'Let my people go'".

Dr Mogoba said he welcomed an invitation to speak to Mr de Klerk, "but he needs to understand that when and if the speaking takes place, actions need to follow".

However, he gave Mr de Klerk credit for some "tangible results". — Sapa.

ON HIS recent visit Chester Crocker observed, with characteristic perception, that the choice facing South Africa was essentially the same as the choice before Eastern Europe: liberalism or nationalism?

In the Balkans, Turkish citizens are fleeing from Bulgaria rather than accept forced integration of language and religion. Moldavia is again a source of tension, and the entire region is re-embarked on the ancient act of balancing between Russian and Prussian.

In South Africa, we are so concerned with virulent white racism that we are not perhaps sufficiently sensitive to the underlying racism, for example, in the argument that "the whites stole the land" and "blacks will take it back". Tell that to the owner of a mortgaged eighth of an acre in Parkhurst!

If racism or ethnic politics is the new threat, what then of liberalism's old enemies, the socialists?

Franksy, that is yesterday's war. Not until I visited Paris as the guest of the Mitterrand Foundation last year, and saw members of the South African Communist Party struggling to adjust their thinking to the collapse of their ideology, did I begin to grasp the momentous implications of what has happened in Central and Eastern Europe.

Even now, after a month of so of assiduous reading, I can only gape. If Gorbachev's book, *Perestroika*, was a confession of political and economic failure, the book on economic reconstruction written by his economic adviser, Abel Aganbegyan (*Moving the Mountain*), is a new Alice in Wonderland.

The failures of a command economy are every bit as bad as we free marketers (I'm tempted to wear the pejorative title as a medal) used to say, and worse. It is hard to improve on an anonymous verse from behind the Iron Curtain titled *The Eight Wonders of the Socialist Economy*.

Socialism's collapse a challenge to SA's free market liberals

KEN OWEN

"There is no unemployment but nobody works."

"Nobody works but the plan is fulfilled."

"The plan is fulfilled but there is nothing to buy."

"There is nothing to buy but you can find anything."

"You can find anything but everybody steals."

"Everybody steals but nothing has been stolen."

"Nothing has been stolen but it's impossible to work."

"It's impossible to work but there is no unemployment."

Don't take my word for it. Ask Gorbachev. Ask Aganbegyan. They tell, in damning detail, what went wrong, and they explain, albeit unconsciously, why (according to the Eastern European expert Jacques Rupnik) the monetarist theories of the Chicago school of economists are often preached more fervently in Poland and Czechoslovakia than in the West.

The same sort of enthusiastic overstatement, of course, often afflicts free marketers in this *dirigiste* economy, since we too have suffered the interventions and

oppressions of insolent bureaucrats and social engineers.

Such overstatement is no longer necessary. The argument has been won. The South Africans who know Eastern Europe best — the exile members of the SACP and the ANC — also know that socialism has created catastrophe in the proportion in which it has been implemented.

Most (former) socialists are trying to scramble onto the nearest passing ice floe, which seems to be the Swedish model of social democracy, complete with private ownership of property, independent businesses, profit motives, fabulously rich aristocrats like the Wallenbergs, and so forth.

In this the European Left is merely following Aganbegyan, who talks glowingly of the leap in productivity that occurred when Russian farmers were permitted to lease patches of soil and farm on their own account, and expounds the virtues of markets on every page. As Crocker also observed, only in out-of-the-way places like South Africa does one still

find real, live Marxists talking driven about class warfare.

Of course, to think that the collapse of socialist ideology might terminate conflict in South Africa would be naive. The conflicts, whether between black and white, or rich and poor, or labour and capital, are real; all they lack now is a theoretical base to replace the crumbling theories of socialism.

As Crocker has perceived in southern Africa, and Rupnik in Eastern Europe, the danger is that the substitute for class theories will be nationalist theories, whether race or ethnicity. Gorbachev, trying to mollify the Lithuanians in the northwest, and to preserve the border that separates Soviet Azerbaijanians from Iranian Azerbaijanians in the south, knows the danger. South Africa, caught between the resurgent Pan-Africanist Movement and the AWB should be similarly aware.

The obvious alternative to a divisive recrudescence of nationalism, here as in Eastern Europe, is the liberal idea that the free individual is the basic building block of society, and that rights vest in the individual, not in the collective.

In South Africa liberalism can, however, succeed only if it begins

visibly to meet the legitimate demands of black South Africans, and to do so on a scale that transforms black society. It won't do free marketers much good to point to growth in GDP, people must feel the change in their fortunes.

The situation is not without hope. For the first time in decades the government is applying sensible economic policies which, once we are through the necessary recession of 1990, should enable President de Klerk to operate from strength. In a year or two, foreign debt is likely to be generally perceived as under control (which indeed it already is) and the futility of sanctions may become plain even to Americans.

At home, rising prosperity does have the power to alter attitudes. The latest issue of *Indicator SA*, published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal, includes a fascinating survey showing quite high or rising levels of satisfaction among coloured people as their community breaks out of historical poverty — in contrast with high, rising levels of dissatisfaction among the highly stressed black communities.

President de Klerk is under great pressure to begin serious negotiations; he is under much less compulsion to conclude those negotiations. Time is on his side as the Soviet empire unravels, and as socialist theory around the globe falls into disrepute. The longer he talks, the better his chances.

There is no longer much need to quarrel with socialism — it's foolish to wrestle with defeated foes, and nothing is quite so boring as the last war — but there is a great need to come up with answers to the immense social problems bequeathed to us by four decades of apartheid. South African liberals — and that includes the liberal end of the business community — still have a little time to demonstrate both the efficacy and the benevolence of a free market system. But they had better get on with it.

'Racist' Aids pamphlet slammed by virus experts

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A pamphlet on Aids distributed in the Roodepoort and Randburg areas by a mystery organisation has been criticised as blatant right-wing racism by leading medical experts.

Professor Ruben Sher, head of the SA Medical Research Council's Aids Centre, said the sensationalistic content of the pamphlet was not scientifically substantiated and was based on a host of misconceptions.

The three-page pamphlet, apparently printed by an organisation calling itself Aids Information Distributing Society, calls on whites to "save the white race from extinction" by distributing the pamphlet to friends and family.

It claims toilet seats, swimming pools, multiracial hotels, multiracial

churches, jacuzzis and even communion wafers handed out by hand can spread the Aids virus. Multiracial hotels and restaurants are described as being particularly "high risk".

The pamphlet says elderly couples and parents and children whose only form of contact has been kissing are known to have infected one another with the Aids virus.

"Utter rubbish," Professor Sher said.

Dr Dennis Sifris, head of the Johannesburg Hospital's HIV Clinic called on the public to ignore the "obviously ridiculous" pamphlet.

"It's obviously put out by an extreme lunatic fringe group who are trying to scare everyone. I just hope people realise the pamphlet is being produced by people who are totally over the top."

31 Day 16/11/90
304A

ANC keen to start talking

**CHARLENE SMITH
in Lusaka**

ANC leaders say they are in a hurry to get negotiation going and that their preconditions have been framed to enable quick action by President F W de Klerk rather than requiring a lengthy parliamentary process.

The leaders, gathering here for their discussion with internal ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu, say the ANC deliberately did not call for the dismantling of apartheid as a prenegotiation demand, because NP policy is based on group rights.

They believe their five-point "checklist" could almost without exception be implemented by presidential decree.

- The five points were set out in the Harare Declaration on negotiations adopted by the ANC, OAU, UN and last year's Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg, viz:
- The unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees;
 - The removal of bans and restrictions on organisations and individuals;
 - The removal of troops from townships;
 - An end to the state of emergency, and
 - The cessation of political trials and political executions.
- A top ANC source outlined the way the organisation hoped the demands would be treated.

"The release of Mandela does not require Parliament's approval. The state of emergency was enacted by presidential decree and could be removed in the same way."

"The unbanning of the ANC may require some changes in law, but other organisations like the UDF were banned under the state of emergency and De Klerk does not require Parliament for that."

"In the end the things we are asking De Klerk to do can be done in a couple of weeks. We are not waiting for Parliament. We have a much shorter time perspective, the issue of negotiations must move speedily."

The ANC sources said they were very conscious of the example of resolution 435 on Namibian independence, which was adopted in 1978 and implemented only in 1989. They said they did not want a situation where the negotiation process was seen as a way of buying time.

Sources close to the ANC national executive committee said they did not believe De Klerk was constrained by the white electorate, indeed "the leadership of the NP has been marching behind its own constituency for some time".

They said it was believed that De Klerk still considered the group concept central to his policies, whereas the ANC was committed to a united non-racial democratic SA.

But they believed it was necessary to move as rapidly as possible towards a political settlement and for that reason it was necessary that a climate exist for equal political representation among all parties and organisations expected to participate in that process.

The question most frequently asked of the ANC here, sources said, was who would decide who would sit around the negotiating table. Their answer was that the people must decide through the ballot box in a similar manner to the Namibian process.

The ANC took heart from the fact that De Klerk was quoted in a business magazine last year as saying it might be necessary to hold such elections to determine who would be

elected to a constituent assembly.

"FW thinks that sitting around the negotiating table there will be groups like leaders of bantustans, the tricameral system, the ANC, UDF and suchlike. But the ANC says that you cannot use the structures of apartheid to end apartheid," one source noted.

Such elections would be based on the principle of one man, one vote. ANC leaders have expressed their concern that the initiatives of businessmen in the mid-1980s towards ending apartheid appear to have evaporated.

They noted that it was the visit of Anglo American chairman Gavin Rellly to Lusaka in 1985 that started the "great trek" of white opinion-makers and opinion seekers to Lusaka. Businessmen expressed their opposition to apartheid but it appeared to amount to little more than "dinner table rhetoric" as they fully participated in armaments industries and little progress was seen in union moves to have the Labour Relations Amendment Act abolished.

Discussions are under way in the ANC on the issue of privatisation.

A top source said discussions were proceeding from the position that any new government of a democratic SA would have to address very quickly the economic questions of the impoverishment of millions of people, education, and health.

"That government will have to ensure that it disposes of sizeable resources to address this urgent need. Privatisation surely goes to the root of who will control the economy."

"It is interesting to note that the Nats used the nationalisation of industries to promote their ideals and uplift their people. If privatisation weakens the capital of a government it could face serious social problems. However, the ANC has taken no final decision on the matter."

The ANC has said it does not believe recent events in Eastern Europe will have a major impact on the organisation as it is not based on a socialist model, but rather on the needs of SA people.

As an example, the ANC believed the issue of land redistribution would have to be addressed.

"We are also concerned about issues such as the domination of the JSE by only five companies."

If anything, the ANC believed the events in Eastern Europe would help remove the bogey the NP had used to stay in power -- the perceived threat of Soviet imperialist aims in southern Africa.

REVIEW

Drafter but not authentic Vision

CRITICS' CHOICE

De Klerk promises streamlined govt

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk called on people of all races last night to become involved in the quest for a peaceful solution to SA's problems.

Speaking at the official opening of new R20m Auto & General Insurance building in Johannesburg, De Klerk said government had embarked on creating a new SA with a modern, streamlined administration characterised by imaginative and innovative constitutional and economic thinking.

De Klerk, speaking to an 800-strong audience, which included top SA businessmen, said all citizens would enjoy equality of opportunity in every sphere of endeavour.

"I ask that all South Africans... become involved in the quest for a peaceful solution so that the building of the new SA will be a constructive process, a process of creating hope, of creating opportunity, of creating a fair and just

LINDA ENSOR

dispensation for all the people in this country.

"At the same time we will also remain true to the tried and tested principles of democracy and a free market economy."

To achieve this would require vision, the acceptance of risks, the mobilisation of all the talents in the country, a positive spirit of hope and a realistic appraisal of the realities of this country.

On developments in the short-term insurance industry De Klerk said the Melamet Commission's report on the outflow of premiums from SA had been submitted and its recommendations would enjoy urgent attention with a view to possible further legislation.

Draft legislation would be made available to the industry for comment later this year.

Draft legislation relating to the establishment of an office of financial institutions in a statutory council outside the government service — based on the recommendations of the Van der Horst Commission of Inquiry — was being prepared and would also be made available to the industry for comment.

Auto & General chairman Douw Steyn announced that the company intended to make its paperless computer system available to larger brokers this year at their premises at no cost and also planned to accommodate annual business and an annual policy which would cover bank, risk, dealer's indemnity and abscondship.

"I believe we have the best technology in the world for administering personal line business."

Steyn said Auto & General also planned to franchise the system this year to other insurance companies overseas.

B/Day 16/1/90

SACP sidelined by new Soviet thought

KIN BENTLEY

(304A)

LONDON — At the start of what could become the most important decade in SA history, the South African Communist Party (SACP) finds itself increasingly isolated due to an ideological split with Moscow under Gorbachev, says the January issue of the London publication *Africa Confidential*.

But reports of deep division within the ANC between SACP members and non-members are false, it says.

It also believes that while the SACP has succeeded in "hemming in" ANC president Oliver Tambo, while effectively taking control of the ANC, it is "ambivalent" about the release of Nelson Mandela, whom it "fears".

It says the SACP "quarantined" Tambo, keeping him out of the daily ANC political life through "an exhausting round of diplomatic visits".

Those wishing to reform the SACP face the risk of expulsion.

"This is probably why Thabo Mbeki has elected to challenge the Party positions through his work in the ANC rather than from within party structures."

It says there is a suspicion that the SACP is behind the rumours circulating within the MDM that Mandela could strike a deal with President F W de Klerk.

"The object of such rumours would be to discredit Mandela in the MDM and to alienate him from his recently released comrades.

"With his power-base eroded, the party could take on Mandela."

The publication notes that the "ANC coat-tails and the harshness of apartheid government have worked well for the party".

"Literally thousands of black activists have embraced socialism at a time when the communist world is shrinking."

It says the party's applause for Gorbachev has now turned to alarm as perestroika brings Moscow and Washington closer together.

The article says Soviet theoreticians have "even gone so far as to state publicly that socialism is unattainable in SA in the foreseeable future."

"This and other acts of 'betrayal' by the Soviets have led to a polemical combat between Sloyo and Soviet Communist Party ideologues, which has received extensive coverage in the Soviet media."

Cap Times 16/1/90
**Reform or
violence**
304A
Marais told

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk yesterday told Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais that white domination in South Africa should be abolished and that violence was the only alternative to his policy of reform. Mr Marais said after "open and genial" talks with Mr De Klerk at the Union Buildings.

Mr Marais said Mr De Klerk's standpoint was that he also did not wish to submit whites to black oppression.

Mr De Klerk believed there was a way to attain joint control for all without there being oppressors and oppressed people, Mr Marais said.

Mr Marais said he told Mr De Klerk that with the shifts in international politics the government should delay and derail the revolutionary process so there might be a prospect for whites other than being delivered to a communist-controlled black government. — Sapa

FW out to abolish white domination, says HNP leader

State President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday that white domination in South Africa should be abolished and that violence was the only alternative to his policy of reform, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr. Jaap Marais said in Pretoria. (3048)

Speaking after having talks with Mr de Klerk at the Union Buildings, Mr Marais said Mr de Klerk's standpoint was that he also did not wish to submit whites to black oppression.

Mr de Klerk believed there was a way to attain joint control for all without there being oppressors and oppressed people, Mr Marais said.

Mr Marais said he conveyed to Mr de Klerk his fears for the future of the white populace.

Increasing concessions to revolutionary demands would lead to negotiations with the African National Congress and power-sharing, and eventually a black majority government, Mr Marais said. — Sapa.

Transvaal has lion's share of voters

Pretoria Correspondent

Almost twice as many House of Assembly voters are registered in the Transvaal as in the Cape Province, according to statistics released by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw.

At the end of last year 3 156 643 white South Africans were registered as voters 1 695 150 in the Transvaal, 855 616 in the Cape, 368 307 in Natal and 237 570 in the OFS.

North Rand remains the largest constituency for the House of Assembly with 45 615 registered voters.

The largest constituency for the House of Assembly in the Cape is Durbanville with 27 738.

Greytown (22 547 voters) is Natal's largest constituency and Welkom (25 537) the largest in

the Free State.

In the House of Representatives, statistics show that 1 563 286 coloureds are registered as voters, with 308 409 in the Cape.

Natal has 65 829 voters, the Free State 28 453 and Transvaal 160 595.

Strandfontein (40 979) is the largest House of Representatives constituency in the Cape, Wentworth (18 778) the largest in Natal, West Free State (7 082) the largest in the OFS and Eldorado Park (26 319) the largest in the Transvaal.

The number of Indians registered as voters totals 532 915 with the largest number (431 926) registered in Natal.

Transvaal has 82 185 registered Indian voters and the Cape 18 804.

US stupid to believe FW — Boesak

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Dr Allan Boesak told a large gathering of labour and political leaders yesterday he found it difficult to understand how Americans "could be so stupid" as to believe the movement for change promised by President de Klerk was any different from the "deliberate confusion" created by ex-president Mr P W Botha. *Star 17/11/90*

Mr Botha had also "presented himself as a reformist" in his early days in office, he told a meeting hosted by the Public Employees Federation, the largest white-collar trade union in the United States, in the New York

State capital, Albany. *304A 143*

In a lengthy and unflattering comparison between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, in which he accused both of employing the same tactics, Dr Boesak added: "Everywhere I find a remarkable confusion about events in South Africa. It is a confusion deliberately created by President de Klerk and his Government in precisely the same way as did Mr Botha."

"What we have now under President de Klerk is a smiling government still maintaining apartheid. For my part, I just can't believe that people can be so stupid as to be caught twice by the same gag."

Setting reform deadlines 'no help'

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa's ambassador to Ottawa, Mr Hennie de Klerk, has rejected a deadline set by Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, for reform in South Africa, as "unrealistic and a hindrance".

Mr de Klerk was reacting to a speech given by Mr Clark on Monday, in which he said South Africa would have to show concrete progress towards real change by the time the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers met in Nigeria in early May.

Mr Clark hinted that further sanctions could be considered if no changes were made.

Mr de Klerk said in a statement yesterday that the setting of unrealistic deadlines would not contribute to South Africa's progress towards a democratic society in which power was shared by all.

President de Klerk had taken steps in recent months and made announcements about a totally changed South Africa which had prepared the climate for negotiations towards a new constitution, he said.

But, by attempting to impose an unrealistic timetable for the creation of a new constitution, other countries may well hinder the process rather than encourage it, he added.

The ambassador said even ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu had been quoted as saying the dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation of a new constitution could take as long as 10 years.

● WASHINGTON — Canada intends to continue to pursue vigorously the encouragement of the opposition media in South Africa, Mr Clark said in a speech here on Monday.

Addressing the South African Education Trust Fund, a Canadian charitable group, Mr Clark said his government supported virtually all the alternative press in South Africa in one form or another, as well as being the principal funder of both the Anti-Censorship Action group and the Media Defence Trust Fund.

He said: "Our efforts have made a difference. *Vrye Weekblad*, the outspoken Afrikaans-language weekly, which recently broke the story on the death squads, would not be in existence today were it not for Canadian government support.

"On Christmas Eve, 1988, the moving men were in *Vrye Weekblad*'s offices to repossess their rented computers. The Canadian embassy stepped in and bought the computers on the spot so that publication could continue.

"That newspaper has since become a crucial catalyst for change in the Afrikaner community."

Mr Clark said Canada had also been effective in supporting newspapers which were key vehicles for the black community in South Africa. Canada's provision of training, and the purchase of equipment, for the *New Nation* and *Saamstaan* had been a concrete expression of its support for the embattled opposition press.

Indaba or Namibia could be our guide

As the release of Mr Nelson Mandela approaches, talks about talks between the Government and the African National Congress and others are just as imminent.

Those talks will have to decide how a new constitution is to be negotiated. South Africans have two models available.

One is Namibia, where a constituent assembly elected by proportional representation has clearly identified the relative strengths of the different groupings and is now engaged in drafting a constitution according to ground rules which prevent the majority party (Swapo) dictating the terms of that constitution.

The other is Natal/kwaZulu, where the Indaba, a convention thrown open to all interest groups, produced a constitution for regional government.

Legitimacy

The Namibian model is by far the simpler. It would be welcomed by an organisation such as the ANC, not least because it would imply a lack of legitimacy on the part of the present government.

But the Namibian formula seems unlikely to be adopted. Governments do not play political roulette. No matter how sincere today's Nationalists might be about creating a common society, they will want to negotiate the terms of that society and how its political institutions will operate.

It seems more likely therefore that the process will more closely approximate that of the Natal/kwa-

Natal's way may be key to new SA constitution

Star 17/1/90

The work of the Indaba in Natal/kwaZulu was a virtual laboratory experiment for the drafting of a constitution for a new South Africa, special correspondent GRAHAM LINSCEOT reports.

Zulu Indaba. The rules for the new society would be decided before relative electoral strengths are put to the test.

The Indaba was simultaneously two things.

It was a practical attempt to resolve anomalies in government at regional level. And it was an exercise in political accommodation between interest groups which started out almost light years apart — a virtual laboratory experiment for a national settlement.

What happened at the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba? It seems worth recalling now that there is talk of a Great Indaba.

The Indaba invited literally any organisation which believed it could contribute — political parties, municipalities, organised commerce, industry and agriculture. Some sent delegations only with observer status, others altered their status from observer to full delegate as the Indaba proceeded, and vice versa.

Groupings at the extreme left and right declined to participate, and a

huge ideological gulf still yawned between those who did. Yet, over eight months, the Indaba made astonishing progress.

It was an unwieldy body. No delegation carried more weight than another. Issues were talked out endlessly until consensus could be reached, the item under discussion being constantly amended. A majority vote was a rarity.

Closed doors

The Indaba's deliberations were behind closed doors. This drew criticism from certain quarters but, as the secretariat maintained, if delegates had been forced to posture to their constituencies, agreement could never have been achieved.

It is interesting to note that the constitutional committee of the Namibian Constituent Assembly also intends meeting behind closed doors.

Indaba delegates speak of a growing sense of finding one another, understanding and mistrust giving way to easiness and trust. Leadership figures began to emerge and deals were struck.

Most of the delegates eventually put their signatures to proposals which, eight months earlier, they would have found incomprehensible.

At a more abstract level, the Indaba amounted to an exercise in which reasonable men of goodwill defined principles by which they would expect society to be ordered.

Its practical proposals might or might not be implemented but it has already provided the conceptual framework for a Great Indaba, as well as some very valuable negotiating procedures.

ANC sits down to talk about talking

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The external and internal wings of the African National Congress got down to business here yesterday with talks about talks to plan a strategy aimed at lifting the barriers in the way of negotiations with the South African Government.

Former secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and the seven other ANC members who arrived on Monday from Johannesburg met some of the organisation's local leaders to discuss informally how to put together an agenda on this critical issue and the complex problems of marrying its two leaderships.

Pretoria has yet to issue any sort of position paper on the ANC's Harare Declaration last August, which set out the pre-conditions for negotiations on the future of South Africa.

These included the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

A senior ANC spokesman conceded yesterday that the recent release of Mr Sisulu and other ANC prisoners was a "hopeful sign" that Mr F W de Klerk's government might be moving closer to the negotiating table.

But he said this development would not induce the ANC to make concessions on the demands contained in the Harare Declaration, which has assumed the status of a Resolution 435 in the eyes of many international bodies.

"Those are reasonable conditions," the spokesman said. "And they would set the proper climate for negotiations if the government were to agree to them."

"Mr de Klerk's people say we must lay down our arms before talks can even be considered. But how can you have a unilateral ceasefire? In any state of war, both sides must agree to a ceasefire."

ANC leaders say they would be prepared to negotiate at once if their terms were met. Some fear that the longer Mr de Klerk stalls, the greater the chance of the situation sliding back into a stalemate.

The BBC reported yesterday that a conflict had arisen within the ANC about the whole question of negotiations.

However, this appears to be more a difference of opinion than anything else between those who believe Mr de Klerk will respond positively to the Harare Declaration soon and those who are convinced he will not.

The ANC will begin its formal discussions about tactics tomorrow morning when the eight members from South Africa will be involved in a three-day session with the national executive committee.

Govt MPs fear another 'Rubicon'

CAR. Trips
17/1/90
304A

Political Staff

AS the opening of Parliament on February 2 draws nearer, Nationalists have become increasingly concerned that President F W de Klerk will not be able to "deliver the goods".

Expectations internally and externally have risen to such heights that they fear another "Rubicon" which could send the ailing rand plummeting and bring a host of negative political reactions just as Mr P W Botha's abortive "Rubicon" crossing did in August 1985.

It is understood from sources close to the government that not too much should be expected from Mr De Klerk on February 2.

However, he is expected to give a broad overview of what the government hopes to achieve and to be more informative about how

FW may not be able to deliver

it hopes to do this, than his predecessors have been in the past.

The international media have already worked themselves into a froth about the speech, predicting such things as the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the end of the state of emergency and the repeal of the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation.

Dire consequences have been predicted for South Africa if he does not meet these expectations.

But, senior sources have sug-

gested Mr De Klerk will not be able to meet all of these expectations yet.

They have pointed out that he has said certain matters are under investigation, such as the Group Areas Act, and that he would like to lift the state of emergency as soon as possible.

They do not expect him to disclose his entire strategy all at once but feel some move on the Mixed Amenities Act is possible.

He is also expected to deal at some length with domestic issues such as the struggling economy and proposed cuts in government spending.

However, while it is expected to be an important speech about policy directions, Nationalist politicians and newspapers are warning against too high expectations fostered by the earlier opening of beaches to all races and mass public demonstrations.

Anglo presents ANC with 'guide to constitution'

CHIEF TIMES 17/11/90 30617

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglo American executives Mr Michael Spicer and Mr Bobby Godsell met the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend when they presented Anglo's "citizen's guide to constitutional questions" to them.

Mr Spicer, personal secretary to Anglo chairman Mr Gavin Relly, said last night that a four-man Anglo team had drawn up the corporation's contribution to the constitutional debate which would be presented to all the major political parties.

The document dealt with the choices citizens would be making as negotiations on a new constitution got into high gear, Mr Spicer said.

It aimed to demystify code words used by political actors in discussing a new constitution and looked at constitutional options.

He said he hoped the document, which was not prescriptive, would raise the level of debate by defining the basic terms which were confusing to the lay person.

Mr Godsell said Anglo hoped to publish the document as a book once it been given to all the major political players.

The success of a future SA constitution depended on the active participation of citizens. The document was the corporation's "modest contribution" to this end, Mr Godsell said.

ig up the front concrete patio of the now infamous 227 Malherbe Street, Pretoria, house of suspected child abductor Mr Cornelius van Rooyen.

Namibian schools open to all

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibian schools reopened for the new term today and, for the first time, admission of pupils was on a non-racial basis. *Star 17/11/90*

The opening of all the country's schools to all races follows last week's decision by the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, to waive discriminatory measures at Namibia's educational and health institutions.

It also comes after recommendations last month by the constituent assembly that all schools in the country be considered open to all races from January 1.

At present the assembly has no powers to make or effect any laws.

The administration for whites — the body which up to now has strictly applied the apartheid rules of admitting no other races to its schools — said today that selection committees at the various schools would consider all applications for enrolment.

Among the prerequisites for enrolment would be pupils' readiness for learning, language proficiency, and certain age limits.

The whites' administration made it clear race and colour would be no criteria for pupils' applications.

During the December holidays an uproar over the white schools was sparked by disclosures that Mr Pienaar was planning to remove control of white education from state to private hands before independence.

US stupid to believe FW — Boesak

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Dr Allan Boesak told a large gathering of labour and political leaders yesterday he found it difficult to understand how Americans "could be so stupid" as to believe the movement for change promised by President de Klerk was any different from the "deliberate confusion" created by ex-president Mr P W Botha. *Star 17/11/90*

Mr Botha had also "presented himself as a reformist" in his early days in office, he told a meeting hosted by the Public Employees Federation, the largest white-collar trade union in the United States, in the New York

State capital, Albany. *(304A) (17/11/90)*

In a lengthy and unflattering comparison between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, in which he accused both of employing the same tactics, Dr Boesak added: "Everywhere I find a remarkable confusion about events in South Africa. It is a confusion deliberately created by President de Klerk and his Government in precisely the same way as did Mr Botha."

"What we have now under President de Klerk is a smiling government still maintaining apartheid. For my part, I just can't believe that people can be so stupid as to be caught twice by the same gag."

POLITICS and political change will be important features of our lives in the next few years. National and international pressures and tensions will continue as the country looks for legitimate and democratic political structures. The business world will not be able to isolate itself from the political environment and increasingly individuals, companies and organisations will need to consider the implications of political developments. They also will have to decide what their role should be in the change process.

As Peter Searle, chairman of Volkswagen SA, wrote recently: "The primary role of business is business and not politics or matters of a socio-political nature. However, in the circumstances in which we find ourselves today, it is not possible to ignore political and socio-political factors."

The economic reality is a sobering one. Sammie Terblanche argues that the economy is still on the decline that started in 1974 after the oil crisis. Our average growth rate has been less than 2% annually and per capita income has declined by 0.5% annually and by more than 1% since 1981.

He observes that the economy would have to grow by at least 5% to accommodate the 350 000 (or more) people that will enter the labour force annually during the 1990s, otherwise largescale unemployment is inevitable.

Furthermore, there is a grave shortage of skilled and management people in the economy.

It is estimated, for example, that job openings at the skilled manpower level will exceed supply by no less than half a million in the next decade.

Another structural aspect of the

Managing our future as pressures mount abroad and at home

KARL HOFMEYER outlines the challenges facing young business managers in the 1990s

economy is what Clem Sunter calls its "dual-logic" nature in which a relatively sophisticated economy exists alongside a much less developed, informal sector.

The informal sector is growing at approximately 15% per annum and has to be recognised as an increasingly important component in our economy especially as a provider of entrepreneurial opportunities and employment.

Social factors and demographic trends are powerful forces in our environment. About 3 500 children are born in SA every day. Nine out of 10 are black.

At present whites comprise approximately 14.4% of the total population, by 2000 it will be 12.2%. SA's urban population was 15.2 million in 1980; it will double to about 30 million by the year 2000.

John Kane-Berman refers to a "silent revolution" which is changing our society: by 2000 blacks will outnumber whites in cities by three to one; employment generated by black taxis is as much as is provided by 10

gold mines; R7 out of every R10 spent in downtown Johannesburg is spent by blacks; by 2000 blacks will account for 57% of disposable income, vs 32% in 1970; estimates of the number of blacks unlawfully resident in white areas vary between 100 000 and 250 000.

The interplay of political, social and economic factors has led to gross inequalities in our society. The second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa (1989) highlighted the inequality between the country's rich and its poor.

This ratio compared the relative poverty in 57 countries and found SA to have the worst rating. According to Operation Hunger, as many as 1.5 million people are on the verge of starvation. Some rural hospitals report as many as 60 hunger-related deaths a month.

This "darker side" of our society

has to be confronted by the private sector.

Business is seen by many, especially in black communities, as an accomplice of government, and capitalism has become discredited.

Consequently, to undo its negative image business will have to be seen to be tackling the problem of redistributing wealth, power and opportunities while it is engaged in generating wealth.

The education statistics paint a very gloomy picture: 51% of our adult population is illiterate (compared with 1% in Japan and 13% in America); fewer than 10 African pupils, and fewer than 20 coloured pupils out of every 100 who start school, matriculate; 87% of African teachers are underqualified; of the thousands who matriculate each year only about 500-800 African pupils matriculate each year with higher grade maths and science.

On the qualitative side, since 1976 many black schools have been in turmoil with frequent boycotts, violence and in some cases an almost

total breakdown of any meaningful education and the will to learn. There is talk of "lost generations" of black schoolgoers.

If Clem Sunter is correct that a "winning nation" is built on a foundation of sound education, this area presents us with enormous challenges.

These realities — political change, economic decline, powerful social forces, inequality, and an education crisis — represent a context that you as managers have to be aware of and try to influence positively in whatever small way you can.

In SA it is not sufficient to be a "good manager" looking after one's own interests.

Our environment demands that we take an interest in the realities around us.

I recently asked 240 South African middle managers what would be the most important challenges facing them in the next five years. Almost half identified human resources issues as the most important. Economic challenges were second, political challenges third and technological issues fourth.

The effective SA manager in the 1990s will have all need to have strong human resources management and people skills such as communication, conflict management, human relations and coaching skills.

He will also have to be staunchly anti-racial, politically aware, be willing to commit his time to what I would call "individual social responsibility commitment", be willing to cross racial barriers and learn about others, remain committed to lifelong learning and want to be part of the "active future".

□ Prof Hofmeyr is associate director of the School of Business Leadership at Unisa. This is an extract from his address at this week's Joint Management Development Programme diploma ceremony.

Anglo offers ANC 'constitutional guide'

By Montshiwa Moroke

Anglo American has given both the ANC and the Government a document containing Anglo's "Citizen's Guide to Constitutional Questions".

Anglo executives Mr Michael Spicer and Mr Bobby Godsell met ANC representatives from the Legal and Constitutional Department in Lusaka at the weekend.

While they had not expected the ANC to respond to the document until they had read it, the ANC representatives had been happy to receive it and Anglo was expecting a response.

Addressing a media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Godsell said the document, called the "Constitutional Options Project", was aimed at provoking debate and dealt with choices citizens would be making regarding negotiations and discussions on a new constitution.

He said the 85-page document, which is ultimately aimed at the public, will not be made available

to the press until it has been presented to all the "key political actors".

The document was compiled by what is collectively known as the Anglo Scenario Planning Team and some international constitutional experts.

Other organisations

Anglo's team comprises Mr Godsell, a director of the corporation, responsible for public affairs and industrial relations, and Mr Spicer, personal assistant to Anglo chairman Mr Gavin Relly.

The others are Mrs Margie Keeton, of the corporation's public affairs division, and Mr Michael O'Dowd, a director, and chairman of the Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund.

Asked about other organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Mr Godsell said:

"We are going to get to all

the other groups outside. We are going to distribute it as widely as possible."

He said they had started work on the document about six months ago and they were putting it into book form to be published "sooner or later".

"We are trying to create a debate on democracies and constitutions for the public. Our aim is to give anyone with an interest in the political future of South Africa, a guide to words and concepts that are in current circulation.

"Different people from different countries do not always mean the same thing when they speak of democracy. We are not playing a negotiating role and this does not preclude a solution. It seeks to look at various options.

"We are simply a tool that will facilitate debate on political issues," Mr Godsell said.

Mr Spicer added: "It is merely a way of deepening the debate, which has sometimes been superficial."

Parties object to (304A) domination by NP

CAPE TOWN — The majority parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates have objected to the appointment of 14 white National Party MPs as chairmen of each Joint Standing Committee. *SW 18/11/90*

Parliament is served by 14 Joint Standing Committees whose function it is to examine legislation. It is the Speaker's duty in terms of the rules to appoint the chairmen to these committees.

A statement on Wednesday from Mr L Landers of the Labour Party, Mr P Cassim of Solidarity, Mr D Dalling of the Democratic Party and Mr E Joosus of the NPP stated:

"The majority parties of the House of Representatives, the Labour Party, and in the House of Delegates, Solidarity, as well as the minority parties in the House of Assembly, the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party, were not consulted.

"We believe that this procedure of appointment and lack of consultation is undemocratic and we object to the interests of the National Party being placed above the interests of all the other parties.

"It is our joint intention to move as soon as possible for the amendment of the rules which have allowed the creation of this untenable situation," the statement said. — Sapa.

Parliament plunged into new crisis

CAH Tink
18/11/90
3044

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT was plunged into a new constitutional crisis yesterday as all parties except the National Party supported a motion of no-confidence in the chairman of the Standing Committee on Justice.

The non-Nationalist parties are incensed that the chairmen of the 14 standing committees are all NP MPs, including two who have no parliamentary experience and have yet to make their maiden speeches.

None of the chairmen is from the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates or the opposition parties in the House of Assembly.

Yesterday the Justice Committee was adjourned after a motion of no-confidence in the chairman, Mr Gert Myburgh, the NP MP for Port Elizabeth North, was supported by 16 of the 22 members of the committee.

This meant that none of the proposed Justice legislation, which was to have been discussed by the committee, can now be forwarded to Parliament for debate.

If the other standing committees adopt a similar approach, as is likely, Parliament will have no legislation to discuss after the no-confidence motion in the first week of February.

In a joint statement yesterday, the majority party in the House of Representatives, the Labour Party, the majority party in the House of Delegates, Solidarity, the National People's

Party and the Democratic Party said they and the CP had not been consulted about the appointment of the chairmen of the standing committees.

"We believe this procedure of appointment and lack of consultation is undemocratic and we object to the interests of the National Party being placed above the interests of all the other parties in Parliament."

The statement said: "It is our joint intention to move as soon as possible for the amendment of the rules which have allowed the creation of this untenable situation."

Mr Chris de Jager, CP justice spokesman, said the CP voted for the motion of no-confidence in the chairman because it had not been consulted in any way.

Yesterday's unprecedented action, which all parties stressed was not aimed at Mr Myburgh in his personal capacity, is likely to be repeated today when the Manpower Committee meets and on Tuesday when the Trade and Industries Committee meets.

The non-Nationalist parties are particularly upset at the appointment of Dr Francois Jacobsz, the NP MP for Helderberg, as chairman of the Finance Committee, the most senior of the standing committees; and Dr A J C Oosthuizen, as chairman of the Manpower Committee.

Both Dr Jacobsz and Dr Oosthuisen, who were elected MPs on September 6 last year, were previously members of the President's Council but they have yet to make their maiden speeches in Parliament.

Draft of Anglo's political guide handed to govt

B/Dam
18/1/90 ANDREW GILL

A DRAFT of Anglo American's Citizen's Guide to Constitutional Questions has been handed to government, Anglo American director public affairs and industrial relations Bobby Godsell said yesterday. The document, which has not yet been made public, was also presented to the ANC by Godsell and fellow executive Michael Spicer in Lusaka on Saturday. So far there has been no response from either party.

Godsell said he and Spicer handed the document to the ANC, and that they had spoken to legal and economic advisers of the organisation.

"Although there has been no feedback as yet, they were pleased to receive it," he said.

Anglo American intended handing the document to every interested party "including the PAC and internal groups connected to the ANC", Godsell said.

"We have not made the guide public yet because it is incomplete. The book still has to be printed and finalised."

304A

Concepts

The 85-page document offers various constitutional options and interprets them, but, he said: "It poses questions rather than gives answers."

"It poses questions like 'what does democracy mean?' and offers various popular interpretations."

Spicer said the guide "debates issues essential to comprehensive democracy".

He added it was Anglo's "modest contribution" to deepening the constitutional debate.

It also offered a guide to the various interpretations of political buzzwords.

The Anglo guide clarifies political issues and concepts alluding to nation, state and democracy.

The book — compiled by Anglo's scenario planning section consisting of Godsell, Spicer, director Michael O'Dowd and Margie Keeton of public affairs — was completed in six months.

It was ready last week and was now in the hands of the publishers, Godsell said.

"It should be on the streets in about two months."

Clash over parliamentary committee heads

CAPE TOWN — A major confrontation erupted in Parliament yesterday when all parties except the NP supported a motion of no-confidence in the chairman of the standing committee on justice.

The non-Nationalist parties are incensed that the chairmen of the 14 standing committees are all NP MPs, including two who have no parliamentary experience and have yet to make their maiden speeches.

The justice committee was adjourned yesterday after a motion of no-confidence in the chairman, NP MP for Port Elizabeth North Gert Myburgh, who was supported by six

Political Staff

of the 22 members of the committee. This meant none of the proposed justice legislation, which was to have been discussed by the committee, was considered.

If the other standing committees adopt a similar approach, as is likely, Parliament will have no legislation to discuss after the no-confidence motion in the first week of February.

In a joint statement yesterday the Labour Party, Solidarity, the National People's Party and the Democratic Party said neither they nor the CP had been consulted about

the appointment of the chairmen of the standing committees.

"We believe this procedure of appointment and lack of consultation is undemocratic and we object to the interests of the NP being placed above the interests of all the other parties in Parliament," the statement said. *B10am 18/11/90*

Yesterday's unprecedented action, which all parties stressed was not aimed at Myburgh in his personal capacity, is likely to be repeated today when the manpower committee meets, and on Tuesday when the trade and industries committee meets.

Future shock or brave new world

By NOEL BRUYNIS

THE main question people are posing as South Africa enters the last decade of the century is: will the country have a black majority government by the year 2000?

Signals from conferences such as the recent one with the African National Congress (ANC) in Paris, the growing acceptance of the ANC's role on the political stage, continuing sanctions by the United States and geo-political changes in Eastern Europe since Mikhail Gorbachev, all will have an impact on Pretoria and the liberation struggle.

A strong argument for the demise of white political domination is the fact that whites, already a minority, will form an increasingly diminishing percentage of the total population.

Simply in numerical terms, Pretoria will not be able to enforce its political and "security" will upon the majority.

If the end of the 80s is anything to go by, the 90s will present South Africa with an ominous mushrooming threat — the ultra-right neo-Nazi element bent on their own brand of terrorism to prevent a peaceful, non-racial co-existence.

Whoever has the reins of government in the 90s will have to contend with this phenomenon. Moreover, South Africa's leaders will have the unenviable task of tackling major "time bombs" within society.

Problem areas include the ecology, overpopulation, poverty, job creation and housing.

South Africa's population this year passed the 30-million mark. By the end of the 90's the total population may be almost 50-million, according to latest predictions.

The population of the city of Cape Town alone will have more than doubled by the year 2000 —

Seven i needed

By LIZ MACKENZIE

BY the year 2000, greater Cape Town will need seven or eight more developments the size of Mitchell's Plain.

This highlights questions about urban planning and the interface between urban dwellers and their environments.

It also raises questions about the connection between the environment and development — for whom, by whom and how?

Some local planners have criticised the way land is developed in South Africa as wasteful and disrespectful.

The dominant way of developing urban areas has been a very low density sprawl for middle to upper



January 1 ushers in not only a new year but the start of the last decade of the present millennium.

What will South Africa look like at the start of the year 2000?

Will the Nationalist Party or the African National Congress be in power?

Will the world still be threatened by the hole in the ozone layer?

And what about South Africa's housing crisis?

On the next few pages SOUTH takes a look at what will or should happen in various fields to prepare for a better world.

Exploitation of environment now part of political agenda

By LIZ MACKENZIE

ECOLOGICAL issues are now claiming political attention worldwide.

In South Africa there is a growing awareness that the exploitation of

the environment is a crucial issue for the political agenda of the 1990s.

With the discovery of the ozone hole, the potential greenhouse effect, the mass devastation of the earth's forests and pollution of its water, there is a growing awareness that ongoing manipulation will change our natural resource base.

Under South Africa's present political and legal system, the state has wide discretionary powers over the environment, the distribution and redistribution of land and its management.

People struggling to survive on a daily basis may not find broad ecological issues a major priority. But the official land management policies based on exploitative apartheid structures have both caused human hardship and contributed to the degradation of the environment.

An example is the forced removal of thousands of people from established rural communities to small barren areas in such large numbers that the new site cannot physically sustain the people, so that it becomes degraded.

An attitude of exploitation allows poisonous chemical waste from industry to be simply dumped on or near impoverished and unsuspecting communities.

Acid rain

There is talk of dumping nuclear waste and toxic waste from overseas industrial countries in South Africa.

Acid rain levels in the Eastern Transvaal are claimed to be the highest in the world.

Decisions over the environment are political issues affecting people's daily living conditions. The question is whether we want to continue exploiting the environment or whether we want to be an integral part of the intricate natural system which sustains and connects all species dependent on its survival.

By depoliticising environmental issues the majority of people are left unorganised, voiceless and powerless, with little say about the way their daily living environments are planned for them.

One of the greatest threats to our environment lies in the mobilising of resources for war. In South Africa, the SADF is the second largest landowner.



ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARD: South Africa's contempt for the environment is clearly illustrated in the streets of Soweto where insufficient cleansing work has resulted in the growth of piles of rubbish on the streets where children play. The environment should also be tackled as a political issue in South Africa's townships

more Mitchells Plain's to solve housing crisis

Income groups — a single house on a large single plot.

Rich agricultural land which could be used for food production is thus used for private residential areas — as in the Constantia valley.

Lower income groups have the burden of being situated where flooding occurs — as on the Cape Flats in winter.

For low income groups there are overcrowded, degraded developments on the peripheries requiring long and costly commuting for the people living there.

The large daily movement of people also places a drain on the infrastructure of the city while provision of services, if any, at such distances makes them more

expensive.

Squatters will form the majority of the city's population in the 1990s. The question about how their needs will be integrated into organisational structures has yet to be addressed.

According to projections for the next decade, more than 100 houses a day need to be built in greater Cape Town. The population of greater Cape Town should reach 3.5 million in the year 2000.

The problem, say some planners, is not that cities get too big, but that there is inefficient and ineffective planning, based on exploitative attitudes.

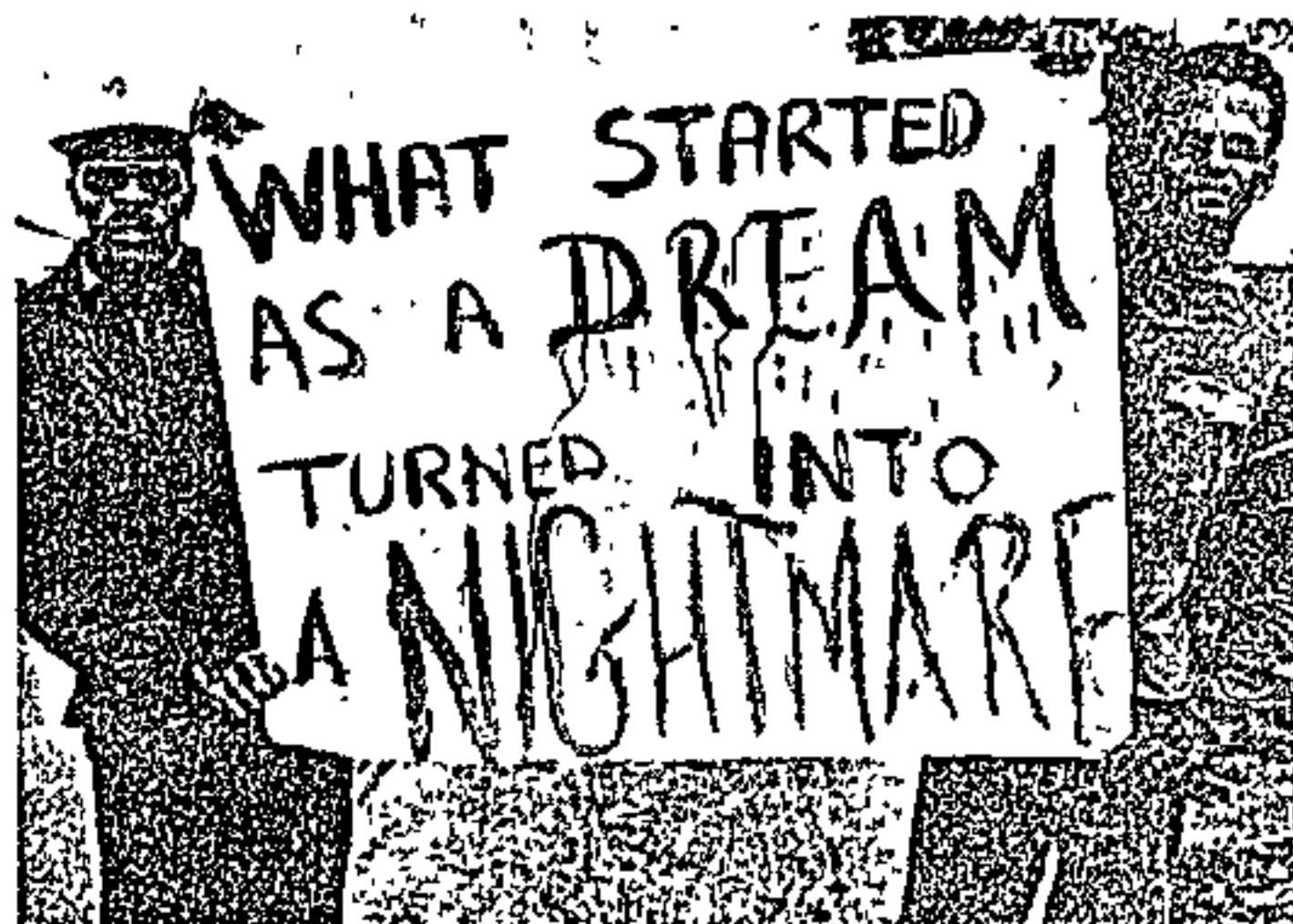
Progressive planners are organising for a different kind of urban

planning, asking questions such as: How easy is it for people to get to the places they need to, for instance to health services? How are different areas laid out? Can people get in and out flexibly? Does the layout allow for buying power to stay in the area?

The equitable use of land resources is an issue requiring serious attention by those preparing to govern in a post-apartheid society.

It is vital that the natural resource base is managed in a sustainable way and new economic structures will have to take its limits into account.

(Liz Mackenzie is with the Centre for Developmental Studies at the University of the Western Cape)



HOUSING FOR ALL: Residents of Blue Downs protest against evictions and the condition of housing in the area. The housing crisis which has worsened in recent years has led to similar demonstrations throughout the country

Slovo rejects one-party rule

LUSAKA — SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo has rejected a one-party system for SA, saying the SACP is learning from the distortions that took place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. *5/10/84 12/11/90*

Slovo said in an interview yesterday a one-party system would be a mistake as it would be doubtful if democracy could survive.

"We have also looked at the experiences of the world and noted that there are more one-party states in the capitalist world, especially in Africa, than in the socialist world."

Slovo said party membership had been growing steadily since 1984.

Stalinism *(304A)*

He had noted at past congresses that some delegates displayed a narrow doctrinaire approach and intolerance of debate.

"They regarded party policy as a catechism that could not be disputed."

He said many people had tied themselves to an embrace of Stalinism and still tried to find excuses for it, "instead of recognising the enormity of the tragedy of what went on".

Slovo said his doubts about Stalin began in 1956 with the Khrushchev revelations and had since persisted.

He warned against Western impressions that communism was dead.

"What we are seeing is the death of distorted socialism."

"There has to be a distinction between

CHARLENE SMITH

dogma and distortion. Socialism will now enter a new phase."

In discussions throughout the week with journalists, Slovo has adopted a conciliatory, understanding attitude towards SA President F W de Klerk.

He said: "So far De Klerk does not have a secret agenda, although he has made it clear that he is not and will not discuss the process of moving towards majority rule."

"As long as he is not prepared to do that, there is no certainty that negotiations will result in a settlement."

He said that he did not think De Klerk had much time. "He's raised expectations and unless he comes up with something, he will be in terrible trouble and I think he is aware of that."

Slovo expected that De Klerk might, in his February 2 speech at the opening of Parliament, implement some of the pre-negotiation clauses of the Harare declaration such as the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

He said it would be difficult for De Klerk to unban the ANC and not the SACP.

"The ANC could not have an alliance with a banned organisation."

Slovo said major issues under discussion this week would include means "of improving ourselves organisationally".

"The political and military sides will be under scrutiny."

PRETORIA AND TRANSKEI

A cub bites back

F/M 19/1/90

President F W de Klerk's first meeting with Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa a week ago has sparked off a diplomatic crisis between SA and the homeland. It could be the first major setback of De Klerk's presidency.

Holomisa does not like being told how to run the nominally independent territory. Discussions were said to be cordial, if strained at times — but De Klerk's suggestions that Holomisa should return the homeland to civilian rule, and rethink holding a referendum on whether Transkei should rejoin SA, angered the young general.

Holomisa claimed this week that the SA government had little value for his life and no faith in Transkei's legal system.

Pretoria gave as good as it got, bringing up old complaints about Transkei breaking the Customs Union agreement by banning the import of sorghum beer from Natal (a move instituted and irregularly applied since 1985 by the Matanzima government); and putting it about that Holomisa's regime attempted a coup against the Ciskei, in August, but called it off. It's astonishing (if true) that this has not been made public before.

SA is also not happy about the growing relationship between Holomisa's government and the ANC.

The centre of the dispute, however, remains the continued detention by Umtata of seven South Africans. Holomisa claims they are members of two hit squads sent to assassinate him. Transkei also maintains SA is refusing to extradite the businessman allegedly behind the plots.

In a statement this week, the SA Department of Foreign Affairs said the detention of the two latest hit squad suspects — arrested by Transkei police at the end of December — was contrary to legal procedure.

Foreign Affairs also claims that Transkei has not followed the correct procedures in trying to extradite former Transkei businessman Vulindela Mbotoli. Holomisa denies this, saying the necessary steps have been taken and that it is "rumoured" that Mbotoli is under SA police protection in East London. Holomisa says the seven SA suspects will continue to be interrogated until Mbotoli is returned to the Transkei to stand trial.

But it was Foreign Minister Pik Botha who came in for the strongest blast. Holomisa this week accused him of tacitly supporting Temba Construction com-

pany chairman Mbotoli despite attempts to extradite since July.

Mbotoli's company is a subsidiary of Jalc Holdings, which is claiming R11m from the Transkei government for housing projects. The contracts were awarded by the Matanzima government in 1983.

Jalc's claim was overruled in a hearing following the Van Reenen Commission of Inquiry into corruption in the Transkei, though Jalc have appealed.

Holomisa claims that in his first formal meeting with Botha in November the foreign minister put pressure on him to pay the R11m. The Transkei government has refused to meet the debt, saying the construction work done was of poor quality.

Holomisa also criticised Botha for denying that the correct procedure had been followed in attempts to have Mbotoli returned to Transkei. "All the relevant documents, including a charge sheet, have been sent to the respective departments," he says.

According to a statement from Holomisa, a warrant for the arrest of Mbotoli was issued by the Transkei Attorney-General in October. He is facing charges of treason, attempted murder and conspiracy to kidnap, relating to the arrest of 14 men in Transkei (including six South Africans) in July — the first alleged hit squad that Holomisa claims was sent to assassinate him.

Eight of the men, apparently all Transkeians, were subsequently released; the six South Africans were kept in custody. One later escaped.

Holomisa says the five men still being held by Transkei police (together with the two arrested in December, one of them allegedly an SAP member) claim they were sent by Mbotoli to assassinate him.

"If SA will not return Mbotoli they will have to wait until we have finished taking statements from the men who claim they were sent by him to assassinate me.

"We have raised the matter of Mbotoli with a number of SA government ministers, including Botha, but have got no response. It is even being denied that we raised this matter before, which is inconceivable.

"We are not going to murder the man, we want him to stand trial. It seems to me the SA government has little faith in our legal system," Holomisa said.

Botha, recovering from a sinus operation, was due to issue a detailed response as the FM went to press.

On his meeting with De Klerk, Holomisa said he received the president's "advice" on returning to civilian rule "in the spirit in which it was given."

But he said a return to civilian rule could not be contemplated until his anti-corruption probe was completed. Investigations are still proceeding into the affairs of a number of former government members, who could again stand for office if open elections were held in Transkei.

SATS STRIKE

Too many delays

SA Transport Services and the SA Railway & Harbour Workers' Union went into another round of talks on Tuesday as the FM went to press. Despite hopes on both sides that this unhappy strike would be resolved deep cynicism remained.

Three issues were to be discussed. Only one — the jobs of about 23 000 fired workers — was likely to be decided. The remaining two — Sats' demand that the union register and the union's demand for R900 more a month — are likely to be addressed soon in any case. F/M 19/1/90

The union had already agreed to register (though it procrastinated absurdly on the issue) and it should, therefore, join the other 12 unions when Sats starts the annual wage negotiations in March.

The latest talks were overshadowed by the brutal fighting at Germiston station last week — a thousand-strong mob of non-strikers attacked a trainload of strikers and passengers, resulting in six deaths and many serious injuries. Neither side covered itself in glory that day and on Tuesday all seemed to be aware of the need to show responsibility and make progress.

It is about time. Sats has lost R38m in arson damages — mostly coaches set alight — and union members have lost R41m in wages. So far Sats has offered to re-employ less than half the strikers. This could be a source of movement in the talks.

Sarwhu, meanwhile, has lost credibility among its supporters — to the extent that Cosatu's Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association actually downed tools in protest against the chaos on the trains and in support of a demand for the Post Office to provide transport.

At the time of going to press, neither party was prepared to reveal much of the internal bargaining (a good sign, indicating a degree of trust), but after such bitterness it will not be easy to restore goodwill.



Constitution: SA can look to Namibia or to the Indaba

19/1/1990

30K17

Political Staff

AS the release of Nelson Mandela approaches, talks about talks between the government and the African National Congress and other groups are just as imminent.

Those talks will have to decide how a new constitution is to be negotiated. South Africans have two models available.

POLITICS

One is Namibia, where a constituent assembly elected by proportional representation has clearly identified the relative strengths of the different groupings and is now engaged in drafting a constitution according to ground rules, imposed by the United Nations, which prevent the majority party (Swapo) dictating the terms of that constitution.

The other is Natal/KwaZulu, where the Indaba, a convention thrown open to all interest groups, produced a constitution for regional government.

Simpler

The Namibian model is by far the simpler. It would be welcomed by an organisation such as the ANC, not least because it would imply a lack of legitimacy on the part of the present government. But the Namibian formula seems unlikely to be adopted.

Governments do not play political roulette. No matter how genuine today's Nationalists might be about creating a common society, they will want to negotiate the terms of that society and how its political institutions will operate.

Nor is South Africa a mandated territory. It has a recognised legal government which is capable of taking its own decisions.

It seems more likely therefore that if South Africa were to negotiate a new constitution, the process would more closely approximate that of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba. The rules for the new society would be decided before relative electoral strengths are put to the test.

The Indaba was simultaneously two things.

- It was a practical attempt to resolve anomalies in government at regional level.

- It was an exercise in political accommodation between interest groups who started out almost light years apart — a virtual laboratory experiment for a national settlement.

Identical

Not long after the Indaba recommendations, Soviet Africanist Dr Gleb Starushenko expressed principles for a national settlement which were almost identical.

What happened at the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba? It seems worth recalling, now there is talk of a Great Indaba and there is certain to be debate as to who should be invited.

The Indaba invited literally any organisation which believed it could contribute — political parties, municipalities, organised commerce, industry and agriculture. Some sent delegations only with observer status, others altered their status from observer to full delegate as the Indaba proceeded, and vice versa.

Groupings at the extreme left

and right of the political spectrum declined to participate, and a huge ideological gulf still yawned between those who did. Yet, over eight months, the Indaba made astonishing progress.

It was an unwieldy body. No delegation carried more weight than another. Issues were talked out endlessly until consensus could be reached, the item under discussion being constantly amended. A majority vote was a rarity.

The Indaba's deliberations were behind closed doors. This drew strong criticism from certain quarters but, as the secretariat maintained, if delegates had been forced to posture to their constituencies, agreement could never have been achieved. The Indaba would have broken up in disarray at an early stage.

Closed doors

It is interesting to note that the constitutional committee of the Namibian Constituent Assembly also intends meeting behind closed doors.

Delegates to the Indaba speak of a growing sense of finding one another — uneasiness and mistrust giving way to sociability, regard and trust. Leadership figures began to emerge and deals were struck in the corridors.

Most of the delegates eventually put their signatures to proposals which, eight months earlier, they would have found incomprehensible. At a more abstract level, the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba amounted to an exercise in which reasonable men of goodwill define principles by which they would expect society to be ordered.

Cohen urges parties to work for consensus

ANDREW GILL

ANTI-apartheid campaigners should work to achieve consensus among diverse and often hostile opposition elements, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said in a report published in the Los Angeles Times this week.

The report said campaigners should formulate constructive principles for the negotiating process that might be emerging. There were signs such an effort, with the support of the international community, had already begun.

"The ANC has indicated it is taking the possibility of dialogue seriously. Its expressed preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement was endorsed in 1989 by the OAU," he said.

Cohen said the declaration, adopted at the UN special session on apartheid on December 14, not only urged the people of SA to join together to negotiate an end to apartheid, but also postulated fundamental principles that could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution in SA.

He said while a non-racial democratic SA was not yet at hand, there was a growing sense that most South Africans were ready to break out of the isolation imposed by apartheid.

He said US policy towards SA was guided by five basic principles:

- Unequivocal opposition to apartheid;
- A commitment to building a post-apartheid democratic SA through assistance to black South Africans;
- Active US diplomacy to resolve conflicts and support economic developments throughout southern Africa;
- Co-operation with US allies and other concerned nations in a multilateral approach to SA; and
- The maintenance of a bipartisan consensus with Congress on general approach to the region.

"In claiming a mandate for change after the last elections, President de Klerk has taken a number of encouraging steps to get dialogue under way.

"It is premature to predict whether these steps will lead to a continuing dialogue, but they constitute tangible evidence that things are changing, and they offer reason for hope.

"For its part, the anti-apartheid movement must look beyond the rhetoric of the past to find creative ways of responding to the unexpected opportunities that may now be arising."

SOUTH Africa has unquestionably, in the words of Walter Sisulu, "entered a new era". Most whites recognise (without necessarily understanding what this means) that the apartheid days are over. And they are beginning to realise that the new political order has to be worked out by all South Africans and have the stamp of approval of a majority of South Africans if it is to work.

Important as all this is, expectations both inside and outside the country are running away from reality. Quick solutions are as unlikely in SA as they are in Northern Ireland or the Middle East. And as with these two situations, the contribution outsiders can make to finding answers is limited.

Two major political actors — the NP government and the ANC — are definitely moving towards agreement on the preconditions for negotiation. The extra-parliamentary organisations, and the ANC in particular, have said there will be no negotiations unless they are in a position to engage in political activity on the same basis as the NP.

President F W de Klerk and his government accept this, and interpret it to mean that there should be a "normalised security situation".

There is therefore a rough convergence between the NP and the ANC on the preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration of August 21 1989. These are the release of all political prisoners and detainees (including, of course, Nelson Mandela); the lifting of all restrictions on political organisations and individuals; the removal of troops from the townships (already virtually complete); the cessation of all "political" trials and executions (less agreement); and an end to the state of emergency.

The ANC has helped De Klerk by not insisting that the remaining apartheid laws, such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act, be repealed before serious talks can get under way.

My guess is that on February 2, when he opens Parliament, De Klerk will express his government's will-

Hopes run ahead of reality as SA peace talks still a way off

DENIS WORRALL

ingness to act on most of these preconditions, on the basis that he gets a quick pro quo from the ANC on the use of violence.

With ANC and NP leaders hotly vying with one another to occupy the high moral ground and win international sympathy, the differences between them lie in what is *not* being said.

□ The NP regards the present racial groupings as the main constitutional building blocks for the future. (This is partly a legacy of the NP's apartheid past. But it reflects also the NP's new power base: it is no longer the party of Afrikaners — the CP has become that — but of racially self-conscious English-speakers and white Afrikaners-speakers.)

The ANC and MDM, and the DP among whites, reject this. Their commitment is to a non-racial democracy, in which the groups that emerge do so as the result of free choice.

□ The NP, not unnaturally, believes in a step-by-step process. The ANC, etc., is looking to a dramatic and fundamental transformation of the situation.

□ The NP is looking to incorporating black South Africans into the political system. The others are committed to a transfer of power.

□ The NP government regards itself as the representative of white SA, and the coloured and Asian parties in the tricameral parliament as the representatives of their respective communities; and it says that blacks should determine their representatives by election.

This view is rejected by the ANC and others who say it entrenches colour groupings. They are holding out for a constituent assembly elected on a nationwide and adult suffrage basis.

□ There is also a fundamental difference between the NP and the ANC and others on the negotiating procedure itself. The NP's view is that, as the government of the day, it should "manage" the process. The ANC says that before the constitution can be written, there must be an interim government to supervise the process of constitution-making and the election of the constituent assembly.

So while there is a great deal of movement as the various political actors — and they are increasing by the week — make space for themselves, and the dominant political

rhetoric is heady with hope and expectation, a word of caution is needed. A negotiating breakthrough is not around the corner.

As the DP views the situation, the first priority is for there to be agreement between the NP and the ANC on the preconditions as set out in the Harare Declaration and on the use of violence.

There will be no beginning to the process unless this happens. And only in this way will the ANC begin to participate in political activity on the same basis as the NP.

The second priority in the DP's view must be to open up the process to all other political parties and organisations. This means persuading the NP and the ANC that they, individually, cannot hope to control the process and produce a settlement which is acceptable to all other parties.

Aside from the fact that the ANC/NP juxtaposition is a recipe for racial polarisation, the NP does not speak for white SA, and there are significant divisions also on the extra-parliamentary side. On the white side the CP, which

draws over 30% of white voters, presently rejects altogether the idea of negotiation. And the DP, which draws 25% of white voters, is committed to a non-racial democracy. The DP believes that if whites look beyond the colour of their skin, if they focus on values and interests, they can be part of a future political majority.

The NP, on the other hand, is set on winning for whites some special constitutional niche (à la Ian Smith in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe), so condemning them to being a political minority in the longer term.

I might add here that once serious talking gets under way, SA politics will quickly enter an alliance-making phase. And given the DP's principles, programme and strategic positioning, it is bound to draw increasing support from the NP as that party's limited support base becomes evident.

How can a negotiating process involving all parties be started up?

One way would be by electing a constituent assembly as happened in Namibia and as proposed in the Harare Declaration. This is likely to be strongly resisted by the NP — especially if it entails the setting up first of an interim government.

The other way would be to create a process independent of the present NP government, the ANC and all other parties by appointing an independent facilitator. The most likely candidate would be the Chief Justice. The judiciary — especially in recent times as a result of some boldly liberal judgments — has come to command black respect.

Were the Chief Justice to be mandated in autonomous terms, given a budget and all the technical help he might need, and on the clear understanding that all parties are committed to the process so initiated, I believe he would have the co-operation of all important parties.

It would be the beginning of writing an agenda. And, given the nature of the Chief Justice's terms of reference, the NP government would, in effect, become a transitional government.

□ Worrall is a DP co-leader. This is an extract from his speech to the Oxford Union last night.

LETTERS

304A

19/1/90

Cape Times, Friday, Ja

FW 'willing', says Worrall

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would express his government's willingness to act on most of the ANC's pre-conditions for negotiation when he opens Parliament on February 2, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall predicted last night during a debate in the prestigious Oxford Union.

Mr De Klerk would do this "on the basis that he gets a quid pro quo from the ANC on the use of violence".

The ANC had helped Mr De Klerk by not insisting that the remaining apartheid laws, such as the Group Areas, Population Registration and Land Acts, be repealed before serious talks could get under way.

But Dr Worrall warned that expectations both inside and outside the country were running away from reality.

"Quick solutions are as unlikely in South Africa as they are in Northern Ireland or the Middle East. And, as with these two situations, the contribution outsiders can make to finding answers is a limited one."

South Africa had unquestionably, in the words of Mr Walter Sisulu, en-

tered a new era.

"Most whites recognise, without necessarily understanding what this means, that apartheid days are over.

"And they are beginning to realise that the new political order has to be worked out by all South Africans and have the stamp of approval of a majority of South Africans if it is to work."

Dr Worrall said the two major political actors, the National Party government and the ANC, were definitely moving toward agreement on the pre-conditions for negotiation.

"The extra-parliamentary organisations, and the ANC in particular, have said there will be no negotiations unless they can engage in political activity on the same basis as the NP.

"President De Klerk and his government accept this, and interpret it to mean that there should be a 'normalised security situation'."

The rough convergence between the NP and the ANC on pre-conditions were the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of restrictions on political organisations and individuals, the removal of troops from townships — which was already virtually complete, the cessation of all 'political' trials and executions, although there was less agreement on this, and an end to the emergency.

X W/Mail 19/1/90 - 25/1/90

304A

Thatcher's new role: The liberator

"I WOULD love to go to South Africa," Margaret Thatcher said last week. But only after Nelson Mandela becomes a free man, she emphasised.

Hard-boiled diplomats from several countries said they detected a subliminal factor in the prime minister's remark. To them it seemed she was staking her claim to any glory that would be attached to those who, over the years, have worked overtly and covertly for the release of the world's most famous political prisoner.

More than that, the visit Thatcher said she was planning would, in the view of these diplomats, be timed judiciously to identify her with the peace-making process which State President FW de Klerk hopes to launch later this year. As the only international leader likely to appear on the South African stage while a resolution of the country's racial and constitutional problems is being negotiated Thatcher stands to reap substantial political rewards.

The diplomatic informants qualified their assessment, however, by stressing that the prime minister would need advance assurance from De Klerk that the negotiations would achieve positive results. She would not want to be associated with a resounding failure.

What role has Margaret Thatcher, in fact, been playing over the past ten years in the long-drawn South African saga?

Essentially it's a role stemming from her conviction that it is in Britain's own best interest to resist the world-wide movement toward the economic, diplomatic and social isolation of South Africa. Pragmatic considerations reinforce this conviction.

Britain's multi-billion rand investments in the Republic are greater than anyone else's; Britain is South Africa's biggest trading partner if gold purchases, currently and conveniently unrecorded, are included in the statistics and even if majority rule were to come about ultimately under a new constitutional dispensation, it would be of fundamental importance for Britain to try to ensure the preservation of South Africa's strong economy.

First to safeguard and then to advance British interests in an electorally palatable form, Thatcher's strategy has been to invoke factors of morality, principles and humanitarianism to mask her more

What lies behind Margaret Thatcher's new willingness to visit South Africa? A well-timed visit will ensure that she gets the credit for the release of Nelson Mandela ... rather than those who campaigned for his freedom for years.

**By ARTHUR GAVSHON
in London**

materialistic concerns. For instance she denounces the apartheid system as abhorrent less, it seems, for its racism and cruelties than for its ineffectiveness and injustice. Anti-apartheid campaigners are rarely accorded audiences at No 10 Downing Street.

In her lone stand within the Commonwealth, the European Community and elsewhere against the imposition of stiffer sanctions, she invariably cites the material suffering it would cause South African blacks. But the reality nearer home is that scores of thousands of Britons could lose their jobs if all-out sanc-

although the ANC thus far has declined to abandon its commitment to armed struggle, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, reversing Thatcher's edict, has agreed to talk to Walter Sisulu if and when the former ANC secretary-general visits London.

Thatcher has long argued in private and in public that her opposition to all-out sanctions, coupled with her personal exchanges with successive South African leaders, have won Britain special leverage with Pretoria.

Neither De Klerk nor his predecessor P W Botha would concede their reforms owed anything to pressures by Britain or by any other country. They are as aware as anyone else that British positions are based on careful appraisals of British interests. They have, moreover, always vowed that South Africa would never bow to foreign pressures and have condemned "outside meddling".

As fellow politicians they also know the British prime minister would not risk controversial missions, such as her projected visit to the Republic, unless she was convinced it would be worth her while. Equally, though, it would suit them to make it worth her while provided it does not cut across their own interests.

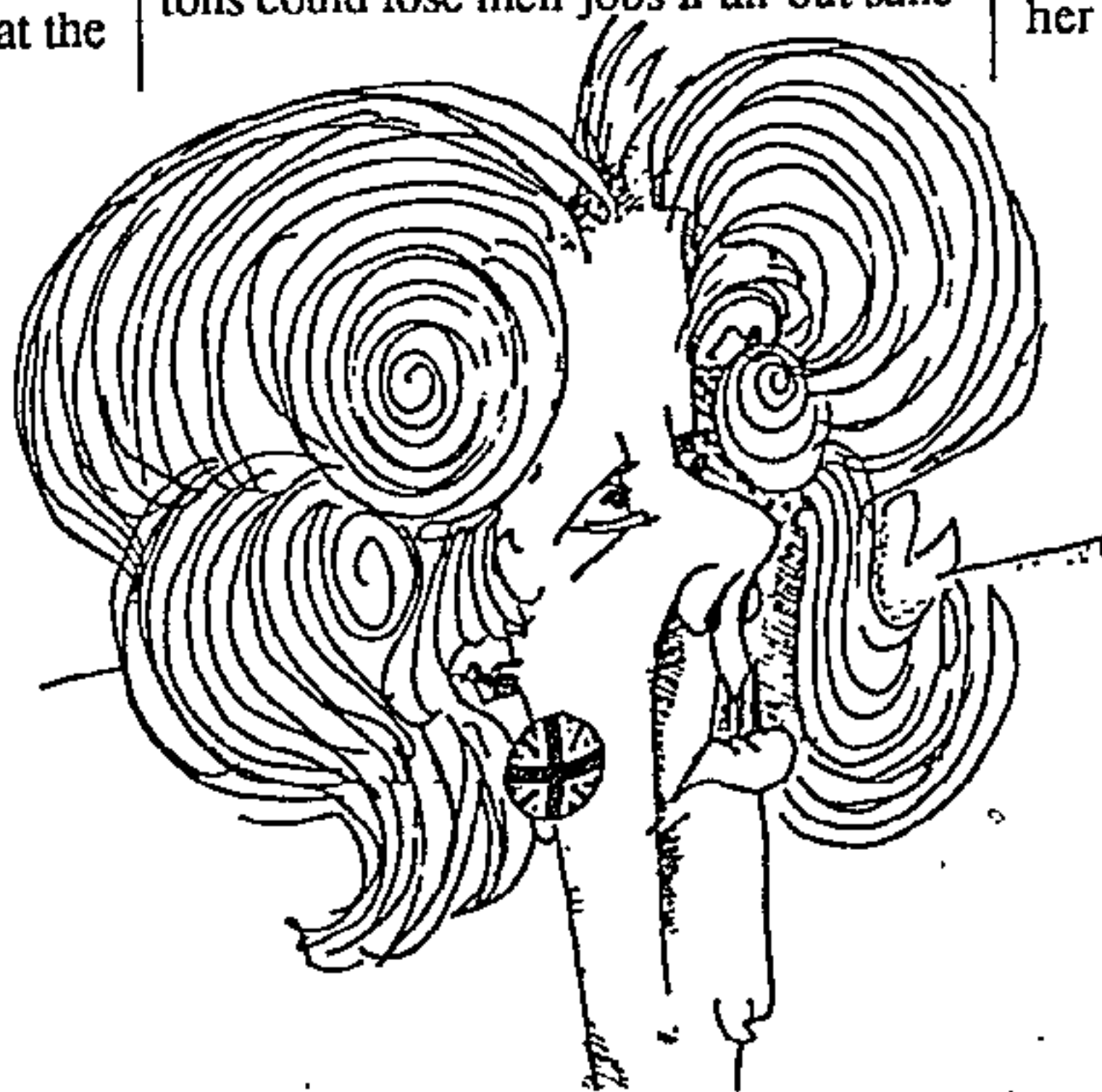
Within the diplomatic community in London an element of doubt persists on whether Thatcher is as well-briefed about the realities of life in South Africa as the situation demands. Her concepts of "reforms" hardly coincide with those of even so-called "moderate" leaders of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups.

Commonwealth government officials recalled an incident which highlighted Thatcher's misconceptions. It took place at a summit meeting of eight Commonwealth heads of government here in August 1986, for the purpose of reviewing the report of the Eminent

Persons Group after its mission to South Africa.

In acclaiming some of the reforms instituted by the Botha government she called attention to the importance of the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act. At that point Nigerian General Olusegun Obasanjo, who had co-chaired the EPG, intervened to ask: "Do you really think ... that 25-million blacks are lining up to marry, or have sexual intercourse with 5-million whites?"

Thatcher did not reply.



Margaret Thatcher

tions were to be rigorously applied. Even while branding economic sanctions "immoral", Thatcher did not shrink on occasions from cutting off all trade with Libya, Poland and the Soviet Union.

The British leader banned ministerial contacts with African National Congress leaders in 1987 because she saw it as a "typical terrorist organisation". But she did not prevent British diplomats and other officials from meeting ANC representatives from time to time. And

Star 19/1/90

Trio liken 'charming' De Klerk to Reagan

By DAVID BRAUN
The Star Bureau 304A

WASHINGTON — President F.W. de Klerk is as charming and willing to please as Ronald Reagan, but he is unable or unwilling to envisage a political system where the whites will not have special privileges and will not control power.

These are the private views of three US congressmen who recently spent more than 90 minutes in deep discussion with the South African leader.

Congressmen Howard Wolpe, Constance Morella and Alan Wheat this week told all and sundry in Washington how disappointed they were to find there was no evidence of any commitment to real change in South Africa.

Their views on this issue were previously publicised in South Africa after they gave a press conference before leaving the country.

Americans have also been curious to know what they thought of Mr de Klerk, who remains a somewhat enigmatic figure to them.

Privately, one of the trio described him thus: "If there was a person I would want to compare him with, it would be Ronald Reagan. He is a charming, charming man. There is no doubt about his personal appeal. While we discussed issues, we could not help but smile."

"He knows the right things to say and their context. He basically tells you to trust him, while promising nothing."

Another lawmaker found Mr de Klerk to be personally sincere and generous with his time (at no stage did he make moves to get rid of them).

This lawmaker said: "He seemed to want to persuade. It was not easy for him to be elected. He is a new man on the block, trying to please. But then his predecessor, Mr P.W. Botha, started like that."

"De Klerk was charming, very sincere and trying to impress. I wish him well."

The third congressman said Mr de Klerk appeared to be more open and less defensive (than his predecessor).

"He tried to understand what our concerns were and he talked at some depth about his intentions and aspirations."

"But what was really disappointing was the enormous gap between his impressions of the significance of the changes he has made and the views of the vast majority of the population."

"He told us that in terms of Afrikaner thinking the changes had been very profound, but in terms of South Africa this is wholly irrelevant to the core issue, which is the transfer of power from a system of minority rule to majority rule."

"He did not want to — and he was unprepared to — come to the core issue because he was unable to see a system where whites did not have special privileges and a hold on political power."

'Only accountability can curb corruption'

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Visiting former British Labour cabinet minister and founder of the SDP Shirley Williams said yesterday the best means of preventing corruption in government was effective accountability by officials for public actions.

Williams was delivering the keynote address at an Idasa conference on building a culture of democratic accountability in SA.

She told delegates accountability could be made effective only by clear and universal laws, a free media and the monitoring and investigation of those in

power by an independent bodies.

The empowerment of the ordinary people was the best guarantee of accountability. "The implication is that government must avoid concentrations of power at the centre. Whether unitary or federal states, it is important that the power is devolved to the lowest level at which a decision can be made and implemented," she said.

While SA had many advantages over other countries which had achieved de-

mocracy like Portugal, East Germany or India, Williams said it would have to overcome strong internal threats.

These threats included internal divisions based along tribal, racial and religious lines and the abuse of power on one hand, and the inability of political systems or people to change with the times on the other.

While she did not believe that any bill of rights could per se end ethnic or communal strife, the recognition of the dignity of each human being created a basis of trust.

FW, Sebe plead for togetherness

CAF-
Tm B
19/11/90
304A

Political Staff

THE time had come for people who shared the same values throughout Southern Africa to stand together, President F W de Klerk and President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei said yesterday after a two-hour meeting.

The people of Southern Africa should move closer together, putting aside ideological differences and resisting radical influences, they said in a statement released by the South African embassy in Bisho.

President De Klerk assured President Sebe that Ciskei had an active role to play in shaping a new South Africa.

The statement said the two leaders agreed that future political developments in Southern Africa had to be based on consultations between governments on a continuous basis.

During the discussions, Chief Sebe presented the South African delegation with a document, which reflected the Ciskei government's thinking on possible future constitutional developments in South Africa.

President De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, and other senior officials.

The Ciskeian delegation consisted of various cabinet ministers, as well as Chieftainess Nolizwa Sandile, Mother of the Nation, senior chiefs and government officials.

Regret at objections

CARL-710145 19/1/80
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, has described the objections to the appointment of National Party MPs as chairmen of all 14 of the Joint Standing Committees in Parliament as "regrettable".

None of the parties had informed him of their objections to the appointment of the chairmen, Mr Le Grange said, and it was regrettable that they had raised the matter by way of a public statement without first availing themselves of the customary parliamentary channels.

He was reacting to the statement this week by the Labour Party, Solidarity, the Democratic Party and the National People's Party, protesting against the appointment of only Nationalist MPs as chairmen of the committees.

Their objections were also supported by the Conservative Party.

The Rules of Parliament required the Speaker to appoint the chairmen of Joint Committees.

FW faces Herculean task — British MP

MATTHEW CURTIN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk faced a task of Herculean proportions in confronting the country's problems, British Conservative Party MP John Biffen said in Johannesburg last night.



● BIFFEN

Biffen, a former House of Commons leader under Margaret Thatcher, was addressing a 200-strong audience at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

He said his three-week visit to SA, his first, had shown him that despite the magnitude of the task government was approaching the situation positively.

In an interview later he said British hostility to SA was based not so much on apartheid but on the glaring contrast between white affluence and the squalor of

the townships.

Biffen's speech analysed what 1992 meant for Europe and how events of the past 18 months in Eastern Europe would affect a single European market.

He said the view of Western Europe being caught between the dynamic powers of the US and the Soviet Union — prevalent at the EC's inception — was outdated.

The nationalist revival in the Eastern Bloc and the adoption there of free market strategies, and the economic malaise confronting Washington and Moscow were central to this change.

Biffen said he had no faith in a fortress Europe with centralised continental government, but looked forward to De Gaulle's vision of an alliance of European nation states stretching from the Urals to the Atlantic.

Biffen 17/11/90

Jaap Marais' worst fear

Weekend
FOCUS
3

THE old war horse of rightwing politics, Mr Jaap Marais, found little joy in his encounter this week with a friendly, smiling President F W de Klerk.

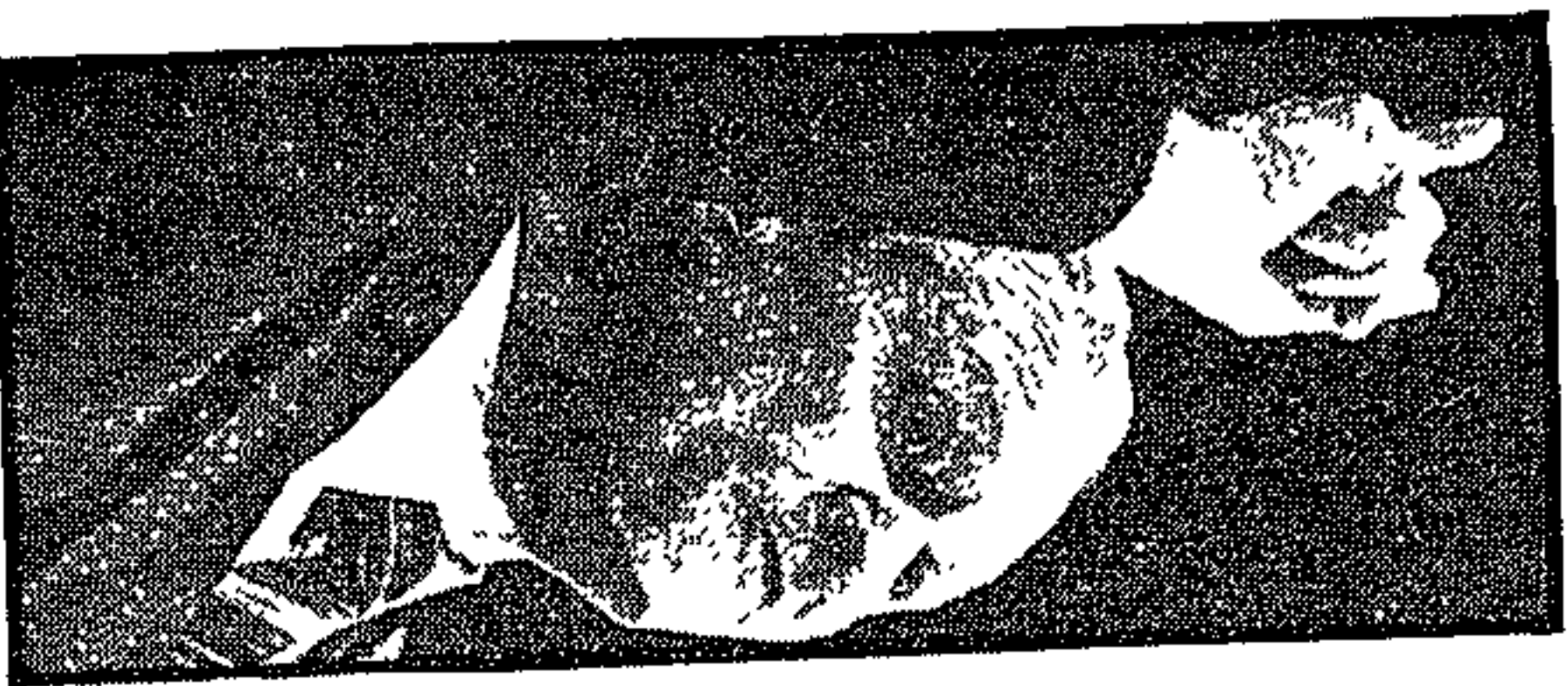
Far from seeing light at the end of the tunnel, the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader came away from Pretoria's Union Buildings with a sense of being driven deeper into the political wilderness.

Not only did he come up against an immovable stone wall behind the President's Mona Lisa smile, but the meeting confirmed the worst of Mr Marais's fears about the government's reform initiatives — that they spell the end of white political control and the coming of inevitable black majority rule.

True, Mr De Klerk gave Mr Marais and his HNP chairman, Mr Willie Marais, the most cordial reception: he offered them tea in his characteristic relaxed style; he spoke in friendly tones; he listened attentively to what they had to say about white rightwing fears. There was no finger-wagging and not a hard word.

ON the surface, dialogue at its best. But — sadly for Mr Marais — it was like bouncing his message off the statue of President Paul Kruger. No impact, no effect, not a hair moved out of place.

The talks went on for more than an hour, during which a frank Mr Jaap Marais told Mr De Klerk about his fears and urged the President



'War Horse' Shaken by F W

talks

by F W de Klerk

By
FRANS
ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political
Correspondent

to slow down his reform initiatives and his moves towards constitutional negotiations involving the African National Congress (ANC) and its associated political groupings.

Mr De Klerk responded in friendly tones, but according to Mr Marais his replies were non-committal. If anything, Mr De Klerk gave the impression he was determined to push ahead with his initiatives.

Yet for Mr Marais those initiatives mean political doom. He sees Mr De Klerk's vision of constitutional negotiations and further reform as the rightwing nightmare come true — the loss of white political control, a communist-dominated take-over of power, black majority rule, the formation of a communist bloc in Southern Africa, and ultimate violence.

THIS week he conveyed some of these fears to Mr De Klerk and expressed concern about the consequences of "making concessions to revolutionary claims and demands."

One of Mr Marais's arguments is such concessions had not worked anywhere else in Africa and neither the ANC nor Britain and the United States would be satisfied with anything less than "an ANC government in South Africa."

Another argument is that the latest developments in world politics show communism is rapidly declining. Yet Southern Africa appears to be the only region where it is advancing and for this reason, he argues, Mr De Klerk should now slow down his initiatives and concessions to "revolutionary forces".

Mr De Klerk's response, according to Mr Marais, was the alternative to government poli-

cy could only lead to violence and the possibility of white domination should therefore be eliminated.

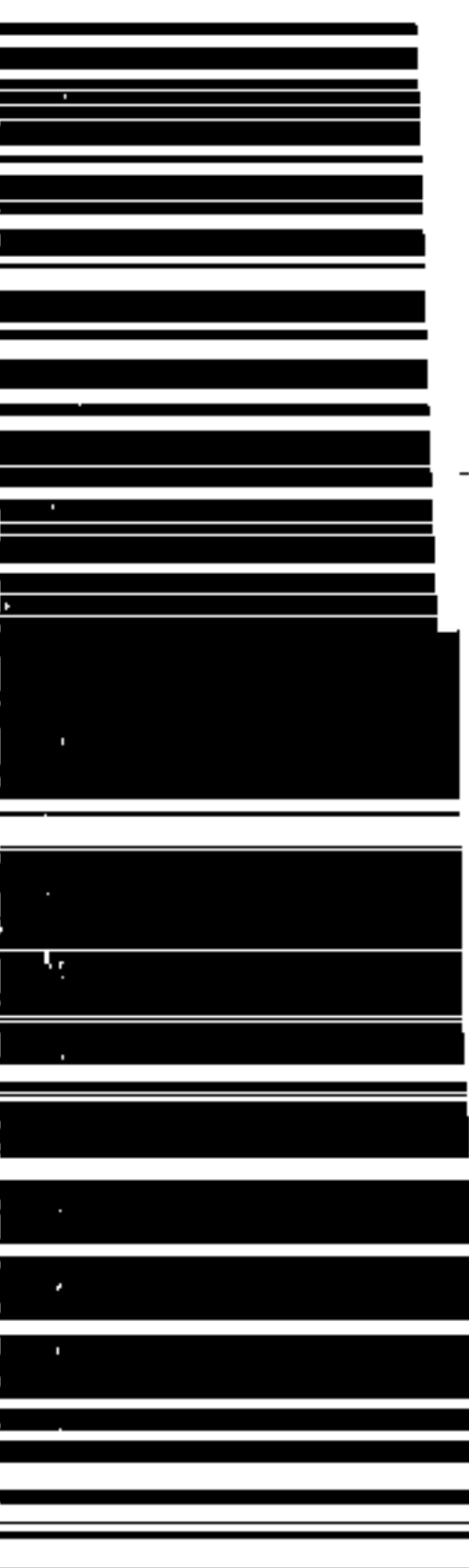
"My impression is that Mr De Klerk is determined to continue on his present course, but he is aware of the revolutionary elements that can cause an explosion and short-circuit the planned peaceful negotiations," Mr Marais said.

HIS warning to the President was that the government's present political direction could create worse conditions than those envisaged by Mr De Klerk if the alternative direction were to be chosen.

At the end of it all Mr Marais came away disappointed and wildly alarmed. So much so that he intends to withdraw his party from the very concept of any white rightwing participation in future constitutional negotiations involving the ANC.

In effect this means his encounter with Mr De Klerk is pushing Mr Marais deeper into the political wilderness in which he finds himself after last year's general election. The HNP was then virtually wiped out as a political force when it received only 0.2 percent of the total white vote and all 22 HNP candidates, including Mr Marais himself, lost their deposits.

However, the old war horse is not lying down. He made it clear in an interview this week that he is determined to continue his lone battle.



SOUTH

You have the right to know 50c

December 20 to January 18 1990 50c (44c + 6c GST) TEL: 462-2012

Decade of hope

304A South
20/12 - 18/1/90

ALL indications are that the 1990s will be a decisive decade for South Africa.

The success of the defiance campaign and the start of discussions on negotiations have raised hopes that the country will enter the last decade of the millennium with the political stalemate broken.

Nelson Mandela's release has never seemed more imminent. And negotiations has become the catchword of the day.

The vision of a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa united millions of South Africans struggling against apartheid during the 1980s.

Smashing apartheid in the 1990s has become more imperative than ever.

Only then can South Africa look forward to a healthier economy with an improved quality of life for all South Africans.

As South Africa heads for the 21st century, it is beset by several grave issues requiring urgent attention.

They include the "time bombs" of an exploding population, threats to the ecology; housing, job and food shortages; and inferior education.

But the 1990s need not be the decade of despondency.

If South Africans continue to take responsibility for their future instead of waiting for the state to act, the next 10 years could usher in a brave new era.

● Special focus on pages 8-21



PARLIAMENTARY opposition parties in South Africa are wondering: Is there life after F W?

For President De Klerk has set politics on a course that has driven the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party into a re-examination of the fundamentals of their existence.

They can be forgiven this period of indecision. For 40 years they, along with the rest of the country, fretted through the appallingly wasteful years of apartheid.

It was a time when things had the sterile clarity of all unhappy societies: Those who were not for, were against; those who did not support everything, generally opposed everything. Allegiances and membership of the different camps were more or less pre-assigned, and did not involve much forethought. The targets of political opposition did not have to be sought; they were given facts of everyday life.

True enough, there was some movement over the years — but it was movement of a sort discernible largely only to white South Africans in their peculiar way of seeing things.

The inclusion of Maoris in an All Blacks touring team in 1969 was enough of a signal of things to come for some of apartheid's purists to lead them to the first breakaway, that of the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

In 1982 the Government began devising a new constitution. It involved complexities of gothic proportions and the aim of arriving at apartheid by a different name.

Agreement

But it was enough to divide apartheid's supporters between those who believed they had "outgrown the outdated version" and those who believed that version was just fine, thanks. That was the breakaway of the CP.

Curiously, history has yet to decide whether the tricameral parliament was a good or a bad thing. So far there is agreement only on the fact that it was a waste of time.

What grew out of it, though, was a useful argument over the furtherance of white interests. It has developed to a point where, today, Mr De Klerk has come to define those interests in terms of the security of international acceptance, economic well-being and living in a morally acceptable society.

That leaves the CP in its proper perspective — a minority of a minority, defining white security in terms of embattlement in the laager.

In the year that lies ahead, that's just what the country's official opposition is likely to do — cling to Verwoerdian apartheid with a fervour increasing propor-

tionately to the realisation that it is slipping away.

Its stance will become more bellicose and its language more intemperate. Already the CP's mouthpiece, in its latest edition, reports on "hordes of bloodthirsty blacks" invading the beaches over Christmas and New Year.

But it will be a posture and a voice that will seldom amount to more than an irksome curiosity in the overall scheme of things.

It is the DP that has the most to worry about — and the most worth worrying about.

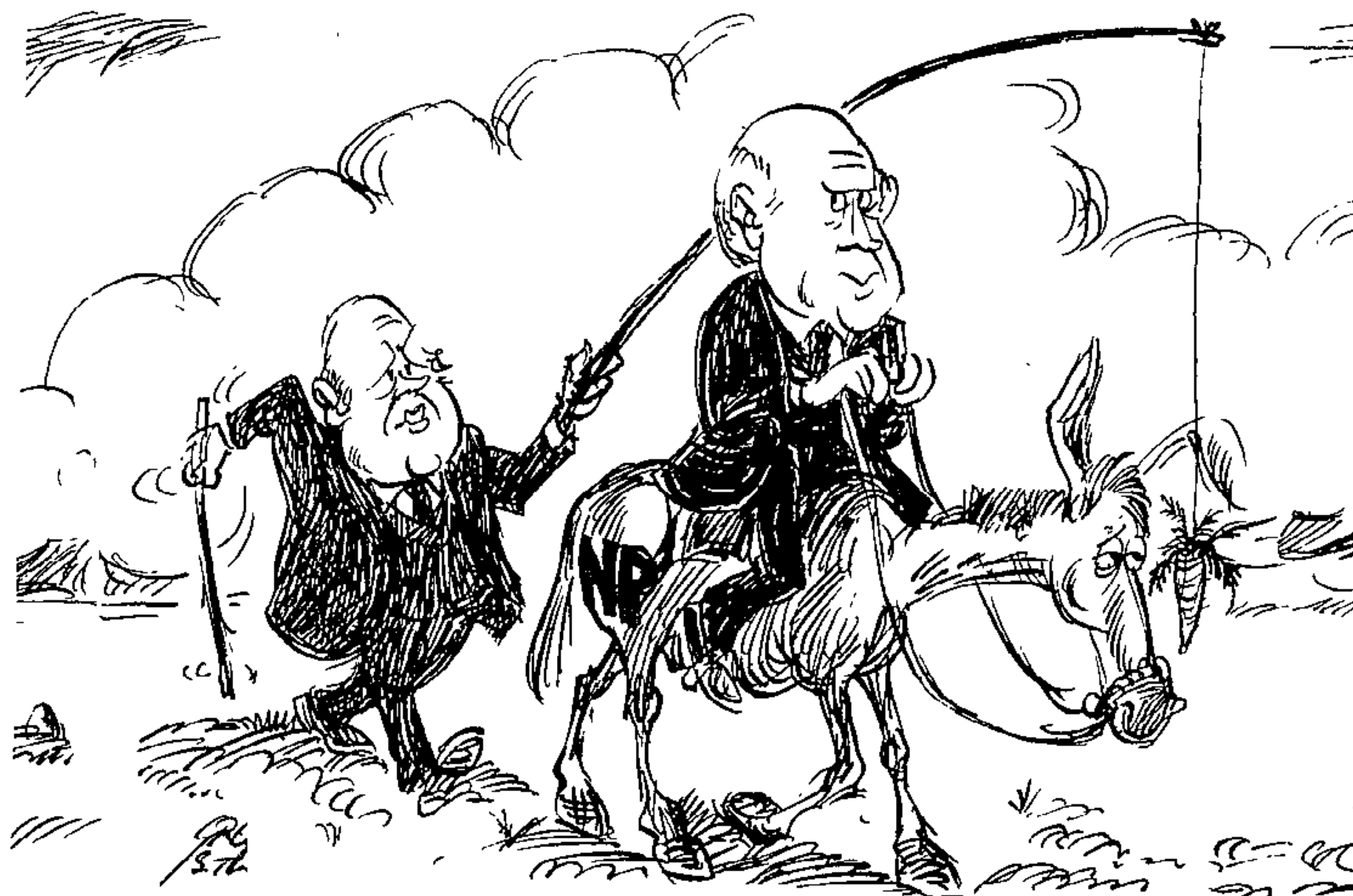
As the inheritor of a tradition of four decades of enlightened opposition, the DP is in danger of losing the very ground it stands on. The problem of the Nationalist Government encroaching from the right on to the terrain of the left is a problem as old as the opposition itself.

It is the overall factor that saw the demise of the centrist United Party in favour of the less-com-



Lester Venter (304A)

examines the dilemma facing the Democratic Party in its role as a parliamentary opposition



Role of the DP

promising Progressives, and it is the factor that is going to cause the DP to set out this year in search of a new identity for the sort of opposition it represents.

In the process, the DP will have to be prepared to assume an identity as different from that of the past as the whole of South Africa will be. For the country as a whole has undoubtedly come to a turning point of some kind, and in that turning the "good old days" of opposition will be banished for ever.

Struggle

In the past, no concerned citizen needed to have gone to university to make a case against job reservation or the Immorality Act. Or Mr P W Botha's attempts to govern the country through a faceless securocracy.

Some now say — and you can find them in the DP itself — Mr De Klerk is bringing the governing establishment so far over to

the left the DP is going to be pushed out of the picture of white politics altogether.

If this view is correct there really is only one course open to the DP and its followers — to identify more closely, and be seen more visibly, as part of "the struggle".

While something along these lines is doubtlessly long overdue, the image of some of the opposition's post-colonial members and supporters sharing a political home with firebrands from the Mass Democratic Movement seems quite ludicrous.

Yet there must be a place — a political home — for everyone in the new South Africa.

To this end the DP's arch-strategist and longest-serving member of the opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, has been applying his mind.

He says changing circumstances will allow the opposition to look anew at its role in the parliamentary system. Such a review, he believes is not only overdue but will deliver great fruits.

The parliamentary system has been devalued by the contempt it was shown by the former head of state, Mr Botha. Indeed, Mr De Klerk's record of respect for the institutions and practices of parliament is not unblemished.

When he was the previous Leader of the House, the opposition had to call him to account on

at least one occasion — and force him to retract his statement.

Now, although Mr De Klerk's clearly-demonstrated inclination is to take the country from securocracy to democracy — entailing a return to the power of Parliament — the opposition's role will become ever more that of calling to account, according to Mr Eglin.

In essence the DP must, and will, re-discover the classical role of opposition in the parliamentary system.

Mr Eglin sees Mr De Klerk as no more than an agent of change. He is the man in the driving seat of a vehicle that has independent volition, a man whose legs may prove too short to reach the brake; should he even try.

But he does exert the primary control over the accelerator. For this reason Mr Eglin sees the opposition's role as changing from confrontation to persuasion and from adversary to inducement.

Perspective

In that process the DP will perform a further historical task. It will mark out the values and policies of a post-apartheid South Africa.

In practice, this means the DP will probably enter the forthcoming parliamentary session geared to force the Government to account for police hit squads, to pursue still-lingering charges of corruption, to seek out instances of economic mismanagement and to set a benchmark for negotiations and their eventual outcome.

The trouble with Mr Eglin's vision is that it involves as much a change of perspective on the part of opposition voters as the party itself.

Opposition voters will no longer be motivated by electing a party that is opposed to apartheid. Opposition votes will have to be cast by people who value opposition for its own sake in a democracy.

That is asking a lot from an electorate that has not demonstrated much appreciation of the value of democracy.

Choice

Ultimately, politics is about votes as much as it is about principles and the National Party has made no secret of the fact it believes it and the DP are competing for the same votes.

If the NP offers voters what the DP does, then the trends of the past make it hard to see large numbers of voters choosing the unknown above the known.

In the end the best that can be said is by the time white voters next have to make such a choice — in five years' time — circumstances will be so different it is not worth worrying too much about the details now.

All the above assumes Mr De Klerk will go through with what he seems to have suggested he will go through with. As they say: Watch this space.

...was given a warm reception in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, this week

BRITAIN HERE TO GET!

DIPLOMATIC ties between South Africa and Eastern bloc countries may be established within the next six months.

Foreign Minister Pál Botka said yesterday his highly successful visit to Hungary this week had opened up "new frontiers" for South Africa which will have far-reaching consequences for external relations. And he envisaged follow-up contacts "in the near future" which may take SA diplomats to such Warsaw Pact countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

The first practical spin-off

is expected to be the establishing of "interest offices" in Johannesburg and Budapest, which may eventually acquire full diplomatic status. Mr Botka predicted yesterday his visit would have a "positive domino effect" in Western Europe and the Americas.

"The rest of the world will come to realise that it is still possible to maintain normal diplomatic and trade links with South Africa."

Ventures

"And if the political reform process initiated by the government progresses according to plans, yet more opportunities will open up," he said.

His visit to Budapest has shown that there are vast opportunities for economic co-operation, between South Africa and Hungary.

"My department will do everything in its power to assist local businessmen to establish contacts with Hungarian counterparts," he said.

He singled out the possibility of joint ventures in industry, agriculture, mining —

By DRIES van HEERDEN

especially uranium — transport, research, and the medical field.

"We will also look at the relaxation of travel restrictions on Hungarian citizens and the promotion of South Africa as a tourism destination," he said, adding that SAA would consider providing a service to Budapest.

Pik's Hungarian venture could open up ^{304A} horizons ^{stimes} within next six months

Mr Botka stressed that the Government would take a serious look at its present immigration policy to accommodate the high interest expressed by East Europeans eager to leave their countries' depressed economies.

"We will have to reconsider the high standards — requiring only highly skilled manpower — presently imposed. This will not hurt the employment of our own

black people.

"On the contrary, experience has shown it will lead to the creation of more job opportunities," he said.

There are an estimated 10 000 people of Hungarian descent living in South Africa today.

The first indications that new relations between Hungary and South Africa are developing came in November when Hungary's United Na-

tions representative abstained in a vote on imposing tougher sanctions on South Africa.

It was later revealed that Dr Stef Naude, a senior official in South Africa's Department of Trade and Industry, recently visited Hungary, Poland and China to explore possible trade links.

Mr Botka said he was overwhelmed by the positive reception he received from his

Hungarian counterpart, Mr Gyula Horn, in Budapest.

The purpose of his visit was to gain first-hand knowledge of recent developments in Eastern Europe and to explain the De Klerk government's reform initiatives.

"It has become clear to me that communism is dead in the whole of the East bloc — with the exception of Albania and the Soviet Union itself.

"Development towards free markets, multi-party systems and free elections will be the next phase.

"It is also obvious that the new governments will have to cut back on foreign aid — especially to Third World countries in Africa. There are not that many financial resources available and every penny will have to be spent on internal projects."

He also informed Mr Horn

GYULA HORN

Hungary's Foreign Minister Africa and discussed the idea of closer economic co-operation between the states in the region.

Mr Botka also held extensive talks with two leaders of newly formed opposition groupings, Professor Géza Zvezensky of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and Mr Miklós Szabo of the League of Free Democrats.

Jesse joins the trek to SA

By DRIES van HEERDEN

AMERICAN presidential contender Jesse Jackson is to visit South Africa soon.

Diplomatic sources in Washington said yesterday the civil rights leader, a virulent critic of South Africa, will announce the date of his visit tomorrow night.

This will be his second visit to South Africa. Over the last few years he has become the most vociferous advocate of sanctions in the United

States.

Also on a visit to Pretoria this week is former British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen, who is expected to meet Mr Pál Botka today.

Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the US House of Representatives' sub-committee on Southern Africa, arrived on Thursday for a five-day fact-finding visit. He is expected to meet President F W de Klerk today.



Peter Hain, centre, with Gavin Watson

PERSPECTIVES 3

SLOVO'S GLASSNOST



Dries van Heerden
analyses the winds of change now blowing through the once seemingly immutable SA Communist Party

IT WAS bound to happen. The hurricanes of change sweeping through Eastern Europe have generated breezes that are now also reaching the nether regions of the communist world.

Even the South African Communist Party has become involved. It is engaged in a soul-searching process to re-examine tenets which until very recently, were regarded as timeless and immutable truths.

Led by its general secretary, 63-year-old Mr Joe Slovo, the SACP is for the first time in its history seriously re-thinking matters such as a multi-party system and a mixed economy as opposed to doctrinaire socialism.

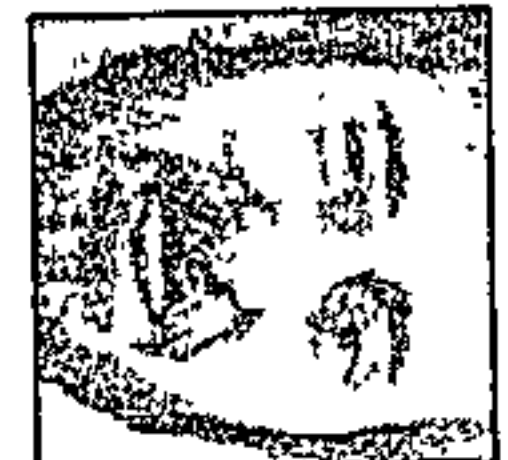
For the party to openly admit this — and for Slovo to talk freely about it — constitutes an almost Damascus conversion.

No other communist party — with the possible exception of that in Albania — has aligned itself more closely and more uncritically with every action and excess of the Soviet Union.

When the Euro-communists started on an independent tack, their South African comrades stuck to orthodoxy. When Enrico Berlinguer took his Italian party on a direct collision course with Brezhnev over Poland and Afghanistan, Slovo praised both the crackdown and the invasion.

Hungary 1956, East Berlin 1960, Czechoslovakia 1968, Afghanistan 1975... not once did the SACP demur from official Soviet dogma.

But this was pre-Gorbachev. Now Slovo openly urges his fellow party members to "reject doctrinaire approaches" and to be tolerant of debate. His own public admissions about the "failure of socialism" are the furthest any senior ANC figure has yet gone in criticising conventional thinking.



Dries van Heerden
analyses the winds of change now blowing through the once seemingly immutable SA Communist Party

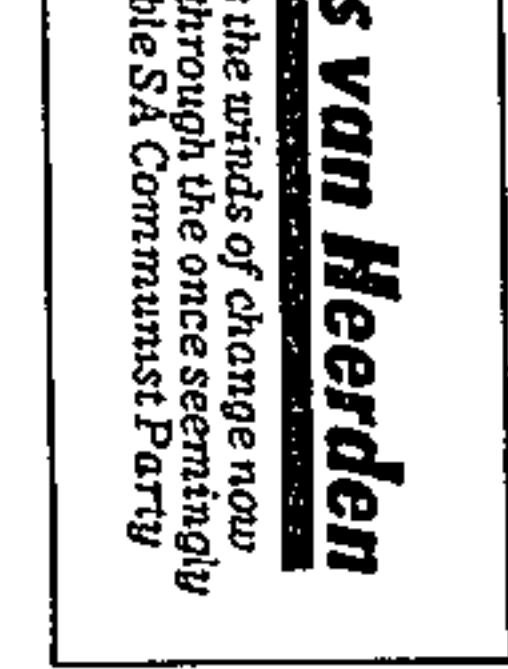
I will never forget my first meeting with the enigmatic leader of the SACP who has been demonised for decades as South Africa's Public Enemy Number One.

It was late one night in 1986 when the phone rang in my Lusaka hotel room. "This is Joe Slovo speaking. I am downstairs in the lobby. Can I come up to see you?"

My first impressions were favourable. For starters, he did not have horns and a long tail as South Africans have been led to believe by years of government propaganda. Here was a man, witty, erudite, highly intelligent and, most important, imbued with a love and a passion for South Africa and all its people.

And, as the night turned into morning, we found ourselves in agreement on almost everything — the one glaring exception being the use of violence to attain political ideals.

We parted amiably — but not before I called him an "unreconstructed Stalinist". The worst insult he could find for me was "my Quaker friend". I had to consult the encyclopedia to find that it was meant as a reference to my complete rejection of violence as a means to an end.



Dries van Heerden
analyses the winds of change now blowing through the once seemingly immutable SA Communist Party

Last December we met again in a hotel room in the Zambian capital and found that both of us had changed in the intervening years. Although still rejecting violence, I have come to a greater understanding of why some of my fellow South Africans decided to embark on the armed struggle.

And Slovo is leading his party through its own process of glasnost and perestroika. Easy it is not. There are numerous recalcitrants said to be lurking in the wings. But, to his credit, it should be noted that he is in the vanguard of the debate.

The SACP is a highly structured and disciplined organisation. Its membership is kept a close secret (Constitution Clause xii a). Slovo is almost the only known member of the top structure.

The day-to-day running is left to a six-member Politburo led by the general secretary and the national chairman (vii a). They are chosen from the ranks of the Central Committee directly or indirectly elected at the five-yearly congress (vi e ii).

The general secretary is in a powerful position. He handles all correspondence, keeps all minutes and documents and is the sole link between the membership, the CC and the PB. He can only be removed by a unanimous vote from the PB or a two-thirds majority of the CC (x a).

Discipline is strong. Although clause v allows members "the maximum opportunity permitted by existing conditions to take part in the formulation of party policy", it also states that all decisions taken by higher organs are "absolute-ly binding" on individual members.

Much has been said and written about the role and influence of the SACP within the ANC — much of it rubbish. And, for many years, the government wasted time and effort in trying to split the ANC between "communists" and "nationalists" — to absolutely no avail.

Most members of the ANC's National Executive Committee who are also SACP members joined the party in the 50s and 60s when all other white groupings turned their backs on black political aspirations. The SACP accepted them with open arms and the links have been cordial ever since.

There are very few — if any — ANC executive members I have met who are uncomfortable with the SACP links or regard the party as a Trojan Horse which will be of another colour once "victory" has been won.

Slovo himself is highly regarded in ANC circles. When, in 1985, the ANC first allowed non-black members on the NEC he was the first white to be elected to this high position. Very recently he is said to have addressed closed meetings of ANC membership to explain recent political developments.

Slovo believes that in a future democratic South Africa the SACP should function as a political party, competing for the vote in elections and — if elected — returning to the polls regularly for new mandates.

He says the alternative is "self-perpetuating power" which inevitably leads to corruption and dictatorship.

The first signs that glasnost change is under way in the SACP came at its seventh congress late last year. There the SACP adopted



Dries van Heerden
analyses the winds of change now blowing through the once seemingly immutable SA Communist Party

a new programme called "Paths to Power" — the first re-analysis of its position since its original manifesto was drafted in 1962.

This was followed up recently with a discussion paper aptly titled, "Has Socialism Failed?", which examines the failures of Eastern European regimes and commits the SACP to a multi-party democracy and freedom of speech, Press, movement and religion.

Paths to Power is still heavy on socialist rhetoric. It still calls for the masses to rise up against the

racist regime through the armed struggle and for the working class to establish a classless society.

Yet it is also the first indication that the tremors of the Gorbachev earthquake are reaching the comrades on the periphery.

An even better indication of the new thinking in the party can be found in the latest issue of its official newsletter, Umsobenzoni (Work).

The uncertainty of what the new political developments inside South Africa mean is vividly reflected in the headlines: "Beware the traps ahead", "Is the table ready?" and "De Klerk Command or Liberal?"

When it writes about the possibility of people in the SA military and police joining the struggle it warns: "We must not look a gift horse in the mouth." And, when it addresses the armed struggle, it cautions: "Let us not shoot ourselves in the foot."

Clearly Mr De Klerk and his actions are unknown quantities to them. So, Umsobenzoni warns against "two extreme positions that may spell danger for the future of the struggle". One is "to maintain that nothing has really changed". "This would close our minds to certain tactical readjustments needed to build on the victories already scored."

The other is to exaggerate the

changes. "This could lead to an abandonment of the strategy which made those victories possible."

The need to reflect on the relationship between strategy and tactics has never been greater, Umsobenzoni says.

"It calls for both flexibility and adherence to tactics."

Besides the debate about one-party rule versus a multi-party system, a number of other issues are also being re-examined within the party structures. These include:

- Pure socialism versus a mixed economy. Again, Slovo says, doctrinaire socialism has had its undoing behind the Iron Curtain and the right mix for the economy should be worked out so as to further the aims of the working class.
- It is extending a hand to homeland leaders — previously beyond redemption — saying "we cannot afford to be rigid about alliances that could emerge". It is re-thinking its prerequisites for negotiation and urging white people to join the struggle in greater numbers.

This is not to say that the SACP has dropped all its ambitions to gain ultimate power in South Africa — if need be by force. But also it is no longer the intrinsically Stalinist party it once was. Inside that may have far-reaching implications for the future of South Africa.

And, if developments towards freedom and autonomy inside Soviet Lithuania continue at their present pace, they will have a continuing influence on the man who left that country of his birth 54 years ago to settle in South Africa.

Ultimate

Whitehall lists demands for visit of Mrs Thatcher

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

BRITISH officials were this week openly discussing the "conditions" under which Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would agree to visit South Africa later this year.

The release of Nelson Mandela on its own, they said, would not be enough to warrant such a trip.

They cited the conditions of his release, the unbanning of the ANC and lifting of the state of emergency as other factors which might influence Mrs Thatcher's decision.

Officially, both 10 Downing Street and the Foreign Office this week would only speak of Mrs Thatcher's "keenness" to tour South Africa provided certain criteria were met.

However, political editors in London, quoting Whitehall sources, said that detailed planning for a visit possibly in the autumn is already going ahead.

David Hughes of the Sun-

day Times predicts a visit in either September or October.

Interviewed by the Daily Telegraph last week, Mrs Thatcher said she would love to go to South Africa, and the release of Mr Mandela would pave the way for such a trip.

"I do not think one should necessarily just dash there," she said. "Again, one would have to judge the time when it was best for those in charge of the forward movement, and one does not want to do anything that hinders but only to help," she said.

5/ Times 21/1/90

304A

890
72
18

6072
6023
49

THE South African Government obviously has a number of reasons for releasing Nelson Mandela. The question is whether it has those reasons in the right order.

At least some of its representatives seem to be putting the diplomatic and public relations pay-offs ahead of the altogether more important, if longer term, business of achieving a political settlement.

This will lead only to disappointment.

It would be a serious mistake, for example, to try to pull off a stunt involving the Rev Jesse Jackson on the theory that he might somehow reciprocate by sanctifying a roll-back of US sanctions.

His presence — even his mere propinquity — will cheapen the historic moment of Mr Mandela's freedom and detract credit from where it is really due. His past record encourages not the slightest confidence that he will requite the favour of being granted a specious role.

To think otherwise suggests a curious intoxication.

The Mass Democratic Movement is not going to alter its stance on sanctions or South Africa's diplomatic isolation simply because Pretoria has done what, in the view of most of the world, it should have done a long time ago.

☆☆☆☆

STimes
2/11/90

Its stance is a subject for the negotiations Mr Mandela's release will bring one step closer; Mr Jackson cannot be expected to repudiate it unilaterally any more than Congressman Howard Wolpe could after his recent trip.

To the contrary, he is far more likely to dwell on what still has to be done to cut the Government to the size the ANC would like it at when the real talking begins.

Nor, more broadly, would it be wise to expect great things from the Bush administration.

The Friday before last, Secretary of State James Baker called in his senior advisers to prepare the US response to Mr Mandela's release. Their conclusions were scarcely earth-shattering: A statement was to be drafted welcoming the development and its portents of negotiation. Mr Mandela himself — but not F W de Klerk — will be sent a standing invitation to visit the Oval Office, at his convenience.

I imagine Mr Bush will add a gracious note of his own, as is his wont, by a congratulatory line to both the former prisoner and his former captor. But that, by and large, will be that, notwithstanding the belated discovery by Janet Mullins, who oversees the State Department's relations with Capitol Hill, that the Wolpe faction is only a minority.

This failed to stiffen the Baker spine. He preferred to stick with a month-to-month strategy of letting the congressional dogs lie until such time — probably around June — as the more serious ones wake up and ask for a progress report.



Simon Barber 304A Don't free Mandela for wrong reasons

Washington Diary

Mr Mandela's release will be huge news here, as everywhere. Given enough warning, the three major network anchormen (Tom Brokaw, Peter Jennings and Dan Rather) may even feel obliged to give it the live-from-the-Berlin-Wall treatment.

ABC's Ted Koppel has already cut some form of deal, it seems, to put Mr Mandela — and all sorts of other previously taboo persons and scenes — in America's living rooms. Swell. Never forget, however, that it will all be forgotten within days, if not hours, as the media caravan moves on to the next instant oasis.

So exciting in prospect, the great event will then be old hat. Assuming that Mr Mandela himself doesn't suddenly pronounce he likes his country fine just the way it is, everything else that Pretoria has to do or stop doing will then come back into focus. The Mandela dividend will be short-lived, at least in terms of any benefits it might entail from the US.

Bear in mind that South Africa is not Eastern Europe. There are no interests here pressing to get back in place or to take down the political and economic barriers erected by successive congresses and administrations.

His ambassador in Washington might differ, but the prospect of a kinder, gentler America should not be a reason for Mr De Klerk to do the right thing.

Saying it with car

rots

ANC members of the ANC in exile may return to South Africa shortly to re-organise the movement internally and become involved in the negotiating process.

This is said to be part of deal hammered out in recent months between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and senior members of President F W de Klerk's Cabinet.

The ANC leadership in Zambia yesterday discussed a 10-point document drafted by Mr Mandela and taken to Lusaka by recently released Mr Walter Sisulu.

BLESSING

And, in a surprising move, Mr Mandela will telephone his comrades from his bungalow at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl today to hear their response.

Government sources spoke this week about "major developments" in the continuing efforts to get the ANC to the negotiating table.

This has the blessing of Mr Mandela — the result of months of talks between him and senior Cabinet members including Mr De Klerk, Jus-

IT'S A DEAL! Top ANC exiles set to return to SA as part of Nat pact with Mandela.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Details of the plan are expected to be announced by President De Klerk when he opens Parliament on February 2.

It involves:
● The release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners;
● The unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of restrictions on affiliated organisations such as the United Democratic Front;

● The lifting — in stages — of the state of emergency;
● The return of exiled ANC members.

In turn the ANC is expected to give a public undertaking that it is committed to a peaceful settlement of the country's political problems.

According to government sources no fixed date has yet been set for Mr Mandela's release although it is expected before the end of March.

Sources say his release has everything to do with the Government's agenda for negotiation, and a senior ANC member in Lusaka told the Sunday Times the organisation expected it to happen only once the Government was satisfied that "its cards are in place for the talks to come".

"When Nelson leaves prison it will be the signal for the game to start," he said.

The strongest indication yet that the Government is on the brink of this process came from Foreign Minister Pik Botha on his recent return from Hungary.

PROBLEM

He said the Government was ready to tackle "obstacles to negotiations" — considered code words for what the ANC labelled "preconditions" in its recent Harare Declaration.

The question of the unbanning of the ANC is said to be

at the top of the Cabinet's agenda. It is accepted this process should be concurrent with the Mandela release, otherwise he would have to "operate in a vacuum".

The high-profile visit of Mr Sisulu to ANC headquarters in Lusaka poses a problem. With him and his seven comrades — re-installed in the ANC leadership — back in South Africa and addressing mass rallies, the ANC will be de facto unbanned.

A trickier problem may be the return of senior ANC exiles to South Africa to take over the leadership of the internal organisation. Sources say the Govern-

ment is working on a strategy that will draw a distinction between the ANC's political and diplomatic personnel and the cadres of the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This would allow the "politicals" to return while the "MK soldiers" would have to remain in exile.

Such a move may mean the return to South Africa of some of the ANC's most visible leaders, like secretary for external affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and the movement's intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

15 000 members of the organisation in exile — the majority either in Zambia or in training camps and educational facilities in Tanzania and Angola.

Up to 7 000 can be regarded as MK cadres.

Mr De Klerk is also expected to announce an amnesty for prisoners convicted for political offences in which no violence was used.

ANC sources claim there are at least 350 of its members still in detention of which only a third have been convicted of "terrorist activities".

On its part the ANC leadership is expected to come up with an unequivocal commitment to a peaceful process of political change.

PEACE

In recent months the Government has dropped its precondition that the ANC renounce violence before talks start.

A senior ANC member told the Sunday Times a public commitment to peace "need not be an insurmountable obstacle".

And this week acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo all but acknowledged in Lusaka the movement doesn't have the ability to step up the armed struggle.

President of B'nai B'rith visits F W

CAPE TOWN. — The world president of B'nai B'rith, Mr Seymour Reich, paid a goodwill visit to President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday.

Mr Reich raised a laugh with Mr de Klerk when he told him that his party had had a run-in with a giraffe on a recent visit to a game reserve.

"Well, you can be glad it wasn't an elephant," said Mr de Klerk as he welcomed Mr Seymour on his first visit to South Africa.

The executive director of the 150-year-old Jewish service in South Africa, Mr Joseph Ameil, said B'nai B'rith was trying to improve goodwill and communication "at a time when this is the most needed commodity in our community." — Sapa.

27
10

3048

24/1/90

US's Cohen meets De Klerk, Ministers

CAPE TOWN — US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen met President de Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for 30 minutes yesterday, but declined to comment afterwards.

He did, however, tell reporters he would not be meeting Mr Nelson Mandela during his three-day stay in the country.

Mr Cohen, who was accompanied at the meeting by the US Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Bill Swing, said he would like to sum up his impressions of the country before speaking.

"I've just been here a few hours," he said.

"I will be having a press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday. I will reserve my comments for then."

DINNER

Mr Cohen yesterday also met the Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers; the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis; and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Last night Mr Cohen attended a private dinner hosted by Mr Swing at the ambassador's residence with a guest list made up of "essentially non-governmental figures — covering the rest of the political spectrum".

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said Mr Cohen and Mr Botha would meet again this evening for a working dinner at the Minister's official residence, Newlands House.

Mr Cohen arrived in Cape Town yesterday morning after flying from London with a brief stopover in Johannesburg.

He is expected to have two days of talks in Cape Town and further talks in Johannesburg before he leaves. — Sapa.



Mr Herman Cohen, US Assistant Secretary of State . . . in South Africa for talks.

Capt TINTS 22/1/90

FW, Mandela are 'negotiating now'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela have met on more than one occasion to discuss ways of each side facilitating round-table negotiations, reliable sources on both sides said last week.

The government and the ANC are already involved in direct negotiations, sources said. Mr Mandela, who has been meeting senior cabinet ministers for the past three years, has been meeting with them more frequently recently and is in constant contact with the ANC by telephone and through intermediaries who visit him.

Mr Mandela apparently likes Mr De Klerk but in the 10-point plan he submitted to the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) last week he apparently made it clear that the ANC should not go into negotiations too hastily or against its better judgement.

Further strategies would have to be worked out around the issue of negotiations to prevent the movement from painting itself

into a corner, an ANC spokesman said.

It has also become reasonably clear from ANC and government sources that although the government has not worked out the exact date of Mr Mandela's release, it will be around February 14 to 16.

The ANC gave strong indications of assurances conveyed to it by the De Klerk government in an opening speech, characterised by a lack of ambiguity, to the special ANC NEC meeting in Lusaka this week.

"All indications are that Comrade Nelson Mandela and other comrades will be released in the near future. The Pretoria regime will also address in one way or another the issues of ending the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other organisations and allowing the exiles to return," a senior ANC spokesman said.

There are some senior executives in the ANC so confident of the early return of exiles that they are discussing whether or not the National Consultative Conference of the ANC scheduled for late June should be held in Johannesburg for the first time

in three decades. However, others believe this is an over-optimistic assessment.

An issue on which Mr Mandela and the ANC have not yet reached agreement with the government is that of the hundreds of young people convicted and jailed for public violence offences since 1984. It is believed that Mr Mandela and the ANC maintain they are political prisoners as their acts were motivated by political frustrations and also the presence of police and SADF troops in the townships.

However, the government is apparently maintaining that those jailed for public violence are criminals. The ANC and Mandela want public violence offenders to be released at the same time and in the same way as political offenders.

A senior ANC spokesman said Mr De Klerk was expected to play his cards carefully and "things like the lifting of the State of Emergency are the sort of trumps with which he picks up quite good hands. He will play one card and then another. We think he may release some long-term political prisoners even before Mandela".

[illegible]

Negotiations a result of 'wars'

304A

TALKS about negotiations do not indicate a change of heart within the National Party, but was the result of "wars against the regime."

This was said by student and community leaders during the relaunch of the Ratanda Youth Congress on the East-Rand.

Security police kept a low profile outside the Roman Catholic Church while speakers called for the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency.

About 500 people - mainly youths - dressed in UDF, Swapo and ANC T-Shirts toyi toyed, sang freedom songs and roared as Mzwakhe Mbuli captivated the audience with his poetry.

The red South African Communist Party and the blue, green and red Swapo flags were displayed on the stage.

A member of the Ratanda Civic Association said President F W De Klerk should meet the "people's demands" by releasing Nelson Mandela

By MASHUBE
MFOLOE

unconditionally.

He said the ANC should be unbanned and the state of emergency lifted before any talks with the Government could begin.

He warned that there would not be any genuine negotiations on terms dictated by the Government.

Student leaders also called for the re-establishment of street committees to combat crime.

UDF's southern Transvaal regional secretary, Mr Jackson Mthembu, said the youth were the backbone of the struggle.

He urged Ratanda community organisations to unite and revive community-based structures to help address the education crisis and look into post apartheid education.

06/10/90
Sowetan

Conflict — another way out

Star 23/1/90

304A

A political settlement in South Africa will not be reached while political actors regard the negotiation table as a battlefield. So says Mr Ron Kraybill, an American authority on conflict negotiation, who suggests an alternative approach to negotiations. Political Reporter **ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE** reports.

Experience elsewhere suggests that negotiation on a future dispensation for South Africa will be a long and arduous process if key leaders are incapable of breaking out of the old ways of thinking — that of grudgingly fishing for a compromise between extreme demands.

However, if negotiations can be structured to avoid the blocks of the past, the possibility of a resolution to the South African conflict can be profoundly enhanced.

This is according to Mr Ron Kraybill, a director at the Centre for Intergroup Studies in Cape Town, who has worked with mediators worldwide.

He says recent research on conflicts in the world's "hot spots" is yielding a new approach to negotiations.

This approach, "alternative negotiation", begins with the insight that deep-rooted conflict is not based on transitory interests such as land, money and natural resources, but evolves around human needs such as security, recognition and human development.

History shows that these basic human needs are irrepressible, and that people will struggle against long odds to meet their basic human needs.

The phenomenon of "terrorism" is one example of this reality.

Consequently, it lies in each party's own long-term interests to recognise and collaborate in meeting the basic needs of an opponent.

Awareness of the dynamics of deep-rooted conflicts provides reason for optimism regarding their resolution, a proposition which Mr Kraybill notes sounds preposterous at first, especially to parties involved often for decades in a bitter and deadly struggle around power and limited resources.

"Here lies the tragedy of deep-rooted conflict, the fatal flaw in perception that locks participants into endless rounds of struggle. For

in truth, land, resources and wealth are not the deepest issue in deep-rooted conflicts. They are mere avenues — important avenues to be sure — to meeting the basic needs which cause human beings to offer their own lives as well as take the lives of others who appear to block meeting these needs."

Research has suggested that traditional diplomacy alone is virtually incapable of creating stable and satisfactory solutions to deep-rooted conflicts.

Traditional negotiation is concerned primarily with reaching compromises on the division of resources and power, and employs few devices for considering if these compromises will meet the basic human needs driving the conflict.

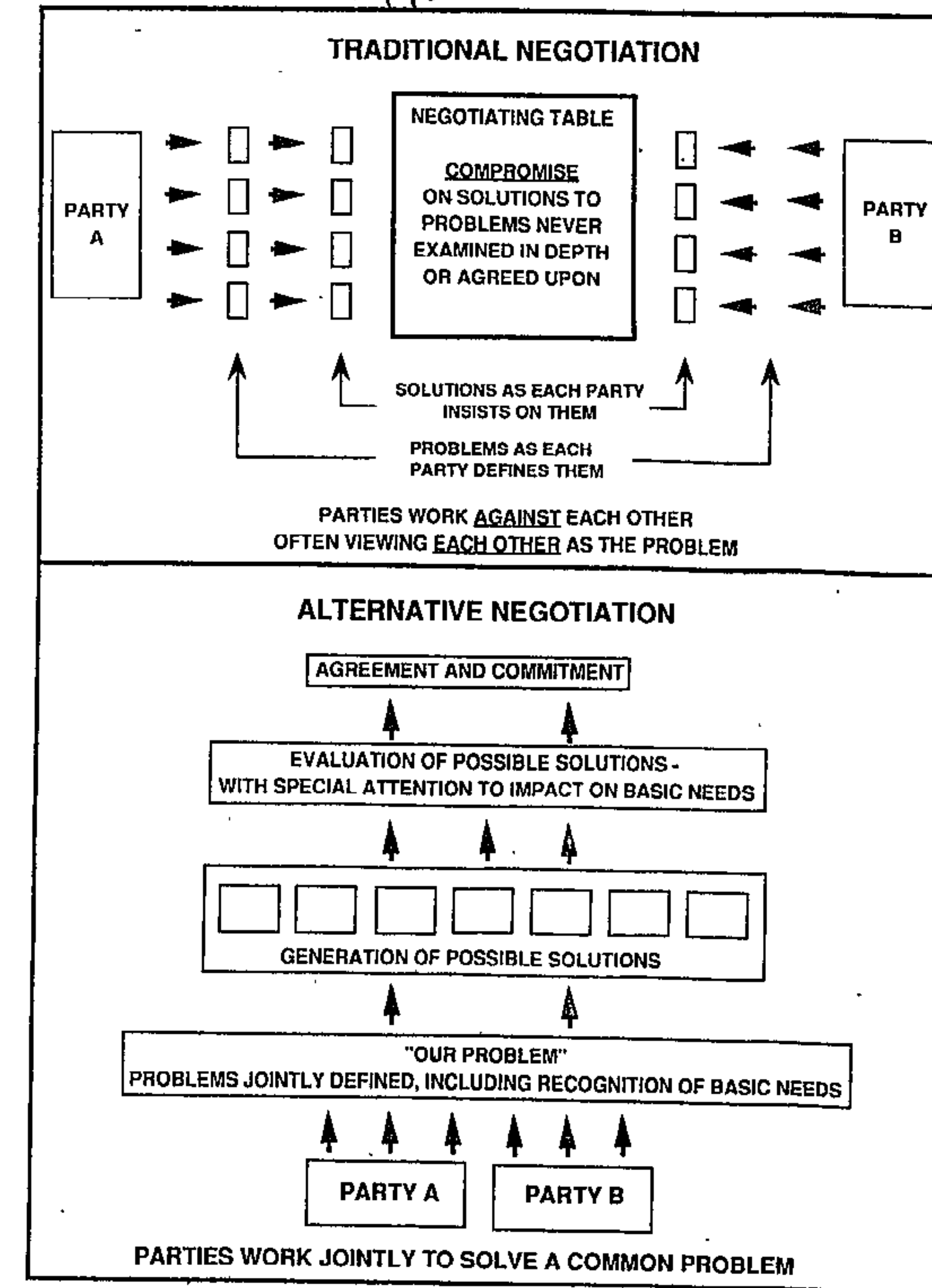
Consequently, negotiation is often inefficient and agreements reached at the bargaining table often prove to be pragmatic short-term compromises that are unacceptable on the long-term to one or several parties and are thus unstable.

Different point

Alternative negotiation begins at a different point, first identifying the basic needs important to the long-term wellbeing and satisfaction of the parties involved. This sets the stage for negotiating material issues.

"If the basic human needs of each side are identified and conscious effort made to meet them, invariably there exists substantially more room for resolution of material issues than is commonly thought. Agreements that are reached are also more likely to truly address the key needs of parties and thus be more stable long-term," he says.

In marked contrast to traditional negotiation, alternative negotiators avoid setting out demands as a starting point once they reach the bargaining table. Instead they begin with joint analysis of the key prob-



lems and concerns of each party. Then a list of key problems is identified for further discussion. Once this is accomplished, discussion about solutions becomes far more efficient.

Agreement on the nature of the problems and legitimate needs can often be done in a short period of time, but it is a complex task.

Experience has shown that in complex political conflicts the assistance of skilled facilitators with no vested interests other than justice and fairness is essential.

Their job is to create an analytical atmosphere and keep the pro-

cess on track by asking clarifying questions that could be explosive if asked by an opponent.

Often the first phase is mutual education. Activities may include presentations of the history of the conflict from each side or even events such as field trips or gathering statistics.

Even if agreement on the nature of problems and needs proves impossible, bargaining around solutions later is more coherent if there is explicit awareness of the problems each side views as important.

Underlying the whole exercise is an awareness that a major issue is

retaining the trust and support of the constituencies negotiators claim to represent.

The final phase in alternative bargaining is commitment, with each party committing itself to activities necessary for joint implementation of the agreement.

In South Africa, Mr Kraybill says, the following is particularly applicable:

- Government should provide political space for opposition groups to freely meet, consult, and plan.

- Opposition groups must see that the Government is in a position to gain maximum support among conservative groups. This may require that opposition groups avoid pressing for action or acknowledgment which appear humiliating to white conservatives.

- It is critically important that all influential constituencies should be part of the dialogue, not just two key actors, Government and the ANC.

Devise processes

The question everyone is struggling with now is how to make it all happen in South Africa?

Comments Mr Kraybill: "The real challenge in South Africa will not be how to devise processes capable of bringing the right people to the right place at the right time. Rather, the question is whether key actors here are prepared to learn from the hard-won lessons of similar situations elsewhere.

The ultimate test, argues Mr Kraybill, is whether the people buy not the settlement but the process that led to the agreement. Do they perceive the process to be fair, representative and reasonable?

Concludes Mr Kraybill: "The key to success in gaining support among its diverse people lies less with finding the 'right' shape, than with how that shape is found.

"The big question now is whether the people responsible for key next steps will be willing to step away from their own favoured solutions and devote their attention to a process of decision-making that will command the respect of all."

Will FW also falter on shores of the Rubicon?

304A

Star 23/1/90

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has raised huge expectations both nationally and internationally and there are real fears of another Rubicon when he addresses the opening of Parliament early next month, according to former British Cabinet Minister Dr Shirley Williams.

Dr Williams was speaking after her keynote address on "Democratic Accountability and Popular Empowerment" at Idasa's Responsible Democracy Conference at the University of Cape Town.

Replying to a question whether the West would provide financial assistance to solve South Africa's problems if this country re-joined the international community, Dr Williams said she believed it would.

South Africa had huge potential for investment and any move towards a negotiated settlement which accepted the idea of a non-racial democracy was likely to draw a tremendous financial response, almost immediately from the United States.

However, South Africa had failed to cross the Rubicon in 1985, Dr Williams pointed out.

"I guess there's a real fear that in 1990 you may go back to the Rubicon and not cross it again.

"So my feeling is there are real perils at the moment about South Africa because I think your new president has raised huge expectations, not just in South Africa but

South Africa failed to cross the Rubicon in 1985, former British Cabinet Minister Dr Shirley Williams pointed out in a speech in Cape Town this week, and there is a real fear that in 1990 South Africa may go back to the Rubicon and not cross it again.

in the world outside. Everyone now expects some great speech when Parliament opens.

"I hope to heavens what happen in the case of your previous State President doesn't happen again."

Answering questions on sanctions, Dr Williams said it was an incredibly difficult issue and she accepted that alternatives like the American Sullivan Code of business practice had had very far-reaching consequences.

Performance

However, the political effect of easing up on sanctions at present would indicate that nations applying sanctions were prepared to accept President de Klerk's promises without first waiting for his performance.

"And I don't think we can do that," she said.

"I think we have to wait — and I'm not saying they won't be so — and see whether those promises actually turn into new laws and the repeal of odious laws before we take down this particular set of sanctions."

Her impression was that sanctions had had the effect of making the South African Government think again ... that is the generally held view outside South Africa.

"I know it's a bit unfair and I recognise somewhat different standards are applied to you. But you asked for that, because you were part of the mainstream of Western culture and you've told us time and again you are one of the great bastions of that culture.

"Well, one of the central things about Western culture is that one has to treat all men and women as of equal dignity. Forgive me for being blunt but I don't think South Africa can have its cake and eat it. If you want to become part of the West you have to make the necessary change."

Other points included:

- The NGK had taken a very encouraging position during the last few years, and any solution to South Africa's problems would have to involve believers of this church's theology.
- She would feel more confident about the post-apartheid economy if there were more black economists and businessmen.
- The original Bantu Education Act was "an absolute obscenity" that must be driven out.
- In 1948 South Africa, far down the road to democracy, had taken a long step backwards.
- There was a very bumpy and difficult road ahead for South Africans, but it was also an exciting challenge and adventure.

FW won't jeopardise white power — Suzman

Star 23/1/90 304A

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has a bottom line to negotiations which rules out the transfer of political power to the black majority, according to Mrs Helen Suzman.

In her lecture "Highlights of a Political Career" at the University of Cape Town's Summer School yesterday, Mrs Suzman said she had, "so to speak, been through five Prime Ministers — Dr Malan, Mr Strydom, Dr Verwoerd, Mr Vorster and Mr P W Botha".

President de Klerk, she said, was "courteous, amiable and understands the art of communication". He had committed himself to reform and had already given an earnest example of his intention to introduce meaningful change in South Africa.

Excise brutality

"I believe he will excise much of the overt brutalities inherent in the apartheid system. But he was, after all, elected to office on National Party policy, and by and large that is the policy he will implement," Mrs Suzman said. He would certainly negotiate to bring blacks into the parliamentary system, but he would not interpret his mandate for reform as a mandate to jeopardise

the political position of the white minority or to threaten its survival.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's predecessors, Mrs Suzman described Dr Malan as a dour old domineer who commanded much respect from his own party, but not very great affection.

Dr Verwoerd and Mr John Vorster were "as nasty a pair as you could ever encounter in your worst nightmares".

"Dr Verwoerd was a most extraordinary man, harbouring a deep conviction that he had a divine mission, much fortified when the first assassination attempt by Pratt failed. I have to admit Dr Verwoerd was the only man who has ever scared me stiff."

She described Mr Vorster as a different cup of tea altogether — pragmatic, down to earth and with no pretensions to divine missions.

Of Mr P W Botha: "There is only one accurate way in which to describe P W — he was an irascible bully and nothing demonstrated that more vividly than the humiliating dressing down over television he gave the Rev Alan Hendrickse."

"I cannot say his retirement caused any regrets on my part and I have no doubt the feeling is mutual, now that I too have left Parliament. But in all fairness I have to say that many important changes took place during the 10-year regime of P W Botha."

Demos refuse to ask for permission

Township calls for Sacu coaches to go

Staff Reporters

The United Democratic Front's Atteridgeville, Pretoria, branch last night called for the immediate discontinuation of the South African Cricket Union's coaching programme in the township.

A meeting of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation attended by about 3 000 people decided the coaching clinic had to be stopped because of Sacu's continued support of Mike Gatting's rebel English cricket tour.

People hosting the cricket coaching clinics at a school in Atteridgeville would be informed about last night's resolution, the meeting decided.

Commenting on the UDF-affiliate's decision, Sacu president Mr Geoff Dakin said he found it difficult to believe the people would want discontinued the provision of better sport facilities "and therefore better recreational existence for innocent little children".

Mr Dakin urged the people of Atteridgeville to reconsider their decision.

Trouble loomed yesterday over protests against the English cricket tour as the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) shied away from asking permission to demonstrate.

Although Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had announced that the Government would permit peaceful protests against the tour, the PAM is objecting to the proviso that protesters will have to apply to magistrates for permission.

The PAM warned yesterday of trouble if police took action against demonstrators. The movement's secretary of sport Mr Leslie Ntuli said the organisation would not apply for permission to demonstrate.

Mr Ntuli said, "We will toughen up our protest structure after the experience at Jan Smuts Airport last Friday. We have been sjambokked and bitten by police dogs. We never expected the police to react so ruthlessly. We will be ready for them now."

The anti-tour committee, which comprises the National Sports Council (NSC), various sports bodies and Mass Democratic Movement affiliates, believes peaceful protest is a right and it should not be necessary to apply for permission to demonstrate.

Spokesman Mr Moss Mashishi said Mr Vlok's comments added a "new dimension" to the issue.

"At this stage it is not likely that we will ask for permission. We will, however, discuss it. We have done everything possible to show our opposition to the tour as peacefully as possible. Our motives are

peaceful and we simply want to drive home the feelings of the majority in this country."

The NSC is strongly urging the rebels to reconsider their decision to continue with the tour.

In an open letter to team captain Mike Gatting, the NSC said the tour leader's respect for the right to peaceful protest was no justification for his presence in South Africa.

The NSC questioned how Gatting intended ensuring the safety of protesters against State violence.

"We believe the response of the police was carried out with the full knowledge and approval of your host, the SA Cricket Union," the NSC alleged in the letter.

No weapons had been found on any of the protesters, all posters and pamphlets had been confiscated and buses carrying protesters had been intercepted before arrival, it said. At least 40 protesters had been injured and 10 arrested.

Police said those arrested had been released with a warning.

● British athlete Seb Coe has been challenged for his statement at the weekend that most Britons are opposed to the rebel cricket tour to South Africa, The Star's London Bureau reports.

Their affair

In an editorial today, the *Daily Mail* said he was entitled to his view that the Gatting team members were mercenaries. But it doubted his statement that most British people were ashamed of the rebels.

"Our guess is that the majority of men and women here reckon that if some sheep-faced bunch of English cricketers are willing to run the gauntlet of jeers to make money in South Africa, that's their affair."

● An unrepentant John Emburey says he and other rebel cricketers are prepared to take their banning from the international arena without any argument.

In a wide-ranging interview at the Wanderers yesterday, the vice-captain of Gatting's Gladiators said "we knew what we are letting ourselves in for".

But the highly respected world-class off-spinner, who played two seasons for Western Province after the 1982 tour by Graham Gooch's "Dirty Dozen", feels South African cricket is not as strong as it was when he last played here.

"From what I can see at the moment, levels have dropped because of the retirement of some players, notably Pollock, Kourie, Le Roux, Richards, Van der Bijl and Procter."

Mrs I

Star 23/1/90

304h

Stepping into shoes of foreign states

SA's growing links with Africa revealed

The Star's Africa
News Service

South Africa is involved in about 120 aid projects in central, west and southern Africa, the director of the Pretoria based Africa Institute, Dr Erich Leistner, has disclosed.

In a paper presented at a symposium being held in Taiwan yesterday, Dr Leistner said South Africa was involved in agricultural, wildlife and nature conservation, education, training and health projects in those countries.

Although co-operation between South Africa and its neighbours is well documented, this is the first time that details of links between South Africa and more distant African countries have been disclosed.

Significant

Although Dr Leistner did not name the west and central African countries involved, it is significant that in almost all the areas of co-operation mentioned, countries in west and central Africa were receiving aid from South Africa.

Dr Leistner said South Africa was involved in 15 agricultural projects in African countries, the majority in central and west Africa. Four of the projects were in Swaziland, one each in Malawi and the Comoros and the rest in central and west Africa.

Besides a well known cattle project in Equatorial Guinea, Dr Leistner mentioned another successful project in west Africa which is being run by a private company. He did not name the company.

"West African countries have been severely hit by falling cocoa prices. South African experts therefore

have begun to introduce South African citrus — (navels and clementines) — and are confident that positive results will be forthcoming under tropical conditions," he said.

In an unnamed west African country a chicken and pig farm was experiencing difficulties due to the high cost of animal feed. South Africa experts had then started a scheme to produce soy-beans which can be readily grown in that country and is an important ingredient of animal food.

Dr Leistner said South Africa was also involved in 11 schemes concerning wildlife and national parks, most of them in central and west Africa.

As far as health is concerned the director of the Africa Institute said South Africa had 20 projects in Africa. In 1985/86 1 716 patients from 13 African countries received treatment in South Africa.

South Africa had also equipped clinics in unnamed west African countries and African doctors regularly came to South Africa from as far afield as west and east Africa to gain the international recognised diploma in tropical medicines.

In west Africa, South Africa was also involved in two housing projects, a desalination plant as well as a power plant.

Quite a few students from central Africa were studying geology in South Africa, Dr Leistner said.

He said the growing rapprochement between South Africa and black Africa was due to several important developments, including the disillusionment of foreign investors over Africa's economy and policies, the end of superpower competition for influence in Africa and the growing awareness that Africa's former allies, be it the United States or the Soviet bloc countries, were losing interest in Africa.



Dr Leistner ... South Africa is filling vacuum left by end of superpower competition and disillusioned foreign investors.

Hit squad abduction claim adds a twist to treason case

LAWYERS are re-examining the case of convicted ANC member Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim in the light of allegations by a former alleged hit squad member that Ebrahim was abducted from Swaziland by SA security forces.

They said the new evidence could influence the appeal Ebrahim will lodge next year against his 20-year sentence.

Mr Justice H Daniels, who heard Ebrahim's treason case last year, rejected his evidence that he had been abducted by SA security forces or their agents on December 15 1986.

Document
At the time, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he could not admit or deny the abduction allegation "except to strongly deny that any member of the SAP was involved".

Death row prisoner Butana Almond Nofomela, who claims he was a security police assassin, has made allegations about the abduction of Ebrahim. Ebrahim was a regional commander of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Details of the allegations are not known.

Two other alleged members of the

CHARLENE SMITH

assassination squads, said to be known as Section C1, are known to have been involved in Ebrahim's interrogation. One was Brig Willem Schoon and the other a Capt Naude.

A second link in the Ebrahim case to Nofomela's previous allegations comes in the form of an ANC document presented to court by the State during Ebrahim's trial in April 1988.

The document was allegedly photographed in Lusaka by a South African spy.

The ANC document said the SAP had arrested a cadre in Soweto identified as "Comrade Scotch". The arrest was followed by the kidnapping of an ANC operative identified as "September" and who commanded an ANC unit.

Ebrahim said his abductors told him "September" was now working for them.

Nofomela has, in previous statements, talked of the abduction from Swaziland of an ANC operative called "September".

The ANC document goes on to say this was followed by the death of "four cadres" during an armed clash in an unidentified border area.

Suzman recalls some 'nasty Nats'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Former MP Helen Suzman has some harsh words for the five Nationalists who served as prime minister during her 26-year career in Parliament.

In a lecture at UCT's summer school yesterday, she described D F Malan as "a dour old dominee who commanded much respect from his own party, but I would not say very great affection".

Although she had very little to do with the next prime minister, J G Strijdom, his successors Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster were "as nasty a pair as you could ever encounter in your worst nightmares. Dr Verwoerd was a most extraordinary man, (with) a deep conviction that he had a divine mission. ... I have to admit Dr Verwoerd was the only man who has ever scared me stiff."

Vorster was a very different cup of tea, "pragmatic, down to earth", she said.

Suzman said there was only one way to describe P W Botha — "he was an irascible bully. I cannot say his retirement caused any regrets on my part and I have no doubt the feeling is mutual, now that I too have left Parliament."

304A B Day 23/1/90

COHEN MUM ON TALKS WITH FW

MIKE ROBERTSON

US ASSISTANT Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen yesterday met President FW de Klerk and senior ministers but refused to discuss the contents of his talks.

It was the first meeting between the US official and De Klerk since the latter became President on September 20.

Cohen, who met De Klerk for about 40 minutes at Tuynhuys, would not discuss the contents of the meeting when he emerged with US Ambassador Bill Swing.

He said he would be holding a Press conference before leaving SA tomorrow, when he flies to Luanda for talks with the Angolan government.

"I have been here just a few hours and would like the time to sum up my impressions," he said.

Cohen confirmed, however, that he would not be meeting jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Cohen also held talks with Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and is to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha tonight.

Prior to his arrival, SA officials said that during his visit Cohen would discuss purely bilateral issues with De Klerk and senior ministers.

Mandela, bannings on FW's agenda

President
De Klerk

ARGUS 23/1/90

304A

WENTZEL on the Presidency

THE first Cabinet meeting of the year, to be chaired by President De Klerk in Cape Town tomorrow, will give attention to the release of African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as well as the possible lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC.

This was the expectation among Nationalist MPs today as Mr De Klerk kept his followers guessing about when Mr Mandela will be released.

The MPs said that politically there was no longer any problem about the fact that he would be released, but the exact date remained a problem.

They have been left in the dark about this and the growing impression was that no date had been set.

There was also the growing feeling in Nationalist circles that Mr De Klerk would not make a definite announcement in his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 2.

Right timing

If he announced a date for Mr Mandela's release in that speech it would dominate any other announcement on reform and future negotiations that he might want to make, the MPs said. Some thought that he might even be released before parliament started or shortly afterwards.

Mr De Klerk was said to be grappling with the question of the right timing for Mr Mandela's release.

Some top Nationalists think it should be done in a way that would not benefit the ANC too much.

On the other hand there are indications that a final announcement on the release of Mr Mandela could be linked with one on the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

These are among the pre-conditions to negotiations that Mr De Klerk is expected to deal with when he opens parliament on Friday week.

Tomorrow's Cabinet meeting will also deal with aspects of the opening speech. Various Ministers will make contributions to this speech.

Nationalist MPs are concerned about expectations that are being created about the speech. They warned today that Mr De Klerk could not be expected to make one "wonder stroke" speech that would at this stage sweep aside all race-based measures such as the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, who has been in regular contact with Mr Mandela over the past few years and especially lately, has for the first time commented on the role Mr Mandela has played in his contacts with the government as well as the ANC.

In an interview in the latest issue of "Nationalist", the National Party's propaganda sheet, Mr Coetsee said this role of Mr Mandela had been a "giant leap" in the negotiation process.

Mr Coetsee said it was no longer a question if Mr Mandela would be released but when and in what circumstances.

SA given anti-apartheid paper

BINAM 23/11/90
LUSAKA — The UN resolution based on the Harare Declaration — a blueprint for negotiation which spells out ways to end apartheid and restore peace in SA — has been handed to Pretoria, a Frontline summit meeting was told yesterday.

Opening the special meeting of the six states, organisation chairman and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said he was informed by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar that the resolution was handed over to Pretoria soon after Christmas.

The Harare Declaration calls for the introduction of "a climate conducive for talks in SA". Such an atmosphere, it says, requires the unbanning of political parties, mass democratic groups and trade union activities; the release of

304A
Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; and the right of any mass movement to organise politically.

Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reports that Kaunda paid special tribute to the ANC and the Frontline states for making such a move towards the abolition of apartheid.

The declaration had won the support of African movements before being presented to the UN General Assembly's special session against apartheid last December.

At yesterday's summit Kaunda said African leaders would take further instructions from the ANC on future action to fight apartheid.

He had been impressed by "the level of understanding and the lack of bitterness" prevailing among ANC leaders

who had been jailed until recently.

"There is absolutely no bitterness towards the Boers who have detained them for so long," Kaunda said. "These leaders, led by Comrade Walter Sisulu, are speaking with clarity of mind. That clarity should make (SA President F W) De Klerk move very fast indeed."

He told Sisulu: "We are proud of you for what you are doing. We are prepared to listen to you; we are prepared to take your commands to intensify the struggle."

In a statement issued at the end of the ANC National Executive Committee meeting on Sunday night, the 78-year-old movement said yesterday's summit would discuss its requirements to promote the offensive against the apartheid system. — Sapa.

PW an irascible bully — Suzman

By BARRY STREEK

Cape Times 23/1/79

MRS Helen Suzman, who retired last year after a 26-year career as an MP, had some harsh words for the five Nationalist prime ministers who were in Parliament then. She said Dr D F Malan could be described "as a dour old domineer who commanded much respect from his own party, but I would not say very great affection."

"He was not the sort of man on whom one could lavish affection," she said in a lecture at the University of Cape Town's summer school.

Mr Vorster was a very different cup of tea, "pragmatic, down to earth and with no pretensions to divine missions."

"The main features of Vorster's regime were the maintenance of white supremacy and a tough attitude to any resistance."

Mrs Suzman said there was only way to describe Mr P W Botha — "he was an irascible bully."

"I cannot say his retirement caused any regrets on my part and I have no doubt the feeling is mutual, now that I too have left Parliament."

By censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures in the Cape Times

Women's conferences face up to the challenges ahead

Star 24/11/90

304A

Both conferences, one held in Pretoria, the other in Amsterdam, focused on the role of women in the future. However, organisations differed on a number of policies and methods at the two major conferences.

More than 200 women representing all races of South Africa as well as representatives from neighbouring states met at the University of Pretoria last week and discussed the role of women in the 21st Century.

The conference was organised by the Women's Bureau of South Africa.

"There are many challenges that lie ahead but women who know where they are going and why will provide the stability for our changing society," said Ms Margaret Lessing, chairman of the Women's Bureau.

The conference covered diverse topics, ranging from health and finance to technology and politics.

Keynote speaker at the opening was Mrs Joan Whitmore, a member of the Women's Bureau, who said most of the country's problems stemmed from growing population pressure.

"The problem can be combated through education, training and the provision of job opportunities," she said.

Census figures for 1985 indicated South Africa was home to about 3,7 million uneducated people and 7,8 million more who held only a Std 4 qualification.

Mrs Whitmore added that organisers of class boycotts enhanced the prospects of South Africa developing into an economic wasteland and should be expected to be held accountable to the people.

Women are on the move countrywide . . . Women's organisations of different political persuasions have in the past two weeks held separate conferences both inside and outside the country — and are geared up to work towards a better future. **SHEHNAAZ BULBULIA** reports.

Conference participants believed that through technological aid, financial support and general co-operation South Africa would benefit economically, while sanctions, disinvestment and boycotts would inhibit development.

On the issue of women in the workplace, it was decided that all women should unite and work towards a common goal to change discriminatory laws and practices.

At the same time, a South African anti-apartheid women's conference named the Malibongwe Conference, under the theme "Women united for a unitary non-racial South Africa", was held in Amsterdam.

Delegates debated a wide range of issues and resolved that the root cause of the problems of the country stemmed from apartheid . . . not population pressures. The conference resolved: "that women should chart the way for mobilisation towards forceful unity in action against apartheid".

The Malibongwe conference also called on progressive forces to lay the foundations for change in the education field. In the struggles related to rural women, delegates agreed to the establishment of the "Malibongwe Fund" to provide educational bursaries for rural women throughout South Africa.

Star 24/1/90

Nothnagel 'quit over group areas'

3044

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's ambassador to the Netherlands, former Nationalist MP Mr Albert Nothnagel, decided to leave Parliament because he was opposed to the Group Areas Act, says the national chairman of the DP Youth, Miss Michelle Guttler.

Miss Guttler spent more than an hour with Mr Nothnagel in The Hague during a recent overseas visit for talks with European democratic youth movements.

She said it was clear Mr Nothnagel was unable to defend SA's race laws.

"He also told me that he was opposed to the Group Areas Act, which was the reason he had left Parliament and been posted in the Netherlands," she said.

Approached on reports of Miss Guttler's remarks, Mr Nothnagel yesterday said that he was not prepared to comment on any aspect of the discussions he had with Miss Guttler.

The meeting, also attended by Dutch students, was "very, very confidential and personal".

Miss Guttler said, on her discussions with other groups in Europe, that she had encountered "increasing support for the concept of South Africa's solving its problems internally, not with internationally imposed solutions".

Political sentiment lifts JSE

Finance Staff

Initial fears that the JSE would crumble yesterday amid Monday's three per cent slide on Wall Street were dispelled by large-scale foreign investment on the stock market. *Ster 24/11/70*

Over the last few months foreign investors have pushed up the JSE to new record highs, while local institutions remained on the sidelines as gold failed to break through the \$420 mark.

Non-resident purchases of local stocks, in particular mining shares, have intensified lately, fuelled by reports of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Political sentiment had already improved since President FW de Klerk took office and tentatively moved on the path to reform, but the release of Mandela could unleash a new flood of foreign investments, say local analysts.

That is not to say the JSE will be immune from international stock market movements, but it certainly will be sheltered to some extent by the prospect of meaningful reform.

This, in addition to a gold price above

\$400 and the discount offered to foreigners through the financial rand, will keep the JSE moving up although at a more moderate pace than in recent weeks, argues one stockbroker *(304A)*

Not all analysts agree though. "The JSE will not escape the repercussions of the sharp drop this week in the Dow Jones and a downward correction could be expected," says Syfrets Unit Trust manager Anthony Gibson.

"We expect this to go on for about two months, unless the gold market should run, in which case our market would run counter to the current international trend," he adds.

'No high level exchange of visits'

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — State Department spokesman Miss Margaret Tutwiler yesterday denied knowledge of an exchange of visits at a high level between South Africa and the United States.

Miss Tutwiler told journalists at the State Department's regular midday briefing she was not aware of any dis-

cussions about such visits.

She had been questioned on a series of recent reports that President Bush was canvassing black opinion on the advisability of inviting President de Klerk to Washington or was toying with plans to send top-level visitors to Pretoria, including the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

24/1/90

222 3048

304A

The Star Wednesday January 24 1990

3

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

ANC leader proposes sharing power

A compromise settlement plan proposed by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela might have become the key to current efforts to start negotiations between the Government and the ANC as well as other black groups.

According to a report in *The Times* of London, the 10-point plan might involve a power-sharing period as an interim measure without an immediate transfer of power.

Government sources advised

caution on details of the plan but said the reports were "not devoid of truth".

The plan was apparently put to President de Klerk when he met Mr Mandela last month.

● See Pages 7 and 17.

Mandela speech to stress *CNA Times 24/1/90* *306A* 'role of whites'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — When he is released, Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to make a speech in Afrikaans to South Africa's five million whites, acknowledging their "vital role" in a united future.

This is the view of Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party and former British Foreign Secretary, who met President F W de Klerk and ANC leaders including Mr Walter Sisulu, in South Africa late last year.

Dr Owen was interviewed on BBC television news yesterday about Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's statement that it was possible Mr Mandela would be a mediator in future political negotiations.

Mr Coetsee also said it was a fair assumption that Mr Mandela's release was imminent.

Broad appeal

Asked whether Mr Mandela would be a mediator or a protagonist in negotiations with the government, Dr Owen said quite a number of people believed it would be wiser for Mr Mandela, while remaining an ANC leader, not to actually lead the ANC delegation in the talks. He should rather "hold himself, if you like, above the battle".

"He's a man who could appeal to all the people of South Africa.

"It's interesting that he's learning Afrikaans in prison, and I believe will make a speech in Afrikaans directly saying to those five million whites: Look we recognise that you have a vital role in a united future for South Africa.

"And it may be that he can bring together the likes of Inkatha leader

Chief Buthelezi, even the PAC and other African leaders."

Dr Owen said Mr Mandela would remain "closely linked to the ANC".

"He's not going to desert the ANC. But I think the ANC will also see merit in him being cast as almost the father of the nation ... with a much wider appeal. So in that sense I think he will be more of a mediator than a protagonist.

"But on the fundamental issue of having a universal franchise in which everybody, all South Africans, can vote, I think he will be very strong. But in introducing things to, if you like, give confidence to the minority white opinion, I think he'll be very pragmatic, very realistic."

Asked whether he saw evidence of Mr Mandela "dictating his own terms for release", Dr Owen replied:

"Well, he's in constant dialogue with the government. The Minister of Justice, who made this comment in the Afrikaans newspaper, has himself seen Mandela on numerous occasions.

"And I think between them they have a fairly clear understanding not just of what is necessary to happen before his release, but the steps that would be taken, even some outlines of what they would negotiate about in the constitutional talks once Nelson Mandela is released."

He said yesterday's comments were "confirming what we all know. Nelson Mandela is coming out. He will come out at a mutually agreed time."

FW's speech

The Mandela Reception Committee was already "very active" in South Africa "preparing for things to come".

"There are tremendous problems associated with his release. The whole question of the management of crowds. But in my judgment you will see the lifting of restrictions on reporting and steps to end the emergency coming out of

Mr De Klerk's speech (on February 2) and that will precede Mandela's release."

On how soon he expected Mr Mandela to be released, Dr Owen said it would occur "in a matter of weeks".

"It would certainly come in my view before Namibian independence, which we expect towards the end of March. But probably I would say the middle to end of February."

The BBC correspondent said the timing of Mr Mandela's release was expected to be high on the agenda for President De Klerk's first Cabinet meeting of the year in the city today.

● In a leader page article in the Daily Telegraph yesterday, Dr Owen praised the Gorbachev-like changes introduced by President De Klerk last year. He said his most crucial decision was to accept direct negotiations on an open agenda with the ANC and other parties.

"Maintaining black unity in the negotiating process will be difficult. There is a legitimate place for the Pan Africanist Congress and for Chief Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha.

"And while Mr Mandela, once released, will be loyal to the ANC, he knows he must retain a broad base as the father of a nation that includes and values the Afrikaner."

Transition period

He also predicted that the ANC and other black leaders would adopt a more pragmatic stance once negotiations began.

"It may mean black politicians living with a 10-year transition period, accepting a transitional government with black ministers serving under Mr De Klerk as Prime Minister, with Mr Mandela as a constitutional President — rather like Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia.

"It may mean tolerat-

ing a pattern of local government which allows Nationalist politicians in predominantly white rural areas to retain control of housing, health and education for some years. It may mean accepting Dutch Reform Church schools for Afrikaans state education.

"There are young, self-confident, radical but pragmatic black leaders, such as Cyril Ramaphosa, the mineworkers' leader, the Rev Frank Chikane of the Council of Churches and Thabo Mbeki of the ANC in Lusaka, who will resolutely keep to principles and yet compromise on detail in negotiations.

"They will be rightly adamant that no final constitution can contain any racial provisions and that the Group Areas Act will have to be progressively dismantled during any transition.

"Under the final constitution everyone would be free to live where they wished."

Dr Owen said Mr Mandela's release would "have the significance internationally of the breaking-down of the Berlin Wall.

"Yet if, in six months, he (Mr Mandela) were convincingly to accuse the South African government of negotiating in bad faith, serious international sanctions would follow."

Debt reschedules

But, he added: "The American Congressional Sanctions Legislation will automatically collapse as negotiations get under way. The UN mandatory arms embargo will remain until there is an agreement. But there will be no intensifying of sanctions while good faith negotiations continue.

"When the international banks come to reschedule South African debt again, it will be crystal clear whether De Klerk has accepted a universal franchise. If he has, we can all rejoice as the days of minority rule in South Africa will be numbered.

"If he has not, the blacks will take up arms again and the world will apply sanctions that will really hurt.

"Faced with these realities, South Africa now seems to be moving irrevocably on a path of reconciliation and unity."

● Mr Mandela has already met virtually the entire leadership of the democratic movement within South Africa over the past few months. He also contributed a 10-point document to the meeting last week between the ANC group under Mr Sisulu and the exiled ANC executive in Lusaka.

While details of the document are being kept secret, it is believed they suggest the ANC support the sharing of power as an interim measure to be negotiated.

FW 'could be southern African Gorbachev' ^{304A}

^{star 24/1/90}
LONDON — President de Klerk could be the "Gorbachev of southern Africa", Dr David Owen told the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper yesterday.

Dr Owen said his return to SA after a 10-year absence had been "an encouraging experience".

"In 1979, when I was Foreign Secretary, hours of fruitless negotiating with P W Botha made it clear he was interested only in cosmetic changes. Under De Klerk it is possible to feel cautiously optimistic."

It was now possible to hope that by the year 2000 SA would be a truly democratic, multiracial country.

"President de Klerk could be the Gorbachev of southern Africa. Like Mr Gorbachev, he has been driven to reform primarily by economic pressure."

"He has probably passed the political point of no return towards majority government, even if as yet he does not fully acknowledge it."

Mr de Klerk's crucial decision had been to accept direct negotiations with the ANC and other parties.

When international banks next came to reschedule Pretoria's debt it would be "crystal clear" whether Mr de Klerk had accepted universal franchise.

"If he has, we can rejoice, as the days of minority rule will be numbered. If he has not, the blacks will take up arms again and the world will apply sanctions that will really hurt." — The Star Bureau.

Grandiose reform timetable beliefs worry F W

AR643
24/1/90
3047

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk is concerned about expectations for a timetable for negotiations on constitutional reform being too "grand" and that he may not be able to meet them.

This was one of the impressions of Mr Seymour Reich, world president of B'nai B'rith, after a meeting with the president at Tuynhuys.

He said it could be expected that Mr De Klerk would proceed with a series of progressive and measured steps.

IN GOOD FAITH

The full vision of what was being planned had not yet been unveiled. Statements Mr De Klerk would make in the near future would undoubtedly include suggestions for various parties to begin negotiations soon.

Mr Reich said changes could not be imposed on South Africa from the outside or the inside. These would have to be negotiated in good faith.

He had the impression from the meeting that Mr Nelson Mandela could be released shortly and this could happen within days or weeks. He was, however, not given a firm indication of when this would be.

Mr Reich said he had been impressed by Mr De Klerk's sincerity and by his plans for the country's future.

His impression from his meeting with the President, and from talking to various people in South Africa, was that he was on the right track. He still had a number of opposition personalities to meet.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk has again emphasised the need for negotiation.

"A CHALLENGING PERIOD"

In the latest issue of the National Party's moutpiece "Nationalist" he says in a new year message that "negotiation must get off the ground as soon as possible".

According to him, 1990 will be a decisive year for South Africa.

"South Africa is on the threshold of a dynamic and challenging period," he said.

Mr. Nelson Mandela's "10-point plan" for negotiations almost certainly contains clauses which are embarrassing to the ANC, according to PATRICK LAURENCE.

Efforts by Mandela to form a united black front

Swing towards negotiations

3049
8/24/1990

Adherence of ambiguity seems to characterise recent statements by South Africa's outlawed African National Congress, as it defines itself in favour of negotiations settlement in one breath and calls for intensification of armed struggle in the next.

But the equivocation is almost certainly more apparent than real. At any rate, there is a measure of ambiguity in the battle between the negotiating table and the armed struggle.

Mr. Alfred Nzo, the ANC's acting president, made that clear in his speech at the start of the extended ANC national executive committee meeting which ended at the weekend.

Looking at our situation realistically, we must admit that we do not have the capacity within our country to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way," he said.

He warned, too, that the "Pre-1994 regime would — not might — address the issues which the ANC has set as conditions for negotiations: release of political prisoners, ending of apartheid, of course, Mr. Nelson Mandela, unbanning of the ANC, and agreeing to the return of the arms."

Political settlement

Mr. Nzo then added significantly: "The student de Klerk will, in all likelihood, seek to move with some speed in order to catch us unprepared and off-balance, allowing us no time to regain our balance, so that the initiative remains in his hands."

The emphasis on negotiations is perhaps less manifest in the statement issued by the ANC national executive at the end of its confidential meeting in Lusaka on Sunday.

But, crucially, while insisting that President de Klerk would have to

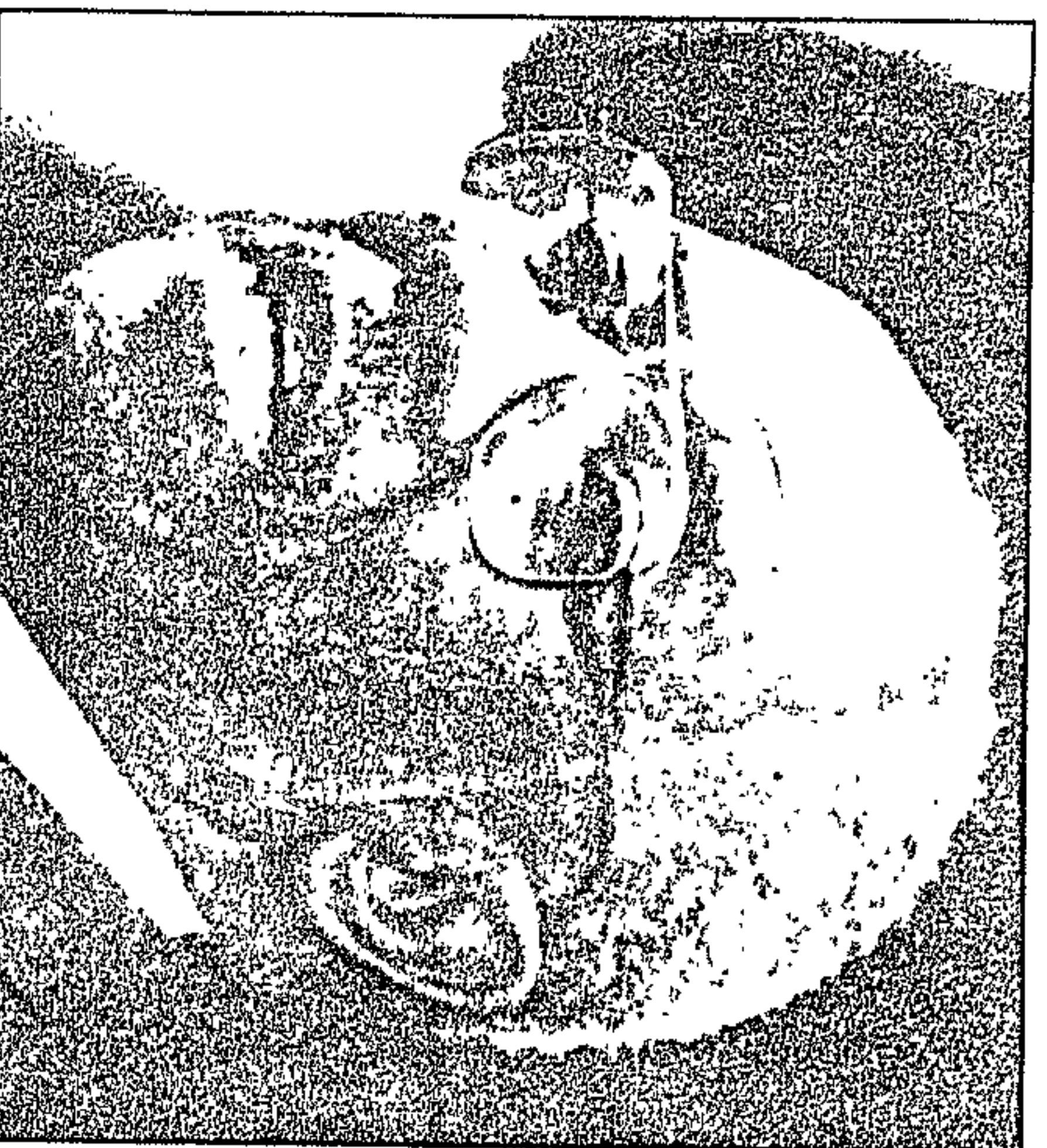


Chief Mangosuthu Buthe... Mr. Mandela seeks his help at the negotiation table.

create a climate for negotiations, it re-affirmed the "preference of the ANC for a settlement arrived at by political means."

Mr. Nzo's address contained another pivotal important sentence: "We must, of course, also discuss and decide on the proposal communicated to us by Comrade Nelson (Mandela)."

The executive committee paid tribute to Mr. Mandela and ex-



Mr. Alfred Nzo, acting ANC president... admission on armed struggle in South Africa.

pressed its full support for his continuing actions, even from within prison, Mr. Mandela's initiatives were, the committee elaborated, "fully in keeping with the policies and objectives of our movement to take the struggle to end apartheid further forward."

Mr. Mandela's proposals to the ANC executive committee have been described as a "10-point plan,"

which — some reports have averred — was the same peace plan which he presented to Mr. de Klerk at their meeting in Cape Town last month.

For once details of the 10-point plan have not leaked out, despite the presence in Lusaka of scores of journalists used to wheedling information out of politicians.

From that one deduction can be

made confidently: the 10 point plan contains proposals which are either extremely sensitive or even embarrassing to the ANC.

One line of conjecture is that one of the 10 points is a proposal to establish a pre-negotiation committee to remove obstacles to negotiations. But, it is postulated, the proposal goes further and names as members of the committee Chief

Minister Mangosuthu Buthe, of KwaZulu, and South Africa's Justice Minister, Mr. Kobie Coetsee.

A well placed foreign observer told The Star yesterday that the pre-negotiation committee was one option under consideration. On the speculation that Chief Buthe and Mr. Kobie Coetsee were under consideration as possible members, he replied: "They would be logical

Ahead of game

The well-placed foreign observer, however, said on the consulate note: "That is running ahead of the game."

If there are proposals in the 10 point plan about which the ANC executive — or sections of it — have reservations, there is undoubtedly much in it that they agree with.

If there are indeed differences, they are not insurmountable, the 10-point plan was put to the ANC national executive for discussion, modification and refinement, not automatic endorsement.

Mr. Mandela's idea of joining black political forces in a united nationalist bloc — which one can assume was mentioned in his 10-point plan — was endorsed by the ANC national executive.

Its statement speaks of the need for the struggle to be carried forward by the ANC and all "democratic and anti-apartheid forces."

The executive identifies the recently released ANC leaders — Mr. Walter Sisulu and his six co-prisoners who were freed on October 15 last year — as men who can, and should, help to end the fratricidal strife in Natal.

choices.

Mr. Mandela, as distinct from the many members of the ANC, appears to be keen to make sure that Chief Buthe is on the same side as the ANC at the negotiating table. Chief Buthe's ties in the ANC insist that he should be on the government's side.

One of the functions of the pre-negotiating committee would be to make decisions on the forum and format of the negotiations or, in more mundane language, deal with questions about the size and shape of the negotiating table, who should sit where, and how representatives should be chosen to participate.

Another reported item in the 10 point plan is the establishment of South African government offices — de facto consulates — in Lusaka or Dar es Salaam to facilitate or screen the return of exiles to South Africa.

Cabinet to adopt plan to aid talks

B1 Day 24/1/90

304A

253

17A

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet meets today to finalise a package of measures aimed at creating a climate into which Nelson Mandela can be released to facilitate negotiations between government and the ANC.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has said Mandela's description of himself as a facilitator between government and the ANC is a giant leap in the negotiation process.

Coetsee is one of the members of the Cabinet's inner circle of four which will take the final decision on the date of Mandela's release.

It is the first Cabinet meeting of the year and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, who heads government's negotiating team, is expected to brief his colleagues on recent statements by the ANC outlining its position on negotiations and on Mandela's 10-point plan which is reported to contain proposals to negotiate power-sharing.

Prior to their going on holiday in mid-December, senior government ministers said they were looking for some kind of commitment from the ANC to seek peaceful solutions to make it possible for government to unban it and other organisations.

With the ANC having hinted at a willingness to negotiate under certain conditions, Cabinet is now in a position to take decisions on unbanning it and lifting the emergency (while retaining the ban on televi-

MIKE ROBERTSON

sion coverage of unrest) to create a climate for negotiation into which Mandela can be released.

Mandela's 10-point plan was discussed by the ANC executive last week and, according to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, was endorsed by the Frontline states. The plan was believed to have been submitted to De Klerk when he met Mandela in December.

Despite the recent spate of rumours on Mandela's release, ministers said yesterday only De Klerk, Coetsee, Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha would know the exact date on which the ANC leader would be freed.

Ministers are not ruling out the possibility that Mandela could even be released before the opening of Parliament on February 2. However, the general expectation is that his release will follow the announcement of a package of measures designed to create conditions in which negotiations can take place.

Interviewed by the NP official newspaper Nationalist, Coetsee said Mandela's description of himself as a facilitator between government and the ANC could be interpreted as a giant leap in the negotiat-

□ To Page 2

Cabinet plan

B1 Day 24/1/90

ing process.

Mandela told SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, when they met on December 18, he was not negotiating with government. Rather he was acting as a facilitator to create the conditions for genuine negotiations.

Coetsee told the Nationalist that government was weighing up this possible role for Mandela.

In the interview, Coetsee also underlined a recent statement by former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu that Mandela could not be released into a vacuum.

Other ministers had also endorsed this view saying Mandela's release was part of a process and could not be determined by events like the opening of Parliament. Rather it would take place when government believed it had created the conditions in which he could play a meaningful role in negotiations.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that sources close to the President said yesterday Mandela and De Klerk would host a joint Press conference after the release of the world's most famous political prisoner.

However, the President's office said the claim was "speculation in its purest form" and the media was rife with rumours, "some based on fact, and others not".

A spokesman for the President's office,

Anton Pretorius, said the office had made no plans yet concerning the release of Mandela.

The MDM also said yesterday it had made no special plans for Mandela's release.

An MDM spokesman said a special office to deal with the Press might be set up, but otherwise the release of Mandela would be handled on a similar basis to that of the seven released ANC Rivonia trialists on October 15, last year.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Social Democratic Party co-leader and former Foreign Secretary David Owen said yesterday Mandela would make a speech in Afrikaans when he was released.

The speech would be addressed to SA's five-million whites, acknowledging their "vital role" in a united future.

□ In a leader page article in the Daily Telegraph yesterday, Owen praised the Gorbachev-like changes introduced by De Klerk last year. He said his most crucial decision was to accept direct negotiations on an open agenda with the ANC and other parties.

He also predicted that the ANC and other black leaders would adopt a more pragmatic stance once negotiations began.

● See Pages 4 and 8

304A

□ From Page 1

Verwoerdburg town clerk accepts Soweto challenge

VETERAN Verwoerdburg town clerk Piet Geers is to take over the top Soweto administrative post Nico Malan left after a highly publicised row with the council.

Geers, who is credited with transforming Verwoerdburg CBD to its present modern state, takes over as Soweto town clerk from March 1.

Malan, generally regarded as the strongman who held sway over the previous Soweto council, was forced to resign after he tried to rescind an earlier decision to quit during a dispute with the new council.

Soweto council public relations officer Johan van der Westhuizen said Geers had 35 years experience in local government administration. He had been Verwoerdburg town clerk since 1974.

"He has had a wide experience in the total spectrum of local government. He is well-known as the architect of the very successful CBD project in Verwoerdburg," Van der Westhuizen said.

The council decision to appoint Geers was in line with mayor Sam Mkhwanazi's announcement last year that the council would try to attract the best expertise available in administration,

THEO RAWANA

Van der Westhuizen said.

Geers said from his Verwoerdburg home he saw his appointment as an opportunity to assist the Soweto councillors, who were a group of dedicated people with a sense of belonging.

He said their approach, which sought the development of Soweto as a priority, and their opening of communication lines with the people, would help Soweto people to take pride in their city.

Saying the RSCs were a good structure for the provision of services, Geers added: "Soweto can be a place where people see the practical things being done for them and, although they can pay so much for services, will develop a sense of pride in their city."

Asked how he felt about taking over from Malan, who had left in controversial circumstances, Geers said he had never met Malan, but thought he had done a good job.

Van der Westhuizen said acting town clerk S van Rensburg, who had held the position since Malan left, would become deputy town clerk.

Cohen meets Tutu and four Ministers

CAPE TOWN — Visiting US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen had a 45-minute meeting with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday.

A US embassy spokesman said Cohen had, earlier in the day, met four Cabinet ministers — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Administration and Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers and Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

He was scheduled to have a working dinner last night with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Cohen declined to comment on his talks with Tutu. (304A)

Tutu told reporters their exchange of views had been an update on a meeting they had in Washington last year.

He said although there were several hiccoughs in the SA political process it did appear the country was on the threshold of interesting developments.

"And we (he and the US Government) don't disagree for once."

Cohen is to have a Press conference in Johannesburg today before flying to Angola. — Sapa.

DATE has not been resolved

Mandela could be mediator — Owen

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Former British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen believes Nelson Mandela could emerge from prison as a "father of the nation" and take up a mediating role in negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

He told a BBC interviewer yesterday: "I

think there are quite a number of people who do wonder whether it would be wiser for

Nelson Mandela ... not to actually lead the ANC delegation in the talks but to hold himself, if you like, above the battle.

"He is a man who could appeal to all the people in South Africa," said Dr Owen.

"He'll be closely linked to ANC, but I think the ANC will also see merit in his being cast almost as the father of the nation with a much wider appeal. So in that sense I think he will be more of a mediator than a protagonist."

Dr Owen felt Mr Mandela could bring together other groups such as Inkatha and the PAC.

He believed the ANC leader's release was "a matter of a few weeks" away and would probably follow Mr de Klerk's speech to Parliament on February 2.



Dr David Owen: Mandela could hold himself above the battle.

'Reconciliation will be stressed'

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela, who has been learning Afrikaans in jail, is understood to be preparing to make a speech in that language to South Africa's whites when he is released to call for reconciliation, former British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen said yesterday.

"It's interesting that he has been learning Afrikaans in prison, and I believe he will make a speech in Afrikaans saying directly to those 5 million whites: 'Look, we recognise that you have a vital role in a united future for South Africa,'" Dr Owen said on BBC television following reports that Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee had said Mr Mandela's release was only a matter of "when and how". — Sapa.

A 'long struggle' after apartheid

By Carina le Grange

If apartheid were scrapped by legislative action, peace would not follow automatically, Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference president, Bishop Wilfred Napier, said last night.

He was delivering his annual report at the opening ceremony of the bishops' annual plenary session in Pretoria.

Bishop Napier said that if apartheid were scrapped, there would still be a "hard and long struggle to establish a more humane and Christian way of dealing with one another".

He said the "inner conversion" which was needed was being impeded by several obstacles. *Star 25/11/90*

One of these was the "dogged determination that white-Afrikaner control and privilege are to be maintained at all costs".

Another obstacle was the state of emergency.

DISTORTED VERSION

"This is an obstacle particularly in the way it restricts the free flow of information, thereby propagating ignorance, suspicion and fear on the one hand and frustration, anger and resentment on the other. Worst of all, it is an obstacle because it allows only a blatantly distorted official version of events to be made known."

Bishop Napier said this "obsession with secrecy" had done enormous harm. He referred to recent cases involving Lieutenant Gregory Rockman and allegations of police hit-squads.

"Is it any wonder that there is speculation that this return to the laager of secrecy is due to the number and quality of the heads that would roll?"

"If these doubts are to be dispelled, President de Klerk will have to insti-



Bishop Wilfred Napier: Obsession with secrecy has done great harm.

tute a judicial inquiry as a matter of urgency," Bishop Napier said.

He highlighted the fate of Mozambican refugees who entered South Africa in their hundreds despite an electric fence erected to keep them out.

"The only other well known example of this extreme form of border control is the Berlin Wall, which in the years of its existence killed fewer people than the South African fence."

In his report, Bishop Napier acknowledged that many changes had taken place in South Africa.

"The past year was undoubtedly a period of transformation more rapid than any in our history. It has been marked by a succession of events which can only be described as turning points," he said.

Of the political and social events which "have given the process of change new meaning and impetus", the bishop mentioned: the state presidency of Mr de Klerk, the Namibian independence process, the defiance campaign and peace marches, and the release of the Rivonia prisoners.

SA ties with East bloc regretted

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Opposition MPs here have voiced their dismay at the links apparently being forged by South Africa and Eastern European countries.

Labour Party MPs Mr George Galloway and Mr Ernie Ross said in a motion on the Commons Order Paper yesterday they regretted the official visit to Hungary of Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and signs that the two countries were moving towards establishing diplomatic ties.

The MPs noted "the SA Foreign Office is targeting other East European countries".

They hoped "a sad and unexpected result of the democratic upheaval in Europe is not the opening of a new pro-apartheid front in East and Central Europe".

Taxi passengers left standing

Municipal Reporter

Minibus taxi passengers commuting between Diepkloof and Johannesburg complained yesterday that they were left stranded on the roadside when the driver was held by traffic officers.

A spokesman for the passengers said the almost fully-loaded vehicle was stopped at about 10 am near Nasrec. After a traffic officer spoke to the driver, they were asked to get out.

When he asked how they were to complete their journey, they were told it was not the traffic department's problem.

Johannesburg Traffic Department spokesman Mr John van der Westhuizen said the driver was arrested because he did not have necessary papers to operate a taxi, or identification.

paid dancer Liane Lurie, who has accused the forming Arts Council of the Transvaal of unfair labour practice because of her dismissal in November 1988.

It is understood that Ms Lurie's sulked from a disagreement with artist and ballerina Dawn Weller-Raistrick over Ms Lurie's refusal to dance a minor role of the mother in "The Nutcracker".

Ms Lurie, who was pregnant at the time, intended returning to her career after her child was born.

New Star service

If you run a Visa or Mastercard credit card account and would enjoy the convenience of having The Star delivered to your home each day, we have introduced a new, convenient way of payment; by monthly instalments of as little as R18,20 for seven days a week delivery.

For further information call our Customer Services Staff on 492-3420.

ck n Play
ermarkets &
it Supermarkets
E PRICE INCREASE

CP blocks regatta application

By Melody McDougall

Vanderbijlpark Town Council's Conservative Party management committee has turned down an application from the multiracial Vaal Triangle Technikon to hold its annual regatta at the Emfuleni Park because members of other races could possibly take part in the event.

Another venue is now being sought for the regatta, scheduled to take place on Saturday March 3.

Mr C P de Jager, senior director for the technikon's bureau of student affairs, yesterday said the technikon was very disappointed at the council's decision.

The council's offer to let the students use Emfuleni Park, provided no blacks attended, was unacceptable.

THE South African Communist Party is about to publish a major new policy paper entitled "Has Socialism Failed?" that reveals serious rethinking in the organisation in the wake of recent developments in Eastern Europe.

A draft copy of the lengthy discussion paper, which was distributed in Lusaka this week, contains harsh criticism — using sometimes bitter language — of the "distorted" path socialism has taken and the role of the SACP itself in this.

While restating a commitment to the fundamentals of socialism, the party has pledged itself to a "multi-party post-apartheid democracy of organisation, speech, thought, press, movement, residence, conscience and religion; full trade union rights for all workers including the right to strike and one person, one vote in free and democratic elections".

The SACP also commits itself to "winning the majority to its side" in normal democratic elections, rather than imposing itself or claiming "any right to exclusive control of the struggle".

In rejecting the notion of a one-party state, the SACP has gone further than its current mentor, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev has gone only so far as to say one-party democracy is a "noble but very difficult mission". The SACP says that it may, in fact, be impossible.

"Where a single-party state is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability within the party, it becomes a shortcut to a political tyranny over the whole of society. And at different points in time this is what happened in most socialist states," it said.

The document reflects many months of rethinking in the SACP, hastened by recent developments in Eastern Europe and the increasing

S Africa's communist party steps ahead of Moscow

A draft discussion paper distributed in Lusaka during the visit of the ANC leaders this week, pledges South Africa's communists to multi-party democracy and freedom of speech and organisation, reports ANTON HARBER in Lusaka

uncertainty of the relationship between the SACP and its alliance partner, the African National Congress, with the Eastern European states that have supported them for decades.

For the first time in many years, the South African liberation movement cannot assume Eastern European support and has to lobby for it, much as it does in the West. In particular, the SACP and ANC appear to be shaken by the surprise visit of Foreign Minister Pik Botha to Hungary last month, calling it "unacceptable" and "deeply distressing". One SACP leader said: "We can't leave it at that. If we don't do anything about it, others may follow."

So, while the ANC continues to make major diplomatic gains in the



Long-time communist party stalwart Ray Alexander greets the freed ANC men on their arrival in Lusaka this week

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afpix

West, it is uncertain and nervous of its position in the East. For example, the main ANC publication, *Sechaba*, has for many years been printed free of charge in East Germany. Staff members say now that they don't know if that arrangement still holds and whether they will be able to print

the next edition.

The SACP discussion paper says that socialists must come to terms with the reality that the dramatic collapse of East European Communist Party governments were "popular revolutions against unpopular regimes", and whether they will be able to print

greatest crisis since 1917, it says.

The paper attacks those who still defend or find excuses for Stalinism or those who blame Gorbachev's reforms for recent events. "To blame *perestroika* and *glasnost* for the ailments of socialism is like blaming the diagnosis and the prescription for the illness." It also criticises East Europeans "mesmerised by ... the glitter of Western consumerism".

"The fault," it says, "lies with us, not with socialism ... or the founders of Marxism." It goes on to blame "bureaucratic distortions ... a mechanical and out-of-context invocation of Marxist dogma ... (and) genuinely motivated but tragic misapplication of socialist theory."

It includes a strong polemic against the "dictatorship of the proletariat", the "steady erosion of people's power in Eastern Europe", the old concept of the vanguard party and the one-party state.

It also attacked the Eastern European economic model: "The over centralised and commandist economies of the socialist world helped to entrench a form of socialist alienation."

Reasserting the fundamental superiority of the socialist system, the paper is for a "genuine socialist humanitarianism". The lesson of the past is that socialism must be based on democracy, it concludes.

The SACP must lead by winning open elections and then going back regularly for a renewed mandate. "The alternative to this is self-perpetuating power with all its implications for corruption and dictatorship."

"In short, the way forward is through thorough-going democratic socialism, a way which can only be charted by a party which wins its support through democratic persuasion and ideological contest and not, as has too often happened up to now, a claim of right."

No clarity on Mandela after Cabinet talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet completed its first meeting of the year yesterday with no indication of what decision, if any, had been made on the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Government sources said that although the question of a release date for Mr Mandela had been discussed, no decision had been reached.

This could not be confirmed officially. President F W de Klerk's office had no comment on the meeting.

The Mandela question attracted unprecedented media interest in the Cabinet meeting and hordes of foreign and local journalists laid siege to the official presidential office at Tuynhuys where the Cabinet met.

It was expected that the Cabinet would also discuss other questions concerning the Government's effort to create a climate for negotiation.

Chief among these was whether or not the African National Congress should be unbanned at the same time as Mr Mandela was released.

Government sources have indicated that there is increasing support in the Cabinet for unbanning the ANC as Mr Mandela is released so that he is not released into a negotiation "vacuum".

The Cabinet was also likely to have discussed an apparent deterioration recently in the protest situation.

The Government's new policy of allowing peaceful legal protests is showing signs of going sour as opposition groups increasingly refuse to ask permission — and the police warn that they will stop illegal protests.

This was dramatically illustrated in Cape Town on Tuesday when police dispersed an illegal NECC gathering.

It is also clear that a damaging confrontation is looming between the Government and the opposition National Sports Council (NSC) over protests against the English rebel cricket tour. The NSC has vowed it will not ask for permission while the police insist that illegal protests will not be tolerated.

Government sources suggested other probable items on the Cabinet's agenda were, a plan to restructure the economy, measures to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and possible amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

Cape violence: US calls for restraint

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has urged all South African parties to show restraint and good sense after this week's violence in Cape Town. *Star 25/1/90*

Spokesman Miss Margaret Tutwiler said at yesterday's regular State Department briefing: "We deplore the use of force to stifle peaceful protest."

"We have long urged an end to violence and repression as an important step in the process of change in South Africa," she added.

Miss Tutwiler said President de Klerk had allowed other demonstrations which were peaceful and contributed to the opening of dialogue.

"During the difficult period ahead in which the process of moving towards negotiations may sometimes become overheated, we ask all parties to practice restraint in the search for a peaceful avenue for change." (304A)

CMT 7/11/90 25/1/90

Verwoerd caused SA 'incalculable damage'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

3047

BILLIONS of rand would be required to catch up in the urban areas after the incalculable damage caused by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's delusions that blacks would return to the rural homelands, Mrs Helen Suzman said last night.

Dr Verwoerd had predicted that by 1978 blacks would be streaming back to the homelands but this was "hopelessly inaccurate".

Mrs Suzman, the former Democratic Party MP for Houghton, who gave the third of five lectures on highlights of her political career at UCT's Summer School, said the situation today was that blacks in the urban areas alone outnumber whites.

It had been estimated that blacks would outnumber whites by three to one in the urban areas by the year 2020.

"The whole concept of blacks returning to the rural homelands was really just a mirage or figment of Dr

Verwoerd's wild imagination, but the damage that resulted is incalculable, in terms of break-up of family life, the inferior education, the relationships between the police and blacks, and the shortage of housing.

"It will require billions of rands to catch up in such a way that one can say the population in the urban areas is reasonably well housed."

The Urban Foundation had estimated that seven million people were living in informal settlements, a polite term for the squatter camps that had proliferated around the perimeters of every metropolitan area in South Africa.

If the state had deliberately set out to create an unstable society, it could not have done better by implementing the pass-law system, Mrs Suzman said.

South Africa created jailbirds out of ordinary people, no high schools were built in the urban areas, and the migrant labour system had a devastating effect on the population explosion.

Eliminating apartheid has been the challenge for South Africa's decent people for decades and now finally they're beginning to taste the fruits of their efforts. As apartheid recedes, serious efforts must be invested in determining what is going to replace it.

This is a crucial task. History is steeped in evidence showing how easily one system of injustice has been replaced by one just as bad, and possibly worse. The Shah of Iran's injustices were replaced by those of Khomeini; injustices of the Russian tsars were replaced by those of Stalin; in most of post-colonialist Africa, injustices of Europeans were substituted by those of black dictators.

In these and many other cases, the average man in the street might say he was better off under the former injustice. In order for apartheid's victims to avoid this pattern, they must see apartheid as merely a special case of something more general. Underlying the whole ugly history of apartheid was an attack on free markets, the rights of individuals, and the glorification of centralised government power.

This basic mission is seen in the volumes upon volumes of Government Gazettes which, inter alia, mandate who can be employed in what jobs under what conditions; who can operate what businesses where and how; who can buy what and where; and who live where. These mandates stand as convincing evidence that free markets cannot be relied upon to confer racial privileges: it takes government.

If mine owners would not hire blacks as underground engine operators or dynamite blasters, why would a law preventing them be necessary? Laws were necessary because some white businessmen's commitment to profits outweighed their commitment to white supremacy; thus, they would hire lower wage black workers. White workers seeking "civilised" wages had to use government

South Africa's war against capitalism

B/D 25/11/90

304A

WALTER E WILLIAMS, the American author of a new book on SA, argues that apartheid and capitalism are enemies, not bedfellows.



to subvert these market forces. One of the most effective tools in every racist's arsenal is wage regulation. F H Creswell, supported by the Mineworkers' Union, introduced the Wage Bill of 1925 calling for minimum wages (rate for the job) to protect white workers against competition from lower wage blacks.

Gert Beetz, secretary of the Blanke Bouwerskond, frustrated with lax enforcement of job reservation, called for the rate for job as "the second best way of protecting our white artisans". Similar sentiments were echoed by Tom Murray of the Boeremakers' Union and other white unionists.

These men had evil motives; but minimum wages discriminate against the least-well-off even when the motives are noble.

Afrikaner merchants discovered that the free market didn't confer racial privilege. Afrikaner custom-ers preferred lower prices to higher prices. Appeals to ethnic solidarity did not prevent them from patronising cheaper priced Indian merchants. In 1946, the publication *Isanlamanted*: "The one time pitiful

(Indian) pedlar has become a financially strong trader, whilst many hard-working established white businessmen have been squeezed out by the previously despised interloper." Afrikaner merchants sought to eliminate competitively superior Indian merchants through the Peggung Act.

Apartheid's history is loaded with examples of how its proponents used government's coercive powers to rig the economic game by restricting the rights of individuals to engage in voluntary exchange. Today's tragedy is that many apartheid victims are openly hostile to free markets.

Bishop Tutu said, "At the outset I must say that I am opposed to capitalism. It is due to abhorrence at what I believe to be an essentially exploitative order."

Cosatu vice president Chris Dlamini said, "The unholy alliance, apartheid and capitalism, has become obvious and concrete." Apartheid's architects also shared anti-capitalist sentiments. General

Hertzog said some people wanted to "oppress and kill Bolshevism" because "national freedom means death to capitalism and imperialism". D F Malan pleaded, "... the capitalist system which is based on self-interest and the rights of the strongest is in any case doomed. For us to work until the correct adjustment has been made will also be South Africa's task in the future."

The Afrikaner publication *Volks-handel* wrote, "Every sober-minded, thinking Afrikaner is fed up with so-called *laissez-faire* — let-it-be — capitalism, with its soul-destroying materialism and the spirit of every man for himself and the devil for us all."

It's clear why privilege-seeking whites were anti-capitalist. I would like to think apartheid's victims are different and their anti-capitalist sentiments result from SA's misrepresentation of itself as a capitalist country, hence they make the erroneous connection between capitalism and apartheid.

Apartheid has much in common with communism (or socialism) whose economic definition is: gov-

ernment ownership and/or control over the means of production, i.e., land, labour, capital and entrepreneurial talent.

Capitalism — or its synonyms: free enterprise, *laissez-faire*, and free markets — refers to a system where people hold private property rights allowing them to acquire, keep and exchange goods and services on mutually agreeable terms without third party (government) interference.

Given these definitions, we might just ask which system — communism or capitalism — better describes SA?

Blacks should not fall prey to the false seductive socialist promises of income redistribution. There are no people anywhere who owe their prosperity and dignity to income redistribution; they owe it to productivity.

Welfare dependency fits neatly into apartheid tenets. After all, it was D F Malan who said, "I regard the Bantu not as strangers and not as a menace to white people, but as our children for whose welfare we are responsible...."

Apartheid has seen its last days. To secure final victory, marching orders require the complete removal of race from politics, the strengthening of SA's beleaguered market forces by privatising all government enterprises, deregulating economic activity, and a commitment to all-out war against centralised government control.

These measures will make the greatest contribution towards tranquility, justice, dignity, and prosperity for all. I predict that if these steps are taken, and level heads prevail, it won't be long before SA becomes the world's latest economic miracle.

Professor Williams is with the department of economics at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, in the US. His book, *South Africa's War Against Capitalism*, published by Praeger New York, will soon be available through the Free Market Foundation.

Verwoerd cost us billions — Suzman

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It would take billions of rands to repair the damage done in urban areas by Hendrik Verwoerd's wild imaginings that blacks would return to rural homelands, former MP Helen Suzman said last night. (304A)

Verwoerd's prediction that by 1978 blacks would be streaming back to the homelands had been "hopelessly inaccurate". B7Dm 25/1190

Suzman, in the third of five lectures at UCT's summer school on highlights of her political career, said the situation today was that blacks in the urban areas alone outnumbered whites.

Squatter camps

"The whole concept of blacks returning to the rural homelands was really just a mirage or figment of Dr Verwoerd's wild imagination, but the damage that resulted is incalculable, in terms of break-up of family life, the inferior education, the relationships between the police and blacks, and the shortage of housing. It will require billions of rands to catch up in such a way that one can say the population in the urban areas is reasonably well housed."

The Urban Foundation had estimated

that 7-million people were living in informal settlements, a "polite term" for squatter camps.

Suzman said she had been attacked by Nationalist MPs when she moved a private member's motion in Parliament in 1968 calling for the repeal of the pass laws, but had been praised by former MP for Innesdal Albert Nothnagel for her fight against influx control when the pass laws were scrapped in 1986.

If the state had deliberately set out to create an unstable society, it could not have done better than by implementing the pass law system, she said.

The black urban housing shortage could be traced directly to government's refusal to accept the normal process of urbanisation, she said, with the ban on home ownership for urban blacks "the worst of government's mean actions".

Last year's Illegal Squatting Act had unfortunately offset the free mobility enjoyed by the black population as a result of the repeal of the pass laws and influx control, but at least one of the most oppressive set of laws had been erased from the statute book, Suzman said.

Waiting for FW

INTERESTED and sympathetic parties in the US and UK had adopted a "wait and see" attitude until State President F W de Klerk revealed his hand at the opening of Parliament next Friday, the chairman of the Democratic Party's Southern Transvaal region and MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Soal, said yesterday.

Addressing the annual general meeting of the DP's Meyerton constituency at Henley-on-Klip, he said the expectation was that Mr de Klerk should address what was seen as the easy options of releasing Nelson Mandela, unbanning the ANC and PAC and lifting the state of emergency.

25/1/90

Soal

Preparing for a white homeland

Soweto
25/1/90

304A



IN the rich soil of the heartland, a few whites plough their fields and run their shops without black labour. As the apartheid system crumbles elsewhere in the nation, they still seek to perfect racial separation.

The small group of Afrikaners, calling themselves the Society of Orange Workers, have retreated to the tiny, eastern village of Morgenzon where they hope to plant the seed for a white homeland.

The Orange Workers claim about 3 000 members nationwide, including several members of Parliament. About 200 members live in and around Morgenzon, 160 kilometres south-east of Johannesburg.

But even in Morgenzon, which existed for decades before the Orange Workers arrived, blacks outnumber whites by about 2 000 to 1 200.

No servants

At the Orange Workers' headquarters, a white man serves tea to visitors. At home, white women do all the washing, cooking and cleaning - virtually unheard of in South Africa. At the Ladida clothing and fabric store, black workers and customers - the foundation of the South African economy - are barred.

"We don't want to dominate blacks or anyone else," said Hendrik Verwoerd Jr., director of the Orange Workers. "We want a territory exclusively for the Afrikaners where we can lead our own way of life."

However, the Afrikaner way of life always has involved large numbers of black labourers, who have worked the farms and the gold mines and made the country comfortably wealthy for whites.

The Orange Workers believe white dependence on black workers is partly responsible for the unravelling of apartheid, and say that unless Dutch-descended Afrikaners become more self-

Just 160 kilometres from Johannesburg, the son of ex-prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd heads an exclusive Afrikaner settlement. Ironically, whereas his father master-minded the black homeland system, he wants to establish one for whites. GREG MYRE reports.

sufficient they will be an impotent minority of three million dominated by the country's 28 million blacks.

"If you accept blacks as labourers, you must accept them as part of the community," said Verwoerd. "We want to prove you can build a community free of black labour."

Verwoerd's goal of establishing a white homeland is laced with irony. His father, Hendrik Verwoerd, the prime minister from 1958-66, was the architect of "grand apartheid", which established 10 black homelands on 13 percent of South Africa's territory and reserved the remaining 87 percent for whites.

Verwoerd, assassinated in 1966, was so confident of his plan that he predicted the majority of blacks would be living in the poor, rural homelands by 1978 and South Africa's racial conflict would largely be resolved.

Independence

But, by 1978 blacks had permanently settled in urban areas in such large numbers that some conservative whites began to look for their own homeland and to speak about the inevitability of black rule.

The younger Verwoerd, now 49, spent 10 years working as a missionary in the black homeland of Lebowa. He said he believed the blacks there lived happily because "they had their own customs and values and no one imposed on them".

But anti-apartheid activists sharply disagree, saying the homelands are an attempt to keep blacks on isolated, undeveloped

reserves and deprive them of political rights in South Africa.

Today the largest homeland, Transkei, is considering giving up its nominal independence and returning to South Africa, while the Orange Workers and several other conservative Afrikaner groups are becoming increasingly vocal in demanding a white territory.

Verwoerd has achieved limited success since the 1980 founding of the Orange Workers, who draw their name from William of Orange, a 16th century Dutchman revered by Afrikaners for ending the Spanish domination of his people.

Partition

Most whites in Morgenzon are conservative and share the Orange Workers' belief in rigid apartheid, but believe they also need black workers and customers.

"We'd be out of business overnight if we didn't have black shoppers," said one white storeowner, who asked to remain anonymous. The same storeowner, who said he didn't care for the Orange Workers, has two doors to his shop. The front one is used by whites, the back one by blacks.

Peter Dlamini, a black resident, said blacks felt discriminated against by the Orange Workers as well as whites who don't belong to the group.

"The youths are unhappy with the situation and they are planning to protest," said Dlamini. "We want to see things change."

Verwoerd would like an Afrikaner homeland that includes a large patch of Transvaal Province in the north-east, as well as the central Orange Free State Pro-

FOCUS

vince and a corridor to the southern coastal city of Mossel Bay.

Other Afrikaner groups, who maintain ties with the Orange Workers, seek even larger chunks of territory. The extreme-right Conservative Party, which captured 31 percent of the white vote in elections last year, wants to partition South Africa into more than 10 separate states.

At the moment, all such prospects appear dim.

President F W de Klerk, who has pledged to remove all discriminatory laws, has met with several right-wing Afrikaner leaders and told them plans for a white homeland are unrealistic.

Verwoerd says he is not deterred and wants to work more closely with the other Afrikaner groups who share a similar vision. - Sapa-AP.

Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Council-Iator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (012) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

enough about sanctions to fear they hurt the South African economy. This reality makes it far more likely that South Africa is now irrevocably moving on a path of reconciliation and

...pupils at ...abouts of the missing girls. ...procedure paid for by the state.

Need to formalise futures market

LONDON — The formalisation of the SA futures market for foreign investors and a good reform package from President F W de Klerk next month could boost overseas investor confidence.

An SA specialist with London share brokers James Capel, John Taylor, believes that should these occur, the market will go from strength to strength — following up on the past three good months.

Taylor said the informal nature of the futures market meant foreign investors were a bit reluctant to go into it because they lacked assurance that they would be able to sell again at a fair price.

Asked if futures were seen as a possible hedge for SA share deals, he said they could become this if the market was formalised and "President De Klerk delivers good things next month".

Expected of De Klerk, he said, was the unbanning of the ANC, the removal of troops from the townships, the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of Nelson Mandela.

Under the present informal situation,

3/25/90
KIN BENTLEY

futures were not a listed investment, which meant contracts could not be in finrands.

He was also unsure whether, once the market became formalised, futures would be classified as a listed investment, a requirement for finrand transactions. However, it hardly mattered because the same potential gain could be had whether purchases were in finrands or commercial rands.

(304A)
Albert Loveless of Smith New Court said his company was not involved in the SA futures market, which he expected to receive mainly domestic support initially. But should it prove successful, there could be more overseas interest.

One major drawback for foreign investors was the fluctuating value of the finrand.

A solution could be a separate market for futures, which he did not foresee the Reserve Bank "taking too much liking to" because it would be open to manipulation.

De Klerk must now deliver the goods — Soal

Political Reporter

The world expected State President Mr F W de Klerk to deal with the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the state of emergency in his February 2 speech to Parliament, Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal said last night.

Speaking at a DP meeting in Meyerton, Mr Soal said these steps did not require parliamentary approval but could be dealt with by means of executive action.

There was also great international pressure for removing the pillars of apartheid such as groups areas and race classification, which needed to be repealed by Parliament.

Mr Soal, Johannesburg North MP and the DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, travelled extensively in Britain and the US late last year. *Star 25/1/90*

It is my feeling that the President will address these issues with varying degrees of resolution when he opens Parliament. He knows he has to keep ahead of the game.

He knows the Western world wants him to speed up the slow, painful process and if he is to avoid further sanctions he has to satisfy those critics.

Mr Soal said the DP would play a crucial role in ensuring that reform was kept on track.

"We cannot afford another Rubicon — it has to be crossed this time. The Nats have to deliver the goods and we will make sure they do."

ANC in ferment over their future

●From Page 5

year's version of the policy statement released on the ANC's birthday on June 8 every year was more conciliatory and much more open in its response to government initiatives. Talk of negotiation is no longer dismissed as a ruse of the racist Pretoria regime trying to hoodwink the international community; Pretoria's promises of reform are treated as challenges that must be faced.

Nzo's opening speech at the NEC meeting last week was an unusual display of frank self-criticism. "We must admit that we do not have the capacity within our country in fact to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way," he said.

The rethinking that is going on is an attempt to maintain the diplomatic and political initiative, and not allow the government to steal it. The ANC believes the Harare Declaration, its blueprint for a negotiating process that has been endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity, the frontline states and the Non-Aligned Movement, put it ahead in the negotiations stakes.

There are differences between the military and the diplomatic wings, but no sign of disagreement on fundamental principles. Speak to military leaders Chris Hani, Joe Modise and Ronnie Kasrils and then speak to the "diplomats", such as Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan, and they all agree that the military is only one aspect of their struggle, and certainly not the most important one; that there have been military setbacks; that the armed struggle must continue until the government shows it is serious about political change; that the ANC must pursue the path of negotiations.

"We are not bloodthirsty. We do not fight because we like to. If the government can convince us it is serious about change and we can negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities, we would be very happy," military commander Joe Modise said.

304A
26/4-1/2/90

First details of how the ANC leader slowly broke through to Pretoria

The inside

Story of

Mandela's peace plans

1988.

Botha had said at the time that if Mandela continued to "co-operate", he would not be returned to prison. Mandela was later sent to a special warder's house in the grounds of Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Mandela felt he had to respond to Botha's remarks and he drew up a document setting out the position of the ANC on key issues: armed struggle, the South African Communist Party and a negotiated political settlement.

The key point of Mandela's paper was contained in the last few paragraphs, in which he said it was clear the government and the ANC were the main contenders in the fight over South Africa's future and it was imperative that they meet urgently.

Botha's reply took issue with the bulk of Mandela's argument. It accused him of using the language typical of all revolutionaries and said it was possible to refute some of the claims he made about the ANC and its history. It gave some examples.

However, the document passed over these issues and concentrated on Mandela's reference to how negotiations could be started, saying Botha was particularly interested in this and asking Mandela to expand on it.

Meanwhile, Mandela used "his own means" to get a copy of his document to Lusaka, to be considered by the leadership of the ANC. The ANC apparently felt Mandela's document was well written and a good representation of their

●To PAGE 2

By ANTON HARBEE

DETAILS of the letters and meetings between Nelson Mandela and the government have emerged for the first time, revealing how Mandela worked with the African National Congress in exile and slowly broke the ice with the government.

Mandela wrote the first letter early last year on his own initiative. The then President PW Botha latched on to the last few paragraphs in Mandela's document, in which he referred to the need for "urgent negotiations" and asked Mandela to expand on how this could come about.

The Harare Declaration — the ANC's outline of how negotiations should begin — was based on the first letter Mandela sent to Botha.

Mandela wrote the long hand-written letter shortly after he fell ill in late

A year of letters and talks, with secret notes smuggled to the ANC in Lusaka

Government vs ANC- Big thaw

THE first clear signs are emerging that the shackles — which for decades have prevented the government and the ANC from seeking a negotiated political settlement — are being loosened.

If the process continues, the stage could be set sooner than expected for constitutional negotiations involving all the major political groupings across the country's political spectrum.

Although various obstacles in the way of negotiations are still to be removed, some analysts predict rapid movement once ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela is released from prison — an event expected soon.

As the symbolic father of the ANC's struggle, he is seen as a potential key figure who could bring the major players together in South Africa's unfolding political drama.

Once he is a free man, he should be in a position to speak in public for the first time in more than a quarter of a century.

According to those who know him, he has the ability and stature to exert a profound influence and could be a powerful force for peace and reconciliation.

Indications of moves to loosen the shackles binding the major players became noticeable in recent weeks.

By **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**
Weekend Angus Political
Correspondent

ON the government's side, a significant step has been an apparent concession on the issue of group rights which has bedevilled President De Klerk's chances of persuading the ANC and other opponents that he is sincere about genuine democratic constitutional reform.

The government's hitherto rigid stand on this issue, as laid down in the National Party's election manifesto last year, drew widespread criticism on the grounds that it sought to continue entrenching the apartheid structure.

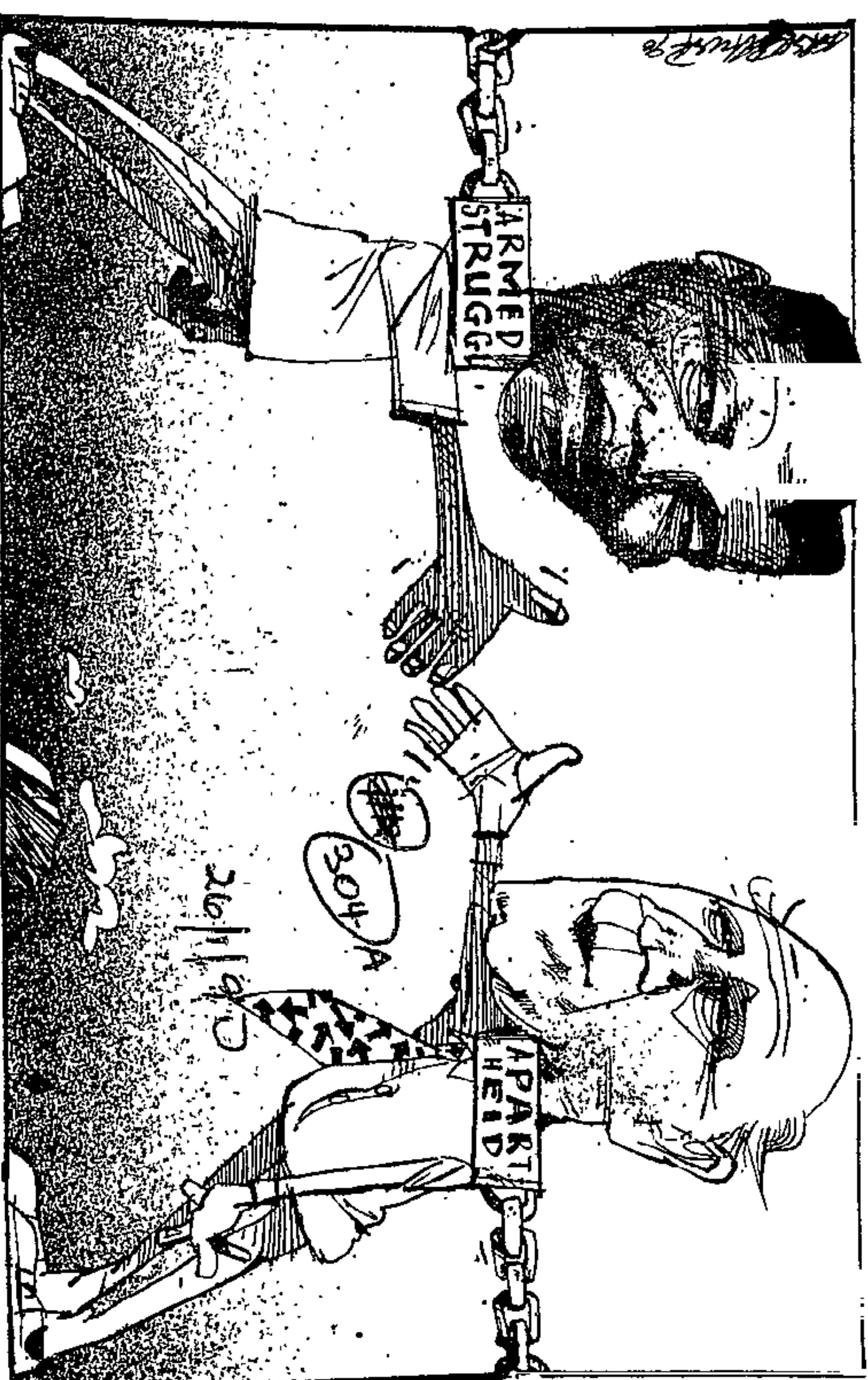
The NP had put it to the white electorate in these terms:

"Decisions based on numbers cannot ensure stability in a heterogeneous society. The different groups must participate as groups in the processes of government ... in practice, each group will have its own voters' role to determine its leaders. The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs by means of consensus."

And then: "The NP believes that the group rights of whites, like those of every other group in South Africa, must be protected on the community level. This includes the group's right to its own community life, its own residential areas, its own schools and its own old-age homes. Provision will continue to be made for the rights of individuals who want to associate freely with people of other groups through the provision of free residential areas ..."

NOW the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, has indicated the government is no longer as rigid as it used to be on its group rights concept — in fact, it is prepared to put it on the table for negotiation.

In a recent television interview Dr. Viljoen said the government did not put the protection of group rights as a pre-condition for negotia-



THE STAGE COULD BE SET FOR NEGOTIATION

tion. He added that there was only one pre-condition: all participants must commit themselves to a peaceful negotiation process.

The government was prepared to negotiate about the definition of groups on the basis of freedom of association and of disassociation.

The NP has also declared itself prepared to negotiate about "acceptable alternatives" for the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

As this breeze of change blows through Pretoria's corridors of power, signals are also coming from the ANC that it is prepared to ditch some of its own rigid ideas of the past.

In a dramatic departure from previous inflexible preconditions, the ANC's most senior figures said in recent interviews with British television they recognised President De Klerk's "gestures of material significance" and were prepared to make significant compromises with Pretoria.

A SENIOR ANC spokesman was quoted as saying negotiations could begin even while discriminatory legislation stayed on the statute book.

He put it like this: "We couldn't possibly say negotiations have succeeded to end the apartheid system while you still have the Group Areas Act ... but that would come through the process of dismantling the system through negotiations and, of course, the application of any constitutional agreements arrived at at the negotiations."

And at this week's Lusaka meeting of ANC leaders, it was explained that the ANC deliberately did not call for the dismantling of apartheid as a pre-condition demand, because NP policy is based on group rights.

They believe their five-point "checklist" of pre-conditions could almost without exception be implemented by presidential decree.

This may well indicate that there is a sense of urgency in ANC circles to get started with serious negotiations.

However, the biggest nettle still to be grasped is the issue of continuing violence. Will the ANC be prepared to stop all violence on its side when negotiations begin?

This is one point on which Pretoria has been adamant, and consistently so. Dr. Viljoen makes this clear once more when he says there is only one pre-condition for the government: all participants must commit themselves to a peaceful negotiation process.

ALTHOUGH the latest conciliatory sounds from the ANC put less emphasis on the "armed struggle" and more on negotiation, its stand on the issue of violence still seems to fall far short of Pretoria's requirements.

There was an ominous note, for example, in the ANC's January 8 policy declaration, issued by its national executive committee in Lusaka. While putting emphasis on negotiation prospects, the statement also made it clear the ANC would not lay down arms "until an agreement to end apartheid has been arrived at".

In effect this means the ANC's "armed struggle" will continue even while negotiations are in progress, for, as the ANC has indicated, it is prepared to negotiate even while apartheid measures are still on the statute book.

It is this problem which a free Nelson Mandela could help to remove, but it may not be easy. It is known that inside the ANC there are "hawks" who want to fight on and "doves" who want peace and at the same time there is uncertainty over the organisation's future leadership.

The big question is: who is going to call the tune?

'FW speech crucial to business'

B/Dam 26/1/90
 PRETORIA — The economy was holding its breath until the content of President F W de Klerk's opening address in Parliament on February 2 was known, Information Trust Co-operations CE Paul Edwards said yesterday. *B/Dam 26/1/90*

Business was poised on a knife edge and positive indications of real and significant reform would contribute greatly to a soft landing and even a measure of growth during 1990, he said.

If, however, expectations were not realised the adverse impact on business confidence could be dramatic with the threat of tightened sanctions and boycotts.

Edwards was commenting on the latest liquidation and insolvency fig-

(304A)
 GERALD REILLY

ures released in Pretoria by Central Statistical Service yesterday

They show liquidations in the last quarter of last year decreased by a solid 26,5% to 382 compared with the third quarter.

Insolvencies, however, increased by 6,6% to 662 in the three months to end-November compared with the same three months in 1988.

They decreased by 1,3% compared with June-August last year.

If there were reasons in De Klerk's speech for favourable political perceptions, this trend could continue and strengthen, adding further to a more optimistic outlook for the rest of the year.

Cabinet ponder's quick release for Mandela

304A

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

A POWERFUL lobby in the Government is arguing for the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela, bringing the historic move to the verge of becoming reality this weekend. *S. Times 28/1/90*

The lobby includes the top structure of the police, other elements of the security establishment and has the backing of several Cabinet Ministers.

Influential advisers are trying to persuade President F W de Klerk that his options have peaked — and there will not be a better time to free the world's best-known political prisoner.

The lobbyists believe Mr Mandela's release should take place no later than tomorrow. *(304A)*

Reliable sources close to Tuynhuys said Mr De Klerk was "impatient" to have Mr Mandela free and to accelerate the process leading to negotiations about a new constitution.

They describe the atmosphere surrounding the Mandela release — and also Mr De Klerk's opening speech to Parliament on Friday — as "approaching a crescendo".

Those who advocate immediate release believe it would place the initiative — which is being intensely competed for by the Government and the African National Congress — firmly in the President's hands.

Gained

The quick-release lobby also argues that swift action would:

- Dampen runaway international expectations for Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday, thus avoiding another Rubicon-like fiasco;

- Deal with recent ANC responses from Lusaka to Government feelers, which are said to have deeply disappointed Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela has already gained a substantial advantage by offering to act as a "facilitator" between

the Government and the ANC — a role the Government accepted in the interests of making progress.

However, there are now fears that this may place Mr Mandela in a dominant position, reducing President De Klerk to a supporting player.

Claim

Swift action would also pre-empt arrangements being made around the world to celebrate Mr Mandela's release — all scheduled from mid-February onwards.

President De Klerk has also let it be known that he wishes Mr Mandela's release to be handled "with dignity" and that it should not be turned into a "circus".

Another factor being taken into account is the visit to South Africa (from February 7-15) by the Rev Jesse Jackson. The Government is unlikely to release Mr Mandela while he is in the country



since the controversial American politician would be quick to claim a share of the kudos.

Meanwhile, signs are emerging that Mr De Klerk faces serious constraints in preparing his speech for Friday.

He will have to address the state of emergency — but he is unlikely to lift it because the Government believes special powers may be required as "insurance" until the public's response to Mr Mandela's release has been assessed.

Thus the end of the emergency is likely to come after, not before, the release.

Another awkward aspect of the high expectations building up around Friday's speech is the unbanning of the ANC.

Here again, Mr De Klerk is constrained — this time by the failure of the ANC to

□ To Page 2

Push for quick Mandela release

□ From Page 1

reciprocate Government gestures of conciliation.

The Government is willing to unban the ANC if it makes an unequivocal commitment to seeking peaceful solutions. This was made clear to Mr Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, in secret talks before he left on his current visit to ANC headquarters in Lusaka and to other countries.

However, after meetings between Mr Sisulu and ANC external leaders, the ANC failed, in the Government's view, to move sufficiently from its entrenched position.

It was also learned this weekend that the Government was willing to make a further concession and consider the ANC's call for a "mutual" renunciation of violence.

Contrast

The ANC's continued hard line has therefore added to Mr De Klerk's dismay.

Thus, for the moment, a unilateral unbanning of the organisation seems out of the question.

Meanwhile, Mrs Winnie Mandela looked sombre as she left the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday after visiting her husband.

Her mood was in sharp contrast to her high spirits when she left the prison on January 8 and told reporters his release was imminent.

Yesterday she said Mr Mandela appeared depressed and she was clearly less optimistic about an early end to his 26-year prison ordeal.

"I did not find him as happy as he was the last time... It is quite clear there are a lot of hurdles along the way," she said.

Mrs Mandela said she could not reveal the nature of the problems that had arisen but added her husband was growing impatient for his freedom.

"In his own words, he said: 'If I could I would be going home with you,'" she said.

She said he asked her to continue with preparations for his release.

A spokesman for the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said she was not aware of any development that could delay Mr Mandela's release.

BEFORE THE ANC CAN TALK WITH PRETORIA, IT NEEDS TO TALK TO ITS OWN FOLLOWERS ...

"It's not easy for us to sit down to negotiate. The problem is many of the youngsters are not really interested in the negotiations. In fact they've become a little bit angry. That is why I say that this chap De Klerk is moving too fast and can create problems for us. We want to educate our people. We want to have time to discuss this matter with them."

The speaker is Rivonia trialist Walter Sisulu, during an interview this month. Like most leaders of the liberation movement, both internal and external, Sisulu publically expresses optimism at the prospect of a negotiated settlement. But, like many others, he is privately worried.

The problem lies largely within the constituency of the African National Congress and its allies. The generation which grew up in the townships during the uprisings of 1984-1986 was one nurtured on militancy and radical solutions.

A flurry in Lusaka as the reality of talks looms near

The realisation in Lusaka that the ANC must adapt to new circumstances has brought a flurry of debate about tactics, reports ANTON HARBER

IN Lusaka, African National Congress members have a neat inversion of the slogan "Give FW a chance." It's "Give Nelson a chance."

It is said at least half in jest, but it reflects how seriously the organisation is taking the prospect of negotiations as mooted by jailed leader Nelson Mandela.

"All indications are that Comrade Nelson Mandela and other comrades will be released in the near future. The Pretoria regime will also address in one way or another the issues of ending the State of Emergency, unbanning the ANC and other organisations and allowing exiles to return," general secretary Alfred Nzo said at the opening of the key national executive committee (NEC) meeting last Thursday.

"We must expect that the Pretoria regime will also work to engage us in negotiations once it has tackled these issues. The possibility we have to bear in mind is that De Klerk will, in all likelihood, seek to move with some speed in order to catch us unprepared and off-balance, allowing us no time to regain that balance, so that the initiative remains in his hands," he said.

This assessment of the need to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances has brought a flurry of debate over strategy and tactics and a rich ferment in the ANC. The ANC has been chanting the "mantra" of negotiation preconditions for years; suddenly it has to deal with the very real prospect of these being met.

The organisation is struggling to come to grips with:

- Its need to try and gain the initiative and the moral high ground as De Klerk wins kudos for releasing Mandela, unbanning the ANC and lifting the State of Emergency.

Such events will raise all sorts of problems for the ANC: "Among the issues to be considered (by the NEC) must be whether, at that stage, we operate solely as a legal movement or whether we continue to maintain some underground units. Of necessity, we would also have to consider all questions related to the return of the comrades in exile."

- Changes in the international climate. "We must contend with the reality that the more the situation in the country changes for the better, the more difficult it will be to persuade the world that it should impose new sanctions," Nzo said.

More seriously, however, the ANC has to come to terms with changes in Eastern Europe which have undermined its most stable support base as well as bringing an ideological crisis among many leading socialists.

- The organisation's own internal leadership problems. Nzo gave ANC members a detailed report on the health

Slow down, FW. We still have to educate our people

Slogans like: "Freedom or death! Victory is certain" or "Long live the spirit of no compromise", though they had little to do with reality, served to rally the masses and to express the revolutionary spirit sweeping through the townships. It was a spirit which was developed in the hundreds of new freedom songs. With their images of a triumphal march across the Limpopo, of crushing the Boers and marching to Tuynhuys, the songs served to galvanise the *toyi-toyi*, but fell short of inculcating reasoned political attitudes.

As Murphy Morobe, assistant pub-

The 'Young Lions', the radical township youth, are showing deep suspicion of the process of negotiations. By IVOR POWELL and THANDEKA QGUBULE

licity secretary of the United Democratic Front puts it. "A very simple and easy position for our people to follow, given the history of the struggle, is that we've got oppressed people on one hand and the oppressors on the other. And the simple thing that follows is that the oppressed

must defeat the oppressors. Take the youth congresses. For many of the youth the struggle has meant simply to shoot your way to Pretoria."

But now the politics of negotiation and conciliation have come to supplant those of confrontation and the task of the leadership of the ANC and its allies is one of educating rather than mobilising.

"We acknowledge that the degree of political education has not been commensurate with the degree and extent of political mobilisation that we have been able to generate," Morobe says. "And that brings to the fore an impor-

tant and serious contradiction. You draw in to the movement battalions and battalions of young lions, hearts in the right place, determined to become part of the struggle, but often they don't understand the basic political positions of the movement."

Though for some years a concerted attempt has been made to address the problem, progress was hampered by the breakdown of community structures in the four-year State of Emergency. It is only in the last year that grassroots organisations began functioning sufficiently smoothly for long term programmes to be feasible.

For example the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines were widely distributed among grassroots organisations last year.

Similarly the Organisation for African Unity's Harare Declaration, setting preconditions for negotiations, was widely discussed at every level of the movement in the run-up to last December's Conference for a Democratic Future.

Underground propaganda units have mushroomed in townships and distribute large numbers of pamphlets detailing directions in ANC policy.

So efficient has the network become in recent months that speeches delivered by leaders nearly anywhere in the world are freely available inside the country within days.

The networks increasingly need to be efficient. ANC and South African Communist Party rhetoric is changing at a dizzying rate as the leadership circles the negotiating tables and struggles to come to terms with the implications of the fall of Eastern Europe.

This week a discussion paper was distributed under the name of SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

While rejecting capitalism as a viable system in a post-apartheid South Africa, he nevertheless outlines a brand of socialism which emphasises social services and individual freedoms that have traditionally been seen as "liberal freedoms".

This kind of approach, while it will contribute to the dehorning of the SACP at the negotiating tables, is going to fall short of the expectations of socialism which have been nurtured in many of the trade unions.

A good deal of work is going to have to be done in order to undo the rhetoric which has brought the struggle to the point where it no longer meets the demands of the day. Whether the ANC can buy enough time to bring its support group along with it remains to be seen.



Water Sisulu and the 'Young Lions' ... We want to educate our people. We need time

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

of president Oliver Tambo, who suffered a stroke last year: "He is indeed recovering his health. The doctors are working to strengthen his right limbs which were paralysed as a result of the brain spasm which brought him down. He himself is and the ANC is an organisation that very determined fully to recover his health."

However, diplomatic observers say that even if Tambo does return to Lusaka, he is not likely to be able to take up his full duties.

The ANC also has to work out how to deal with former general secretary Walter Sisulu and the other releasees who attended the NEC meeting for the first time. Their seniority is unchallenged, which brought him down. He himself is and the ANC is an organisation that very determined fully to recover his health."

They will have to plan to incorporate Mandela. He is in an anomalous position, holding no official title and no formal claim to membership of the NEC, but being the ANC's most powerful in-

dividual member.

It is because of these issues that ANC leaders called last week's NEC meeting "one of the most important ever". That they did not give any clarity on the answers when they emerged from the gathering on Sunday was probably an indication that they have no simple answers to offer.

ANC statements have a strikingly different tone from previous years. This

● To PAGE 9

'I am concerned by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps'



An edited version of Nelson Mandela's first letter to then State President PW Botha. Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said last night that the government had no record of any such letter. But the Weekly Mail has confirmed its authenticity with a person who visited Mandela and was shown the letter.

THE deepening political crisis in our country has been a matter of grave concern to me for quite some time and I now consider it necessary in the national interest for the ANC and the government to meet urgently to negotiate an effective political settlement.

At the outset, I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC. I am a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC.

In the normal course of events, I would put my views to the organisation first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who were the best qualified members to handle the matter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move.

But in my current circumstances, I cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation will, in due course, endorse my action.

The step I am taking should, therefore, not be seen as the beginning of actual negotiations between the government and the ANC. My task is a limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table.

I must further point out that the question of my release from prison is not an issue, at least in this stage of discussions, and I am certainly not asking to be freed.

But I hope that the government will, as soon as possible, give me the opportunity from my present quarters to sound the views of my colleagues inside and outside the country on this move.

I must emphasise right at this stage that this step is not in response to the call by the government on ANC leaders to declare whether or not they are nationalists and to renounce the South African Communist Party before there can be negotiations: no self-respecting freedom fighter will take orders from the government on how to wage the freedom struggle.

Far from responding to that call, my intervention is influenced by purely domestic issues, by the civil strife and ruin into which the country is now sliding. I am concerned, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps: blacks on one side (the term blacks is used in a broad sense to indicate all those who are not whites) and whites on the other, slaughtering one another; by acute tensions which are build-

ing up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives, a situation which, in turn, foreshadows more violent clashes in the days ahead.

The position of the ANC on the question of violence is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery to the people.

It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state.

But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest.

Right from the early days of its history, the organisation diligently sought peaceful solutions and, to that extent, it talked patiently to successive South African governments, a policy we tried to follow in dealing with the present government.

Not only did the government ignore our demands for a meeting, instead it took advantage of our commitment to a non-violent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen.

It is significant to note that throughout

the past four decades, and more especially over the last 26 years, the government has met our demands with force only, and has done hardly anything to create a suitable climate for dialogue.

White South Africa must accept the plain fact that the ANC will not suspend, to say nothing of abandoning, the armed struggle until the government shows its willingness to surrender the monopoly of political power, and to negotiate directly and in good faith with acknowledged black leaders.

The renunciation of violence by either the government or the ANC should not be a pre-condition to but the result of negotiation.

We equally reject the charge that the ANC is dominated by the SACP and we regard the accusation as part of the smearing campaign the government is waging against us.

Co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early twenties and always has been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society. At no time has the organisation ever adopted or co-operated with communism itself.

As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, their Marxist ideology is not directly related. The SACP has throughout the years accepted the

leading role of the ANC, a position which is respected by the SACP members who join the ANC.

There is, of course, a firmly established tradition in the ANC in terms of which any attempt is resisted, from whatever quarter, which is intended to undermine co-operation between the two organisations.

No dedicated ANC member will heed the call to break with the SACP. We regard such a demand as a purely divisive government strategy.

By insisting on compliance with the abovementioned conditions before there can be talks, the government clearly confirms that it wants no peace in this country but turmoil, no strong and independent ANC, but a weak and servile organisation playing a supportive role to a white minority.

The key to the whole situation is a negotiated settlement and a meeting between the government and the ANC will be the first major step towards lasting peace in the country.

An accord with the ANC, and the introduction of a non-racial society, is the only way in which our rich and beautiful country will be saved from the stigma which repels the world.

Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting: firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions.

Such reconciliation will be achieved only if the parties are willing to compromise.

It may well be that this should bedom in at least two stages. The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations.

The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the government working closely together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction, will be forgotten.

We will nationalise mines - Mandela

leased yesterday, said: "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota said: "Meetings in Lusaka between the ANC and businessmen and rumours that the organisation was calling for a mixed economy sparked off speculation that it was abandoning the position of the Freedom Charter."

Mandela hoped his statement would

From PAGE 1

put an end to such speculation, Lekota said.

"In the debates surrounding the economic position of the banned movement many newspapers implied that Comrade Mandela was no longer committed to the idea of nationalising certain industrial sectors, thereby conflicting with his comrades abroad."

"It is hoped that this statement will deal a deathblow to those mischievous reports. We need to openly state and restate our position so that people don't get confused," said Lekota.

However, Mandela's statement comes as some surprise. In recent years, the ANC has met a number of

South African businessmen and sought to reassure them that they had little to fear under an ANC government.

ANC statements on this issue have been notably vague, in stark contrast to the baldness of Mandela's sudden assertion.

Mandela's words reasserted the position of the Freedom Charter, Lekota said. "The charter says monopolies—the commanding heights of capitalism—will be nationalised—but it also says people will be allowed to trade freely."

Lekota said the essence of Mandela's statement and the charter was that "when an ANC government takes power it will nationalise industries and sectors monopolised by capital but not the small shop owned by the ordinary man."

"This is a mixed economy in the sense that sectors are nationalised and sectors remain free enterprise."

"Nationalisation of certain industrial sectors would realise the ANC's aims of redistributing the wealth of the country in order to achieve the upliftment of the exploited," he said.

Asked what economic system an ANC government would implement, Lekota said: "The ANC has never committed itself to socialism. Nationalising certain sectors does not mean socialism. The future economic system would be of a transitory nature which could, however, lay the foundations for socialism."

He added that a "transitory phase" referred to that stage between capitalism and socialism and "one could not prophesy what would follow this transitory-mixed economy phase".

Referring to Mandela's mention of "black economic empowerment", Lekota said such a concept encouraged black businessmen to penetrate deeper into the world of capital. While this was fully supported it could not take priority above redistributing the wealth in order to uplift the poor.

How the jailed ANC leader broke the ice

From PAGE 1

They sent a letter to Mandela endorsing his document. A separate letter was also sent by the leadership of the SACP, agreeing with the ANC.

In fact, the ANC received the document at a time when it was under pressure from some of its allies in the Organisation of African Unity and the frontline states to formulate a position on negotiations. The ANC used Mandela's document as a basis for what was to become the Harare Declaration, which was later endorsed by the OAU, the frontline states and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Shortly afterwards, Mandela and Botha met at Tuynhuis, the presidential residence. At this meeting, the main issue raised and pursued by Mandela was the release of his colleague, Walter Sisulu.

Mandela argued that Sisulu was 77 years old and it was not fair or reasonable to keep him in prison.

Botha resisted, saying he could not release Sisulu with an impending general election, since it could lose him many votes to the far right-wing.

Mandela, known as a persistent arguer, pursued the case. The meeting ended with Botha promising to take up the matter. "I will surprise you," he said.

Mandela replied to Botha's earlier letter in a formal document, saying he stood by the Harare Declaration, which set out the preconditions the government would have to meet to create a climate for talks.

However, this letter was received by the new president, FW de Klerk, who arranged to meet Mandela.

It seems that at this meeting Mandela presented his 10-point plan for peace, which he later also sent to the ANC for their comments. However, no details of this plan have emerged.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

January 1990

THE AGM WILL TAKE PLACE OVER TWO DAYS
(A) FOR ALL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ONLY:

DATE: SATURDAY, 28 JANUARY 1990

TIME: 2 pm

VENUE: CENTRAL METHODIST CHURCH

AGENDA

- ★ CONSTITUTION
- ★ RESOLUTIONS
- ★ ELECTIONS

(B) FOR ALL TENANTS:

DATE: SUNDAY, 20 JANUARY 1990

TIME: 10 am

VENUE: CATHEDRAL HALL
SARATOGA AVE

AGENDA

- ★ SPEAKERS
- ★ CULTURAL EVENTS

home was smashed.

The man ran off, but Mr Towrey pursued him to Fifth Street. The suspect was later shot in the left hip.

home, Monday to Sunday.

For further information, call our Customer Services staff on 492-3420.

Baker shoots assailant

A Johannesburg baker, Mr Ettore Milano (57) of Eldorado Bakery in Kensington, was shot twice in the chest by three gunmen while walking to work on Tuesday at 5 am. Although seriously wounded, Mr Milano managed to draw his gun and fired three shots at his attackers, killing one. The other gunmen escaped in a minibus. — Crime Reporter.

Minister seeks union talks

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr Dawie de Villiers, has asked for wage talks to be held with six coloured, Indian and white postal unions before he responds to the pay demands of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa). — Labour Reporter.

Bank employee is hijacked

A Volkskas bank employee was held up by a gunman on Tuesday at 10.30 am as he was loading a money trunk into a minibus at the South Rand Hospital. The gunman forced the employee into the vehicle and drove to South Hills, where he was dumped unharmed. — Crime Reporter.

BMF plea to back De Klerk

EAST LONDON — South Africans need to help and encourage President de Klerk to move forward boldly and create the right climate for negotiations (304A)

The national president of the Black Management Forum (BMF), Mr Don Mkhwanazi, told the East London Chamber of Commerce yesterday that change in the country was inevitable.

He said the private sector was one of the key players in the creation of a new South Africa.

"Unavoidable change has created great fear among whites and it has robbed our beloved country of the best brains, thus compounding the critical shortage of skilled manpower," Mr Mkhwanazi said.

"South Africa stands on the threshold of a new era. We must put in place all the components to achieve new heights. History is not something that merely happens of its own accord." — Sapa.

Sun loses exclusive gaming rights

By Norman Chandler

UMTATA — Hotel giant Sun International has lost its exclusive gaming rights in the Transkei, but has been guaranteed eight years without competition in the north of the country.

The Transkei Supreme Court yesterday ruled that, with immediate effect, the rest of the country was open to other casino hotel developers.

The country has, in terms of the court order granted to the Transkei government been divided into north, central and southern areas and initially only one casino complex would be allowed in each area.

Yesterday's action came as a result of Major-General Bantu Holomisa's government challenging Sun International's exclusivity in gaming rights. These were granted to Mr Sol Kerzner by the previous government.

HÄGAR the Horrible

By Dik Browne



1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000

ANC firm on state control of business

3048

26/11/90

THE nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries was still the policy of the ANC, organisation leader Nelson Mandela said in a statement yesterday.

A change or modification of this view was "inconceivable", he said in the statement which was issued through the UDF.

UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota said Mandela asked on January 15 for the statement to be issued to rebut innuendo in the media that he had revised his position on a policy formulated nearly 35 years ago and contained in the ANC's Freedom Charter.

Businessman Richard Maponya, who was unavailable for comment last night, said after a meeting with Mandela two weeks ago that Mandela had changed his views on nationalisation.

Lekota said Mandela's statement was a restatement of policy and did not represent a hardening of the ANC's or Mandela's position.

A future ANC government would seek as far as possible to "implement the policy without alienating anyone".

Mandela's full statement said: "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable."

"Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Lekota said the word "inconceivable" was important as it "shows how strongly we feel" on the matter. But, he said, businessmen need not be alarmed by this development.

"The question is not simply to say we will nationalise. The crucial question is

ALAN FINE and
MIKE ROBERTSON

how this process will be carried out," Lekota said.

"We want to correct social ills without, as far as possible, alienating sections of the population. The movement will try to win them over," he added. He did not elaborate on how this would be done.

Lekota said the positive reaction of the business sector to meetings with the ANC in the past indicated the former's appreciation of the movement's attitude.

In a document published yesterday by Cape-based newspaper, South, Mandela said government needed to compromise on its opposition to majority rule, and the ANC would have to take into account white fears of black domination if there was going to be reconciliation in SA.

Sapa reports a Justice Ministry statement as saying the department had no record of anything "bearing resemblance to the document published in South. It is therefore not possible to vouch for its authenticity".

In the paper, Mandela said the key to peace in SA was negotiated settlement. A meeting between the ANC and government would be the first major step towards achieving lasting peace.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting: firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state."

"Secondly, the concern of white SA over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks." *

"The most crucial task which will face

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

State control

31/11/90
26/11/90

304A

From Page 1

government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions. Such reconciliation will be achieved only if both parties are willing to compromise," Mandela said.

He went on to suggest negotiations take place in two phases.

"The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations ...

"The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so."

His plan for getting negotiations going is, in almost every respect, that which government has embarked upon.

Having identified Mandela's release, the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC as the essential pre-conditions for negotiations, government is committed to removing all three obstacles during the coming session of Parliament.

Senior government sources said this week it was likely small groups representing government and the ANC would meet each other before the end of the session.

Government sources also said yesterday initial negotiations with the ANC would aim at an agreed formula on how to achieve representation for all at the highest level. Government members would participate in negotiations as NP representatives rather than in their official capacity.

While their new constitutional proposals are not yet clearly thought out, and will

only be unveiled at the negotiating table, it seems government members are looking at a formula which ensures a coalition government with strong federal elements.

Government's attitude towards the protection of groups is now more fluid than in the past, but its bottom line would seem to be that all significant sections of the country's population be guaranteed representation at Cabinet level.

Sources, who said government was in regular contact with opposition groups including the PAC, MDM and ANC, said it had been proposed that the fate of the Population Registration Act be decided by negotiation.

The sources said while government originally wanted a wide variety of groups, including church leaders, represented at a negotiating table, it was likely that only a small group of political organisations with significant support bases would be represented at initial talks.

Suggestions by British SDP leader David Owen for a 10-year transitional period, in which black ministers served under De Klerk as president and Mandela as constitutional president, were described as premature.

While in line with present government thinking, the sources said, this kind of detail would have to be resolved at the negotiation table.

See Page 3

Comment Page 8

→ F/M 26/1/90

(28) (304A)

CF

IDASA CONFERENCE F/M 26/1/90

A view of the estate

Last weekend's Idasa conference on Responsible Democracy (Ethics and Accountability in Public Life) in Cape Town was dominated by two questions: what is the role of the press and what is the role of Idasa?

The latter arose not out of any identity crisis on Idasa's part, but because of conference attempts to answer the first question. Their efforts were considerably invigorated when *Business Day* editor Ken Owen walked out in protest. (283) (304A)

Owen objected to discussion of a motion, proposed by *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez, urging "that editors of all South African media consider publishing all information and opinions that are relevant to the debate (about SA's future) regardless of State laws and restrictions."

Particular reference was made to quoting the views of banned and restricted persons and organisations. Owen said this was an act of "scurrilous trickery," adding later: "I was invited to participate in a discussion. I left when it became clear that the conference was being hijacked for another purpose."

There was very little support for Owen's stance but a certain amount of sympathy for his point of view (despite the motion eventually being passed with near unanimity). When the conference came to discuss whether the motion should be put, DP MP Ken Andrew said that, given Idasa's stated aim of fostering discussion, it was wrong to embark on a "process that ends up flushing out people who don't agree with this or that."

It was argued by one speaker: "It is not my democratic right to ask anyone else to break the law at his, or Idasa's, expense."

Once memorably described as a "dating agency for disillusioned Afrikaners," Idasa confirmed that it was indeed its function to bring people together and, if those people subsequently chose to pass motions, as had happened, then Idasa was happy with that.

Other speakers contended that SA was in a pickle precisely because people always chose to duck motions such as this (an implausible suggestion since the motion required nothing more than that people should put their hands in the air).

Jon Qwelane of *The Star* said the motion asked only of the press that it "be more accountable to

the public," whatever that means.

To whom the press should be accountable, and what its role was, had earlier been the subject of keen discussion. It was observed that the commercial press offered the public a "democratic" choice: if they did not like to, they need not buy.

Yet there was a feeling that this somehow wasn't a sufficient form of accountability (an argument apparently premised on the elitist and anti-democratic view that the man-in-the-street's opinion isn't worth much since he believes whatever he is told).

So it was asked whether it was sufficient to say of the demise of the *Rand Daily Mail* that the editors were responsible to their board which was responsible to shareholders. TML MD Stephen Mulholland answered: "Yes: it is in a free society."

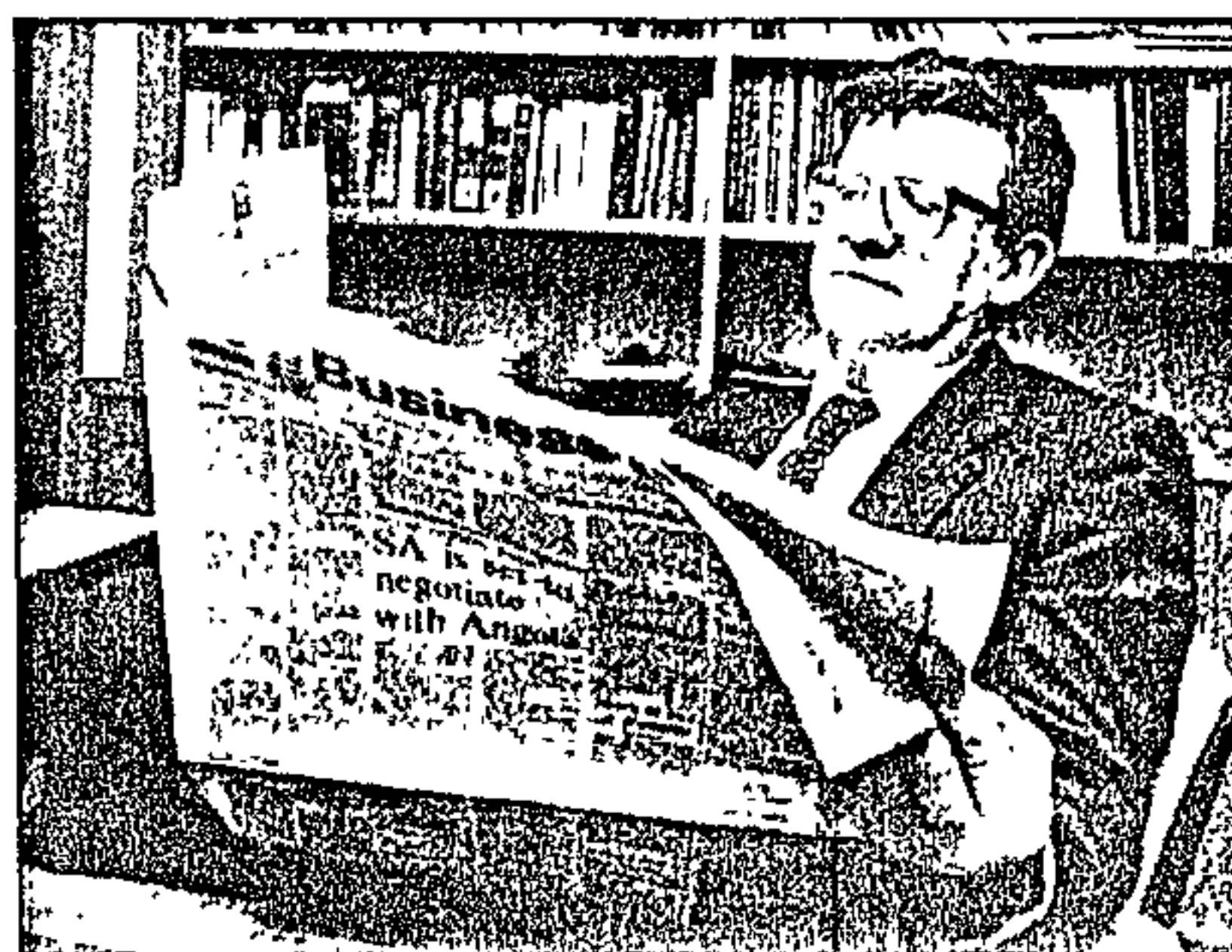
The role of newspapers was also discussed. There was considerable agreement with Du Preez's expressed aims for *Vrye Weekblad*: that it should inform the community and help fight for democracy. Mulholland, arguing as a proprietor, not an editor, said his job was "to keep them (newspapers) alive." He added: "I don't believe in interfering with the principles of journalism in order to make a profit."

Mulholland had earlier argued that the free market "is the system that best serves the needs of ordinary people, both in terms of their standard of living and democratic rights." He added: "The needs of the public are what they want."

Foreign correspondent John Battersby said that it was all very well to talk of how things should work in a free society but "that is the challenge in SA, to get there." The implication was that some form of coercion was necessary for freedom and that advocacy journalism was required of newspapers as ordinary people had not the wit to know their own interests.

Stellenbosch Professor Johannes Grosskopf, seeking a perfection that exists nowhere, said: "We won't get there if we accept systems that might have worked under ideal circumstances in other countries. The doctrinaire free market just won't work." He might have added that neither does doctrinaire socialism.

The conference's flaw was that it took for granted that people understood what democracy meant and focused instead on a spurious accountability. ■



Owen ... democratic right to depart

The Government has responded favourably to a document from jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, aimed at persuading it to engage the ANC in negotiations for a non-racial South Africa.

This is the claim today of United Democratic Front sources, who confirmed the existence of the document, in spite of Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee claiming he had no record of any document resembling the one released to the media yesterday by undisclosed sources. Mr Coetsee said he was unable to vouch for its authenticity.

The UDF sources said Mr Coetsee's response had been especially favourable. The document was apparently written to the Government in June last year, ahead of Mr Mandela's talks with then State President Mr P W Botha.

Mr Mandela has also caused a stir in business circles through the release of a separate document in which he has made it clear he still supports nationalisation of major industries in South Africa (See Page 8).

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, when asked to comment on reports that the Government would be meeting in small groups with the ANC before the end of the coming session of Parliament, said many possibilities were being explored.

"The goal of the Government is to make negotiations as inclusive as possible ..."

The secretary-general in the State President's office, Dr Janie Roux, refused to comment on the existence of the document, and a spokesman for the State President referred all inquiries to the Justice Ministry.

In the claimed statement, Mr Mandela said:

"Most Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the Government working closely together for a new era in our country in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction, will be forgotten."

The statement is understood to have been sent to the Government last year, and might have provided the framework for the proposals which Mr Mandela sent to the ANC for consideration last week.

In his statement Mr Mandela deals with the reasons advanced by the Government for not meeting the ANC.

Renunciation of violence

He identifies three main obstacles to negotiations: the Government's demand that the ANC renounce violence; that it repudiates the South African Communist Party; and that it settles for less than majority rule.

His statement deals with the obstacles under three headings. The Star repeats the headings and summarises the comments.

"The (ANC) has no vested interest in violence ... it has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values,

and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state. But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence ...

"The renunciation of violence by either the Government or the ANC should not be a precondition to, but a result, of negotiation ... a government which used violence against blacks many years before we took up arms has no right whatsoever to call on us to lay down arms."

SA Communist Party

"Co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early 1920s and has always been, and still is, limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society ...

"Which man of honour will desert a lifelong friend at the instance of a common opponent, and still retain a measure of credibility among his people? ... Yet the Government is asking us ... to desert our allies."

Majority rule

"(We are) told by whites here, and by their Western friends, that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. Majority rule is acceptable to whites as long as it is considered within the context of white politics ...

"Yet majority rule and internal peace are like two sides of a single coin ... there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied."

● See Page 6 and Page 8.

Govt responds to Mandela peace message

Negotiations 'as inclusive as possible'



30441

Star 26/1/90

AWB plans motorcade

in city today

Cape Times 27/1/90
Staff Reporter

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is planning a motorcade from Fish Hoek to Cape Town this morning, a man who claims to be the Cape leader of the right-wing organisation said last night.

Mr Steven Jacobsen, of Nerina Drive, Fish Hoek, who also said he was an executive member of the executive council of the AWB, said the motorcade would set off at 9.30 and arrive in Adderley Street between 10 and 11pm.

Mr Jacobsen would not disclose the purpose of the motorcade.

"It is not in support or against anything. We have never taken up arms, protested or taken any stance," he said in response to a question.

OAU talks

DAR ES SALAAM. — The secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, arrived in Tanzania yesterday for talks with recently freed members of the ANC.

The OAU said they would discuss the prospects for negotiations between the ANC and Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

NP team 'to agree on race laws'

GABORONE. — The chairman of Jeugkrug, the youth wing of the NP, says his organisation predicts that at today's meeting with the ANC the delegates from both parties would agree that all racial regulations should be abolished to be replaced with "one person, one vote system".

Botswana Press Agency (Bopa) reported Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said his country should adopt a multi-party democratic system similar to that existing in Botswana.

Mr van Schalkwyk will lead a delegation of 12 people for a meeting with members from the ANC which starts at the Gaborone Sun this morning.

Mr Van Schalkwyk stated, however, that the youth wing of the ruling NP also believed in a free market system.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said members of Jeugkrug have already held telephone discussions on strategies for alliance.

The 13-man ANC delegation will be led by its director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki. — Sapa

FW must do far more than top a hat trick

THERE is absolutely no doubt in my mind that F W de Klerk has introduced dramatic changes to this country's political scene. He has done away with the traditional wearing of black hats by Cabinet Ministers — this, as part of the Government's commitment to cutting down its own expenditure.

This is the current political joke doing the rounds, but when one considers that by the end of next Friday, it may become more than just a joke, it worries me. On that day, De Klerk will have to show the world just what kind of stuff he is made of.

Already, as during the run-up to Botha's Rubicon speech in Durban, government spokesmen have started blaming the media for having built up expectations which they know De Klerk cannot meet.

I would stress, however, that it was government people who

**Write
On!**

JOE
LATAKGOMO



raised expectations before the Durban Rubicon. It was they who leaked news of major announcements from the Old Croc, not the media.

It was intended to be a great show for the international world, in particular. But whatever happened as the drama drew closer, it was still shrouded in mystery. Most people now suggest that De Klerk was not responsible for the new version of Rubicon, that delivery which perhaps did more to bring this country down than did years of pleading by anti-apartheid organisations. It was this delivery which brought the rand from a healthy, competitive level to its current monopoly-money value.

There is, however, one thing De Klerk simply cannot wish away. He has created Great Expectations. He has promised the world the world. He will now have to deliver and he cannot get away from it by saying that he has to worry about his own constituency.

What we need from him is not pandering to sectional interests. We require bold statesmanship, something by which history will judge him as being the man who brought this country to peace.

FW will have to do more than just scrap the wearing of hats. He will have to go beyond just opening up beaches. He will have to do more. Firstly, he will have to convince black South Africans that there is still something to live for in this land of ours.

Acceptance

He can do that by three simple acts: releasing political prisoners, unbanning organisations and scrapping laws such as the Population Registration Act, which would immediately make laws such as the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act redundant. It would also make the tricameral parliamentary system redundant.

Are white South Africans ready for this kind of step? My feeling is that there is a reluctant acceptance by most whites that majority rule is inevitable.

But there are those who will probably vow to fight to the last drop of blood.

Now if this be the case, why should De Klerk take the plunge? Only because he will gain more than he loses. He will make the Democratic Party irrelevant. Indeed, he will kill it.

Alliances will be forged which will see the dramatic new era ushered in. But perhaps I am expecting too much. Maybe all De Klerk needs to do is unban political organisations and release Mandela and others. Certainly, those steps will buy him some time, and at least create a climate in which some kind of negotiation process can begin. But that is the long, and more painful way.

Mandela plan given to Govt in 1989 Coetzee

Star
27/1/90

304A

THE Mandela peace plan published on Thursday by the community newspaper *South* is an accurate version of a document the jailed ANC leader handed to a team of Government officials during the first half of 1989, Mr Mandela said in a statement released by the SA Prisons Service yesterday.

"However, this document was definitely not handed by me either to the retired State President Mr P W Botha or State President F W de Klerk or Minister of Justice Mr H J Coetzee," said Mr Mandela.

"As it is customary I kept the leadership of the ANC informed of the document."

● See Page 6

Mr Coetzee said he had now confirmed that a document corresponding to that published in *South* had been handed to a team of officials during the first half of 1989, as a "non-paper".

The team had confirmed to Mr Coetzee that Mr Mandela had been informed the document would be treated as such, and the matter had been left at that.

Mr Coetzee said that as far as matters relating to Mr Mandela and the Government were concerned, there was only one document presently in the Government system, titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding", which had been made available to the Minister on December 12 1989.

"The document is confidential and enjoys the status of a useful background document," Mr Coetzee said.

The African National Congress has backed the statement by Mr Mandela that was published this

Mr Coetzee said he had now confirmed that a document corresponding to that published in South had been handed to a team of officials during the first half of 1989, as a "non-paper".

The team had confirmed to Mr Coetzee that Mr Mandela had been informed the document would be treated as such, and the matter had been left at that.

Mr Coetzee said that as far as matters relating to Mr Mandela and the Government were concerned, there was only one document presently in the Government system, titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding", which had been made available to the Minister on December 12 1989.

"The document is confidential and enjoys the status of a useful background document," Mr Coetzee said.

The African National Congress has backed the statement by Mr Mandela that was published this week, and asked him to continue talks with the Government.

An activist source, a close friend of Mandela's who asked not to be named, said yesterday that the policy statement was authentic.

Cautious

The document, written six months ago, was the first detailed statement of Mr Mandela's views to appear since he was jailed for life in 1964 for plotting to overthrow the SA Government.

Political analysts and other activists in contact with Mr Mandela said publication of the document would not affect the contacts he has made with the Government.

In London yesterday, *The Guardian* newspaper said that the ANC had decisively won the first round of its contest with Pretoria for the establishment of majority rule in South Africa.

In a lengthy editorial on Mr Mandela's proposals, the newspaper warned that it would not be easy to find a solution

TO PAGE 2.

Mandela



to the central question of majority rule.

"The full text of (Mr Mandela's) statement, allows us to see just how decisively the ANC has won the first round.

"Mr Mandela's argument in July 1989 was on the face of it defensive — almost a plea to the SA Government to relax its preconditions and allow negotiations to begin. But it was a shrewdly judged move which appealed to Mr Botha's desire for a last moment of glory as he sank from power.

"Little more than half a year later, Mr Botha's successor is trapped in the cycle of rising expectations which he set in motion. Mr Mandela must be released, and negotiations must begin, or else President de Klerk's administration will quickly lose the shine of its glossy new look."

The Guardian said although many, including Mr Mandela's friends, were initially confused by his approach, it had now become clear that he had turned the tables and taken the initiative.

Mr Kennedy Maxwell, president of the Chamber of Mines, said in a statement yesterday that Mr Mandela's reported statement that any change to the ANC's nationalisation policy was "inconceivable" was a contradiction of the process required for black economic empowerment.

It was, he said, a re-statement of the ANC's

long standing approach to nationalisation as contained in the Freedom Charter, which appeared to contradict some of the "reassuring noises" made by ANC leaders in recently.

"These have led to expectations that the ANC has begun to adopt a more realistic approach. This would be in keeping with developments elsewhere in the world where nationalisation is being abandoned at every turn because of its destructive effect on the economies of so many countries." (253)

Conservative Party leader Mr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that Mr Mandela had no claim to the government of South Africa.

He said the Government had to stop acting as Mr Mandela's "liaison officer". Negotiation with the long-term prisoner also had to stop. (304A)

It was unbelievable that the Government had made a myth of a man who had been found guilty of a crime similar to high treason.

Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz, who saw Mr Mandela last month, said yesterday that he was sure that Mr Mandela still stood by the ANC policy of nationalising certain industries. But he added that he believed that this would change once negotiations began.

It was natural, he said, for any party representing the deprived to advocate socialism — as the National Party had in 1948. — Political Correspondent, Foreign News Service, Sapa, Reuter.

US puts pressure on blacks to negotiate



TALKS BEFORE MAJORITY RULE . . . Mr Herman Cohen says the US wants negotiations in South Africa to get off the ground before apartheid ends.

● Picture by ALF KUMALO

CHRIS WHITFIELD

LONDON — United States policy on South Africa has been significantly broadened to bring pressure on the black leadership to negotiate and to encourage economic co-operation in southern Africa "before the end of apartheid". (304A)

America's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman "Hank" Cohen, revealed the shift here yesterday saying: "Our policy used to be putting pressure on the white power structure to accept the principle of negotiations."

"Now we feel the priority in our policy should be to put pressure on both the white power structure and the non-white majority to engage in fruitful negotiations."

Speaking at a Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association luncheon, Mr Cohen added: "We will be the first to criticise the first to reject negotiations, because we think that is the only way a political solution can be found."

Mr Cohen, fresh from a visit to South Africa added that it was "imperative that economic co-operation must start moving now (in southern Africa), even before the end of apartheid, so it can continue going in a post-apartheid society."

"We are not discouraging countries from co-operating with South Africa at this time."

star 27/11/90
Commitment

He said that a combination of factors — "mainly economic" — had caused the South African Government to conclude that "only a political settlement with the non-white majority can guarantee the future standard of living and cultural integrity of the white minority".

"Whether they can do it or not is another story, but I think there is a commitment there."

Mr Cohen added that the United States was now "telling those in the Mass Democratic Movement who say that there should be majority rule before negotiations are wrong — the negotiations must come first".

He said developments in Angola and Namibia had destroyed two myths in the region: That a superpower conflict was a major problem in the area, and that nothing "good can happen" until apartheid is over.

"We feel that we can build on these agreements to help stimulate better regional co-operation because we believe that the southern Africa region is going

to be the motor of development for the rest of Africa, at least as far as Zaire."

Asked about the easing of US sanctions, Mr Cohen pointed out that under Section 311 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act certain steps had to be taken by the South African Government before this was done.

These included the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency and the beginning of "good faith negotiations".

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

MAJOR aspects of the government's plan for constitutional negotiations have been outlined by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education.

He has also expressed confidence that a compromise could be reached between conflicting viewpoints.

Dr Viljoen said in an interview he hoped the negotiations would start before the end of this year but that the process could go on for a year or longer.

"Inclusive"

The government's view was that the negotiating group should be as inclusive and comprehensive as possible, involving representative leaders from all meaningful political organisations.

These would include political parties and organisations inside and outside parliament, and also political movements in self-governing territories.

Independent homelands which, in the government's view, were not part of South Africa, might also be kept informed, but probably only with observer status.

Two fundamental issues on which a compromise had to be sought were:

- The demand for majority rule in a unitary state; and
- The demand for structural guarantees for the protection of minorities.

These issues have also been raised in a document on negotiations said to have come from Mr Nelson Mandela.

The document says a meeting would have to be held between the government and the ANC as a first step to peace and that the two political issues to be addressed are: "Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks."

Minister hopeful parties will agree

Dr Viljoen declined to comment on the document or on Mr Mandela's release.

Other points made by Dr Viljoen were that:

- The government was considering ways in which the constitutional negotiations would be managed. One possibility was to have a panel of acceptable neutral chairmen designated by the negotiating conference;

- There had been a suggestion that political organisations, rather than government structures, should be the negotiators. This meant that the government itself would preferably not be a party to the negotiations, but rather the National Party;

- The government's one and only fundamental pre-condition was that there must be a clear commitment to peaceful negotiations by all involved;

- Should negotiation break down and violence result, or should violence cause a breakdown, the government would handle the situation "in a very resolute way";

- A variety of suggestions were being considered on how representatives were to be chosen to take part in the negotiations. An election for black people was still a possibility, but there were objections to and problems about this idea. Participants might also have "informal legitimacy", on the grounds that organisations knew their leaders.

It was hoped an early start could be made with negotiations, this year being the goal

period.

The government's view was that other issues like "so called apartheid laws", or aspects of a new constitution, should form part of the agenda and should not be made pre-conditions retarding the start of negotiations.

He believed an acceptable alternative, accommodating the need of minorities for protection of their rights, could be negotiated.

"New approach"

"What is essential is a new approach: a more flexible and non-prescriptive definition of groups, doing justice to the principle of freedom of association.

"We accept that any group concept having a non-democratic, discriminatory smell or unequal treatment will be unacceptable. The accommodation of a group concept will have to be negotiated within the parameters of the principle of an undivided South Africa and a common nationhood.

"I believe reasonable needs for group security can be accommodated within those parameters."

Reconciliation by way of compromise should be sought.

The government, through the State President's statements, had indicated a willingness to address all the identified obstacles to negotiations.

However, Dr Viljoen warned, any "shifting of the goalposts" by setting up new pre-conditions as obstacles would be regarded as evidence of "the absence of integrity and a lack of a genuine intention to negotiate".

An open agenda would avoid a piling up of more and more pre-conditions.

"I realise the road ahead is a very difficult one. There are big divides of mistrust, misunderstanding and a history of conflict. The South African situation is an existential one, especially for minorities — that is, their whole existence is at stake.

"But I have a positive outlook based on the general agreement among virtually all leaders that negotiations must begin.

NEWS

VILJOEN OUTLINES TA

LKS

Jackson may meet De Klerk on visit 304A

By DRIES van HEERDEN

AMERICAN civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson will arrive in South Africa next Wednesday for a 10-day visit that may include a meeting with President F W de Klerk. ST-1122 28/1/90

Aides to Mr Jackson, who has twice run for president, said yesterday he would be abroad from February 2 to 19. He will spend four days in London and one day in Zambia before arriving in South Africa on February 7.

Earlier this month the South African Government granted him a visa with no restrictions.

Mr Jackson will be leaving Washington at a time when many business and labour leaders want him to run for mayor, since it is expected that Mayor Marion Barry will not seek a fourth term this year following his arrest last week on a charge of smoking crack cocaine.

'The voice of the voiceless' speaks out

C/Pren 28/11/90
304A

Suzman reviews her 26-year fight

By ZB MOLEFE

IN A week-long series of lectures at the University of Cape Town's summer school, human rights campaigner Helen Suzman gave her view of five well-known prime ministers, women's affairs, pass laws, influx control and urbanisation.

She also told of her relentless 26-year fight in Parliament, where she won her spurs as "the voice of the voiceless" and "champion of the underdog".

In a lecture on "Pass Laws, Influx Control and Urbanisation" Suzman asked a question countless South Africans have asked over the years - what brought her into politics?

"The answer I think is the knowledge I acquired when I was preparing evidence for the Institute of Race Relations to present to the Fagan Commission in 1948," she said.

"The commission was necessary because Gen Jan Smuts realised that the principle followed in regard to blacks in urban areas (the 1923 Stallard Commission) would no longer be applicable."

The lecture ended on a sombre note when Suzman told of the spin-off of the 1986 repeal of influx control.

"There was a mirror image to the

repeal of Influx Control and Pass Laws which was reflected in the passing last year (1989) of the Illegal Squatting Act which tightened up enormously the penalties for illegal squatting".

In another lecture, spotlighting women's affairs, she said the main reason for extending the franchise to white women was to dilute the effect of the vote in the Cape Province of Coloured men on the common roll.

"When the Act was passed in 1930, Coloured women were excluded and this meant that with the inclusion of white women on the roll the arithmetical balance between Coloured voters and white voters was materially altered," she said.

Suzman reminded her audience of her 1979 Private Member's Motion where she called on the government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to examine the special disabilities affecting black women.

"My hope was to draw attention to the plight of black women in South Africa - a subject which has never really been dealt with fully in Parliament - although I mentioned these special disabilities on many occasions under the Bantu Administration Votes," said Suzman.

■ See page 13



Helen Suzman

Faint heart will never win a peaceful solution

S/Times 28/11/90

THE *cause célèbre* status of Nelson Mandela has penetrated the further reaches of the world's consciousness via satellite television, a panoply of pop stars and assorted celebrities.

It beggars the imagination, perhaps, to imagine the consequences of Mr Mandela's release in 1980 rather than in 1990.

It would have pre-empted the formation of the United Democratic Front, the tricameral parliament and the imposition of sanctions.

Such a transcending gesture would have required Mr P W Botha to anticipate the trends and currents of events, while his background and instinct was always to go against the grain of history.

It would also have necessitated of the Government a highly unusual world view, since most administrations embroiled in conflict start with a simple assumption: "When I am weak, how can I compromise? When I am strong, why should I compromise?"

Therefore the Botha years and the 80s must be remembered as the decade when the locusts ate.

Thrust

These were the years in which Pretoria squandered practically every opportunity and took virtually no initiatives to reach out and force a negotiated settlement with the disenfranchised majority — on far more favourable terms than the one which will ultimately be constructed.

But what happens when the doors of the Victor Verster jail close behind Mr Mandela for the last time?

As the symbolic embodiment of years of struggle, Mr Mandela's every gesture, meeting and utterance will be scrutinised with microscopic intensity. Paradoxically, his physical freedom of movement will be restrained by the enormity of expectations thrust on him.

Of course he can retreat into the temporary refuge offered by the dead language from Lusaka — the political Latin which uses such code words as, "Harare Declaration", "intensification of armed struggle" and "pre-negotiation talks".

I do not use these terms disparagingly. Indeed there are cogent reasons, no doubt, for each of them.

And the Government, too, has obfuscated the real issues with verbal smokescreens of an extra-



Tony Leon

304A

MP for Houghton, says De Klerk and Mandela have an opportunity to initiate a bold scenario

ordinary kind which fly in the face of all perceived reality and common sense: "Apartheid is dead", "we are committed to equal rights for all" etc.

But for ordinary South Africans — both the possessors of power and the dispossessed — what is required is not the dreary refrain of catch-phrases which pass each other like misplaced shells on a battlefield, but far-reaching, clear-cut acts which will have an impact on every South African.

Mr De Klerk of course can repeal legislation. The portents, thus far, are not encouraging. The only announced item headed for the parliamentary shredder is the Separate Amenities Act — and even then in a qualified form.

But he and Mr Mandela can go beyond the threshold in an effort to reach each other's constituencies. It will depend on whether they understand that their first constituency is the facts and the second constituency their people.

If the issues facing South Africa's leadership appear to be too awesome, too frightening and too intractable, then we will merely witness the motions of leaders, always reacting to events, seldom taking the initiative and leaving the rest of us in a political deep-freeze.

Bold

However, the results of such a paralysis will be awesome indeed — far beyond the damage of the 80s locust years.

But since both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela offer the promise of something different, they can initiate a bolder scenario. Mr De Klerk has proved his flexibility while Mr Mandela has signalled his apparent willingness to act as a Government-ANC go-between.

For all this, the first group which needs to be addressed is white South Africa — simply because it holds the formal levers of power and privilege — and because Mr De Klerk cannot move without preparing it for the transcending change required.

Only when a significant majority is prepared, or convinced, that

fundamental change is an urgent necessity will there be conflict resolution. How can Mr Mandela help in this task?

I have recently read a masterful and original account of the enduring problem of Arab and Jew in the Middle East by Thomas Friedman entitled *From Beirut to Jerusalem*.

He reminds the reader that in 1977 Israelis saw Anwar Sadat address their own Parliament (whose legitimacy he did not recognise), kiss former Prime Minister Golda Meir (against whom he had declared war four years before) and visit the Israeli Holocaust Memorial at Yad Vashem (despite his Nazi affiliations in the Second World War).

As Friedman observes: "Sadat, by going to Jerusalem, did something so courageous Israelis could not help but take notice. He put himself in a position where he could not afford to fail."

Logjam

Permanent peace does exist between Israel and Egypt, at least, because after that visit the hard-nosed business of negotiations occurred — albeit via America's mediation.

The analogy cannot be over-worked.

But South Africa does require someone to break the logjam and to reach out meaningfully to the other side. Perhaps an early stop on Mr Mandela's post-jail itinerary should be to address the House of Assembly in Parliament.

It would be an extraordinary gesture of goodwill, it would have an enormous impact on all 166 constituencies of white South Africa, and would alter them forever.

Mr De Klerk could reciprocate — a visit to the ANC national executive in Lusaka, perhaps to discuss their repatriation.

Of course there are other actors of importance who must be involved. But these two men possess within them, and the groups they represent, the possibility of lasting peace and the prospect of our renewal.

Recalling 5 prime ministers

Clare 25/1/90

(304A)



Helen Suzman ... 26 years in House.

Dr Malan could be described as a dour old dominee who commanded much respect from his own party, but I would not say great affection.

He had very rigid views and his mind was set on implementing apartheid, under which slogan his government had come to power in 1948.

During my first years in Parliament the groundwork for the apartheid state had already been laid and many of the basic laws had been put on the statute book.

Malan was replaced by the Lion of the North, JG Strijdom, who was Prime Minister from 1954 to 1958, but I had very little to do with him.

Verwoerd was a most extraordinary man, holding a deep conviction that he had a Divine Mission, fortified when the first assassination attempt — by Pratt — failed.

I have to admit Ver-



JG Strijdom ... the Lion of the North.

woerd was the only man who has ever scared me stiff, and I suspect he had much the same effect on his own caucus and on the UP.

He would talk for more than two hours without any notes, building up an argument so convincingly that one sat there nodding like a zombie — until one realised the entire argument he was advancing was built on a false premise. For example: "There



Dr Hendrik Verwoerd ... a frightening man.



John Vorster ... had no pretensions.



PW Botha ... 'Suzman is like dripping rain'.

THIS week former MP Helen Suzman painted interesting pen pictures of five Nationalist prime ministers — DF Malan, JG Strijdom, HF Verwoerd, BJ Vorster and PW Botha.

Speaking at the University of Cape Town's Summer School, Suzman talked about her relationship with these leaders during her 26-year career in Parliament.

are no urbanised blacks — they all belong back in their ethnic areas and therefore that is where they must exercise their political rights."

Vorstler was a different curf of tea altogether —

pragmatic, down to earth and with no pretensions. I had much to do with him before he became Prime Minister, when he was Minister of Justice and Police, responsible for piloting the first detention

without trial Bills through Parliament and for the manner in which detainees were held.

He was succeeded in 1978 by PW Botha — my pet hate — with whom I had a very unfriendly relationship. There is only one accurate way in which to describe PW — he was a bad-tempered bully.

My first brush with him was when he was Minister of Coloured Af-

fairs in 1965, at the time when the government was much concerned with the abolition of separate representation of coloureds in Parliament.

Needless to say I made a number of angry interjections and PW Botha's response was: "The Hon Member for Houghton must stop chattering. She is in the habit of chattering continually.

"If my wife chattered like that honourable member I would know what to do with her. There is nothing that works on my nerves more than a woman who continually interrupts me. She is like water dripping on a tin roof."

PW said I was the mouthpiece of everything subversive in South Africa.

I cannot say his retirement caused any regrets on my part and I have no doubt the feeling is mutual, now that I too have left Parliament.

How to manage the revolution?

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk faces a simple problem internationally: Can he keep up with Eastern Europe?

The world has begun to judge events according to the epoch-making developments in the Eastern Bloc and South Africa cannot escape that judgment.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall has set the new international standard by which the world now understands the meaning of political reform.

Free and democratic elections will be held in Bulgaria in March, in Rumania in April, in East Germany in May, in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland in June.

To whatever extent Mr De Klerk and the National Party Government enjoyed the luxury of reform in isolation, it is now banished for good.

As the elections in the ensuing months symbolise the arrival of the East Bloc nations in the world's democratic arena, a world no longer embroiled in a Cold War will be holding a parallel, unwritten agenda for South Africa.

In contemplating the route Mr De Klerk must take, all South Africans, including his followers, are free of one major fear that held them in its unwelcome grip under his predecessor: The fear that the man at the head of affairs has not seen the way forward.

Thrills

Everything Mr De Klerk has done up to now has illustrated that he realises fully that the time has come for South Africa to step into its own future, and that he is prepared to take that step.

As he does so, there will be one critical difference that will set the revolutions of Eastern Europe apart from the one now under way in South Africa.

The new orders of the East have been characterised by the emergence of new parties in government, or by existing governments shedding the yoke of communist internationalism exported and imposed from Moscow.

Mr De Klerk, in a very real sense, is attempting to usurp his own revolution. Unlike Ceausescu and Honecker, he is not trying to resist the tiger of history; much like Gorbachev he is trying to mount it and ride it. He can expect a couple of thrills along the way.

His first problem is that, irrespective of the grandiose frame he



by **Lester Venter**

Political
Correspondent

is operating in, he is just a politician. And politicians have parties, which in turn have a constituency of voters. They live in a symbiotic relationship; one has no life without the other. So Mr De Klerk must take his party and his voters with him.

In doing this, he will find himself as much a counselling therapist as a political leader. On his couch will be a party and voters beset by demons of the past.

As a consequence of SA's recent history, fortified by 40 years of diligent propaganda, the ANC lives in many minds as the incarnation of all political evil.

To a greater or lesser degree, all white South Africans carry the mental scars of decades of urban terrorism, manifested in the horror of bombs in shopping malls — just as all black South Africans carry the scars of the State's often violent efforts to contain aspirations now universally acknowledged as legitimate.

To ask his party and his voters to transcend the mind-set of a total onslaught matched against a total strategy, and to ask them to follow him into an accord with black nationalism, will be asking a lot.

Fortunately, Mr De Klerk has quite a lot going for him.

To begin with, he is prepared to practise in his party the democracy he preaches abroad. By banishing

the securocrats and resisting the role of benign dictator, he has restored to the party the dignity of political authority.

It's the sort of thing that earns a leader the loyalty of elected politicians. So, while there will be rumblings in the party — and even heated internal debate — this will not be one of Mr De Klerk's problems.

For his constituency, Mr De Klerk will really only have at hand the power of rational persuasion. He will have to use arguments it has heard before, and has displayed a peculiar immunity towards.

Once more, however, the process itself will have something going for Mr De Klerk. Every step towards the future will make that future clearer — and will make clearer, too, how few are the choices in selecting it.

Pillars

Translating this into practical terms means that Mr De Klerk shouldn't have too much difficulty in taking his constituency with him — but with one major proviso: That he demonstrates and leaves no doubt whatsoever about the fact that he is capable of maintaining order through the process.

Herein, regrettably, lies another paradox. Keeping order, in the minds of most whites, will entail

holder of the initiative.

Once Nelson Mandela is released from prison, much will depend on how Mr De Klerk's former prisoner casts his role. If Mr Mandela takes judicious advantage of his extraordinary status, and casts himself not merely as a primary figure for a seat on the other side of the table — but rather as an over-arching figure, a conciliator with "father of the nation" status, Mr De Klerk will be in trouble.

He will inescapably be cast into a secondary role. The Government is not making life easy for itself by already describing Mr Mandela as a "facilitator".

Gauntlet

But something along these lines may be unavoidable. A plausible scenario even before the new SA is attained by the end of the century will involve Mr Mandela in the role of titular President, with Mr De Klerk as Prime Minister in the years of transition.

If this happens, Mr Pik Botha will be entitled to a wry smile over the gauntlet he has run over his "black president faux pas".

Mr De Klerk has also demonstrated his understanding that political rights are not all that a new social order for SA entails. As the year goes by, he can be expected to accelerate the economic restructuring that will permit newly enfranchised citizens to compete unhindered in a free market.

As things stand, all in all, the new order may not be easy to discern — but if you pause and look back, at least you can see the past.

President tells police: Keep out of politics

FW TALKS

304A
S/finer
28/1/90



F.W. ... We can't afford to become embroiled in an Eighty Years' War

DOWN THE TALK

By DRIES van HEERDEN

PRESIDENT DE KLERK has sent a bold, uncompromising signal to South Africa's policemen: Your job is to catch criminals — not to get mixed up in politics.

The entire top structure of the SAP — 500 officers in all — was summoned to Pretoria from throughout South Africa for an unprecedented, confidential meeting at the Police College.

Mr De Klerk told them: "Matters that have in the past been dealt with by strong-arm tactics will, in future, be handled differently."

It was unfair to embroil the police in South Africa's political battle, he told them. The SAP had a proud reputation as the custodian of law and order — but its good name would be at risk if it continued to be dragged into politics.

A transcript of the remarkable speech — clearly designed to bring about sweeping changes in the SAP's "culture" — came into the possession of the Sunday Times this week. The officers were told to ensure that the President's views, expressed on January 17, were conveyed to every man and woman under their command.

Mr De Klerk's message acquires added significance since it comes at a time when police are again the centre of controversy following a spate of unruly demonstrations.

The political implications, too, are immense since there has long been speculation that some elements within



The great Miss SA hunt is on again!

By DOREEN LEVIN and JANICE HILLIER

IT'S Miss South Africa time again! The Sunday Times is looking for a lovely, talented girl to take over the crown from Michelle Bruce.

She could be your sister, cousin, daughter, colleague, friend, neighbour, or YOU.

First entrant in the Miss SA 1990 contest is Helga Strydom, 22, a Luderitz-born model from Cape Town and a finalist last year.

Helga says she is "addicted to beauty competitions". She described last year's contest as "fun" and said she learnt a great deal.

Gatting pitches in as eatery staffs walk out



REBEL cricket captain Mike Gatting donned a chef's apron and took over the grill for the benefit of hungry patrons at a Kimberley eatery on Friday night.

The simple Gatting went into bat as chef and maître d' when black staff walked out of the Yom Cat restaurant in protest at the presence of Gatting and other members of the touring English team's entourage.

Gatting told the manager he was a fair cook — and took charge.

Astonished customers at the Greek-style restaurant were welcomed by Gatting at the door, dressed for the part.

He showed patrons to their tables, took their orders, helped cook the meals himself, complete with trimmings — then doubled up as waiter as he served his gourmet offerings to the wide-eyed diners.

Mrs Helen Ball, 41, who

By DAVID JACKSON

Tasty

Soon, with Gatting calling the shots, steaks were sizzling on the grill as the restaurant gradually took on a party atmosphere.

Said Mrs Ball: "The meat was a little on the tough side, but it was a tasty meal."

"The atmosphere began to get very festive with Greek music and the smashing of plates. These were not your normal cheap smash-about plates — it was good crock-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

PRESIDENT DE KLERK has sent a bold, uncompromising signal to South Africa's policemen: Your job is to catch criminals — not to get mixed up in politics.

The entire top structure of the SAP — 500 officers in all — was summoned to Pretoria from throughout South Africa for an unprecedented, confidential meeting at the Police College.

Mr De Klerk told them: "Matters that have in the past been dealt with by strong-arm tactics will, in future, be handled differently."

It was unfair to embroil the police in South Africa's political battle, he told them.

The SAP had a proud reputation as the custodian of law and order — but its good name would be at risk if it continued to be dragged into politics.

A transcript of the remarkable speech — clearly designed to bring about sweeping changes in the SAP's "culture" — came into the possession of the Sunday Times this week.

The officers were told to ensure that the President's views, expressed on January 17, were conveyed to every man and woman under their command.

Mr De Klerk's message acquires added significance since it comes at a time when police are again at the centre of controversy, following a spate of unruly demonstrations.

The political implications, too, are immense, since there has long been speculation that some elements within the SAP support the right-wing Conservative Party and are unhappy about Mr De Klerk's reforms.

Candid

Rank-and-file policemen are also said to be unsure about how to act in the light of the President's decision to allow protest marches and demonstrations.

In his address — remarkable for its candour — Mr De Klerk said policemen would no longer prevent people from protesting in a peaceful manner or be required to enforce such things as beach apartheid.

And he was unequivocal in declaring the Government's commitment to political reform.

He said: "The Government has decided to take the initiative in defusing conflict in the country. This is the only way we will be able to escape from the rut we are in danger of falling into."

Attack

"We can't become embroiled in an Eighty Years' War. We will have to move towards finding solutions that are acceptable to the majority of the population."

"I want to be completely honest with you. We cannot find a solution by being defensive. No sports team can win a match if it merely defends its goal-line."

"Only when it attacks and scores tries can it win a match."

Referring to disquiet in police ranks over the handling of protest marches, Mr



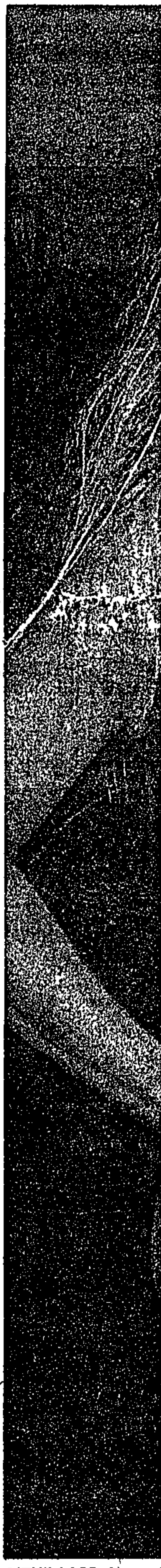
DE KLERK'S
ON
LD: P4

controversial politician would claim a share of the blame. Signs are that Mr De Klerk is constrained in his speech for Friday to address the emergency — but he is loath to lift it because the government believes it may be re-insured until response to Mr De Klerk's release has been

end of the emergency to come after the release,

awkward aspect of expectations around Friday's unbanning of

Mr De Klerk is — this time by the ANC to



P.T.O.

De Klerk lays down the law

□ From Page 1

De Klerk admitted: "I know that our decisions to release security prisoners, allow marches and protests and to open beaches to all races have raised a number of questions in your minds."

The Government had in the past required policemen to perform two kinds of tasks — to handle such ordinary crimes as murder, rape, theft and fraud — and to enforce certain legislation.

"Let me take the beaches as an example. It is not a universal crime to swim. It is a crime to commit murder. Swimming is not a criminal deed. But it is to steal."

"In the past you have been asked to handle situations which had nothing to do with ordinary crime. But circumstances have changed and we have reviewed our definition of crime."

"In this category of activities which are not criminal or harmful we are engaged in a process of drastic reform. And I want to plead with you to take a positive view of these reforms in the sense of how they affect your work."

"In future it will be required of you to guard against theft on the beaches, or to ensure there is no immoral conduct, or to prevent assaults. But it will never again be asked of you

to say to someone: 'Hey, you cannot swim here because of your appearance.'

"When people gather politically to voice their views in an orderly fashion you will be asked to keep law and order."

"But you will not be required to prevent people from gathering to gain support for their views."

"This is the political battlefield — and we want to take the police out of it. We will not use you any longer as instruments to attain political goals. This is the responsibility of the politicians."

Dangers

"We will have to stop asking you to fight in the front trenches in political battles. Let the politicians look after politics."

Mr De Klerk stressed that the Government had not "suddenly become weak-kneed or changed its views on the dangers of communism".

Nor was the Government willing to expose to unacceptable risk such fundamental values as a free market, religious freedom, equality before the law or an independent judiciary.

Instead, the Government mobilise people who were in agreement with these values

— "even if it means we will have to take some risks".

"We are not naive," he said. "We don't underestimate the enemy. But it is a question of methods."

"So, when in future we act in a more subtle way in matters that have in the past been handled in a heavy-handed way, it does not mean that we have changed our goal of creating a peaceful and civilised community where the rights of minorities are safeguarded."

Mr De Klerk said the "new South Africa" should be a country where the law would reign supreme and where public morals, education and the economy could continually strive for higher standards.

Lawlessness, anarchy and corruption could not be allowed to thrive as had happened in many other countries in Africa.

"But it should also be a South Africa which enjoys the loyalty of the vast majority of its population," said Mr De Klerk.

The present generation had to decide what legacy it was going to leave its successors.

"Do we want to leave them a future where revolution keeps on boiling below the surface? Where new sanc-

"Where there is growing polarisation and where moderate people are increasingly radicalised? Where the battle lines are being drawn for the great Armageddon?"

"For if this Armageddon takes place — and blood flows ankle-deep in our streets and 4 or 5-million people lie dead — the problem will remain exactly the same as it was before the shooting started."

"The other alternative is to leave a legacy where people's hearts and minds are changed through sensible strategies, planning and persuasion."

"I choose the latter option. I will make mistakes in the process and it is within your rights to differ from me. But I plead with you, the police force which is in close and constant contact with the general public, to help us with this change in attitudes."

The public was profoundly indebted to the SAP — "and this comes from my heart".

"The rest of the country can find time to play and to relax, to have holidays, but you are called upon to ensure that they can do so safely."

He promised that urgent steps would be taken to address grievances within the force.

DURING the first weeks of 1990 it's important to look critically at the latest social engineering scheme of the South African Government free settlement.

November 1989 saw the first formal cracks in the hitherto monolithic structure of the Group Areas Act when the first Free Settlement Areas in South Africa were proclaimed. The first four areas — one in Natal, one in the Cape encompassing the old District Six, and two in the Transvaal at Country View in Midrand and Windmill Park in Boksburg — have created expectations.

Further pressure is building up in the North Rand constituency where applications are in the pipeline for Free Settlement Areas in The Reeds Midrand and Sunninghill/Plooyville, Sandton.

Escape

Let us examine — briefly and simply — the quality of the freedom within the free settlement concept and how it could affect our lives.

The Free Settlement Act appears to be nothing other than an escape route from the rigidity of the Group Areas Act, without actually scrapping that Act. Both the State President and



Louis de Waal

Democratic Party MP, says the free settlement plan is nothing more than group areas in disguise

Minister Hennis Kriel have repeatedly emphasised the Government's commitment to race group ideology. Clearly you can only be "a group" if you are all of the same colour. Conversely, you cannot be "a group" by free association — that is irrespective of colour — with respect to where

you live. Thus far you can, by free association (read multiracial), be "a group" only to work together, eat together and maybe go to the beach together — but definitely not free to own or occupy property where you wish to. Ostensibly, Free Settlement Areas (read townships) within

unfree municipal areas will, in theory, provide the Government with a trial result on the efficacy of multiracial living.

Why then, you might ask, must I be a "spoiler" of such an important experiment in freedom?

Let's examine some implications.

Firstly, and most profoundly, the immediate results of the Windmill Park and Country View free settlement experiments appear to indicate no multiracial settlement pattern emerging at all. On the contrary, information indicates that both these townships are rapidly becoming new group areas — group areas for the Indian community, which has

become the major purchaser of property there.

In Windmill Park in Boksburg, whites are holding out for the best prices, rather than continuing to live there. Holding out, mind you, not because of the real intrinsic value of the properties of the area. No, holding out because a completely "false" value has accrued to these properties arising out of a lack of supply for people of colour.

Clearly, the intended experiment by the Government to trial a market "free settlement" post-apartheid South Africa, on an isolated neighbourhood basis, has failed before it has started.

Distorts

Secondly, issues like the rapid change in the structuring of the South African labour market coupled to the scrapping of the so-called Mixed Marriages Act are clearly building up enormous pressures on the shortcomings of a rigid policy forcing individuals to settle on the basis of race and colour.

What dubious morality can allow people of mixed race and colour to marry but not allow them to live where they can afford or want to?

The Group Areas Act has always distorted the economic realities that drive property and housing development in this country. The Free Settlement Act merely distorts the picture even further.

Because the "freedom" of the free settlement areas is limited to small, isolated areas, the hope for a multiracial character in such areas is a non-starter. It is totally and almost immediately overcome by the development pressure based on the backlog in property and housing development for all race groups, other than white. Money normally accompanies performance in life. Thus people

who perform in roughly the same economic plane largely earn in the same bracket. Their social patterns are mostly similar and they hold the same value systems. These realities exist the world over, irrespective of colour.

Thus, economic strata, like the layers of a cake, regulate true freedom in society. We must all live according to our means. But we must all be free to maximise the quality of our lives within these means.

That is true freedom.

The DP believes that if we can work together, socialise together and even intermarry, we must, as a practical conclusion, be able to live together. Therefore the only strategy is to scrap the Group Areas Act, in order to allow social and economic forces to dictate development.

Illusion

The Democratic Party accepts that the Government is in good faith and wanting to move away from its past history of racial discrimination, and that free settlement is a lay-by along this road. However, if it is a lay-by which does not allow the vehicle to pull off the road to refuel and for the occupants to refresh themselves, it is not a lay-by at all but merely an illusion.

What can we do? The time has come for us to stand up and be counted — to take a hand in our own destiny within our own country. We dare not continue to be content to be led like sheep, but should rather attempt to control our lives, for our own sake as well as that of our loved ones.

Wish

Activate ratepayers' committees, host meetings, draw up petitions, lobby your town councillors, approach your Member of Parliament. Just do something, something to quantify where you stand on this very important issue, be it for or against. And remember, our country's motto is, after all, "Strength through unity".

I have one wish for our lovely country in the Nineties. That the last decade of this century sees the controlled collapse of legislated group differentiation in South Africa, thereby opening up for us and for our children complete and unconditional re-entry into the modern world. What an objective to strive for!

CP 28/1/90

People want to see more changes

3048

By SANDILE MEMELA

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk captured the attention of many ordinary black people when he released Walter Sisulu and the other seven Robben Island prisoners. But he will have to release Nelson Mandela and make many more changes before he wins real support, judging by a snap City Press survey.

President de Klerk has already made some changes but have they impressed the man in the street? City Press asked a random selection of people for their views and found most want more changes before they back him.



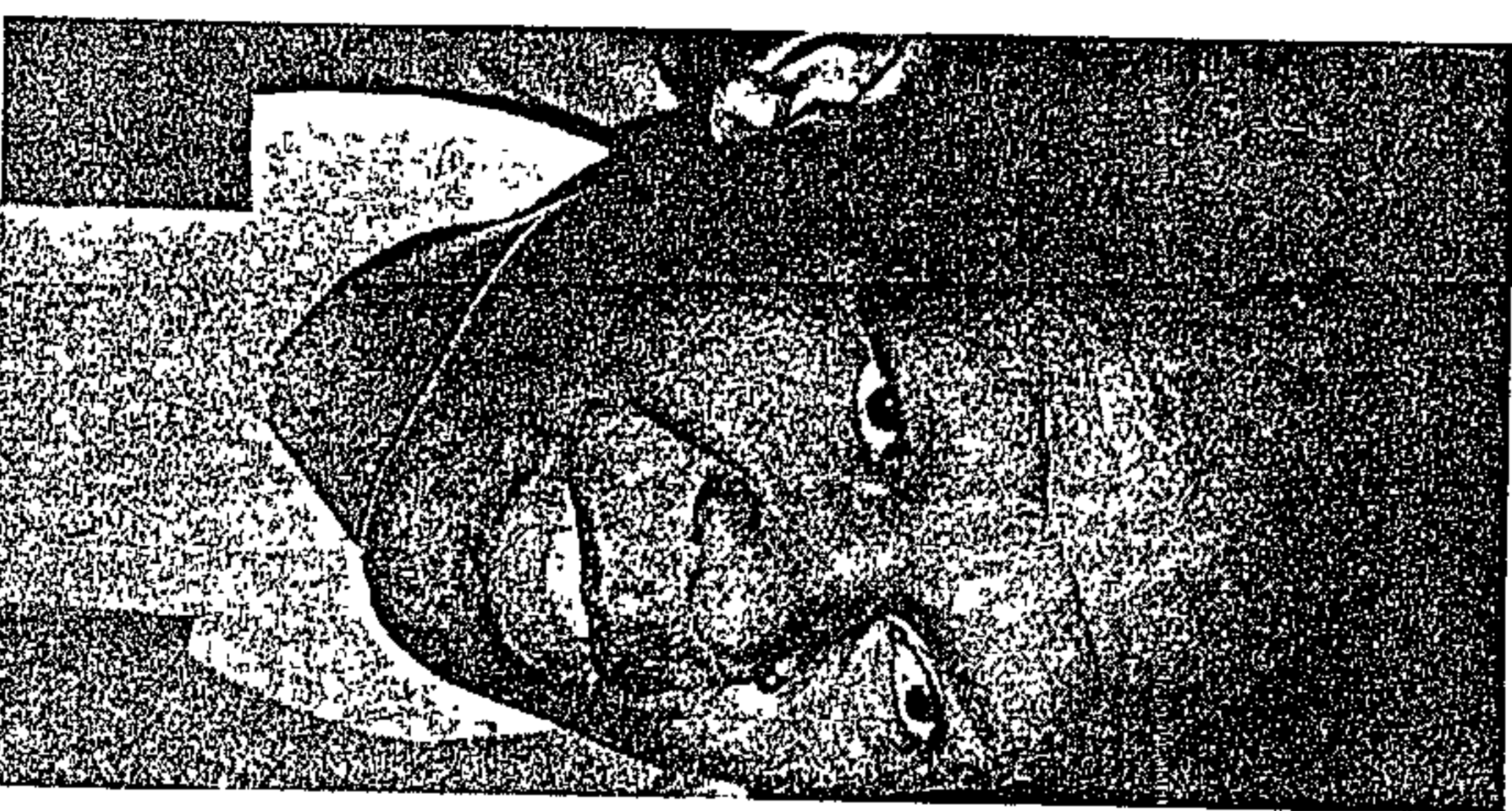
Floyd Makhanya ... unwilling changes.



Kheithwe Mabuza (left) and Zodwa Mduli ... changes mark him as reliable. PLEAS EVANS MBOWENI



Nozipho Mavi ... positive changes made.



Oupa Molelewa ... for me there is no change. People still suffer and struggle to find jobs.

Nozipho Mavi of Soweto, admitted De Klerk had made several positive changes. "He has shown himself to be better than his predecessors by releasing Sisulu and promising to let Nelson Mandela go. I still expect him to allow exiles to return home and involve himself in serious talks with them," she said.

This was echoed by Kheithwe Mabuza and Zodwa Mduli of Pinetown.

"De Klerk seems to be less of a racist than those before him. The little he has delivered marks him as reliable, but he must do

more," said Mduli. "We expect De Klerk to provide jobs and housing for people in areas of their choice. Nelson Mandela must also be freed," said Mabuza.

Unemployed Isaac Mmolele of Vosloorus did not agree.

"I think people should encourage De Klerk. He is changing the face of

played for three years. The 36-year old father of two said: "For me there is no change. Ordinary people are still suffering and struggle to find jobs."

apartheid and making it easier for blacks and whites to live in harmony."

Sipho Hlatwayo of Dube said the president displayed potential.

"The positive thing is that he has come to do what previous leaders have rejected - establishing a spirit of open dia-

logue.

"But opening beaches is irrelevant. The best thing to do in the light of the education crisis among blacks would be for him to open schools."

While some people admit De Klerk has leadership skills, they said he was not moving fast enough to abolish apart-

heid.

"All he does is aimed at buying time. Sooner or later he will be caught as his tactics delay the realisation of black hopes," said Phetha, a secretary at Kagiso Trust.

Computer consultant Floyd Makhanya agreed. "The changes brought about by De Klerk have not been done willingly.

The rate of change is still too slow."

Several unemployed people said De Klerk's reforms did not make any real difference to their lives.

"He must fix the economy. People are without work and must still pay high bonds or lose their homes," said Themba Malinga.

Many still fear detention and jail for expressing political views.

Two women who were shopping in the city refused to comment. "Do not ask us about De Klerk because whatever we say will only land us in jail. His government still considers the expression of black aspirations to be politics," one said.

Riddle of Mandela to

Stillver
28/11/90

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES van HEERDEN

THE MYSTERY surrounding a secret document on negotiations drawn up by Mr Nelson Mandela and handed to President F W de Klerk deepened this weekend.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, confirmed the existence of a Mandela paper late on Friday and said it was titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding". But he said the document, the second in a series of three, was

confidential.

He said he had received the document on December 12 — and Mr Mandela and President De Klerk met the following day.

But two crucial sequences of events are known to have flowed from the document and the meeting.

● The Government held secret talks with Mr Walter Sisulu, former ANC secretary-general and a long-time confidant of Mr Mandela, before Mr Sisulu left for Lusaka earlier this month to brief the exiled ANC leadership.

● Mr Mandela drew up a 10-point plan on steps to facilitate negotiations between the Government and the ANC. The plan — the third document in the series — was intended for the ANC leadership's consideration.

It is understood that this 10-point plan is known only to an inner circle of Government advisers. Not all Cabinet Ministers have seen it.

Outcome

In Lusaka, ANC sources said the plan was "very moderate" and had "caused some dissension in the ranks" among hardliners who believed "the handing over of power" should be the only subject to be negotiated.

Lusaka sources say Mr Mandela proposes an interim arrangement on power sharing which would have to be negotiated with the SA government.

His document does not demand the scrapping of apartheid laws as a precondition for negotiation but sees this as an outcome of the process.

304H
document

However, sources say the Government is dismayed at the ANC's response to the document, and feels the organisation's reaction falls short of the spirit of conciliation adopted by the Government.

Confusion arose over the documents this week when the Cape-based newspaper South published extracts from a Mandela document it claimed had been taken from the confidential 10-point plan.

Informal

But yesterday Mr Mandela said in a statement that the document published in South was one he gave to government officials "in the first half of 1989".

It later transpired the South quotes were from an informal, first document — Mr Coetsee has called it a "non-paper" — given by Mr Mandela to Government officials early last year.

Star 29/1/90

304A

Thatcher visit virtually certain

Easing sanctions 'hinges on Mandela'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain is quietly preparing to relax some sanctions against South Africa if Nelson Mandela is released and restrictions on political activity are eased, according to a report released in Britain.

The *Sunday Correspondent* report also claimed that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is now virtually certain to visit South Africa if Mr Mandela is released.

"September is a probable date for the visit though it could be as early as the Easter recess if there are changes before then," wrote the newspaper's Political Editor, Mr Donald McIntyre.

"At the same time, ministers are likely to draw up a limited list of more minor sanctions which could be lifted to increase dialogue with the Pretoria government without breaking hard-and-fast international agreements."

Such relaxation would stop far short, for example, of any withdrawal from the UN embargo on arms or oil sales.

President de Klerk's speech to the opening of Parliament in Cape Town on Friday could pave the way for a relaxation of trade sanctions, such as the denial of financial support to trade missions to South Africa or advice to companies planning to invest there.

There could also be an easing of restrictions on scientific and cultural contacts.

It was the lead story on page one of the new *Independent on Sunday*, launched yesterday, which reported that Mr Mandela was refusing to be freed until certain conditions set by the ANC had been met.

The foremost among these is the unbanning of the ANC, reported the newspaper's correspondent, John Carlin.

He quoted

Mrs Winnie Mandela as saying Mandela would simply turn back at the prison gate if the conditions were not met.

In a lengthy interview in the same newspaper Mrs Mandela gave an indication of the role Mr Mandela intends to play once he is released: "He sees himself, in his own words, as merely 'a facilitator'. That he was chosen as a symbol of resistance through whom the aspirations of the people are expressed was not his choice, so he wouldn't see himself as such," said Mrs Mandela.

Political differences

"But he is not only the facilitator, he says. He transcends all political differences. So he would see it as his duty to the nation to facilitate a motion whereby the people of this country are brought together to find a peaceful solution that will be for the good of all."

The *Sunday Express*, in an editorial, recalled that Mrs Thatcher's critics said South Africa would never move towards ending the "odious system of apartheid" unless she imposed sanctions.

Legal bid for release order halted

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela has forbidden lawyers to seek a court order releasing him from prison, a move they believe could have freed him in hours, lawyers and friends said at the weekend.

Lawyers said yesterday that almost the entire South African legal community believed Mr Mandela's continued imprisonment was illegal and unconstitutional. Star 29/1/90

Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, said after visiting him for four hours on Saturday that he was depressed and lonely in his prison-farm bungalow.

She said hopes for his early release seemed to have dimmed. She slammed the Government for playing with his emotions by raising the prospect of his release and then removing it.

She said her husband would not accept release until minimum conditions, including the dropping of the 30-year ban on the ANC, had been met.

Cape Town lawyer Mr Essa Moosa said: "Nelson Mandela is living in a luxurious house, he is

allowed all the visitors he wants, he is in consultation with the Government and the African National Congress in exile.

"Mandela is not being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act or any law, he is being held to suit the political agenda of F W de Klerk."

Mr Moosa said Mr Mandela refused a year ago to authorise a court application for his release even though he knew he could have been free in days.

Another lawyer who asked not to be named said he had discussed a court application with Mr Mandela more recently, but had been forbidden to take the idea further.

"Given the statements that have been made by various Government Ministers, I believe we could have Mr Mandela out of prison in 12 hours."

He said, however, that Mr Mandela insisted it was his right to be freed and wanted Mr de Klerk to free him immediately and unconditionally. — Sapa-Reuter.

Morale is low in Swazi schools

Confidence that compromise can resolve the conflicts

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has outlined major aspects of the Government's plan for constitutional negotiations which he hopes will start before the end of this year.

He said in an interview the negotiation process would require much time and could go on for a year or longer.

The Government's view was that the negotiating group should be as inclusive and comprehensive as possible, involving representative leaders from all meaningful political organisations.

Compromise

These would include political parties and organisations inside and outside Parliament, and also political movements in self-governing territories.

Independent homelands, which in the Government view were not part of SA, might also be kept informed, but probably only with observer status.

Dr Viljoen expressed confidence that a compromise could be reached between conflicting viewpoints.

Two fundamental issues on which a compromise had to be sought were:

- The demand for majority rule in a unitary state.

Viljoen sets out Govt's thinking on negotiations

- The demand for structural guarantees for the protection of minorities.

Significantly, these issues have been raised in the document on negotiations which came from Mr Nelson Mandela.

Political issues

In the document, Mr Mandela said a meeting would have to be held between the Government and the ANC as a first step to peace.

He said the two political issues to be addressed were: "Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand

as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

Other points made by Dr Viljoen included:

- The Government was considering ways in which the constitutional negotiations would be managed. One possibility being considered was to have a panel of acceptable neutral chairmen, designated by the negotiating conference.
- A suggestion that political organisations, rather than government structures, should be the negotiators.
- The Government's one and only fundamental precondition

was that there must be a clear commitment to peaceful negotiations by all involved.

- Should negotiation break down and violence result, or should violence cause a breakdown, the Government would handle the situation "in a very resolute way".

"We are not prepared at any stage to allow intimidation or threats to obstruct the way to the goal of a peacefully negotiated settlement."

- A variety of suggestions were being considered on how representatives were to be chosen to take part in the negotiations. An election for black people was still a possibility, but there were objections to and problems with this idea. Dr Viljoen said it had also been suggested that participants could have informal legitimacy on the grounds that organisations knew their leaders.

Early start

Dr Viljoen said it was hoped that an early start could be made with negotiations.

The Government's view was that issues such as the "so-called apartheid laws" or aspects of a new constitution should form part of the agenda and should not be made preconditions retarding the start of negotiations.

Dr Viljoen said he believed an acceptable alternative, accommodating the need of minorities for protection of their rights, could be negotiated.

'Police must be taken out of political battleground'

By Craig Kotze

President de Klerk has told the police command structure in Pretoria the force would not be used as a instrument to attain political goals. *Star 29/1/90*

But a senior police officer denied a Sunday newspaper report that the President had told police to keep out of politics. (364A)

"The SAP was never involved in politics in the first place," he said. "What the State President did say was that police should no longer be dragged into the political arena and would no longer be used to enforce political legislation like segregated beaches."

Mr de Klerk addressed about 500 police officers, including the entire general staff, at the police college two weeks ago.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday the officers present had pledged their support for Mr de Klerk's reform programme and his vision of the police role.

Mr de Klerk told the officers: "In the past, you have been asked to handle situations which had nothing to do with ordinary crime. But circumstances have changed and we have reviewed our definition of crime."

"In this category of activities which are not criminal we are engaged in a process of dramatic reform. In future, it will be required of you to guard against theft on the beaches, or to ensure there is no immoral conduct, or to prevent assaults. But it will never again be asked of you to say to someone 'You can not swim here because of your appearance'," said Mr de Klerk.

"When people gather politically to voice their views in an orderly fashion you will be asked to keep law and order."

"But you will not be required to prevent people from gathering to gain support for their views. This is the political battlefield and we want to take the police out of it," he said.

Reform prospects enlivening the JSE

Star 29/11/90

Nothing seems to enliven a stockmarket more than the prospect of political reform.

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe sent the West German stockmarket, whose companies are presumed to be the beneficiaries of this change, into fits of desire and up a quarter since October.

The subsequent political unrest in Russia has barely trimmed West German share prices.

By the same measure, the prospect that apartheid might end peacefully has sent South African shares up by 35 percent since the worldwide mini-crash last October.

In 1989 the JSE delivered a total return of 60 percent to dollar investors.

Politics is not the only reason. A 12 percent rise in the gold price since the beginning of October has given South African shares an added boost.

Gold shares account for around one-third of the JSE's capitalisation. The rand has also stiffened.

If the gold price runs to past form, it should remain strong for at least another year and so underpin the stockmarket.

Gold fans point out that every bull market in gold has seen the price rise by 55 to 60 percent (measured from trough to peak).

Furthermore, every bull market in gold, with the exception of the rally from June 1982 to February 1983 (which took the gold price from \$295 to \$508), has lasted at least two years.

Arrant alchemy, say some cynics. Yet there are two further reasons why history might repeat itself.

The first is that some of the newer mines in America and Australia have sold virtually all their production forward (at low prices) to pay for development costs.

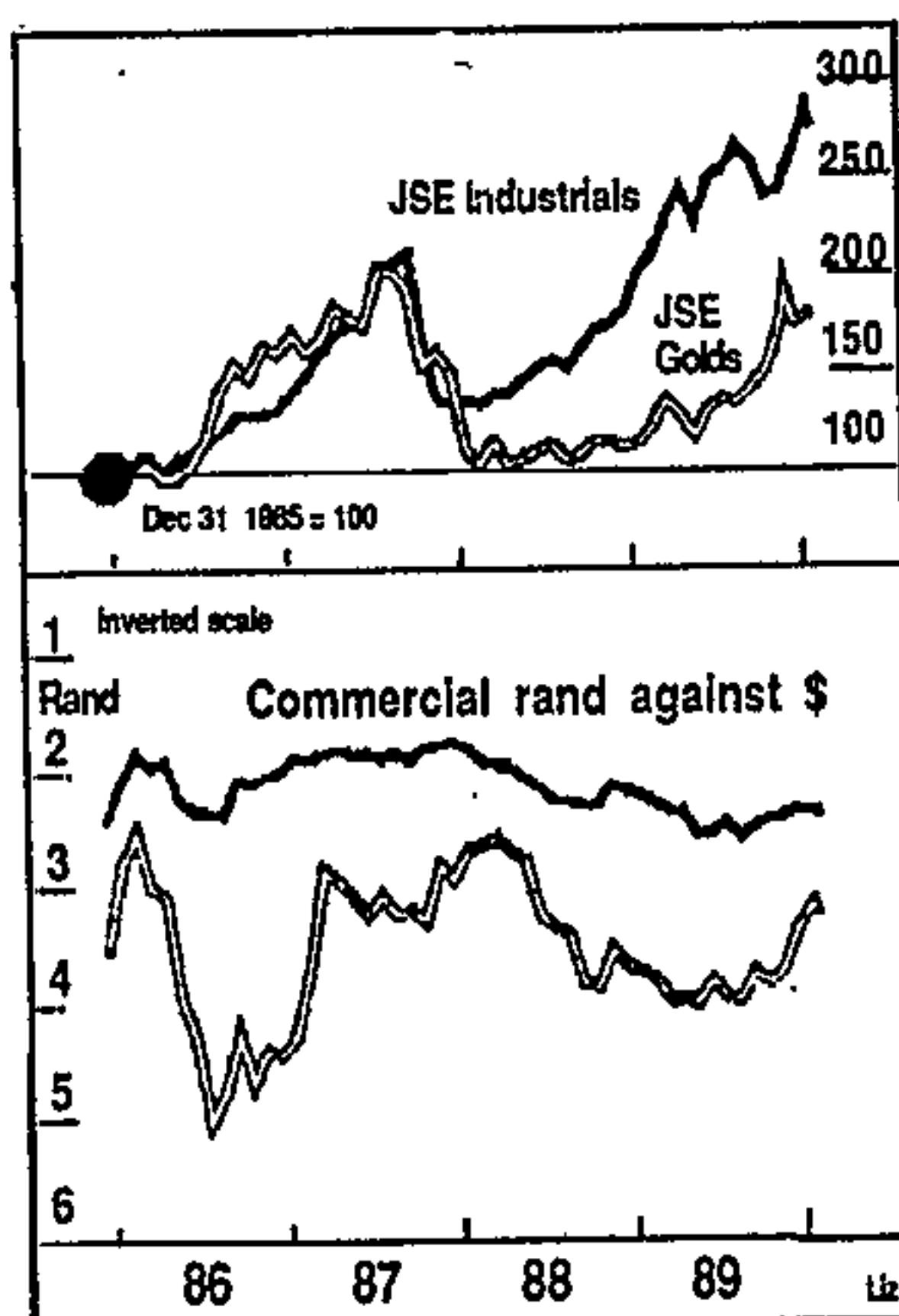
A lot of these mines were optimistic and are not now producing gold in the volumes they expected.

To fulfil their contracts they are having to buy gold from the market; there is an increasing risk of default.

The second argument is that gold usually does well when the financial world starts to lose confidence in paper investments and politicians.

The present nervousness of the world's stock and bond markets, the evident rickety-ness of America's banking system, and the unrest in the Soviet Union provide classic props for the price of gold.

The optimism about political change in South Africa is about to be tested. President FW de Klerk is due to outline his plans at the state opening of



Parliament on February 2.

International investors expect him to announce that the ANC will no longer be a banned organisation. Nelson Mandela, the ANC's figurehead, could then be released from prison, where he has spent the past quarter century. That might lead to talks about power-sharing.

If Mr de Klerk disappoints foreign investors, the stockmarket will not be the only financial market to suffer.

The recovery in the stockmarket and the buoyant performance of South African government bonds, where yields have fallen from around 17.5 percent last July to 15.3 percent last week, have lured in foreigners.

They put around R2 billion into the bond market last year. This infusion of cash has helped narrow the discount between the financial rand and the commercial rand.

The financial rate is lower than the commercial rate to encourage foreigners to invest and not to sell. Interest and dividends are paid at the commercial rate.

A rush out of South African shares would put the financial rand under pressure. This, in turn, might prompt foreigners who bought South African government bonds in July to cash in their gains.

These investors bought the bonds for their high yield (over 25 percent in dollar terms) are now enjoying a rand capital gain of around 10 percent and a 10 percent currency gain.

The less attractive South Africa becomes to foreign investors, the bleaker its economic prospects.

Since it froze repayments on its some short-term debts in 1985, it has attracted hardly any foreign capital. In order to make interest and principal payments on its foreign debts, South Africa has been forced to run a trade surplus.

This, in turn, has meant keeping domestic demand on a short leash. Real growth last year was around one percent.

Although turnover in South African shares is booming — on several days this year the JSE has traded R200 million-worth of shares, with the rest of the world probably handling the same again — comparatively few shares are free to change hands.

While the New York Stock Exchange has an annual turnover roughly equal to its market capitalisation, annual turnover in South African shares is only about 25 percent of the market's \$120 billion capitalisation.

This is low, largely because South African mining finance and trading houses, such as Anglo American, own so many shares in other companies.

These shares are undervalued in the owners' balance sheets, making them unwilling to sell them and thus incur a hefty bill for capital gains tax.

But capital gains tax looks likely to be abolished in the March Budget.

In the short run, abolishing the tax on shares that have been held for, say, more than five years should release more shares onto the market, since the mining-finance houses might rush to sell.

In the long run the change should improve the stockmarket's liquidity.

Last year the main foreign buyers of South African shares were continental European investors.

If Mr de Klerk says what the British and Americans want to hear, they may also plunge into the market. They might do better by buying industrial companies, rather than their traditional investments, gold mines.

Compared with other stockmarkets, shares in South African industrial companies still look cheap. The stockmarket as a whole trades on a prospective P/E ratio of nine times brokers' forecasts of this year's earnings.

Industrial companies, such as South African Breweries, are even cheaper, at five times prospective earnings.

The average P/E ratio for the world's stockmarkets (excluding Japan, where the P/E ratio is 50) is around 14.

If South Africa becomes less of an international pariah, its economy and trade should take off as it once again becomes eligible for foreign credit. Industrial companies have most to gain.

— The Economist.

Govt must make changes first Mandela

124 29/1/90

MANDY JEAN WOODS

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, 71, would return to armed struggle if, when he was released, certain pre-conditions set down by the ANC had not been met, National Association of Democratic Lawyers vice-president and Mandela family friend Dullah Omar said yesterday.

This was the "complication" to Mandela's release mentioned by his wife Winnie after she spent four hours with him on Saturday. Omar and his wife accompanied her to Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Omar said Mandela had repeatedly said he expected major changes to have taken place by the time he was released. These

included the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other restricted organisations, allowing exiled ANC leaders to return and releasing political prisoners.

The ANC has also said pre-conditions stipulated in the Harare Declarations would have to be met before it would consider negotiating with government.

"If he is released and there are no changes, he would report back to the ANC that three years of talks have been a waste of time and he would return to SA to

resume the struggle which would result in him being back in prison. Therefore, there is no point in releasing him without these changes being made," Omar said.

"The problem is that it appears government is not ready to make these changes but at the same time pressure is mounting to have Nelson Mandela released," he said.

Sapa reports Winnie Mandela as saying after the visit: "It is quite clear there are a lot of hurdles along the way. It is quite clear problems have cropped up."

Omar said speculation over Mandela's apparently imminent release was just that — speculation.

'Police must be taken out of political battleground'

By Craig Kotze

President de Klerk has told the police command structure in Pretoria the force would not be used as a instrument to attain political goals. *Star 29/1/90*

But a senior police officer denied a Sunday newspaper report that the President had told police to keep out of politics. (304A)

"The SAP was never involved in politics in the first place," he said. "What the State President did say was that police should no longer be dragged into the political arena and would no longer be used to enforce political legislation like segregated beaches."

Mr de Klerk addressed about 500 police officers, including the entire general staff, at the police college two weeks ago.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Meilet said yesterday the officers present had pledged their support for Mr de Klerk's reform programme and his vision of the police role.

Mr de Klerk told the officers: "In the past, you have been asked to handle situations which had nothing to do with ordinary crime. But circumstances have changed and we have reviewed our definition of crime."

"In this category of activities which are not criminal we are engaged in a process of dramatic reform. In future, it will be required of you to guard against theft on the beaches, or to ensure there is no immoral conduct, or to prevent assaults. But it will never again be asked of you to say to someone 'You can not swim here because of your appearance'," said Mr de Klerk.

"When people gather politically to voice their views in an orderly fashion you will be asked to keep law and order."

"But you will not be required to prevent people from gathering to gain support for their views. This is the political battlefield and we want to take the police out of it," he said.

One killed, four hurt in wrong-way crash

A man was killed and four people were injured when a car apparently drove in the wrong direction and collided with an on-coming vehicle on a dual carriageway highway in Westonaria last night.

A Westonaria Fire and Ambulance Department spokesman said two cars collided on the Randfontein-Westonaria highway at about 10.30 pm when the one car drove on the wrong side of the road. A man was killed instantly and three women and a young boy were injured in the collision. Their names have not yet been released.

Seeking support



Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi waves to supporters after paying respects at the tomb of Portuguese poet Luis de Camões at Jeronimos monastery. Dr Savimbi is visiting Portugal in an attempt to mobilise support for his Unita movement.

● See Page 2

Anarchy in Yugoslavia

Kosovo province in Yugoslavia, for years wracked by ethnic conflict between Serbs and Albanians, was last night sliding into anarchy as Serbian riot police shot dead four more Albanian militants in savage clashes. At least 10 were killed on Saturday.

● See Page 4

Mystery light

WASHINGTON — Thousands of people in the Eastern United States reported seeing a strange blueish-green light in the night sky, and some experts said they could have been viewing an unusually large meteorite. "We are quite confident it was not a man-made object re-entering," said Major Dick Adam, spokesman at the North American Aerospace Defence Command. "We have no idea what it was."

USSR in focus

Three books on the Soviet Union are reviewed, two of them considering the impact of *glasnost* and *perestroika* while the third uncovers the full scale of the man-made Ukrainian famines — and notes that the police state which made such horrors possible is still in existence.

● Books, Page 12

Accord on change

GABORONE — Young ANC members and their National Party Jeugkrug counterparts have agreed to "fast and fundamental change" in South Africa but failed to reach agreement on certain ideological issues at a two-day conference. Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, chairman of Jeugkrug (which includes members of the ruling National Party and the opposition Democratic Party), said yesterday that, among other issues, the two sides agreed that apartheid was wrong, detention without trial should go and that all political groups outlawed in South Africa should be unbanned.

Grounds for anger

Angry investors who poured millions into the Coffee Corporation of SA Ltd

ANC commitment wanted

FW ponders Mandela's 'conditions'

Star 29/1/90

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk appears locked in a dilemma over the timing of the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela as he prepares his all-important speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

Government sources said today no decision on a date for Mr Mandela's release had yet been made and that the Cabinet had decided to leave the timing up to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela himself.

Though a strong lobby within the Government has apparently been pushing for Mr Mandela to be released as soon as possible — and believes this could happen any day — it now seems problems have arisen, possibly surrounding the conditions which Mr Mandela is setting for his release.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the lifting of restrictions placed on over 30 organisations like the UDF and, most importantly, the unbanning of the ANC.

It appears that although Mr de Klerk might be prepared to lift the emergency partially this week when he opens Parliament — by lifting the restrictions on the UDF and others and perhaps by easing restrictions on written media — he is not yet prepared to unban the ANC.

Today Mr Mandela's lawyer friend, Mr Dullah Omar, said Mr Mandela had made it quite clear that if his conditions were not met around the time of his release, he would return to the armed struggle and find himself back in jail within a month.

Mr Omar said that the Government's dilemma was whether or not it was prepared to meet his conditions.

Government sources have indicated that, all else being equal, the best time to release him would be before Mr de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament.

They reason is that if Mr de Klerk makes the announcement on Friday — as many expect him to do — it will simply obliterate anything else he has to say. On the other hand if he does not announce Mr Mandela's release on February 2, there is a real danger of another Rubicon-like debacle.

Certainly even very senior people in the security establishment believe that the unbanning of the ANC must go hand in hand with the release of Mr Mandela. But it may be that Mr de Klerk fears this might be too much for his white constituency to swallow at the one time.

Sources have suggested the Government may also have decided to delay the unbanning of the ANC because the ANC has failed to make a clear commitment to seek peaceful solutions.



Rice angry at how he was axed

By Barry Glasspool

An angry Clive Rice, deposed as Springbok captain for the Tests against Mike Gatting's Englishmen, lashed out at the national selectors for their handling of his sacking.

"The selectors didn't have the guts to contact me directly to tell me that I would not be the captain. I had to hear about it on television," said Rice.

The convener of the SA selectors, Peter van der Merwe, refused to comment this morning.

"I see no point in carrying on any discussion on this issue with Rice through the media," was all he would say in answer to suggestions that matters other than cricketing ability were taken into account in reaching their choice of Rice's Transvaal deputy Jimmy Cook as captain.

Change c foils dem

By Michael Shafto

BLOEMFONTEIN — Mike Gatting and his rebel English cricket team made a last-minute switch of venue yesterday, coming here by bus arriving at 9.30 pm. They were originally to have arrived by only this morning.

No demonstrators were on to greet them, but a team of youths quickly cleared their baggage from the bus.

Player manager David Greig, fresh from his fine performance of 10 wickets for the match in Gatting XI's 258-run defeat of the Combined Bowl team, denied a change of plan was to foil demonstrators.

In Johannesburg, general secretary of the National Sports Congress (NSC), Mr Krish Naidoo, promised the pace of the anti-apartheid campaign would be stepped up next week. The NSC has set aside R100 000 for anti-tour campaigns.

Mandela waits

As FW faces a crucial week

CPT 7/15 29/1/80 (10) 304

New dawn for 'drain baby'



By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A POSSIBLE souring of relations between Mr Nelson Mandela and the SA government is facing President FW de Klerk as expectations surrounding his opening of Parliament speech later this week continue to grow.

A source of conflict between Mr Mandela and the government appears to be a cabinet plan to stagger the announcement of reform moves during the coming parliamentary session to extract maximum positive publicity for the De Klerk administration.

Such an approach would preclude the announcement of a comprehensive reform package when Mr De Klerk opens Parliament on Friday.

Unbanning ANC, PAC

Notable omissions from Mr De Klerk's speech would have been Mr Mandela's release and some of the ANC's other preconditions for negotiations, like the immediate unbanning of the organisation, the total scrapping of the state of emergency and the return of political exiles.

According to senior government sources, a preliminary version of Mr De Klerk's speech, which has received inputs from a number of ministers, would have allowed for a partial scrapping of the emergency and the easing of curbs on more than 30 restricted organisations, including the UDF, Azapo and Cosatu.

Mr De Klerk was also expected to give further details of the government's announced commitment to scrap the Separate Amenities Act "as soon as possible" and its economic reform programme.

Mr Mandela's release was expected after mid-February, with the ban on the ANC and the PAC coming in the second half to the parliamentary session. Government sources said they believed that Western governments like Britain and the United States would be satisfied with the rate of change under such a scenario.

INSIDE



● FW speech: UK hopes 'high' — PAGE 2

● MDM will march with out permit — PAGE 2

● Cops must still enforce apartheid — PAGE 3

However, Mr Mandela does not appear to find such a game plan acceptable.

Mrs Winnie Mandela told journalists at the weekend that "some problems had cropped up about his immediate release". She said after visiting her husband on Saturday that Mr Mandela had told her: "I want to come home and if I could I would be going home with you now."

Later in Johannesburg, Mrs Mandela told AP that her husband did not want to be released till the ANC had been unbanned, exiles had been allowed to return to South Africa and the state of emergency had been ended.

"There is no question of him walking out of Victor Verster without these demands having been met."

National Association of Democratic Lawyers Vice-president and family friend Mr Dullah Omar said yesterday that Mr Mandela would return to armed struggle if when he was released, certain preconditions set down by the ANC had not been met.

Mr Omar and his wife accompanied Mrs Mandela to Victor Verster Prison at Paarl where she spent four hours with her husband. Mr Omar said Mr Mandela had repeatedly said he expected there would have been

major changes to have taken place by the time he is released.

These changes include the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other restricted organisations, allowing exiled ANC leaders to return and releasing political prisoners, he said.

The ANC has also said pre-conditions stipulated in the Harare Declarations would have to be met before it would consider entering into negotiations with government.

"If he is released and there are no changes, he would report back to the ANC that three years of talks have been a waste of time and he would return to SA to resume the struggle which would result in him being back in prison."

"Therefore there is no point in releasing him without these changes being made," Mr Omar said.

"The problem is that it appears government is not ready to make these changes but at the same time pressure is mounting to have Mr Mandela released," he said. Mr Omar said speculation over Mr Mandela's apparently imminent release was just that — speculation.

"He himself has not been told. He does not know and has not been given any indication when he will be released."

Protest marches

If Mr Mandela is indeed insisting that his release coincide with a comprehensive reform package paving the way for negotiation, this will almost certainly be discussed at this Wednesday's cabinet meeting which should see the finishing touches being put to Mr De Klerk's opening address.

Government ministers have been heartened by the role Mr Mandela has been playing in trying to break the political logjam to date and government would not want to alienate him at this politically sensitive stage.

Another daunting challenge facing Mr De Klerk this week is how his government is to respond to the planned protest marches in Cape Town, one of them an MDM demonstration on Friday calling on government to disband Parliament.

With the city swarming with dozens of international television crews, Mr De Klerk can hardly afford a repeat of last week's confrontation between police and protesters.

3044

Police still have to enforce apartheid

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE police will have to continue enforcing the government's controversial apartheid laws despite President F.W. de Klerk's promise to depoliticise their role.

Law and Order Minister Mr. Adrian Vlok and senior police generals made this clear two days after President De Klerk told the top 500 officers in the force at a confidential meeting at the Police College in Pretoria that it was unfair to continue embroiling the police in SA's political battle.

Mr. De Klerk reportedly told the officers on January 17 that the reputation of the police would be at risk if it continued to

be dragged into politics, and promised that the government would not use the police any longer as "instruments to achieve its political goals".

Two days later, at a briefing for journalists on the Orange River, Mr. Vlok and senior members of the police welcomed the planned depoliticisation of their task.

But he said they were in the "difficult situation" of being obliged to enforce laws governing protest marches and the Separatist Areas Act.

President De Klerk's message was that government would try to handle the difficult issues in such a way as to ease the task of the police force.

General Van der Merwe said: "According to a text of Mr. De Klerk's speech published yesterday by the Sunday Times, President De Klerk had said: 'We cannot become embroiled in an 80 years' war. We have to move towards finding solutions that are acceptable to the majority of the population.'"

The present generation had to decide what legacy it was going to leave its successors.

"Do we want to leave them a future where revolution keeps on boiling below the surface? Where there is growing polarisation and where moderate people are increasingly radicalised? Where the

day Times, President De Klerk had said: 'We cannot become embroiled in an 80 years' war. We have to move towards finding solutions that are acceptable to the majority of the population.'"

The present generation had to decide what legacy it was going to leave its successors.

"Do we want to leave them a future where revolution keeps on boiling below the surface? Where there is growing polarisation and where moderate people are increasingly radicalised? Where the

Mr. De Klerk also promised that urgent steps would be taken to address grievances within the force.

General Van der Merwe said yesterday that police in general felt more "relaxed" that government was prepared to take the lead in allowing demonstrations and committing itself to relaxing certain restrictions.

He also said the government had acknowledged that the present state of the SA Police was in a "critical condition" and that it would urgently look to solving salary grievances and working conditions in the near future.

Police thwart AWB flag ride

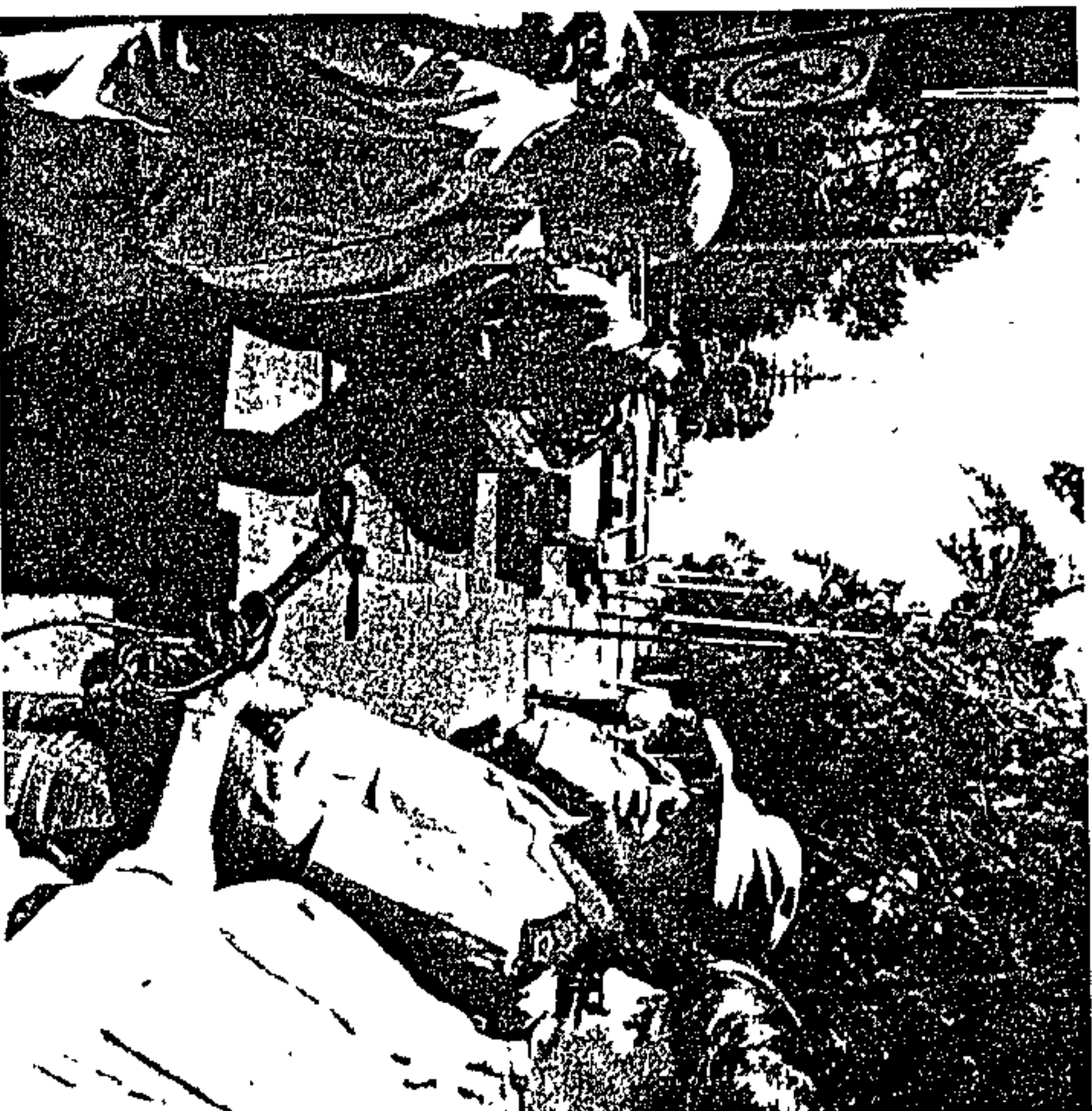
A BAKKIE festooned with AWB flags and posters, headed for an Adderley Street protest, was stopped and turned back by police in Newlands at the weekend.

A police spokesman said the action on Saturday was taken in terms of emergency regulations.

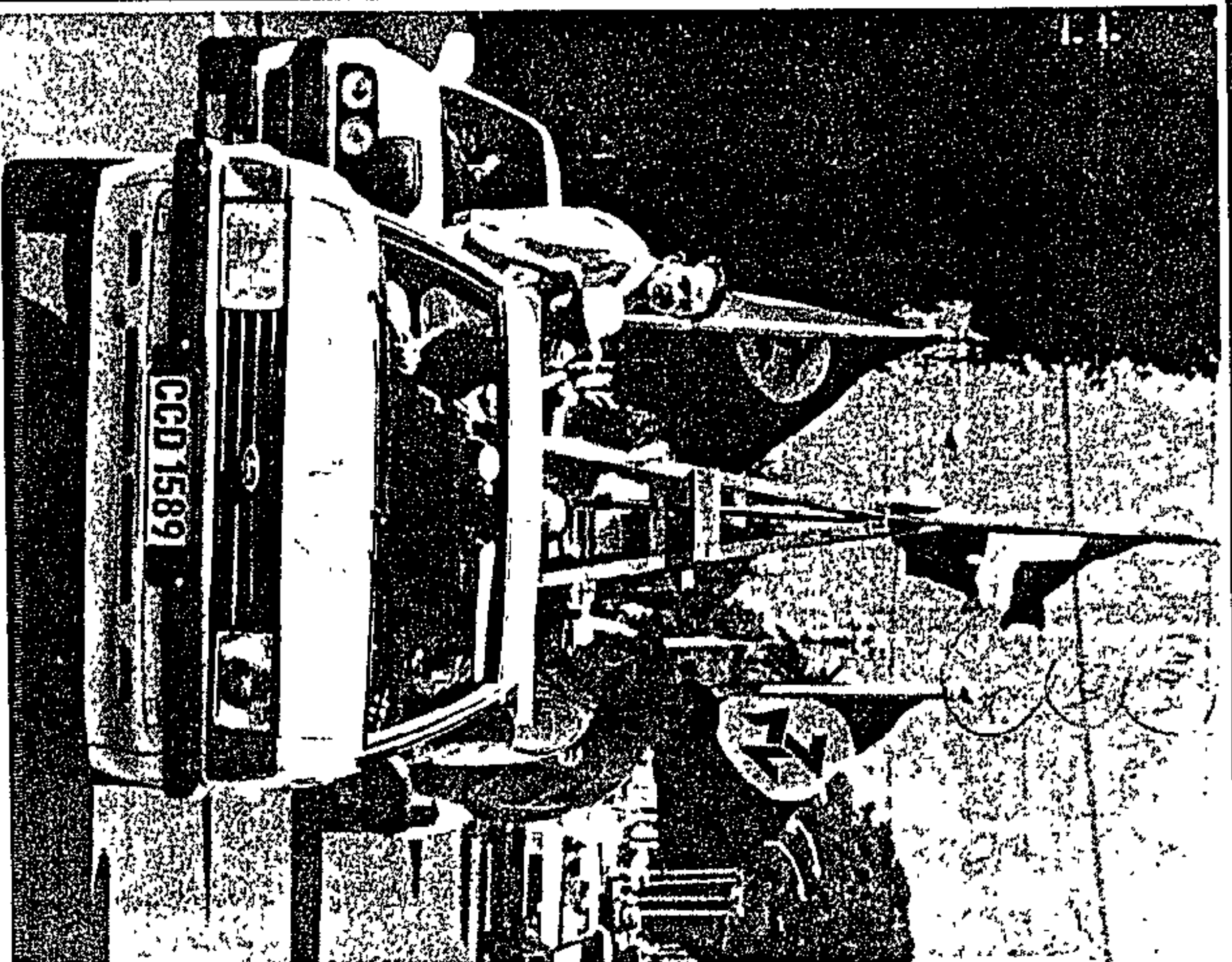
A man who claimed to be the Cape leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Steven Jacobson, said later that since the planned "motorcade" had received publicity he had been bombarded with "abusive" telephone calls.

"We only wanted to make our presence felt in the so-called liberal Cape", he said from his Fish Hoek home yesterday afternoon.

He would not specify how many AWB members there were in the Peninsula.



LEFT: Seven members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging drove from Fish Hoek to Newlands where they were stopped by the police under state of emergency regulations on Saturday. Their aim was to "make their presence in the Cape felt". **ABOVE:** Mr Steven Jacobson, Cape Leader of the AWB, claims to have been abused over the telephone by non-whites at the weekend. He is seen being interviewed by the police video unit after his bakkie carrying six other members of the right-wing group, including his son Abrie behind him, was stopped in Newlands.



TT

Sowetan 29/11/90

Help De Klerk - Mopeli urges

THE present homeland system should immediately be overhauled with a view to scrapping it and developing the existing structures into non-racial regional governments within a greater South Africa.

This was said by Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of the semi-autonomous territory of QwaQwa, at a rally yesterday.

Mopeli applauded the intention of some homelands to "make a come-back into the South African fold" and said President F W de Klerk had "laid the necessary groundwork to facilitate reform and can no longer turn back at the Rubicon".

"It has become imperative for us to help him cross it," Mopeli asserted.

(304A) (18P)
"We are very anxious to help De Klerk negotiate a new constitution with all leaders. Mandela is today, I fear, the most over-rated black leader in South Africa," he said.

But, he added, QwaQwa would continue to press for the ageing ANC leader's release. - Sapa.

DANIEL SIMON

GOVERNMENT had acknowledged that the SA Police was in a "critical condition" and would urgently look to redressing salary grievances and improving working conditions, SAP commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

He said President F W de Klerk had conveyed this message during a confidential meeting with the SAP's top structure at the Pretoria Police College earlier this month. *6/10am 29/11/90*

He said De Klerk had also told about 500 senior officers that government was not "going soft" on law and order with regard to demonstrations, meetings and marches.

But he had warned officers not to get

FW to address SAP's problems

involved in politics. *(22/11/90) 304A*

He said De Klerk had conveyed the message that government would ease the SAP's task by not embroiling the force in politics and by adopting a more flexible attitude towards certain issues.

Van der Merwe said De Klerk's example was government's new, more relaxed approach to demonstrations, open-air meetings and marches.

De Klerk's meeting had served to confirm the new direction in which the SAP had been moving for some time, he said.

☐ To Page 2

SAP problems

6/10am 29/11/90
He said the meeting had also served to clear up any lingering police "confusion" on when and how to act against demonstrators carrying ANC flags, banners and posters during protest marches.

Van der Merwe said the mere display of an ANC flag or the bearing of posters and banners did not constitute an offence. This had always been the case.

"However, the display of an ANC flag with posters and banners promoting the aims and objectives of a banned organisation still constitutes an offence and will be treated as an offence," he said.

Van der Merwe added that in general police felt more "relaxed" about govern-

ment's new lead. *(22/11/90) 304A*

DP law and order spokesman Denis Worrall said De Klerk's meeting with the police had to be welcomed as it was "absolutely essential."

"In a transitional period, the police have an extremely important role to play."

Regarding politics, Worrall said De Klerk's concern was that "quite a few policemen are identifying with the CP".

He said the police were in a "very difficult" situation because of low morale and uncertainty.

He said a rising number of policemen were now "finding it distasteful to implement apartheid law".

☐ From Page 1

304A

Businessmen confused over ANC stance

ALAN FINE

BUSINESS has responded to Nelson Mandela's reaffirmation of his and the ANC's commitment to the nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industry with discomfort and confusion.

SA Chamber of Business president Leslie Boyd said the statement would have an extremely negative impact on the perceptions of skilled and professional people in SA.

"If such policies are implemented in a future SA it would lead to a massive brain drain the likes of which have never before been seen," he said.

He said many in SA were prepared to accept the total removal of racial discrimination and "heavy" black involvement in government, provided the economy was run on a free enterprise basis.

"If the statement is authentic I am very disappointed. It would appear Nelson Mandela and the ANC are out of touch with reality and totally ignore the very significant events that have taken place in Eastern Europe in recent months," said Boyd.

Another prominent businessman, who had met ANC representatives more than once, said it was impossible to have a sensible debate until the political process had been freed up.

Declining to be named, he said nationalisation was a vague term and a rhetorical device.

"It is possible to speculate that the ANC wishes to firm up its apparently softening policy so it has an appropriate opening position at the bargaining table. It also has to reassure its restless troops on the ground who believe it is going soft," he said.

He noted that the ANC, like most political organisations, had many agendas directed at a wide range of constituencies. Without open debate it was difficult to assess what various statements meant.

Chamber of Mines president Ken Maxwell said at the weekend Mandela's reported statement was a contradiction of the process required for black economic empowerment.

It also appeared to contradict some of the reassuring noises made by ANC leaders recently, Maxwell said.

Maxwell said these discussions had led to expectations that the ANC had begun to adopt a more realistic approach, more in keeping with developments elsewhere in the world where nationalisation was being abandoned "at every turn".

B/D am 29/11/90

The speech all await: what should it tell us?

Stew 30/1/90
304A

What should Mr de Klerk say when he delivers his speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday?

This question was answered by leading academic experts in interviews this week.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch's department of Africa studies, believes people on all sides should cool expectations, which are now running beyond the limits of reality. No magic formula for achieving the unattainable should be expected.

He points out that there are certain basic issues on which more clarity is needed.

In extra-parliamentary circles, in particular, expectations focus largely on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Unless Mr de Klerk gives clarity on these matters, his speech would fall short of expectations.

But Professor Breytenbach warned that some people were expecting a Utopia which could not be achieved overnight — not even with the best will in the world.

Nothing which was not affordable should be expected from Mr de Klerk, especially in the light of realities such as continuing foreign sanctions and disinvestment.

The Government should give a clearer impression of its bottom line for negotiation: where will it draw the line; and where will it not draw the line?

Clarity on this would help to cool down expectations and to remove some of the woolliness in the present debate.

Other issues on which Mr de Klerk should give clarity include:

- Economic policy: what will be the nature of the economic dispensation for a new South Africa? How will the "system", under the Government and the "struggle" under the ANC be reconciled in terms of economic policy?

- The black education crisis: how will it be resolved.

- The future of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act: "The Government

owes it to the country to say what it intends to do, especially in view of the fact that the concept of free settlement areas has not caught the public imagination".

Professor Marinus Wiechers, of the University of South Africa's department of constitutional law, sees two major issues which President de Klerk should address in clear terms:

- What is his vision for South Africa? He should give a commitment on the kind of South Africa he envisages.

- How does he see the process of writing a new constitution for the country? Will it be done piecemeal or through a single process of negotiation like a national convention? Who will be the players in the process and how will representatives for constitutional negotiations be chosen?

Tax reform

Professor Brian Kantor, of the University of Cape Town's school of economics, said important economic issues that should be addressed by Mr de Klerk were privatisation, deregulation and tax reform.

Mr de Klerk should also indicate to what extent the Government is prepared to adapt its economic strategy to its political strategy.

At present the Government's political success in persuading the world that reform was taking place in South Africa was undermining its economic strategy. The economic slowdown which the Government was hoping to achieve was being offset by rising confidence. People were spending more because they had confidence.

Professor Hennie Kotze, of the University of Stellenbosch's department of political science, said everybody was expecting Mr de Klerk to announce the release of Mr Nelson Mandela or at least to outline the process of release.

Professor Kotze said there was great anxiety among white voters in some quarters about negotiations, and where they will lead to. Mr de Klerk should spell out the path.

CNIG Times

30/1/90

DP 304A

causes stir in Karoo

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party publicly launched into the Karoo at the weekend — and caused a stir.

At Colesberg, more than 500 people, about 400 of whom were black, packed the local town hall and overflowed outside to hear DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall speak.

According to DP organiser Mr Steph Snell, it was believed to have been the largest political meeting ever held in Colesberg.

Although a number of police were present, there were no incidents.

After Dr Worrall's speech, in which he spoke about the future and the need for building bridges, a number of questions were asked by members of the audience, with the questions and replies being translated into Xhosa.

Afterwards, a number of committees were established to deal with some of the local problems in the area and a multiracial branch of the DP's Women's Forum was established.

Dr Worrall also spoke at a meeting in Beaufort West, which was attended by 75 people.

De Beer to lead DP in Parliament

CAT Trip 30/11/90 Political Staff 30/11/90

THE Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus yesterday unanimously elected the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, as its parliamentary leader.

The decision, which comes as no surprise, is in line with the earlier agreement by the party's three co-leaders to divide their responsibilities.

In accordance with this agreement, Dr Denis Worrall is responsible for the development and expansion of the DP and Mr Wynand Malan is responsible for extra-parliamentary liaison.

Dr De Beer, who became South Africa's youngest MP when he was elected for Maitland in 1953, was a founder member of the Progressive Party in 1959 and lost his seat in 1961.

He was elected MP for Parktown in 1977 but stood down in 1981 to concentrate on business activities.

After being elected leader of the PFP, he was made a nominated MP last year and then was again elected MP for Parktown on September 6 last year.

The caucus also elected its vice-chairman, Mr Harry Schwarz, the MP for Yeoville, to join the chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, as the caucus's two representatives on the DP's national executive.

Sutner not optimistic govt will meet demands

WHILE President F W de Klerk has introduced significant changes in SA, it is clear government does not intend meeting demands for basic political rights, legal academic and UDF leader Raymond Sutner said yesterday.

Sutner arrived back at his Johannesburg home on Sunday, having left the country unlawfully in August, while under a restriction order, to represent the MDM at the conference which produced the Harare Declaration.

He stressed he had returned to continue the political struggle against apartheid.

Sutner said it was apparent De Klerk was predisposed to a political solution in SA, as opposed to P W Botha's tendency to seek militaristic options. It had therefore been necessary for De Klerk, in response to popular pressure, to make certain concessions, like permitting marches and releasing political prisoners, he said.

However, Sutner added, government was nowhere near granting universal suffrage, let alone other demands found in the Freedom Charter.

ALAN FINE

He said he had not returned to SA immediately after the Harare conference as he was promoting the declaration internationally and recuperating from his three-year period of solitary confinement in prison and house arrest.

Sutner, convicted in 1975 of promoting the aims of the ANC and the SACP and sentenced to 7½ years in prison, said he viewed developments in Eastern Europe as "basically positive".

"I understand these developments as part of a process of self-determination and democratisation."

His socialist outlook did not mean he was in favour of blanket nationalisation of the economy, as has been attributed to him on occasion.

"I was misquoted. Far from arguing for the nationalisation of everything down to the corner barber shop, I argued the opposite, that this would be a huge burden on the state and that certain types of work are performed most efficiently on an independent basis."



Legal academic Raymond Sutner at home yesterday. He says he has returned to SA to continue his struggle against apartheid.
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Stop making promises and get on with the job of re-shaping South Africa. Action is needed, not words.

This is the essence of what leaders across the political spectrum want from President de Klerk when he addresses Parliament and the nation on Friday.

But opinions differ widely on what he should do and how he should do it.

Major issues which opinion-makers inside and outside Parliament want him to deal with include the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the specifics of getting constitutional negotiations off the ground, the removal of apartheid laws, and the thorny issue of "hit squads" alleged to have operated inside the security system.

Mr de Klerk's address is also eagerly awaited by rightwing organisations, most of which have misgivings about the Government's planned reforms.

One opinion-maker who declined his week to comment on Mr de Klerk's speech before it is delivered is Conservative Party leader Dr An-

dries Treurnicht.

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan is convinced that Mr de Klerk's speech will fall far short of what, in Mr Malan's opinion, should be said.

"Mr de Klerk has not changed in terms of his own ideology and his system of beliefs. One should not expect too much of him."

He does not expect Mr de Klerk will say anything new on the issue of negotiation. The President will probably announce Mr Mandela's release, without giving a date.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has sounded a word of caution on the lines that a negotiating breakthrough is not around the corner.

He said in a recent address in Oxford that expectations both inside and outside the country were "running away from reality".

His own expectation is that on

When President de Klerk addresses Parliament and the nation on Friday, politicians across the political spectrum in South Africa hope he will emerge as a man of action and not just words. But opinions differ widely over what he should do and how he should do it. **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports.

February 2 President de Klerk will express his Government's willingness to act on most of the pre-conditions set out in the ANC's Harare declaration of August 21 1989, on the basis that he gets a quid pro quo from the ANC on violence.

Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana says President de Klerk "now needs to bite the bullet". Mr de Klerk should do so at a time when Western leaders like President Bush of the United States and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany are "looking to us to change our ways".

To meet widespread expectations, President de Klerk should announce

the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other politicals, the unbanning of the ANC, and the removal of all other obstacles to negotiation.

"If he doesn't do that, it will be a terrible letdown."

He likened the occasion to former President B J Vorster's call "to give us six months" and former President P W Botha's attempt to "cross the Rubicon".

Dr Motlana believes the Government is "obsessed" with group rights and group arrangements — "I don't see that South Africa, on February 2, will be ready to embrace a non-racial administration."

Mr Mike Olivier, chairman of the

spelt out a framework for negotiations. Now Mr de Klerk must clarify his framework and approach to negotiations," Mr Olivier says.

Mr Peter Mansfield, executive director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, says there are two things he would like to hear from Mr De Klerk. These are the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, and the formation of a broadly-based forum to discuss national negotiations.

Various extra-parliamentary organisations, including the United Democratic Front, have pinned their hopes on possible Government moves to unban the banned organisations like the ANC, to lift restrictions and to allow free political activity for all.

UDF spokesman Mr Azhar Cachalia says it will be in the Government's interest to unban the UDF. It will draw favourable international response, he says, and will enable

the Government to "understand the people's demands better" and to "chart the path forward".

The organisation expects the Government will lift restrictions on it before April.

Interest in Mr de Klerk's address is also mounting among white rightwing groups. Their expectations are focused more on what Mr de Klerk will not say than on what he will say. They will be straining their ears for any signal that the Government will slow down on reform and on any plans for including the ANC in negotiations.

"What I would like to hear, he will not say," says Dr Chris Jooste of the Afrikaner Volkswag. "I await the speech with interest and expect it will have far-reaching consequences. It is likely to determine our future actions."

He expects the ANC will take part and is in favour of white rightwing participation to put the case for a separate Afrikaner homeland.

"My own country, an Afrikaner state, must be part of the solution. Without this there can be no solution," says Dr Jooste.

Protests could derail reforms

CAPE TOWN — As speculation continues over a release date for ANC leader Nelson Mandela, there is consternation in government ranks that protest marches planned for this week could delay his release — and plans to unban outlawed organisations.

There is also growing concern about protests against Mike Gattings' English rebel cricket team.

A government source said yesterday it was highly unlikely Mandela would be released within a week either side of President F W de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

But a mid-February release could be delayed if the planned marches got out of hand, he said. *30/1/90*

He warned that any outbreak of the lawlessness which characterised the 1984-86 years would set back the pace of reform, halt plans to lift the state of emergency and unban organisations and even delay the release of Mandela.

If government is concerned about events leading up to Friday's speech, Mandela has

Political Staff

apparently also added a new dimension to release plans, because he is not happy with the planned staggered lifting of the emergency, and the ban on certain organisations.

An indication that a further snag had arisen was given by Winnie Mandela when she was interviewed after visiting Mandela at the weekend.

The source said that at this stage government planned a phased change, starting with a partial lifting of the emergency on Friday. This would effect the print media and also end the restrictions on a number of organisations — organisations such as the UDF, Cosatu and Azapo, some of which have unofficially unbanned themselves already.

The emergency would be further relaxed in time, depending on the security situation.

The second phase involved the release of

☐ To Page 2

Protests

Mandela and the third an end to the ban on the ANC and PAC, he said.

Government not only wanted the changes staggered because of the security situation, but, according to a Cabinet Minister, because it wants to "milk" the events to its own advantage.

He said the British and US governments would not be unhappy with the package envisaged by government.

At this stage a great deal depends on the "security climate" over the next few days and whether marches and protests against the cricket tour take place without incident.

Sapa reports that Winnie Mandela and her children will take part in a protest march to Parliament on Friday organised by the mass democratic movement (MDM) to demand the end of apartheid.

UDF publicity secretary Cheryl Carolus said at a Press conference that one of the

demands would be the immediate release of Mandela. *6/1/90*

Marchers would also demand the resignation of the government and the dissolution of the tricameral parliament.

The MDM will not ask magisterial permission for the march but had "no problem" in co-operating "fully" with the Cape Town City Council. It had met traffic officials yesterday afternoon to discuss traffic arrangements for the march — scheduled to start at 9 am.

Carolus said the council had indicated its support for the right to peaceful assembly. The MDM hoped nobody in the city council would ask permission for the march on behalf of the movement.

UDF regional vice-president Dullah Omar said the issue of Mandela's release had been used as a "bargain counter" by government and it was unlikely he would be released before mid-February.

☐ From Page 1

an add up to individual debt increasing period last year, civil judgments in- creased by 7,5%.

SA could draw more immigrants

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA stands to make a substantial migration gain this year if favourable perceptions of the political climate are maintained. 30/11/90

A Home Affairs Department spokesman said a lively interest in moving to SA was still being shown by East Europeans. This was borne out by the latest figures from SA European migration offices.

During November-December last year, the SA mission office in Munich sent questionnaires to 858 people interested in migrating to SA. Of these, 631 were returned completed and 99 applications were forwarded to Pretoria for consideration and placement with employers.

In the same two months, 57 applications for immigration to SA were received from people who had previously made inquiries or had been recruited by SA employers.

From the SA mission in Bonn, 135 questionnaires were sent to prospective immigrants and 90 were completed.

A spokesman said about 90 percent of inquiries and applications were from expatriate Poles.

Zach confirmed as DP leader in House

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The DP's parliamentary caucus yesterday unanimously elected former PFP leader Zach de Beer as its parliamentary leader. 30/11/90

The decision is in line with the earlier agreement by the party's three co-leaders to divide their responsibilities. In accordance with this agreement, Denis Worrall is responsible for the development and expansion of the DP and Wynand Malan for extra-parliamentary liaison.

De Beer, who became SA's youngest MP when he was elected in the Maitland constituency in 1953, was a founder member of the Progressive Party in 1959. He lost his seat in 1961. He was elected MP for Parktown in 1977 but stood down in 1981 to concentrate on his business activities. After being elected leader of the PFP, he was made a nominated MP last year and then was again elected MP for Parktown on September 6.

The caucus also elected its vice-chairman Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) to join chairman Colin Eglin as its representatives on the DP's national executive.

0.40% increase

Star 30/11/90

304A

Sisulu release 'encouraging'

Go the distance together, whites told by Suttner

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

White democrats should show their willingness to work alongside their black brothers and sisters in the struggle against apartheid, said restricted key anti-apartheid activist, Mr Raymond Suttner yesterday.

Mr Suttner, a senior law lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand who faced severe restrictions before he slipped out of the country illegally last year to be part of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) delegation to Harare, returned to South Africa on Sunday.

Speaking from his home in Bezuidenhout Valley, Mr Suttner said he had not intended to stay abroad.

"I've never considered emigrating. It's especially important that white democrats show their willingness to struggle alongside their black brothers and sisters. They need to go the distance in the process of freeing South Africa," he said.

Asked if he thought he would be arrested for breaking his restriction orders which included speaking to the press, Mr Suttner said: "I'm exercising the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and movement, as enshrined in the Universal Dec-

laration of Human Rights.

Since his return, Mr Suttner has not been visited by police.

He added that if the authorities acted against him, it would be an act of "pure victimisation".

On the issue of recent changes on the part of the Government, Mr Suttner said he was especially pleased about the release of the Rivonia treason trialists, but it was the result of anti-apartheid forces not the State.

"While I am encouraged by the release of Walter Sisulu and others, I believe their release was a victory for the masses," he said.

Detention

Mr Suttner was freed in September 1988 after spending 27 months in detention, 18 of which were spent in solitary confinement. He was immediately restricted.

At the height of the MDM's mass defiance campaign towards the end of last year, Mr Suttner broke his restriction orders.

During his travels abroad, Mr Suttner met officials of foreign governments such as the United States and Australia. He also addressed academic gatherings in Britain, Australia, the US and the Soviet Union.

Stew 31/11/90

304A

If Mandela is freed, 'all hell would break loose'

Staff Reporter

If Nelson Mandela was released, "all hell would break loose", Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche told a crowd of emotionally-charged supporters last night.

On the eve of his 45th birthday, Mr TerreBlanche last night invited more than 800 people to join him and members of the Boerestaat Party and the "Transvaalse Separatiste" in a march to the Union Buildings soon.

"All white South Africans must be there. This time I will walk in front, even if we march into a dangerous situation," he said.

'Police impotence'

Mr TerreBlanche pleaded with all right-wing leaders to take part in this mass demonstration and to put aside party political problems.

Reprimanding an over-enthusiastic photographer at a meeting in Malvern, Johannesburg, Mr TerreBlanche said: "I'm not readying myself for a beauty competition. I'm preparing for one hell of a revolution!"

The AWB leader condemned President de Klerk for reducing the country's police force to impotence. He ridiculed scenes on television news earlier this week, which depicted the "new police force of F W de Klerk".

"The daring and courage is gone. The men who used to travel in Casspirs designed by our boys at Armscor now parade in six or eight Hi-Ace combis because the ANC did not like the Cas-



Mr Eugene Terreblanche . . . invited people to join him in a march to the Union Buildings some time.

spirs," he said.

"And for the UDF to see, there is shown how rows of policemen lie and donate blood for the blacks of Soweto. Have our policemen not given enough blood in Soweto?" he asked.

Flanked by two khaki-clad bodyguards, and with slogans such as: "Ons

vir jou, blank Suid-Afrika" and "Toegee, weggee, oorgee — NOOIT!", Mr TerreBlanche criticised the poor salaries received by policemen of "the best force the world has ever known".

He said the ANC was probably cheering at the "weakening" of the SA Defence Force.

"But a boer does not need training. We will fight until our country is as white as it was the morning after Blood River," Mr TerreBlanche told the emotionally charged crowd.

After the meeting, about 300 AWB members travelled to Boksburg lake to celebrate their leader's birthday. Waving AWB and Vierkleur banners and flags, they sang folk songs and toasted TerreBlanche under the moon.

Star 31/1/90
(304A)

Protesters are 'shock troops of revolution'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

People who participate in protest marches are the "shock troops of revolution", Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Opening the annual congress of the right-wing Mineworkers' Union, Dr Treurnicht said liberal activists were trying to intimidate the Government by a show of force. Their aim was to force the Government to the negotiating table in such a way as to get the Government to agree to black majority rule even before entering into negotiations.

While the revolutionary climate in South Africa was on the increase, the Government did not act because it feared unfavourable international publicity and renewed sanctions pressure.

"The so-called peaceful protest march on Parliament on Friday will show whether this Government is serious about firm government or whether it will allow itself to be intimidated," said Dr Treurnicht.

He said the African National Congress should be treated as a banned organisation and "not be treated to tea and cake in Tuynhuys" or be allowed to demonstrate in white areas.

It also should not be allowed to "sit around the same table negotiating a common constitution" which would be applicable to white South Africa.

MWU president Mr Cor de Jager said forced integration in the mining industry would lead to bitter conflict between white and black.

He called on the Government to pay attention to the rights of white mineworkers "in order to defuse the very tense situation".

AWB assemble at station

Cape Times 31/1/90 306A
A GROUP of Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging supporters — several of whom were armed — yesterday assembled 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 AWB members, identifiable from their nazi-like badges, stood on the pavement outside the station as the Western Cape leader of the organisation Mr Steven Jacobsen, of Nerina Drive, Fish Hoek, read out a statement.

The group included four women.

Several members had handgun barrels peeking out the backs of their shirts, distinctive bulges under their jackets, while others were armed with batons.

By Peter Fabricius
and David Braun

President de Klerk is keeping even his own party guessing about the content of his all-important speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

Enormous interest is being focused locally and internationally on the speech. Speculation has been rife and wild.

Dozens of international newsmen are pouring into Cape Town expecting major announcements.

LIVE ON US TV

Not since President 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 de Klerk's speech will, like Rubicon, be carried live in the US by at least one major television channel, CNN.

US viewers have been told to expect a major policy speech, proba-

For 72 hours, 'the centre of world'

bly including details of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela as well as other dramatic reforms.

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 walks 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.

But Mr de Klerk is giving nothing

away. Yesterday he addressed the National Party caucus at its first meeting in Cape Town but gave no specifics about the speech.

The caucus was merely told he would give a clear indication of the steps he will take to get negotiations off the ground this year.

NP members therefore expect to be given some idea of how Mr de Klerk intends to handle the major obstacles to negotiations such as the release of Mr Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC.

They do not expect him to give a release date for Mr Mandela on Fri-

day because this will obliterate interest in anything else he says or to give a date for the unbanning of the ANC.

"But also we do not expect any airy-fairy long-term ideals. We expect to hear concrete steps about how he intends tackling things serially this year," one MP said.

Some expect him to say the release of Mr Mandela is imminent and they expect he will be out before the end of February.

They also expect he will give details of measures to deal with "sensitive" public facilities when the Separate Amenities Act is abolished as it could be this year.

● CBS is sending its "48 Hours" team 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 also planning to send its star anchor, Peter Jennings. If he goes, the other networks will almost certainly send their top anchors.

SADCC considers taking in SA

17 May 31/11/90
LUSAKA — An African economic group fighting for a decade to cut its dependence on SA will this week ponder membership of the country it has sought to isolate.

A source close to the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) said the issue would be discussed during a week-long meeting which started in Lusaka on Monday.

"The SADCC has decided it is time to think seriously about integrating a democratic SA into its structures," the source said.

The SADCC, which groups Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland,

Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, was set up in 1980 primarily to cut members' economic reliance, especially in trade routes, on SA.

The black African leaders found sympathy in the West, which to date has pumped more than \$3bn into the region to rehabilitate and upgrade its alternative routes to the sea.

The goal of totally cutting off trade with SA has proved harder to achieve, and analysts say the group might never achieve this.

Now, the SADCC, preparing to admit its 10th member, Namibia — which recently won independence

(304A)
from SA — is looking forward to the day when SA joins its ranks.

An SADCC review said the comparatively more developed sectors and infrastructures of SA would give it a more competitive edge over other states in the region in attracting foreign investment once stability was restored. It predicted a realignment of economic relations in the region.

A Western aid agency official, reflecting views held by several donors, said the SADCC should plan with SA in mind, as SA's membership was crucial to the organisation's future.

— Sapa-Reuter.

De Klerk 'speaks' to Soviet people on SA

Reshetnyak: Your coming to power has coincided with many changes in and out of South Africa. How do you see the future of your country?

De Klerk: I sincerely believe that soon we shall be able to solve many of our major problems. We are involving people from all sectors of the population in the running of the country and we want to ensure fair distribution of public goods.

This is only attainable by way of dialogue with all interested parties. Together we want to draw up the new system, which must grant equal opportunities to all South African citizens to realise their potential.

The RSA's needs are shaped in the diversity of our population -- not only in racial outlook, but also in the different cultures, languages, philosophies.

Such multi-ethnic countries as Belgium and Switzerland, which have created harmony of interests between ethnic groups, must serve as an example to us.

We sincerely believe we can solve our problems in a gradual way, but it is not possible to set a time. One step will simply lead to another. But we realise that time plays a vital role, and we are obliged to move fast.

Q: You began by releasing a number of political prisoners, who were imprisoned only because they fought against racial discrimination, exercised their legal rights...

President de Klerk spoke to the people of the Soviet Union recently by way of an interview with the Soviet magazine *New Time*. It was published this month under the headline "From racial war -- to harmony?" This summary of the interview with *New Time's* Africa correspondent, Nikolai Reshetnyak, is from *The Star's* PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT.

De Klerk: You are not correct in saying that these people were only in prison because they fought racial discrimination and exercised their legal right.

They were in contact with people who committed acts of violence, detonated bombs, and engaged in activities threatening lives and property.

Each served a prison sentence, and we decided they had paid adequate compensation to society. We are doing everything possible to attain our aim of the abolition of racial discrimination.

Q: On what basis do you intend building relations with Southern Africa's national liberation movement?

De Klerk: We are only fighting those movements which engage in terrorist activities. The ANC may be included in negotiations over the new constitution in South Africa, which will give full and equitable political rights to all ethnic groups in our land.

Our only demand to the ANC is that it publicly renounces violence. The doors to negotiation with us are open.

Q: I witnessed your meeting with Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia at the Victoria Falls. How do you evaluate the de-

velopment of relations with neighbouring states?

De Klerk: At the Victoria Falls I thought about the huge human and economic potential of the African continent and the important task of my Government -- to set relations right with neighbouring states.

We want the countries of Southern Africa to co-operate like those of Europe. We have to establish strong economic links.

We need each other, and South Africa -- with its infrastructure and experience -- can play a constructive role in the formation of an association of Southern African states.

Other countries will also benefit from the creation of such an association, as the RSA can provide a highly lucrative market for exports.

We hope, in the not too distant future, to organise a meeting of leaders of the countries of the region.

Southern Africa needs stability. In Namibia, the process of democratisation is being successfully implemented. If reconciliation in Angola and stability in Mozambique are attained, then I think we will witness a new epoch in Southern Africa.

Q: How do you view the development of relations with our country?

De Klerk: We support the development of good relations with all countries of the world. New political thinking in Moscow opens wide possibilities for the solution of questions of peace.

There is a good outlook for the improvement of mutually advantageous relations.

Q: Apartheid remains a fundamental obstacle to the solution of many problems. What steps does your administration intend taking in order to remove this obstacle?

De Klerk: I have studied politics for 18 years. I never defended apartheid. An incorrect idea still exists about the relation of our Government to this question.

What still concerns the existence of discrimination is founded on the division of races according to skin colour. We reject this. So, soon, the Separate Amenities and Recreation Areas Act will be repealed.

Much has already been done on the question of non-discrimination in the months that I have led the country.

Q: Would you like to say something to the Soviet people?

De Klerk: I would simply like to reaffirm that we are building a new South Africa -- a state in which equal opportunity for all is ensured, and where national minorities will feel secure.

3049

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, January 31 1990

3

Chalker: changes impressive

MATTHEW CURTIN

BRITISH Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker, on a fleeting visit to SA, said yesterday that progress with reform was slow but positive.

Chalker, who was last here in November 1988, said changes in the past few months, particularly under President F W de Klerk, were impressive.

She singled out the release of ANC leaders and moves towards desegregation of public facilities, while noting the state of emergency, the Land Acts and Nelson Mandela's imprisonment were obstacles in the way of fundamental change.

She did not know when these obstacles would be removed.

Chalker, a minister throughout Margaret Thatcher's prime ministership and former Foreign Office Minister of State, spent yesterday in transit in Johannesburg before flying to Lusaka via Harare for the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which starts officially on Thursday after a preliminary meeting which began on Monday. She said her visit was in no way prepar-

ing the way for future visits to SA by Thatcher or Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

She intended to urge the involvement of the private sector in development programmes at the SADCC meeting.

Chalker was accompanied by British Ambassador Robin Renwick, and spent the morning at the new British Council offices in Braamfontein meeting educationists and community leaders.

In a short speech, she said she was delighted to be overseeing an increase in British aid to black South Africans, particularly for education.

The British Council runs five scholarship programmes offering 1 000 university places for South Africans here and in the UK.

The minister spent the afternoon at the British-funded Alexandra Health Centre, and had tea with former DP MP Helen Suzman before flying to Zimbabwe to meet government ministers there today.



Lynda Chalker at the British Council Centre yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

SACP: Is it still bent on seizing power by force?

Star 31/1/90
304

The South African Communist Party, rivalled only by the Afrikaner Broederbond as South Africa's most secretive organisation, has been in the spotlight recently.

Three separate developments focus attention on it; each cast it in a different light, inviting contrasting interpretations of its role in the last decade of the century.

The trio of perspectives emerge from an analytical article on the SACP in the authoritative British publication *Africa Confidential*; a re-appraisal of the party by the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela; and a 27-page assessment of socialism, and hence of the SACP, by the party itself.

Africa Confidential offers a sharply critical evaluation of the SACP, asserting that the party is one of the last "loyal defenders" of pre-Gorbachev communism and that its professed support of Mr Gorbachev's policies of perestroika is insincere.

It identifies the venue of the SACP's seventh congress — hitherto a closely guarded secret — as Havana in Cuba; it sees the choice of venue as evidence of a split between the SACP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Cuba's communist leader, Fidel Castro, it can be noted in passing, recently re-affirmed his dedication to old-style Marxism-Leninism.

'Last defenders'

Africa Confidential says: "The SACP, in spite of its rhetorical support for perestroika, has joined Fidel Castro, Deng Zhao Ping, Ignor Ligachev and the late Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania as the last loyal defenders of orthodoxy."

A central reason for the rift between the SACP and CPSU is, *Africa Confidential* reasons, the shift in Soviet foreign policy on South Africa since Mr Gorbachev took over.

Pressure for political settlement

Havana manifesto gives clue

Recent developments have focussed attention on the highly secretive South African Communist Party. **PATRICK LAURENCE** looks at three separate perspectives of the party — a critical evaluation by the British publication 'Africa Confidential', a re-appraisal by Mr Nelson Mandela and an SACP assessment of itself.

replaced support for armed struggle as the primary policy thrust.

The SACP is, of course, in alliance with the ANC, its strength within the alliance reposes in the ANC's "dependence on the communist world for arms". Negotiations leading to political settlement would end the dependence and thereby weaken the SACP's position, the newsletter reckons.

Noting that Mr Mandela has emerged strongly as a strong protagonist of negotiations — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, describes him as a mediator — *Africa Confidential* deduces: "The party is ambivalent about the possible release of Mandela, whom it fears (as a non-communist)."

It adds: "There is thus a suspicion that the party is behind the ugly rumours circulating within the Mass Democratic Movement that Mandela may strike a deal with F W de Klerk. The object of such rumours would be to discredit Mandela from the MDM ... (and) with his power base eroded, the party could then take on Mandela."

In his statement to the Government, however, Mr Mandela



Mr Joe Slovo ... Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party and the mastermind behind its reformist approach.

emerges as a man who is loyal to the SACP; his fidelity is not prompted by his commitment to communism but acknowledgement of the SACP's long fight alongside the ANC for a non-racial society.

In his statement, drafted in June last year and first published last week in *South*, Mr Mandela says: "Co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early Twenties and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society."

The publication of Mr Mandela's statement to the Government coincided with the release of a statement from Mr Mandela's prison bungalow in which he re-affirms his commitment to the nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry".

The re-affirmation of his belief in State control of sectors of the economy strengthens the ties between Mr Mandela as a key ANC leader and the SACP as an ANC ally; it means that they are closer ideologically than would have been the case if Mr Mandela had, as alleged in some quarters, moved away from

even limited nationalisation. Mr Mandela, an admirer of multi-party parliamentary democracy, reiterated his attraction to the notion of a classless society. The SACP view of itself, as reflected in its 27-page self-appraisal, is that it is in the process of excising Stalinist influences from its ranks and ideological outlook.

It admits frankly: "We cannot claim our share of responsibility for the spread of the Stalinist cult ... but we can legitimately claim that in certain fundamental respects our indigenous revolutionary practice long ago ceased to be guided by Stalinist concepts." It speaks of the need to root out "sectarian attitudes towards some non-party colleagues" and exorcise "sloganised dismissals of views which do not completely accord with ours".

Old habits

Far from seeing the ANC as a vehicle for achieving its own ends, as *Africa Confidential* charges, it says: "We do not regard the trade union or the national movement (that is, the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and the ANC) as mere conduits for our policies."

It continues: "Old habits die hard, and among the most pernicious of these is the purist concept that all those who do not agree with the party are necessarily the enemies of socialism."

Noting that one of the main reasons for the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe was its marriage to authoritarianism instead of democracy, it says: "We remain protagonists of multi-party post-apartheid democracy."

It declares that the best way of progressing towards its socialist goal after the overthrow of apartheid is through democracy; it recalls that it is a fundamental tenet of Marxism that the working class must "win the majority to its side".

The SACP sees itself, in short, not as the custodian of Stalinism but the guardian of "socialist democracy", as such it is committed to winning the majority to its side in a "democratic contest for power".

But, judging from the party programme, "Path to Power", adopted last June in Havana, it believes that the best way of overcoming apartheid — of reaching the post-apartheid society — is through the "seizure of power".

It is not, however, totally averse to negotiations.

"Every struggle in our African continent had its climax at the negotiating table, occasionally involving compromises."

"When the enemy is prepared to talk, the liberation forces will, at that point, have to exercise their judgment, guided by the demands of revolutionary advance."

The differences between Mr Mandela's views and the expressed anti-Stalinism of the new SACP appear to be divergences in detail and emphasis, not a parting of the ways based on principle.

De Klerk has yet to write crucial opening of Parliament speech

CAPE TOWN — The National Party caucus was told yesterday President F W de Klerk would be addressing issues such as the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and the outbreak of violence linked to the rebel cricket tour when he addresses Parliament on Friday.

But, according to members of the caucus, which met here for the first time this year, they were given no details. Instead De Klerk asked them to show patience and understanding. Also, the President had not finalised his opening speech.

He is known to be concerned at the outbreak of violent demonstrations linked to

the rebel English cricket tour. Some senior government members said that if the situation deteriorated, government could be forced to delay its planned moves to get negotiations going.

Police yesterday issued a warning to people to stay away from the centre of Cape Town where a further protest march is planned. Another protest march is scheduled to take place here on Friday to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

With demonstrators again having clashed with police in Bloemfontein yesterday, the deteriorating security situation is expected to be high on the agenda of today's Cabinet meeting.

MIKE ROBERTSON

It is believed that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has spoken to Mandela this week to discuss problems which have arisen with his release.

These revolve around Mandela's apparent insistence that his release be coupled with the unbanning of the ANC as well as government's fears over a deteriorating security situation.

Cabinet sources have indicated that while government is likely to take a plunge during this coming Parliamentary session and unban the ANC, it was initially disap-

pointed by statements emanating from the organisation during the visit of Walter Sisulu and other recently released internal leaders.

Because of this, they said, it was unlikely the President would announce the unbanning of the ANC at the opening of Parliament. Mandela's release was unlikely to occur prior to the opening of Parliament, but could be expected before the end of February.

Sapa reports that some newspapers yesterday quoted head of SAP public relations, Gen Herman Stadler, saying government reform initiatives had led to an escalation in the number of unrest-related

incidents. (304A)

In a statement last night, police said the general's remarks had been misconstrued.

"What he did in fact mean is that as there are more protest marches and other protest actions lately, and as there are those who wilfully seek to derail the government's reform initiatives, unrest incidents often result from these actions even if in most cases, they occur some time after the events.

"There are additional factors which have led to increased unrest incidents, for example, recent strikes."

● See Page 2