

S.A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1991

JANUARY.

White gloom, black hope

8 Feb 11/91

304A

That's the finding of recent research

MALCOLM FOTHERGILL

BLACK South Africans are becoming increasingly confident about the future of the country, but white South Africans are becoming increasingly despondent.

A Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group in November last year showed 47 percent of blacks but only 34 percent of whites think 1991 will be better than 1990.

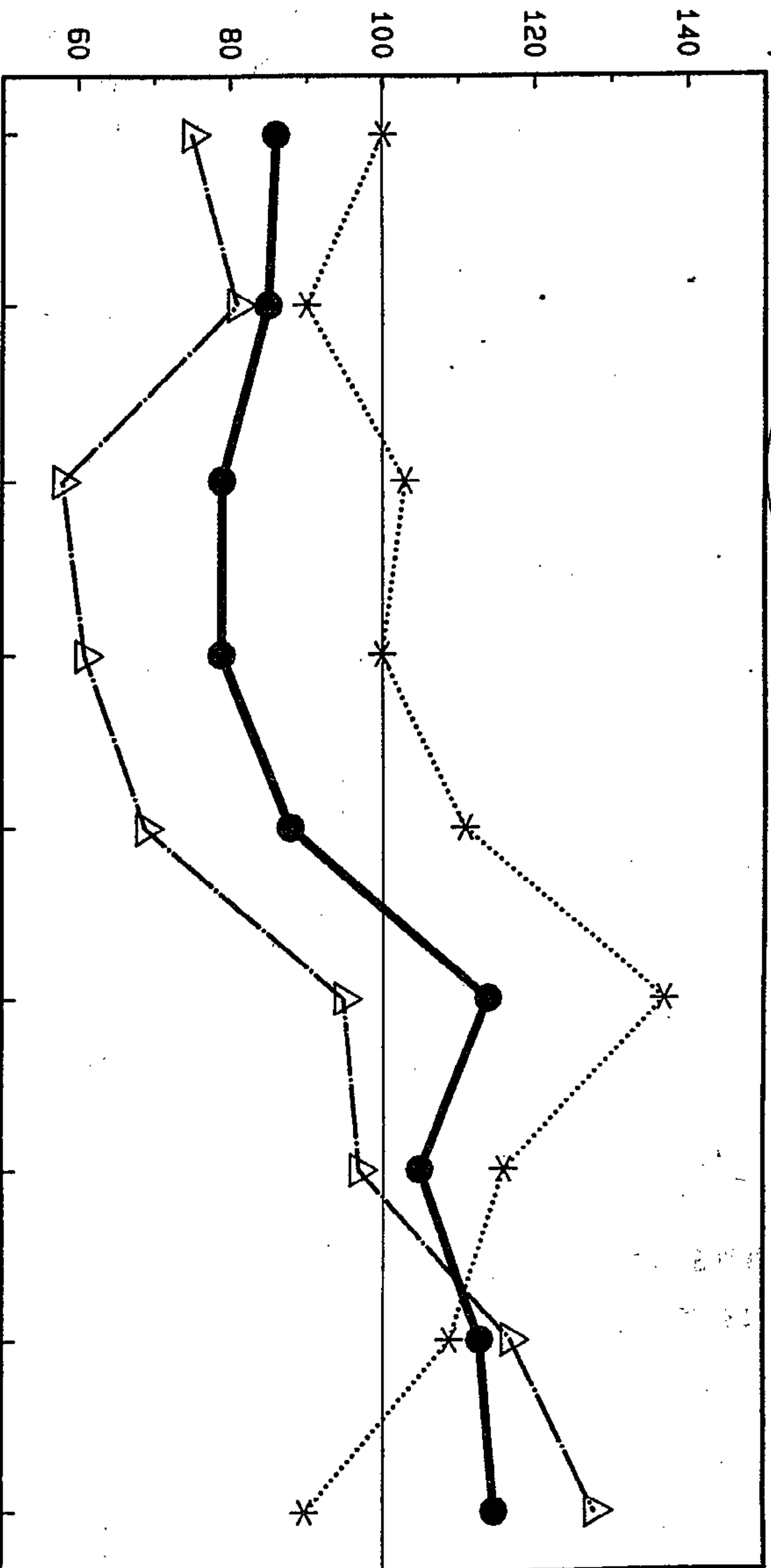
Half of the Afrikaans-speakers polled believed 1991 will be worse than 1990.

The level of black optimism was the highest since the poll was first held in 1982.

From 1982 to 1985, optimism among South Africans decreased, largely as a result of the state of emergency in force during this time.

The trend began to change in 1986 and was given a boost by the general election in 1987.

However, optimism overall dipped again from 1988 to 1989, when township violence reached a peak.



How the mood of South Africa has changed. White optimism is sliding, while black optimism is soaring.

SA 8/11/91

Towards the end of 1989, rising black optimism met falling white optimism and, for the first time, blacks were more optimistic about the future than whites.

Since then, and especially since President de Klerk began to put his reform programme into effect early in 1990, black optimism has soared while white optimism has plummeted.

The poll, part of a 36-nation

poll carried out by Gallup International, showed blacks living in Soweto (51 percent), Port Elizabeth and East London (52 percent) and Cape Town (54 percent) are more positive about 1991 than those in other areas.

Among whites, optimism is strongest in Durban (44 percent) and Cape Town (41 percent). English-speaking whites

(43 percent) are more optimistic than Afrikaans-speakers (24 percent).

Only 38 percent of English-speaking whites believe 1991 will be worse than 1990, against 50 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Altogether, some 43 percent of white South Africans believe 1991 will be troubled, compared

with only 28 percent at the same time the previous year.

People in the upper income brackets are more optimistic than those in lower income brackets.

Among whites, 38 percent of people earning R5 000 or more a month say they feel 1991 will be better than 1990. Only 27 percent of people who earn less than

R1 600 share this view.

Among blacks, 54 percent of those earning R1 500 or more are upbeat about 1991, against only 39 percent of those earning less than R400.

Asked whether strikes would increase, decrease or remain at the same level in 1991, 53 percent of whites and only 21 percent of blacks believed strike activities would increase.

WHITES
.....*.....
TOTAL
—●—
BLACKS
—△—

'Make African language compulsory at schools'

The Argus Foreign Service
MUNICH. — An African language should become a compulsory part of the South African school syllabus, Rand University Professor Willem de Klerk has told a seminar here.

The introduction to the general syllabus of an African language spoken in South Africa would be a "very important development", said Professor De Klerk, brother of State President Mr F W de Klerk.

Answering questions from a gathering of mostly young Germans, Professor De Klerk and a second South African participant, columnist Otto Krause, spoke optimistically about South Africa's future.

WHITE FEARS

Professor De Klerk estimated 60 percent of South Africans now favoured compromise.

White fears had to be removed and black expectations had to become realistic, he said.

He expected the Group Areas Act would be repealed entirely in the coming session of parliament and reforms of the Land Act would follow.

An election or national referendum should be held in 1994 or 1995, he thought.

Professor De Klerk said South Africa wanted to become "the entrepreneur of southern Africa, the force that will save the sub-continent from going under".

Munich was the first stop on a European tour which will take Professor De Klerk and Mr Krause throughout Germany and then to Holland, Belgium and Britain.

THE immediate challenge of 1991 is to begin drafting the new South African constitution.

The ANC, supported by other "liberation movements", has to some extent pre-empted this task by insisting on two procedures — an interim government and a constituent assembly. President F W de Klerk has flatly refused.

Both these issues must be resolved before the task of framing the constitution can begin.

The ANC's position on the interim government runs something like this:

● The present government cannot be both referee and player. If it is to be a major participant in framing the constitution, it cannot at the same time have the levers of power exclusively in its own hands because this would enable it to exert undue influence on the process.

● In any case, the present government can no longer be regarded as legitimate since it represents only the white people, whereas in the new South Africa all adults will have the vote.

Taking the first point, the government certainly may not be both referee and player if there is to be public confidence in the result.

Unfettered

But nor could it make sense for the government to shut up shop and hand over the keys of the Union Buildings to some arbitrarily assembled group of people, put together by only an ad hoc procedure, accountable to no one and subject to no proper constitutional rules.

One need only ask: what would happen if such an interim government reached a deadlock on a matter of importance and ceased to function? How could the situation be resolved? What would take its place? The risk of anarchy would be great.

It seems clear that the present government, which was elected by a defined process, which was legal though many of us thought it undesirable, has to continue to run the country while negotiations take place. But, if the negotiations are to succeed, the government must not seek to

Why we need referee to keep constitutional ball in play

STimes 6/1/91

304A



The impasse over the ANC's demand for an interim government can be resolved, says ZACH DE BEER

manage the negotiations as well as run the country.

Two things must be done: ● Some neutral person or body must be appointed to play the role which the British played in Zimbabwe and the United Nations in Namibia — to arrange meetings, establish procedures and generally guide the process.

● The government must consult with the "liberation movements" and arrange for the appointment of a number of "transition commissions", each comprising its own members together with representatives of the movements. These commissions, each dealing with a major aspect of government, should be meaningfully involved in the administration of the country.

In this way, the Nationalist government itself could gradual-

ly take a back seat without actually going out of existence. Legal continuity would be preserved, and at least a substantial measure of legitimacy achieved. Perhaps, too, people would learn to work together, and the foundations for a future coalition government might be laid.

If these steps are taken, the two arguments of the ANC, noted above, will be substantially met, while the country as a whole will have embarked upon the process of transition.

Even more difficult than the issue of the interim government is that of the proposed constituent assembly. The details of the ANC proposal (again supported by the PAC, Azapo and others) are not altogether clear, but it seems they wish to see a one person, one vote election held

now, or soon, to choose an assembly which would have unfettered power to frame a constitution which would then become the basic law of the new South Africa.

This proposal seeks to draw on the precedent of Namibia, where such an election was held in terms of UN Resolution 435, and where a constituent assembly was chosen, which approved a constitution and then simply converted itself into the first parliament of the country. The proposal does, of course, also rest on the justifiable proposition that, ultimately, the new constitution can only be legitimated by the vote of the people of the country.

As against this, the following arguments have been raised by the NP, the DP and others:

Thorough

● A general election held now or soon would have little or nothing to do with constitutional issues, such as a Bill of Rights or proportional representation. It would be simply a contest between parties for power.

The effect on the nation would be divisive and it certainly could not be claimed that the election

had legitimated any constitution, since the constitution would not exist when the election was held.

● Under no circumstances can an elected constituent assembly be regarded as a government-in-waiting. The election of a government must follow the adoption of a new constitution, not precede it, and it must take place according to the rules the new constitution lays down.

● Namibia is no precedent. Namibia was never a sovereign state. The constituent assembly operated under the rules and supervision of the United Nations. In particular, it could only take decisions by an exceptionally large majority.

In any case, as Dirk Mudge has pointed out many times: "We did not write the constitution in a few months in the constituent assembly. We wrote it during many years, in the hearts of the people."

In other words, if there is ever to be a constituent assembly, or a constitutional conference, or a national convention, it should be established after the issues involved have been thoroughly debated, not before.

● There has to be legal continuity. Ultimately, the present parliament of the republic must enact the new constitution because it is the only body with the legal authority to do so. This is where South Africa differs entirely from Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Necessary

Of course, it would be extremely unwise and wrong for parliament to tamper with the document produced by the representatives of the people. The House of Commons did not interfere in any way with the terms of the Act of Union of 1910. Nor did it seek to alter the Lancaster House agreement in the case of Zimbabwe.

The function of parliament in this process is essentially that of a rubber stamp: but it is absolutely necessary if good law is to be preserved.

To put it bluntly, whatever negotiating body takes responsibility for the drafting of the constitution must be strictly advisory to parliament. It cannot usurp sovereignty. However, parliament would be extremely unwise to alter its recommendations.

● It is absolutely correct that the new constitution will require the consent of the people. All the people must vote, and a majority — hopefully a decisive majority — must approve the new constitution prior to the parliamentary vote.

This could be done either indirectly — through the election by the people of a special assembly which then votes in favour of the constitution or directly, through the submission of the document to the people at a referendum for their approval or rejection.

If there is a better way to solve these problems I look forward to hearing about it.

● Dr Zach de Beer is the leader of the Democratic Party.

THE white extremist organisation Orde Boerevolk (OB) has renounced violence and opted for negotiation after a meeting between the OB central committee and its arrested leaders, Piet "Skiet" Rudolph and Henk Bredenhann.

In a statement to Sapa yesterday the OB said the meeting, organised by Sandton security police last Thursday, was held to appoint an interim OB leadership and discuss a letter written by Rudolph to President FW de Klerk.

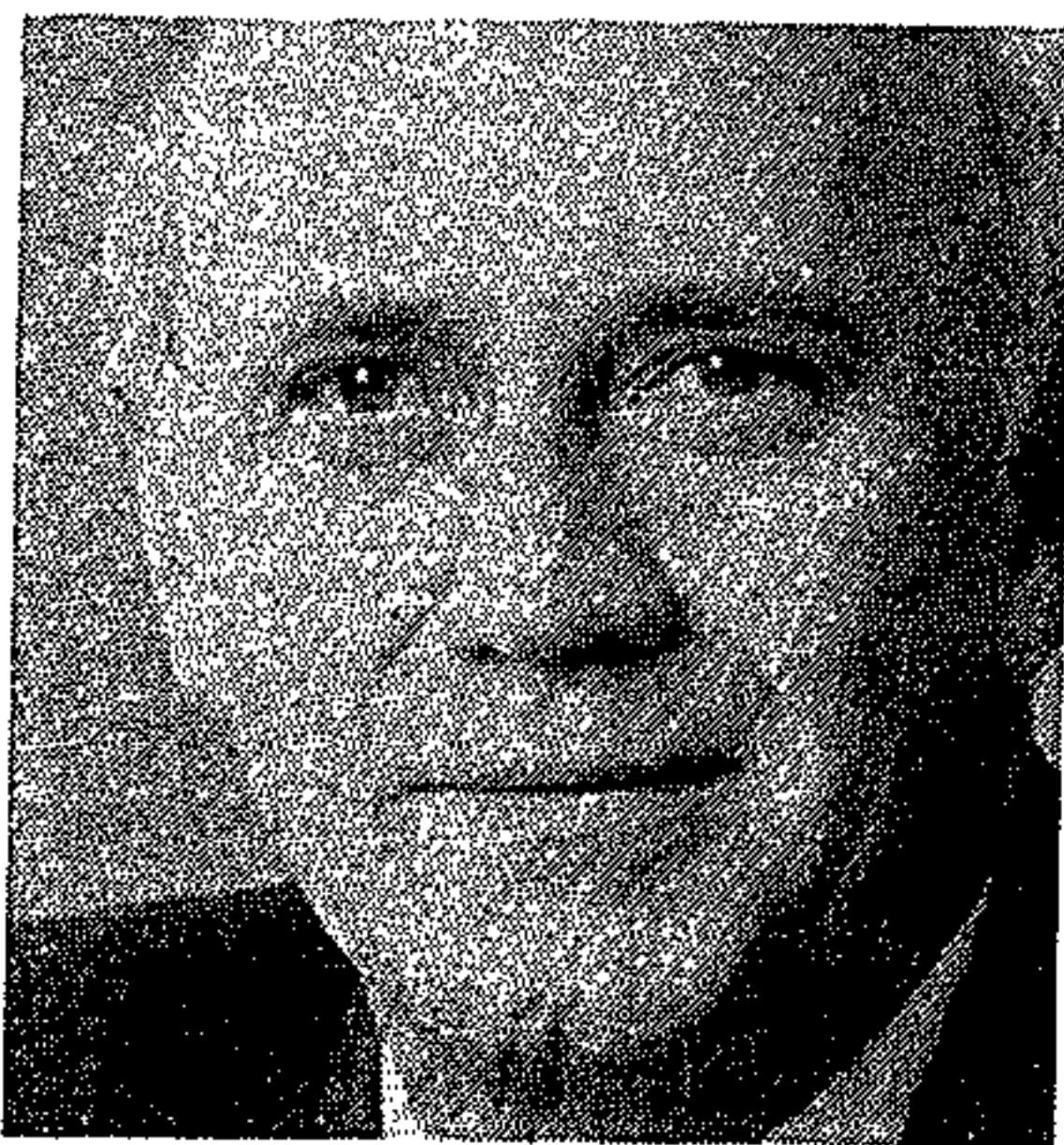
Other issues discussed were the OB's stand concerning negotiations with the government and the formulation of its demands.

According to the statement the central committee decided to abandon violence as a means to secure an independent Boer state.

The organisation said its members met the security police to discuss ways of recovering weapons stolen at Air Force headquarters in Pretoria during a raid by Rudolph over the Easter weekend last year.

The OB pledged to call on all its members to return weapons taken during Rudolph's arms heist.

The statement added this call should make it clear the OB would no longer commit acts of violence in the present political climate and expected the government to accept it had chosen the negotiations path.



President FW de Klerk... he'll get a letter from Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Extremist white group renounces violence

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrald told Sapa the police welcomed the statement by the leadership of the OB concerning violence.

Maj Harrald added the police were "very pleased" by the appeal of the OB leaders for the return of the firearms stolen from the Air Force headquarters and still in possession of some of its members.

Maj Harrald said: "We trust that the followers of the Orde Boerevolk will heed the request made by their leaders and that the weapons concerned and any other illegal weaponry will be handed over to the SAP without any further delay."

According to the statement, the central committee decided negotiations with the government would be the OB's future strategy, so as to safeguard "our nation's freedom".

It added it expected the government to accept this decision and start negotiating with the OB.

The organisation also demanded the immediate release of its leaders, Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, Henk Bredenhann, and Dirk Ackerman, and that all "Boere freedom fighters" be granted indemnity from prosecution.

It said a letter had been written to President de Klerk explaining Rudolph's views on violence and negotiations with the government.

It had been written at the meeting to appoint Kallie Bredenhann of Heidelberg as acting OB leader, Coenraad Vermaak, also of Heidelberg, as his deputy, and Chris Beetge of Pretoria as publicity secretary. - Sapa

CIP news 6/11/91

(3044)

LET'S TALK, SAY
OB

□ DEMOCRACY

SA has become barbaric

By PROF WILLIE ESTERHUYSE
of Stellenbosch University

DEMOCRACY is not merely a system, nor is it merely a method of taking decisions.

It is a philosophy of life which rests upon the acknowledgement and practical implementation of a number of basic values.

This is why the idea of fundamental and inalienable rights features so prominently in the language of democracy.

There is general agreement that respect for the life and property of any person is a basic element of a real democratic way of life.

Those who do not recognise the value of a human being or his property, might have heard about the word democracy, may even have used this expression, but do not understand what it really means.

This is why all countries have laws against such things as killings and assault. Not even the State can take the law into its own hands.

The "right" that life and property be respected is – to use an expression of the Afrikaans author NP van Wyk Louw – a "deeper right".

No matter how important laws may be in this regard, it must, however, be specifically

guaranteed by the general political culture of a country and its people.

It must be engraved in the hearts and lifestyle of people. It must become a central element of a society's collective moral awareness.

Should erosion take place on this level, the guarantees of law don't mean much. Disintegration and anarchy would then become dominant within such a society.

South Africa rates extremely low in terms of respect for life and property.

(304A)

We are not only one of the most violent countries in the world, but also one of the countries where until recently the most executions were performed.

We could possibly boast about many things. But we can't boast that we have a political culture in which respect for life and property dominates.

We live in a country where defenceless children are being brutally assaulted with sjamboks; where somebody – as stated in evidence in court at Stellenbosch recently – uses a pick handle to assault a worker so severely that he dies as a result, and where – as has been alleged

in respect of the CCB – extremely dubious methods are being used to "neutralise" people.

These are all testimony to a cynicism which does not differ from the law of the jungle – except that such things are much worse, because they are being perpetrated by people who are supposed to be civilised.

We talk and think cynically about the value of human lives. What happened until very recently in South Africa in the name of "political justice" and "national security" has eroded respect for life.

The townships are presently a tragic example of what happens when respect for life and property does not function within a society.

Complete communities are being driven to the precipice of total disintegration. Life and property have become extremely cheap.

The blame for this cannot be attributed to apartheid alone, nor is it simply a result of bad socio-economic circumstances.

It must also be attributed to: an educational process from the family home to the school which did not make the grade; black leaders who blame the State for everything; liberation movements who have reared a crocodile which they can no longer control; and churches which did not assist in guarding against the

process of erosion.

Apartheid, undoubtedly the most undermining factor which can be mentioned, has also become an apology for the neglect of responsibilities.

Black leaders have washed their hands too easily in innocence.

No community can do without discipline. The time for self-justification is over.

Peace remains impossible without a liberating, open discussion about the past and the neglect of responsibilities – by black leaders, too.

Reconciliation without the acceptance of new responsibilities is equally impossible.

It must be accepted that we will achieve nothing without a broad front of co-operation between leaders and co-operation cannot take place among political leaders alone.

People who will form the middle ground of our society will have to mobilise around common basic values and interests.

There are good indications that many leaders – black and white – have already accepted that a new South Africa cannot be built without respect for, and acknowledgement of, basic values.

Boerevolk drops violence

Sunday Times 6/1/91
Sunday Times Reporter

THE ultra-rightwing Orde Boerevolk told President F W de Klerk yesterday it would opt for negotiation rather than violence to achieve its political goals.

The decision was conveyed to the president in a letter from Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who has been charged with the theft of

weapons from an SA Air Force arsenal over the Easter weekend last year.

Rudolph is also facing charges in connection with a spate of right-wing bomb attacks in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The letter was compiled after a meeting of OB leaders arranged by security police at the Sandton police station on Thursday.

(304A) The meeting was attended by Rudolph, OB deputy leader Henk Bredenhann, who is facing charges with Rudolph, and members of the OB central committee.

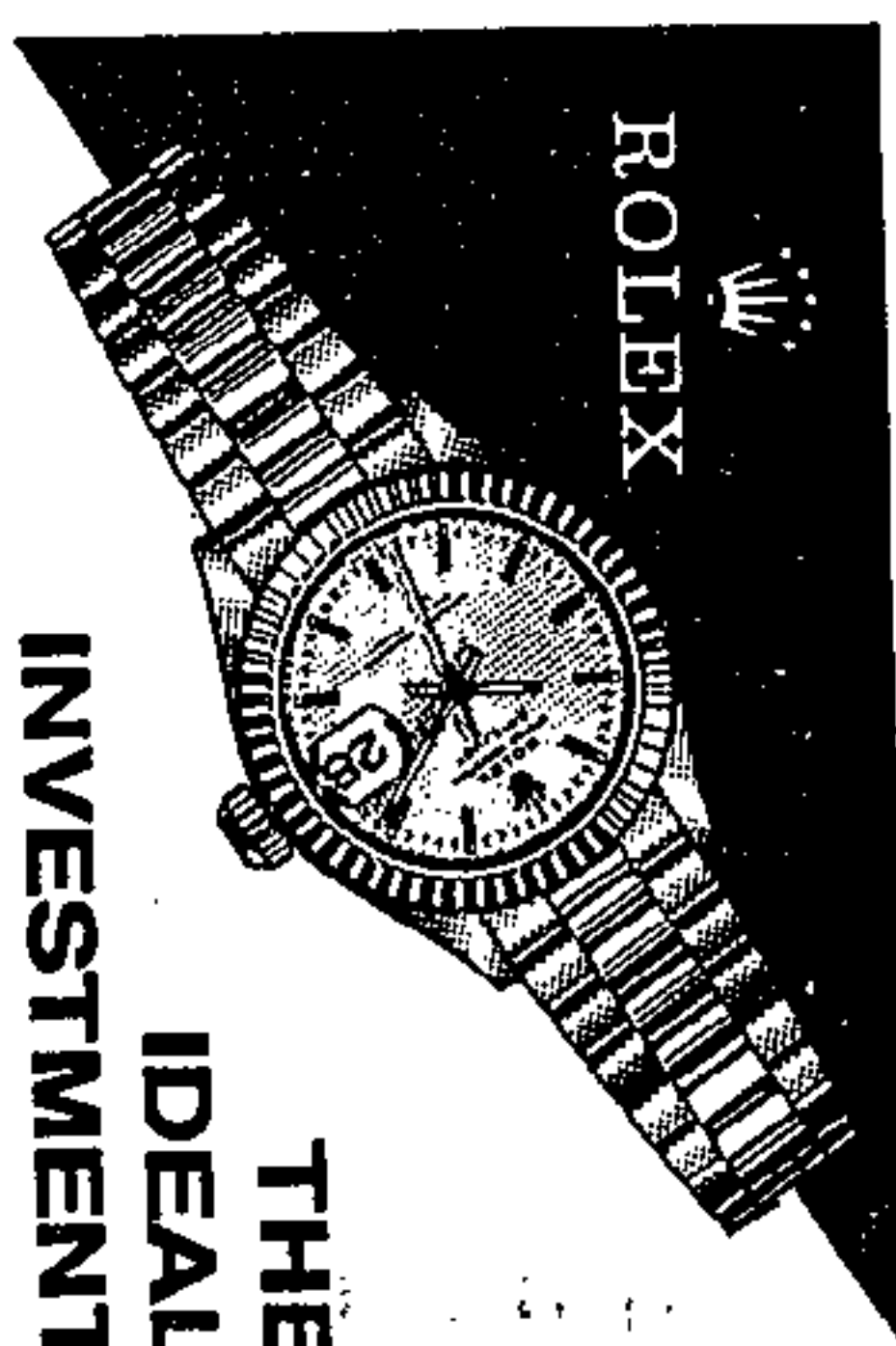
A new leader of the OB — Kallie Bredenhann of Heidelberg — was chosen at the meeting, with Coenraad Vermaak of Heidelberg elected deputy leader.

Business Day

DAY, JANUARY 7 1991

(88c + 12c tax)

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION



THE
IDEAL
INVESTMENT

ANC to grab initiative on government's all-party conference idea

THE ANC would propose a major all-party conference on constitutional negotiations, which could include Inkatha and the CP, in its annual anniversary statement due for release this week, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

The conference would be aimed at breaking the political logjam and preparing the ground for talks on a new constitution.

The ANC's national executive committee decided on the conference on Friday at a meeting presided over by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The decision comes in the wake of speculation that it would refuse to take part in a

similar conference which government is reported to be eager to arrange.

The sources said the agenda for the conference would be relatively open-ended and there would be no pre-conditions for attending.

Agreement with the ANC's demand that an elected constituent assembly should oversee the drawing up of a new constitution would, for example, not be a prerequisite for attendance.

Neither would agreement with government's position that an interim government was unnecessary as the present government was in power legitimately.

The ANC has agreed to the conference

TIM COHEN

on the assumption that obstacles to negotiations, mainly the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, would have been cleared away.

The ANC threatened at its consultative conference in December to suspend talks with government if these obstacles were not removed by the end of April.

The ANC hoped the all-party conference would take place in May, sources said.

In media reports last year, it was suggested that the idea of an all-party conference was discussed at talks between President F W de Klerk and ANC leaders Oliver

Tambo and Mandela.

Government was said to be in favour of such a conference, but senior ANC members have not expressed themselves publicly on the idea so far.

The proposed conference would be separate from a "patriotic front" conference of extra-parliamentary opposition groups which is planned for March 21. At this conference, organisations hope to unify extra-parliamentary opposition groups around the demand for an elected interim government and a constituent assembly.

ANC members said yesterday that several groups had agreed in principle to attend the conference. Others had not yet

agreed.

The PAC, the New Unity Movement and Azapo have all expressed themselves strongly in favour of the proposal to forge a united black front to oppose government.

PAC members, opposed to an all-party conference, say this might jeopardise black unity.

The ANC's 79th anniversary statement, which reviews the past year and indicates planned ANC action, will be made public on Wednesday — anniversary of the organisation's founding in 1912.

The statement also mentions the education crisis and the poor black matric pass rate, expected to be announced today.

GOVERNMENT and its negotiating partners face a task in dismantling apartheid and removing obstacles to constitutional negotiations while showing their constituents the process is working.

President F W de Klerk has said the Group Areas Act will be repealed this year along with the Land Acts. The repeal of both will go a long way to removing obstacles to negotiations and speeding the lifting of sanctions. But it appears neither De Klerk nor anyone else in his government has started seriously considering what the cost of dismantling apartheid will be, nor where the funds are going to be found.

Political success in SA is to a large extent dependent on economic success, with black people needing to see real changes and rewards coming their way if they are to be convinced to support their leaders.

Getting there is another matter. Just last week the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) said at a Press conference that the process so far had not materially affected the lives of black South Africans and there was no reason for them to hold out much hope from the negotiations. Blacks want to see concrete developments which substantially improve the quality of their lives or they will reject their leaders. They want not only to see the dismantling of legislative apartheid but also to taste the fruits of "reparations" for past discrimination.

They also want to see a new system of local government, the beginning of a new single nonracial education system; a radical reduction in unemployment; an improved and unitary health service and a markedly improved quality of life.

Most people also want their lives to change materially — to own the modern household appliances and consumer goods so long taken for granted in white households.

The gap between black people's expectations and the resources available to meet them is great. It is argued the racial gaps in income and wealth will require special corrective or affirmative action to enable

Determining the hidden costs of undoing apartheid

3/10/91 304/19

Replacing apartheid with a more broadly acceptable political economy will be complex and expensive. BILLY PADDOCK reports in this, the first of four articles examining the issues.

those in a disadvantaged position to better their situation. But we will not get there simply by waving some magic economic wand.

The Democratic Party in its Economic Manifesto believes that narrowing discrepancies can best be achieved by education, training and, where appropriate, corrective action in land resettlement, housing and other socially orientated services.

The next Budget will, according to SA's ambassador-elect to the US Harry Schwarz, have to achieve a fine balance between social spending and closing of the discriminatory gaps on the one hand and the promise and pressure to reduce income tax on the other. There are also increased demands from the public sector.

SA has an ill-developed social security system. Whites who qualify through a means test receive an old age pension of R276 a month while blacks get just over R150.

The Mouton Commission investigating pension alternatives reckons that to scrap the means test and pay everyone who qualifies a flat monthly pension of R300 would mean lifting GST from its present 13% to 15%. Government, at the same time, is having to cope with the huge drain on

resources as a result of township rent and service boycotts and the consequent deterioration of these services as well as the destruction of many buildings such as schools during unrest.

Middle class whites worry about the cost of maintaining their mortgage payments, of the high levels of income tax, 44% at the top marginal level, and about the future of their children in a new SA.

The DP claims economic growth is the only way to acquire additional wealth. Where are the resources for reparations going to come from while still getting the economy off its negative growth course?

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis estimates GNP needs to grow by 5% a year if the formal sector is to provide enough jobs for new school leavers each year.

This ignores the fact that the informal, unrecorded sector is growing, though its ability to provide jobs and taxes needed to finance social spending to reduce inequalities cannot easily be measured.

Government can push already high company and personal taxes

even higher. GST, which provides the state with nearly 26% of its tax revenue, could be increased further at the risk of putting it through the ceiling and further impoverishing the poor.

Pretoria could also use savings from further cuts in the public sector such as defence, roads and public works if such cuts are possible. And it can get additional money from increased exports and, indirectly, through taxation from increased productivity.

Measuring the cost of apartheid is difficult but the new social spending will spawn its own bureaucracies.

Government has expended a lot of energy counteracting sanctions, and now that their lifting seems imminent many may be relaxing and hoping this will solve the problem. However, foreign investors are unlikely to invest in a country that is unstable and where the likely next government is talking of socialism and nationalisation. Therefore economic growth will by and large have to be generated internally.

That, in turn, seems scarcely attractive if taxation and tax rates are increased.

The DP argues that SA requires a lean, efficient and streamlined pub-

lic service to administer and maintain security. The public service, it says, is too big and constitutes a disproportionate drain on resources. It says the way to streamline the public service is to abolish ideological and discriminatory functions — which will go when Acts like the Group Areas Act are repealed; rationalise and consolidate functions overlapping as a result of racial differentiation and by privatising services which can be dealt with by the private sector more efficiently and economically.

The DP claims that if appropriate policies are applied and reasonable economic growth achieved over a five-year period, many of SA's socioeconomic problems can be resolved.

DP economists believe the economy can grow by 23% over the next five years or a compound annual rate of about 4%. If that is added to savings believed possible in the 1995/96 budget, the DP estimates, an additional R22.4bn could be available for social spending even after deducting expenditure on new priority developmental programmes.

Government has accepted some of the DP's proposals and in some areas, like streamlining the public service and structuring it along business principles, they are already working on them. The ANC, which also does not have a clear policy on achieving economic growth, regularly bandies about the slogan "economic growth by redistribution". Its supporters and leaders also advocate consumption driven growth and argue that if wage levels were higher the huge spending power of black majority will create a big demand and encourage productivity.

There are merits to both sides of the economic argument, and it might well be difficult to see the wood for the trees as future governments grapple with the problem — and that's even if economic policies do not become bogged down in economic rhetoric.

Principally, though, emphasis in the next few years is likely to be on the sort of social spending described as reparations by some and as equalisation by others. That will be the priority if constitutional negotiations are to have any chance of a lasting and amicable settlement.

(304A)
AWB man resigns

A high-ranking member of Eugene TerreBlanche's AWB, Kays Smith, has resigned and could join another political party this week, a source close to him has confirmed.

Mr Smith, chief secretary of the AWB, has resigned with immediate effect and was scheduled yesterday to meet officials of a rival organisation with a view to joining. *Skur 8/11/91*

The source dismissed the possibility that Mr Smith would form a new party, but stressed that although he had resigned from the AWB he would remain active in politics. — Political Staff.

Take a holiday the Boerestaat way

JOHANNESBURG. — A calendar with drastic proposals for new public holidays is being distributed by the Boerestaat Party among its members this year.

In the Boer republicans' proposed independent Boerestaat, holidays such as Family Day, Founder's Day, Workers' Day and Republic Day would fall away, al-

though the present religious holidays would be maintained.

Instead, they propose replacing these holidays with commemorative days in Boer history.

They instead want to commemorate Spioenkop (24 February 1900); Majuba (27 February 1881); Sannaspos (March 31, 1900); Concentration Camp Day (June 15); Dalmanutha (August 31,

1901); Bakenlaagte (September 30, 1901); Paul Kruger's birthday (October 10); the Battle of Kapain (November 10); Magersfontein (December 11, 1899); and Blood River and Colenso (December 16, 1838 and December 16, 1899 'respectively').

The proposed Boerestaat would have 14 public holidays, including Christmas and New Year. — Sapa

AWB kingpin defects to HNP

6/10/84 7/1/84
PATRICK BULGER

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has lost his right hand man to Jaap Marais' HNP.

Kays Smit, who has been an AWB member since 1981 and Terre'Blanche's right hand man for the past three years, hinted yesterday that he had tired of "resistance politics" and now wanted to pursue his political career within the HNP. (304A)

Smit used to be prominent at AWB rallies and was Terre'Blanche's spokesman.

He has been appointed co-secretary of the HNP responsible for the Transvaal and the Free State regions.

Terre'Blanche said Ernst van der Westhuizen, an editor and churchman, had taken Smit's place.

Business Day Reporter

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha believes President F W de Klerk's visits to 25 countries last year convinced the world of the sincerity and irrevocability of the process of change.

"In my opinion this is the most important milestone reached at international level," he said in an interview with the Bureau for Information's magazine SA Policy Review.

He said SA's isolation started crumbling as a result of, among other things, the events in, and subsequent independence of Namibia, where the international community began realising a new SA was on the way.

Conviction

Also, he said, the release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and all other organisations and the legalisation of peaceful protest marches made an important contribution.

What government did was from the conviction that the old policy could no longer serve SA's interests. Therefore, it took a decision in SA's interest, regardless of world reaction, and the president did not go overseas to plead for the lifting of sanctions or for

Pik: foreign visits by De Klerk aided SA breakthrough

8/10 am 9/1/91 (304A)

favours, he said.

Botha said there were still countries in favour of sanctions and therefore government should not force the issue to an intense debating point.

"We must continue our initiatives and make sure the outside world is properly informed about our objectives. We must convince the world to accept the irrevocability of government's actions. Sanctions are crumbling and we must not do anything to retard the process of crumbling," he said.

The world should realise "what we have decided is in our own interest and based on our own evaluation of SA's future", Botha said.

He said it was essential that foreign heads of government be informed correctly and at first hand about De Klerk's objectives for SA internally.

Speaking on SA's trade and official contacts with other countries, he said government's approach

was that SA's interests should be served first and that if this could be done by cultivating relations with any country, be it the Soviet Union, the Arab world or any other part of the world, then it should be done.

He said he had visited several Arab countries where contact was made and trade relations were established and expanded.

Open contact with Morocco was made possible by the lifting of apartheid measures, he said.

"For me it was important that these relations, developed behind the scenes since 1979, be exposed so that the world could take note of SA's greater acceptability."

Trade between the two countries had increased over the last two or three years and De Klerk's visit would bring about a rapid expansion in these links.

He said trade relations were not the priority with De Klerk's Netherlands visit but rather the restora-

tion of mutual trust. Apartheid brought about an estrangement between SA and the Netherlands.

He said: "The cold, frosty attitude that stretched over decades was changed by this visit because SA now endorses the same values and norms as the Netherlands on the terrain of human rights..."

Although Luxembourg was a small country it had exported a fair amount of goods to SA until sanctions decreased this flow.

"It is important for SA in that Luxembourg is one of the 12 member countries of the European Community (EC), and in that it will take chairmanship of this organisation from January for the next six months," Botha said.

Convince

It was therefore also important to convince such a country of the sincerity of government's objectives and the irreversibility of the process of change.

On the purpose of the Senegal stopover, Botha said: "Our road to the world runs through Africa. We did not go to Senegal to negotiate special material benefits, but rather to introduce SA as a fellow African state and exchange views on the problematic nature of Africa."

'FW has won respect for SA'

Political Staff

Mar 9/1/91

President de Klerk's major reforms since February 2 last year have won South Africa a great deal of international respect and acceptance, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

In an interview with the Bureau for Information's magazine, Mr Botha said the most important international breakthrough made by Pretoria was getting the world to believe in the Government's sincerity to

scrap apartheid and the "irrevocability of the process of change".

(304A)

Mr de Klerk's trips abroad, Mr Botha said, were a chance for him to inform foreign heads of state "correctly and at first-hand" about his objectives.

The sweeping political changes introduced last year and Namibia's independence had "laid the foundation for greater acceptance of the credibility of the South African Government".

Boerestaat Party warns on reform

Star 9/11/91
Political Staff

304A

The Boerestaat Party has warned the Government not to think the Orde Boerevolk's preparedness to negotiate meant resistance against its reformist policies has been broken.

BP leader Robert van Tonder yesterday warned that "active resistance" to the Government's policies would take over if the "anarchy and chaos" which already existed worsened.

He was reacting to the OB's surprise decision to abandon violence as a means of establishing its white Boerestaat and opt instead for negotiation politics.

The OB said in a weekend statement it had decided that negotiations would be the most appropriate way of "ensuring the freedom of our people". But it also demanded the release of its leader, Piet Rudolph, and right-wing detainees Henk Breidenhann and Dirk Ackermann.

It would call on its members to hand in the rest of the weapons that were taken by Mr Rudolph in his raid on Air Force Headquarters last year.

Minister ^{306A} lauds 'all ^{8/2/91/191} party' talks

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday welcomed the ANC's proposal of an "all-party congress", stating it was particularly encouraging that the ANC accepted that all parties with a proven constituency should be part of negotiations.

Dr Viljoen said he also welcomed the ANC's renewed commitments to the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes.

"I welcome the ANC's point of view in favour of a multiparty conference in preparation for the constitutional negotiation process."

"I also welcome that the ANC has coupled further progress in the negotiation process with the undertakings in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

It was in the interest of all that the negotiation process began speedily. — Sapa.

Govt welcomes ANC talks plan

3064

9/1/91

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government last night welcomed an African National Congress proposal for a multi-party conference to clear the way for a post-apartheid constitution.

In a significant statement the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, welcomed "the ANC's point of view in favour of a multi-party conference in preparation for the constitutional negotiation process".

He said it was particularly encouraging that the ANC accepted that all parties with a proven constituency should be part of negotiations.

The statement, which was read for the minister by a spokesman, Mr Marius Kleyhans, said he also welcomed the ANC's renewed commitments to the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes. It was in the interest of all South Africans that the

negotiation process got under way as speedily as possible.

Earlier the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in a policy document to mark the movement's 79th anniversary that "the summoning of (an all-party congress) would constitute the first step in the process leading to the adoption of the new constitution".

But he added pointedly that the all-party congress should elect an interim government and constituent assembly to plan the new constitution.

Mr Mandela appeared confident after delivering the ANC policy message that President F W de Klerk would accede to an all-party meeting, noting he had never decisively ruled one out.

"The government and the ANC have been moving closer to each other," he told reporters.

Mr Kleyhans said that while Dr Viljoen endorsed the "idea of a conference", this did not necessarily include the proposals for an interim government or constituent assembly.

Last night Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement voiced reservations over the plan, the

Democratic Party supported it and the Conservative Party rejected it outright.

"If goes without saying that the ANC sees itself as being the major player in this assembly," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement, noting that Inkatha would only accede to such a conference if it had an open agenda.

Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called the ANC proposal "a first step to subjugate the whites to a black dictator under the cloak of a democracy" and rejected participation.

"Negotiations are still on course," Mr Mandela said. "I have nothing to be despondent about... in spite of the difficulties that have emerged, we are optimistic."

The ANC document said the movement was approaching the future with only two aims. "These are the total abolition of the system of apartheid, not its reform or amendment, and its replacement by a genuine non-racial democracy," it said.

"Power must be transferred into the hands of all the people so that they, the people, govern."

The government view is that interim governing bodies are unnecessary to precede a new, non-racial

system and could complicate the process.

But Mr Mandela said Pretoria "has been persuaded to abandon many positions" since the launch of racial reform in February last year.

"An all-party congress means that all parties who have got proven support would be able to attend," he said.

Such a congress would mean each political party would be on its own. The SA Communist Party, he said, would also have to attend on its own and not as part of the ANC-SACP alliance.

"(But) we are not prepared to accept the idea of a mediator from outside. We are perfectly capable of taking our own decisions and implementing them," Mr Mandela said.

Neither would the ANC accept racially-defined voters' rolls.

Asked what the minimum achievements would be for the ANC to say it had reached its goal in 1991 — dubbed "the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people" — Mr Mandela said: "I will be satisfied when (ANC) president Oliver Tambo is in the Union Buildings."

By 2010 there will be more people in the PWV area than in London. SA's population will swell to 60-million, and more than 80% of it will be black. There will be unprecedented growth in the number of urbanised blacks, with 32-million (71%) of the total black population living in the eight largest cities.

This expansion will increase the demand for housing, education, health and other social services — spheres in which the needs of the majority have been neglected under apartheid.

The country faces the dual challenge of redressing historical inequalities while meeting the growing future needs of the "new SA".

Land allocations larger than Soweto will be needed every year for the next five years to accommodate the burgeoning urban population.

This is the space needed for 174 000 housing units annually, including 113 000 units for new families and 61 000 to make up the housing backlog over the past 20 years, according to the Urban Foundation.

Before influx control was scrapped in 1986, apartheid policy assigned black people to theoretical homes in the homelands, denying them permanent residence or private ownership of property in the "white" cities. Houses for rental and hostel accommodation were provided for the "temporary sojourners" working in the cities, resulting in serious housing shortages and inadequate infrastructure and social services. Estimates of the housing backlogs in urban areas vary from 1.2-million to 2.1-million units, depending on whether informal housing (site and service schemes) is included.

As part of the financial strategy to address SA's housing challenge, the Urban Foundation has proposed the scrapping of all subsidy schemes except for a modified first-time home buyers' subsidy and a capital subsidy on serviced sites — both at a minimum of R6 000 a time.

The foundation wants rental/sales formulas phased out because, it says, these distort fund allocations. About 46% of the budgeted amount goes to blacks who should ideally receive 79% if subsidies were more equita-

SA has to remedy past disparities and meet new needs

8/Dec 9/11/91

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The health, housing and education crises present difficult challenges for SA. TANIA LEVY reports in this, the second of four articles examining issues surrounding the dismantling of apartheid.

bly distributed by race group. On this basis whites, who at present get 13% of the budgeted amount, would receive only 2.5%.

It would cost about R514m a year (at 1990 prices) to implement the foundation's proposals. This would fall well within government's existing budget for black housing, provided most of it was no longer allocated as bridging finance to black local authorities. Bridging finance accounted for R632m of last year's R973m parliamentary budget for black housing.

Meanwhile education could be the most crucial challenge facing SA, says Standard Bank Investment Corporation (MD) Conrad Strauss. Not only is it vital to economic growth but it is the source of considerable political tension. By 2000 there will be nearly 14-million pupils in SA — 11.8-million of them black.

Sources such as Senbank, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) and the Independent Schools Council give varied estimates of what it would cost to bring black education expenditure to the level of that of whites. Some say it requires a tripling of the overall education budget. But education officials say spending on education — the largest single item in the Budget — has reached a ceiling. The R13.3bn budgeted last year made up nearly

19% of the total Budget — a sizeable proportion compared with other countries around the world.

Because expenditure has been unequally spent on the different races, most black pupils leave school half-educated and ill-equipped for an economy crying out for skills.

The crisis in black education was highlighted again this week with only 36.4% of black matrics passing. Although black education expenditure has increased 1 003% since 1978, government still spends R2 882 a year on a white child compared with R656 a year on each black child.

Government attributes much of the gap in spending to the higher salaries paid to white teachers, who generally have higher qualifications. But DP education spokesman Roger Burrows says that excluding teachers' salaries, per capita expenditure on white pupils is R1 300 compared with R280 for blacks.

NECC general secretary Inron Rensburg says an extra R21bn a year would be needed to bring black education to white levels. The amount includes R19.7bn in operating costs at R2 000 a pupil, R1.2bn for new schools and R1.25bn to train an extra 24 000 teachers.

Senbank says the 42% of the Bud-

get and 11% of GDP it estimates would have to be spent on education for black-white parity is clearly unrealistic and would lead to an economic fiasco.

The percentages become even more unrealistic when the potential number of black pupils who do not, but could, reach matric level is taken into account. A single education department, compulsory and free education up to Std 5 and increased privatisation are just some of the proposals put forward to meet the crisis.

No less serious is the state of health care. Wits researchers say SA's health care system is inherently flawed. In a recent edition of the SA Medical Journal, Wits Centre for the Study of Health Policy researchers Jonathan Broomberg and Cedric de Beer say the current political climate and a moral imperative to provide adequate health care for all demand that the present health system be overhauled.

Sacob estimates the current R7bn spent on health would have to be increased to R11.3bn to equalise spending between the races. At present R203 is spent per white and R154 per head for the other race groups. The R11.3bn needed to equalise health spending would constitute 4.6% of GDP instead of the 2.6% the 1989/90 R6.5bn health budget consti-

tuted. It seemed unlikely that government would be able nearly to double health expenditure while also meeting demands for increased spending on education, job creation, social security and infrastructure development, say the researchers.

Broomberg said massive redistribution of resources was needed geographically and from high-tech medicine to primary health care. There had to be a major redistribution of finances from the private to the public health sector.

In 1989 half of SA's total R12bn expenditure was spent in the private sector, which served only 20% of the population, most of them whites, said Broomberg. Not only was this situation unfair but there was incontrovertible evidence that private health services were inefficient.

A crisis would arguably have occurred if not for the substantial state subsidy paid to the private sector in the form of tax concessions to companies for their contributions to employees' medical aid schemes. In 1988 these concessions amounted to R1.5bn.

Because universal access to health care was a necessary social good, like universal education, market forces could not be relied on to distribute health care. The most viable option, according to the health policy centre, was the Canadian model for a comprehensive national health insurance system to pool public and private health finances.

Controlled by government health authorities, the pool of money would guarantee every South African a uniform package of basic health services for which there would be little or no charge at the point of use. Those who could afford it would buy additional care. Broomberg said the amount which all employees would have to pay was unlikely to be more than their present contributions to medical schemes and taxes.

Implementing a national health insurance scheme would clearly be only the first step towards an appropriate and equitable health-care system.

Other major developments required included the dismantling of all apartheid structures, creation of greater administrative efficiencies and a commitment to comprehensive health care with enough emphasis on disease prevention and promotion of good health.

Constitutional role mooted

Govt thumbs up to ANC's plan for talks

GOVERNMENT yesterday welcomed the ANC's proposed all-party conference as a "major breakthrough", while the ANC suggested that the conference could be transformed into a constitution-making body or an interim government or both.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the all-party conference would principally have to draw up guidelines for full-scale constitutional negotiations.

But once this work was complete, the all-party congress could be mandated by the population to draw up a constitution — an idea not far removed from government's view of the process to be followed.

● See Page 4
● Comment: Page 6

The CP rejected the idea out of hand, the DP welcomed it and the Inkatha Freedom Party gave it qualified support.

Top government sources predicted, however, that government would definitely be willing to attend such a conference.

In a major policy statement timed to coincide with its 79th anniversary, the ANC said the Harare and UN declarations both envisaged an all-party congress.

The conference would have to carry out three tasks, the statement said:

- To set out the broad principles within which the detailed constitutional work would be carried out;
- To determine the make-up of the body, such as an elected constituent assembly, which would draw up the constitution; and
- To establish an interim government to oversee the process of transition until a

TIM COHEN

new government was formed on the basis of the new constitution.

During yesterday's Press conference following the reading of the statement, Mandela explained that the ANC felt that once this process had been completed, the congress would dissolve.

He added that if the population voted "to give the all-party congress the mandate to draw up a constitution or to form a constituent assembly or an interim government" it would exercise those functions.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen welcomed the ANC's proposal, adding that it was particularly encouraging that all parties with a proven constituency should be able to participate.

"I also welcome it that the ANC couples further progress in the negotiating process with the undertakings in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes" and he welcomed its renewed commitment to these undertakings.

He said it was in the interests of all South Africans that the negotiating process got underway speedily.

Senior government sources said yesterday government would definitely be prepared to attend such a conference. They hailed it as a breakthrough, saying government had mooted such a conference itself.

The question of who exactly should organise the conference was unlikely to present a major obstacle to the meeting.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday his party agreed entirely that an all-party conference was desirable.

He said the DP would be keen to tackle the task of establishing broad principles

□ To Page 2

ANC call

for a new constitution, "as we believe that a fairly broad consensus already exists".

But he said the DP at this stage was in agreement with the proposals the ANC had already made on a constituent assembly and an interim government.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday the CP rejected the plan because it did not provide for the freedom and self-determination of the Afrikaner.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

yesterday left the door open for his party to attend the conference, pointing out that his organisation was already committed to a multiparty conference.

But Buthelezi said the ANC's call had all the hallmarks of wanting a constituent assembly and interim government in which it would play the dominant role.

The ANC wanted the government to step down, so that it could, in effect, take over.

He said Inkatha had reservations about a constituent assembly.

□ From Page 1

Bush sends his men on SA aid mission

US PRESIDENT George Bush has personally directed his Health and Human Services Secretary to visit SA next week to evaluate local health and educational needs and devise new aid programmes for the country.

A US embassy spokesman said yesterday that secretary Louis Sullivan would be accompanied by US Agency for International Development administrator Ronald Roskens, who controls an annual budget of \$800m. *B/Am 9/1/91.*

During the visit, Sullivan — whose departmental budget makes up 38% of US federal spending — is expected to announce a number of aid packages for SA.

PETER DELMAR

These will focus on assisting local health services, black education and SA's anti-AIDS programme. The two officials would reappraise the US's funding of such programmes in SA. *(304A)*

The spokesman said the importance the US administration attached to boosting aid assistance to SA could be gauged by the fact that Bush had personally directed officials of such high standing to visit SA.

And Sapa reports that a US mission is due to arrive in Windhoek shortly to discuss Namibia's development needs.

NP and DP to steer clear of each other in municipal by-elections

THE NP and DP would definitely not nominate candidates against each other in two pending Johannesburg municipal by-elections when nominations are accepted today, party spokesmen have confirmed.

However, the CP will tackle the NP in one of the wards, which is a marginal one.

The DP will today nominate psychologist Anchen Dreyer as its candidate in ward 13, Melville/Westdene, while the NP will put up its Johannesburg Youth Organisation chairman Alan van Winsen for ward 42 in the southern suburbs seat of Regents Park/The Hill.

DP southern Transvaal leader Peter Soal said that in the light of the DP-NP working coalition in the Johannesburg council, the two sides had agreed not to oppose each other for the seats which became vacant after DP councillors Dave Verster and Deon van Greunen resigned.

Verster won the Regents Park ward for the NP in 1988, but subsequently crossed to the DP before leaving the council.

Van Greunen captured Melville for the PFP in one of the major upsets of the 1988 elections, beating the then NP deputy

TANIA LEVY

council leader Johan Fick. (304A)

Johannesburg CP leader Jacques Theron yesterday declined to comment on speculation that the party would nominate Torrie van Tonder as its candidate for Regents Park, but said the party would probably not contest Melville.

Father of Transvaal rugby player Cheese van Tonder, Van Tonder stood and lost to NP MP Sheila Camerer in the 1989 general election in Rosettenville.

Johannesburg NP leader Koos Roets said the CP was no threat in ward 42.

He said he believed a few "surprise" independents would put themselves forward today, including Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte who was an unsuccessful NP candidate in the 1989 Berea by-election. Whyte was not available for comment yesterday.

The names of the final candidates will be announced at noon tomorrow.

The two by-elections will not affect the balance of power between the NP-DP coalition and the CP.

SA to give R36-m to Namibian fighters

By Dale Lautenbach
Africa News Service

10/1/91

WINDHOEK — Former combatants on all sides in the Namibian war can look forward to a "gratitude" payout from the South African Government by the end of April.

The amount of R36 million was pledged by the Government for distribution to combatants demobilised by the independence process in Namibia during October 1989.

Initially, a form of pay-out was agreed to before independence when Sam Nujoma approached administrator-general Louis Pienaar with a request for financial assistance for the former fighters.

Subsequently, President Nujoma and President de Klerk discussed the issue during Namibia's independence celebra-

tions at the end of March last year and it was agreed that Swapo's Plan fighters would also receive a share of the pay-out along with former Koevoet and territorial force members.

Asked what South Africa's reasons were for paying soldiers who might be considered by some as former enemies, the office of the South African representative in Namibia said it was an act of "good neighbourliness".

In the course of last year, the R36 million became something of a political rugby ball. DTA chairman Dirk Mudge accused the Namibian government of dragging its feet as to how the money should be used while many of the former combatants were still on the streets without jobs.

The Namibian and South African governments were involved in negotiations about the pay-out at the time, but the political mud-slinging seemed to sour the process and the result

was that Namibia pulled out, saying South Africa should distribute the money itself.

In order to do this with as few political ripples as possible, the Chief Justice of Namibia, Mr Justice Hans Berker, was asked to establish a committee to assist South Africa with the distribution.

That committee is now "actively engaged in dealing with the practical problems", according to the South African office. It says the process will take some time but hopes to have the payments made by the end of March.

Payments will be made only to former combatants who were in the service of Plan, Koevoet and territorial force units at the time of demobilisation.

Commandos and Citizen Force members do not qualify and money will only be given to former combatants physically present within Namibia's borders at the time of payment.

304A

SA's bureaucracy, grown flabby on the back of separate development, is likely to burgeon in the new SA, despite initial trimmings of the apartheid apparatus.

Critics of apartheid have pointed to the economic resources the policy consumes — resources which could instead be used to reconstruct SA along nonracial lines.

However, the initial savings of these cuts could soon be negated in staffing a bureaucracy to administer equalisation programmes under a new dispensation.

The DP's former finance spokesman Harry Schwarz, soon to become ambassador in Washington, says that while it cannot be doubted that savings will be achieved in ridding SA of the apartheid apparatus, bureaucracy is likely to grow under a programme of equalisation in a new SA.

It is also likely that a policy of decentralising administrative functions to several economic regions — a policy government favours — would lead to a bigger bureaucracy.

Commission for Administration chairman Piet van der Merwe said last April that 7% of the economically active population was employed in state departments, provincial administrations and government trade establishments.

Between 1980 and 1988, employment in central government increased 57% from 325 000 to 511 000.

UCT sociology professor Mike Savage says the direct cost of apartheid is most clearly seen by examining state expenditure on the large apparatus required to implement and enforce apartheid programmes. He points to the costs of support-

The by-product of change is a bulkier bureaucracy

(3044)



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A future SA will probably need a larger, rather than a more streamlined, public service, reports EDYTH BULBRING in the third of four articles examining aspects of the dismantling of apartheid.

ing 10 bantustan governments providing duplicated services in such areas as health and education; of supporting a bureaucracy administering apartheid laws, and paying different police and defence forces and other civil servants in the independent homelands.

Savage estimates that direct state expenditure to finance the apartheid machinery in the 1985/86 financial year was 10%-21% of the Budget.

Schwarz uses education as a prime example of the cost of apartheid. Under the present dispensation, education management and administration entails large-scale duplication of structures and functions.

Including the TBVC states, there are 18 departments and 15 Ministers of education. But Schwarz says it would be foolish to assume that there would be only one education department in a new SA.

"Regionalisation" is likely to be a very real factor in a new dispensation, and whether it applies to education or health, nonracial regional ad-

ministrations are a likely scenario. "Decentralisation costs a lot of money," he says.

With the implementation of a higher level of education and improved facilities, it is likely the drop-out rate among black children would decrease, leading to the need for more teachers and bureaucrats to administer a larger education apparatus.

The same applies to pensions. To achieve parity in old age pensions would cost an extra R2bn-R3bn a year on the present expenditure of R3,8bn, and the number of old age pensioners would probably grow with increased life expectancy among blacks through the improvement in living and welfare services. This would therefore increase the bureaucratic apparatus needed.

Schwarz doubts the scrapping of apartheid administrative structures would bring substantial savings.

With the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, for instance, affected bureaucrats are likely to be absorbed into other departments, as happened

with the scrapping of the development boards.

Scrapping the four defence forces in the TBVC states and the 10 homelands police departments would also not result in significant savings. Personnel would probably be absorbed into the SAP and SADF. This presumes there would be a single police force and not regional police forces, he says.

A senior government official estimates that scrapping the apartheid apparatus would bring a saving of R1bn at most, but that this would be a short-term saving. Attempts to equalise historic inequalities would definitely result in larger bureaucracies, he says.

Government favours a decentralised dispensation with a small central government. For example, in education there could be one education department at central government level deciding on broad policy, curricula and standards, while there might be nine executive structures in nine economic regions.

Combining the three examination departments into one nonracial department would still require the same number of people to mark and administer the scripts, he says.

While government is looking at a regional solution to provide more cost-effective and efficient service, an increase in bureaucratic structures is a big possibility. There is no doubt that getting rid of apartheid would cut out a large number of directors-general and about 150 political decision-makers, he says. But trimming personnel could prove expensive in retrenchment packages unless employees were absorbed into other departments.

The official also points to the dangers of a new government being responsible to a large constituency, with resultant "buy-offs" through jobs and top positions.

The scrapping of one of the more obvious signs of apartheid — the six self-governing homelands and the four TBVC states — would also not provide significant savings.

It is true that the six homelands have 57 separate government departments, each headed by a director-general and its own administrative structure. Incorporating them into a single government could provide an initial saving, but it might still be necessary to use the bureaucrats in a regional administration.

While critics have correctly pointed to the waste of money and human resources in the apartheid system, not to mention the cost in human dignity and lives it has entailed, it is unlikely that any future dispensation will provide a "quick fix" in the form of a leaner, more efficient and cost-effective nonracial bureaucracy.

THE GULF CRISIS

SA support for Hussein from unlikely bedfellows

SADDAM HUSSEIN will have unexpected allies in South Africa if he goes to war with the US: the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Boerestaat Party.

The African National Congress, however, has backed the United Nations resolution to attack Iraq unless it quit Kuwait.

Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait last August and the UN Security Council ordered Baghdad to evacuate the emirate by next Tuesday, or face military action.

The ANC's support was cushioned in semantics. The representative, Joel Netshitenzhe, this week said the ANC preferred a peaceful resolution and commended the negotiations which have been held.

He added that war spelt danger for the world in terms of civil casualties and international destabilisation.

Asked whether Iraqi President Saddam Hussein did not have genuine grounds to seize Kuwait as he had claimed it was Baghdad's 19th province, Netshitenzhe replied: "We are not opposed to the UN resolution."

However, he also read the UN the riot act on two scores.

He said it was duplicity on the West's part to apply sanctions against Iraq as punitive measures when, with regard to South Africa, it had argued that sanctions were counter-productive.

The ANC representative was on Saddam's side when he agreed that the Palestinian issue also had to be addressed.

Saddam has repeatedly stated that the solution to the Gulf crisis fell short unless it involved the Palestinians' plight in Israel. He has also threatened to attack Israel, and later Saudi Arabia, where the American-led multi-national troops are deployed.

"The matter is more serious; it is colonial. The ANC is not against the Jews but the Arabs need support to get their own land," Netshitenzhe said, adding that the ANC wanted the UN to take stronger action against Israel — be it sanctions, material or moral support.

The Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) said it was not an alibi for Sad-

South Africans — from the far right to the far left — are as divided in their opinion of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and the impending Gulf war as they are among themselves. **By**

TSHOKOLO wa MOLAKENG

dam to link Kuwait with the Palestinian question because the Jews had invaded Palestine. The Palestinians, like the Jews, were also original inhabitants of the area, and they had to live together in harmony, said the MJC administrator, Imam Hassam Solomon.

"There is a national Arabic-Islamic resurgence to shake off superpower influence. And any Arab or Muslim who stands up for the Arabs is justified."

Saddam has warned that "every Muslim will be a missile to be thrown against the enemy once he launches his armed aggression against Iraq".

Solomon pointed out that Saddam's action was not "simply an invasion ... it is more complex ... Kuwait and Saudi Arabia serve American interests".

He added that it would not be a "wise move" for Saddam to go to war as he (Solomon) preferred a political settlement which, he said, the United States — which had invaded South American countries and Vietnam before — could provide.

He did, however, predict that the US would not take up arms as there was no consensus either in that country or in Europe.

Chairman of the local Zionist Federation, Solly Sacks, said if there was no war and Iraq pulled out, Saddam, "a greedy tyrant with a huge army which had no employment",

would in future "do something as he will have nuclear power and will have learnt the West's ways".

He denounced claims that the Kuwait invasion was similar or related to

the Palestinian affair. "The Arabs have never been displaced. They ganged up against Israel and had to be fought off."

Sacks also rejected allegations that

the Palestinians were oppressed: "Israel is the most colour-blind country in the world. The Palestinians enjoy the same rights as the Israeli prime minister."

Sacks acknowledged that America had been most vigorous in the affair because it wanted the oil, although she was right as it was endorsed by the world, even Saddam's "Arab brothers".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "extremely improbable" that Iraq could defeat the allied forces. De Beer, who likened Saddam to Hitler, said the Iraqi leader had to be stopped in his "international piracy" mission.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said the US — which inspired and fostered the UN resolution and is now at the forefront in the impending war — had no business intervening in the Gulf crisis as it had no "oil wells to dictate upon people who have them".

Azapo representative Sipho Maseko said the intervention was ironic because the US had failed to take similar steps in Israel, Panama and South Africa. He attributed the interference to America's "lust to show off its deadly weapons" and to prescribe oil prices.

Maseko said nobody, except the Middle East inhabitants, could argue about the legitimacy of Iraq's invasion. But he suggested that Saddam might have a point as colonialism had divided territories randomly.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder concurred that Kuwait was Iraq's land.

"America, England and all people have no right to interfere in Arab affairs. They must get out," he said.

Van Tonder added that Iraq should give the allied forces a thorough beating.

The Pan Africanist Congress said that if American force of arms was used against Iraq, "we would give every support to the Iraqi people".

However, the PAC said it was committed to world peace. It called for an urgent international conference "not only to resolve the issue but also that of occupied Palestine which was colonised by the naked aggression of international Zionism".



Attempt to protect SA nationals

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17/9/91

THE South African Government is preparing to protect South African nationals living in Israel in the case of a Gulf war, the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

The plans include possible evacuation, according to one Press report.

Communication networks between South Africa and Israel will be upgraded and precautions against poison taken.

Meanwhile, South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane yesterday sent an urgent message to the United Nations appealing for direct inter-

vention in the Gulf.

Chikane also called on Christians to join in prayer at 3pm on Monday, the eve of the UN deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

Reward

The Government has initiated additional safety precautions for South African nationals in other Middle Eastern countries.

The Department said it is monitoring the situation from minute to minute and that emergency measures will be implemented to protect South Africans at short notice. - Sapa.

Richard Steyn reviews a strategy for minority protection suggested by a world

Blueprint for multi-ethnic rule

authority

WHEN white South Africans are criticised by Americans for their political shortcomings, they invariably respond by saying, "Well, what would you do in our situation?" The question, if asked with serious intent, usually produces an effusion of platitudes, which betray the critic's lack of understanding of multiracial societies other than his own.

One American who is beyond criticism on this account is Duke University's Professor Donald Horowitz, among the world's foremost authorities on the protection of minorities in ethnically divided societies. Horowitz, whose mildness of mien and dry speaking style disguise strongly held opinions, is critical of the wishfulness of much liberal thinking about a post-apartheid society.

He observes that it is common to spend energy on ways to overthrow the unfair system of apartheid without having the least idea of what its replacement would look like. "A good cause does not ensure a good result," he says.

There is now more than enough experience of ethnic and racial conflict worldwide, Horowitz claims, to forecast what would happen if one-person, one-vote elections along current first-past-

the-post lines were adopted in the new South Africa. Before long, political parties would divide more or less cleanly along racial lines.

"There would then be domination of whites by blacks, provided the army stood aside, and at a later point a sorting out among the black groups. Not only the future of whites, but the future of democracy, would be in doubt."

Heal

Lest this prognosis bring a gleam to the eye of racial conservatives, Horowitz makes it clear that universal suffrage, in which everyone has the vote and every vote counts the same, is a *sine qua non* for any democratic system in SA. There is no alternative, he says, to majority consent. But majority consent, under universal suffrage, need not inevitably result in racial domination.

This can be avoided by engineering a constitution that does not produce racially and ethnically defined majorities and minorities, or equate blacks with "majority" and whites with "minority" now and in the future.

Not that ethnic or racial differences can or should be overlooked. Horowitz's studies of ethnicity in

other multiracial societies lead him to conclude that racial divisions in South Africa will take at least a hundred years to heal, but in the meantime it is possible to achieve a democracy that avoids domination and modifies ethnically antagonistic behaviour.

This would mean not putting one's faith in multiracial political parties, but accepting the reality of racially or ethnically based parties and making it imperative for them, in order to win election, to take cognisance of the needs of other groups.

Unlike many theoreticians, Horowitz has a keen understanding of the forces that drive politicians. In most cases, it is not their good intentions, but the self-interest of their constituents. He proposes a system, therefore, that harnesses self-interest and rewards those who reach out beyond the confines of their own group or racial constituency.

From several variants, he favours for South Africa a system of vote-pooling (exchanging votes for candidates of different parties), which means counting not only the first choice of voters, but their second, third and fourth preferences as well.

The successful candidate is the one who wins the most votes from

his own supporters as well as those of rival parties. Whites, coloureds and Indians would thus wield an influence in many predominantly black constituencies, and in this way become part of a governing majority. Extremists of any stripe would not gain enough broad support to win election.

Horowitz amplifies his argument by reference to two deeply divided multiracial societies — Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

In Malaysia, a permanent multi-ethnic coalition between numerically dominant Malays and non-indigenous Chinese has come to occupy the centre of the political spectrum. In Sri Lanka, where Tamils comprise 11 percent of the population and Sinhalese most of the rest, the constitution has settled into a pattern of representation by ethnically based political parties. The outcome has confounded expert predictions.

Under what observers held to be far more favourable conditions, Sri Lanka has erupted into ethnic warfare. Malaysia, against all expectations, has maintained a fragile peace. Taken together, says Horowitz, Malaysia and Sri Lanka show that small differences in constitution-making can produce big differences, that once a multi-

ethnic coalition gets going under a system that specifically rewards moderation, multi-ethnicity can become a habit.

Experience of constitutional successes and failures in post-colonial societies from Sudan to Cyprus has caused Horowitz to become wary of negotiations that aim at cutting a deal or reaching a grand settlement between political adversaries. Unless provision is made for amendment, he says, a contract alone is not a lasting basis for accommodation.

Required

What is required is a social contract — a constitutionally protected, mutually acceptable framework for continuing policy-making, based on the self-interest of all the parties.

But why should the ANC, for instance, be attracted to a system that goes to such lengths to protect its political adversaries?

The reason, says Horowitz, is straightforward.

When white domination ends, racial and ethnic rivalries will not cease to be politically significant. The political system will continue to be the principal arena of competition. If, under a majority rule

system, whites become a permanent minority, their power in non-political areas will make them a perpetual threat. The same applies to other ethnic groups.

On the other hand, if whites become so politically and economically emasculated — as in Zimbabwe — that they emigrate in large numbers, an acute struggle for control might develop among blacks. Then it will not be a case of majority rule, but which black minority will rule over the others.

Therefore it would be as much in the interests of the black majority as of the white minority to take precautions against domination by race or ethnicity in advance of destructive conflict.

Space reasons preclude me from doing more than sketch the outline of Horowitz's arguments. A fuller discussion of his proposals will have to await the arrival in this country of his new book, "A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society" (University of California Press). The appearance of the book could not be more timely, and will add an important new dimension to the constitutional debate that is currently unfolding.

● Richard Steyn is Editor-in-Chief of The Star. □

—Almost a year after President De Klerk delivered his February 2 landmark speech he will again address the nation at the February 1 opening of parliament. Before it is too late, says Stellenbosch economist Professor SAMPLE TERREBLANCHE, the time has arrived for the President to address the major issue of the transfer of power to the disempowered majority.

FOCUS

FV: Great reformer or resistor?

W/le M/le 12/11/91

30X4

WHEN President De Klerk delivers his speech at the opening of parliament on February 1, he will have a golden opportunity to show his mettle as Great Reformer.

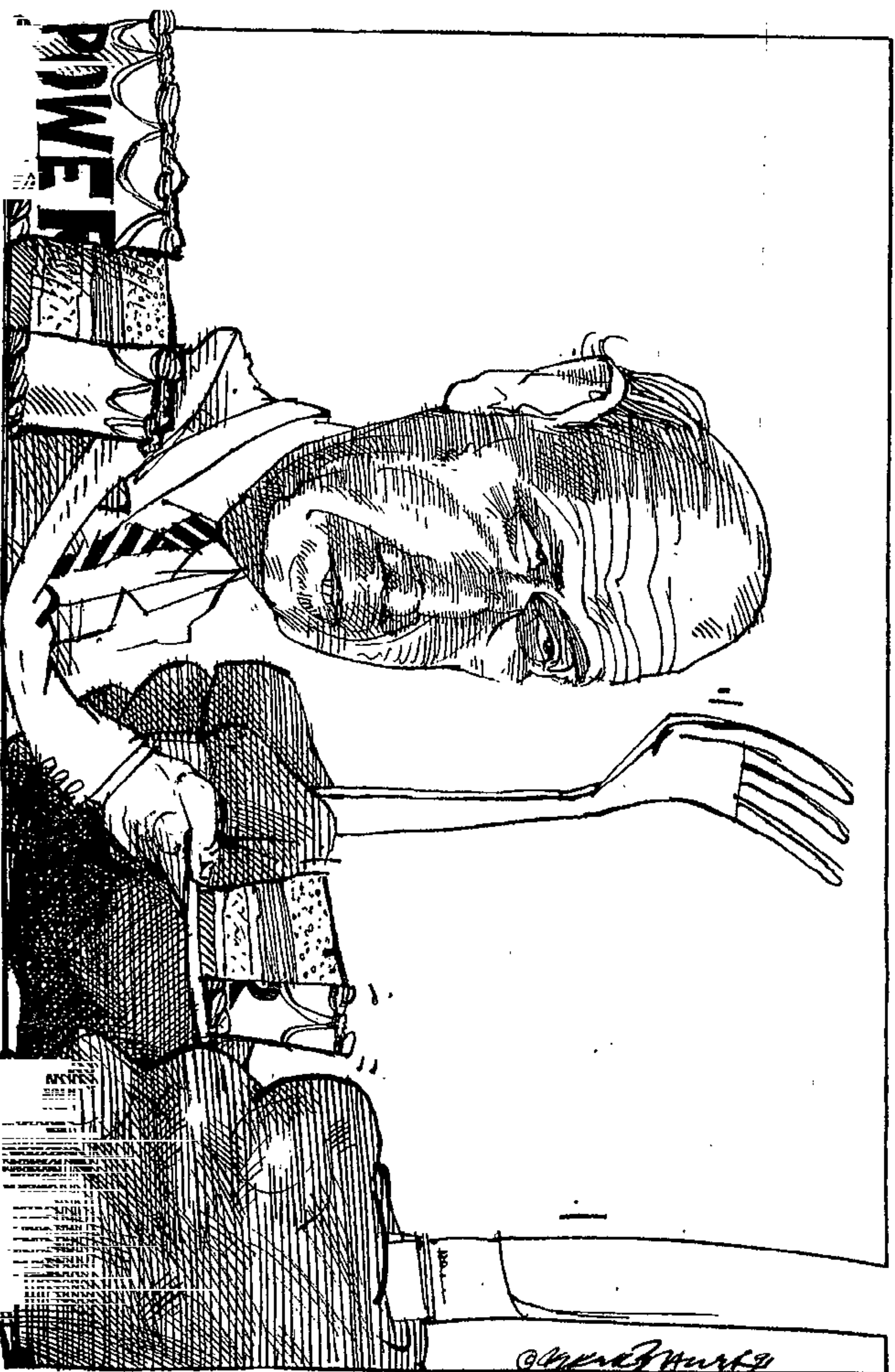
Since the NP became a so-called reform party it has been inclined to do too little too late. Consequently its reform measures were not only cosmetic, but also of a nature that brought the term "reform" into disrepute.

Mr De Klerk's historic speech on February 2 last year signalled the intention of the NP to make a clean break with its tradition of cosmetic reform. But has it succeeded?

To emphasise the fact that the much needed reform is not only about the abolition of apartheid, but also about the constructing of a New South African society, many people prefer the term "structural reform."

In his first public address after his release Mr Mandela made a strong plea for a "fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems."

It is for several reasons more appropriate to make a plea for structural reform.



POWER

Firstly, a structural approach focuses at-

attention on the fact that POWER — be it political, economic, bureaucratic or media power — is still very much concentrated in the hands of the white population comprising only 13 percent of the citizens of this country.

If the reform measures are (or remain) of such a nature that they do not succeed in bringing about an adequate and (hopefully orderly) *empowerment* for the people other than white, they will still be cosmetic reform instead of the highly needed structural reform.

It will then not be possible to build a more just society, to stabilise the internal situation and to normalise our international relationships.

Secondly, a commitment towards structural reform will necessitate a structural analysis of the true nature and causes of the South African problem. This will uncover the fact that the unequal and unjust distribution of power between the different population groups has made (and is still making) important contributions to the poverty, deprivation and relative backwardness of people other than white.

Thirdly, a clear understanding of the structural dimensions of the South African problem will convince people that the necessary (structural) reform can only be brought about over a relatively long period of time.

THOSE who talk about a New South Africa which will be "created" in 1994, are not only deceiving themselves, but are apparently also unaware of how profoundly the apartheid-based society will have to change before it will become a truly new and democratic society.

The De Klerk government's commitment towards the abolition of apartheid and

12/11/91
of (political, economic, bureaucratic and media) power by mainly the white population. 364A

In his address to the nation on television on December 18, 1990, Mr De Klerk reprimanded the ANC for what he called "their outdated rhetoric and policies."

He blamed the ANC for "trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiations and constitutional process" by continuing "to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government."

In the same speech Mr De Klerk was adamant that the ANC should not "talk of the transfer of power" because he regarded such talk as confrontational. He claimed that the ANC (should) "know that the purpose of the proposed negotiations are to determine how, in the interest of all South Africans, *power should be shared and domination avoided*."

These very controversial remarks of Mr De Klerk left lots to be explained. I want to make four points.

FIRSTLY, if it is confrontational of the ANC to talk about the transfer of power, then it should also be regarded as confrontational of the government not to be, in principle, prepared to transfer power to a properly elected majority party or coalition in a future constitution. The government has until now failed to commit itself to do just that.

With almost all power still neatly controlled by and effectively entrenched in white hands, the talks around the negotiation table can hardly be talks about anything but the (orderly and systematic) *transfer* of at least a considerable part of political power to those that have been disempowered and disenfranchised.

Power is certainly not something that can be created out of thin air. Power is, like wealth, a limited quantity. The NP cannot supply the dis-

the chances of "discovering" such a miraculous formula during the negotiation process and in reasonable period of time?

For such a formula we will need a constitution where no group and no political party must ever attain a position of domination over a group or party and vice versa.

The chances of reaching such a miraculous formula in 10 years — or even a century — are zero!

The NP has been monopolising political power for more than 40 years. After all these years they should know that the name of the political game is power. (Or does the NP know it to well?)

Consequently they should know that any attempt to neutralise the ability of all parties and all groups to attain domination, is nothing but an attempt to sterilise the whole political process. What is the use of that?

Fourthly, in setting as precondition for negotiations the task to determine how "power should be shared and domination avoided", Mr De Klerk not only pre-empted negotiations in a serious manner, but is also trying to straight jacket the democratic process in a future South Africa.

ANY attempt to pre-determine the outcome of a democratic election is a self defeating exercise from a democratic point of view.

It belongs to the very essence of democracy that any party or coalition that is governing the country must be in the position of losing its controlling position and must then have no choice but to make way for another party or coalition that can win a vote of confidence in parliament.

Any attempt to create a democratic system without winners and losers — and without part-

BHAN POTTINGER checks the guest list for a proposed all-party conference

...the obvious question: who will come to the party? And, more to the point, who among South Africa's myriad groups should be allowed to come?

The joint authors of the idea of the multi-party talks — the National Party government and the ANC — are coy about the issues.

Government spokesmen insist any group which has proven support should be invited. Like the ANC, they are reluctant to say who, exactly, they mean. Of record, they suggest between 12 and 15 participants.

ANC spokesmen say it should not be the right of any one organisation to decide who should, or should not, be there. But some participants are clearly more acceptable than others.

Here follows a brief check-list of who would qualify to come — and those who are likely to decline.

● First up, obviously, is the ruling National Party which, despite all appearances to the contrary, still holds military, economic and political power firmly in its hands. Recent opinion polls suggest it enjoys the support of more than

half the white population and nearly 17 percent of the entire South African community.

President F W de Klerk personally enjoys the support of 26.6 percent of all South Africans, and some polls put his support among blacks at a surprising 22 percent.

The National Party government has an obvious interest in getting negotiations under way. The delays over the transitional issues — such as prisoner releases, exile returns and domestic violence — has taken the steam out of the reform process.

Keen

The idea of an all-party conference, in fact, arose in private discussions between President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as a way of leap-frogging the immediate problems and restarting political momentum.

● The ANC is equally keen on an all-party conference and is a major player. Just over half of all South Africans support the ANC,

a poll in August last year suggested. Earlier polls showed the ANC enjoyed 58 percent of support in the black community, although this had dropped to 53 percent by late last year.

Nelson Mandela's personal popularity soared above all rivals, although the return of ANC president Oliver Tambo (he only had one percent support of all South Africans late last year) is likely to raise some interesting questions as to who, in the future, is the most popular of the ANC leaders.

The NP and the ANC, in pushing for a negotiated settlement, are tapping into a mainspring of South African sentiment. Well over three-quarters of South Africans, black and white, prefer negotiated settlements to violent options.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important element. A slick public relations operation and claims of membership running into the millions is, however, generally belied by the opinion polls.

A survey, last year gave Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's slightly less than two percent of national popular support. And a September poll, amid the violence in the Transvaal between ANC-aligned and Inkatha-aligned supporters, showed a drastic drop of support for Inkatha in areas outside Natal.

The same poll showed half the black sample regarded Inkatha as a negative influence on the negotiations process and only the AWB pipped Inkatha as the most negative influence.

Unions

Inkatha remains suspicious of the all-party conference, but shrewdly recognises it as the only game in town. The ANC may dislike the organisation, but cannot ignore it. Chief Buthe, thus,

will be at the table. ● A fourth major player will be the trade union federation Cosatu. The ANC sees it as a separate entity, with its own constituency and entitled to its own place at the table.

Its distinct, loyal constituency is hard to determine, as many Cosatu unionists are also members of the ANC and even the SA Communist Party.

Players from all sides of the field

SITUATED

Such divided loyalties have not yet been put to the test, but a poll in September last year of black opinion showed that 19 percent of blacks regarded Cosatu as a more genuine representation of black opinion than the ANC.

Cosatu, as part of the alliance of ANC-SACP, is also likely to be at the table. ● Next in line on popular support scales is the Democratic Party. Polls in August last year gave the party 7.8 percent of overall support among all South Africans. The party, regarded as representing classically liberal values, has welcomed the idea of an all-party conference.

● The Pan Africanist Congress remains enigmatic. The polls show consistently low support for this organisation, although its growth capacity in the event of a

13/11/91

failure of a negotiated settlement is great.

An August poll by the Institute of Black Research (IBR) gave the PAC 2.7 percent of support among all South Africans.

Assembly

An Integrated Marketing Research poll at the same time among 2,100 economically active black people, however, indicated 20 percent believed the PAC was the genuine representative of black opinion — perhaps reinforcing the view that the PAC is largely an upper-class black phenomenon.

The PAC is dead against the all-party conference, for two reasons: it believes the black resistance groups should first unite against the government

and, secondly, that the government should commit itself to a constituent assembly and interim government before any negotiations begin.

It is 50-50 right now whether the PAC will stick to its guns or join the round-table.

● The SA Communist Party also enjoys an anomalous position. Its overall support is low — just over one percent of the total population. But its influence is much greater — in the trade unions, civics, top executives of the ANC and cultural quarters in the resistance groupings.

As part of the "alliance" it, too, will be at the table — and if the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings are anything to go by, doing much of the talking.

● Ironically, the Conservative Party's real strength, like the

SAC survey gave the CP only 1.5 percent of overall national support, but it could claim anything between 20 and 30 percent of white voters.

Its support, like the PAC, would grow in the event of failed negotiations. Like the SACP, it also has influence beyond its numbers in the supportive institutions: in this case, the security forces and the public service.

The CP — like its wilder cousins in the AWB — has declined the invitation to attend the multi-party talks.

Two groups remain to be considered: the participants in apartheid structures and, for want of a better description, the black "silent sector".

● Only four percent of all South Africans support the tricameral parliament, with its fractious coloured and Indian parties.

Respect

The Labour Party remains the most organised and prominent of these groups and, in that it has all but declared itself for the F W camp, it is likely to be stoutly defended by the NP as a participant at the round-table.

The fate of the Indian parties is less certain.

The position of the homelands is also hard to determine. Some, like Enos Mabuza's KwaNtsha, have gained the respect of both ANC and government. Others are more doubtful.

Discussions are under way for an "observer status" for these entities, although Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatane is hoping, Canute-like, that the whole thing will go away and leave him with his fiefdom intact.

● The last category: the black "silent sector". All sorts of players lay claim to the allegiance of this element. In the bad old days of apartheid, the "leaders" who pushed themselves forward to represent this "moderate" community were always regarded askance as the puppets of the apartheid system.

The designation is now less applicable. One of the largest conservative black political groupings — the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, under John Gogosida — does not yet even register on the opinion polls, but its numbers are reported to be growing.

Other conservative groups can be found in churches (the Zionists, for example) and at local government level: Soweto's veteran Sofooske Party.

The exact size of this group is difficult to determine, but if one takes all the support for the ANC, PAC and Inkatha together, it still leaves roughly 40 percent of black opinion unaccounted. Perhaps they are with the "silent sector".

It is the status of this grouping, you can bet, that will cause the toughest fights over representivity at the multi-party talks.

SA will soon be active in UN - ambassador

By John Dunn
Star Foreign Service

MELBOURNE — South Africa sees an active role for itself in the future at all levels of the United Nations, according to the country's Ambassador to Australia, David Tothill.

In a wide-ranging article in the Canberra Times, Mr Tothill predicted that in the not too distant future South Africa's relations with the United Nations would be normalised.

"South Africa, despite sanctions, despite everything, is the powerhouse of the African continent and we are uniquely positioned and equipped to contribute to the uplift-

ing of Africa and its peoples," he said.

"Even though political relations with the African continent have been cold, if not worse, for three decades, we have contributed scientific and technical expertise ... In recent years obviously surreptitiously, without publicity."

"I would imagine our role in that connection to move up-front and to expand."

Mr Tothill envisaged South Africa as a member of the Security Council, the Human Rights Commission and the Economic Commission for Africa.

South Africa, he said, had been denied the right to participate in annual sessions of the General Assembly since 1974.

'Only negotiation can end the long nightmare of apartheid'

Star 14/11/91.

304A

South Africa's "long nightmare" of apartheid could be ended only by the steadfast commitment to negotiation, US Secretary for Health Dr Louis Sullivan said in Soweto yesterday before meeting ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and other members of the organisation in Pretoria last night.

Dr Sullivan and a high-level US government health and aid delegation arrived yesterday morning for a four-day visit to South Africa, part of an eight-nation tour of Africa.

They were met at the airport by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

The US delegation attended a church service at Regina Mundi and then toured Baragwanath Hospital.

Later, at a Martin Luther King memorial service at Jabavu's Ipelegeng community centre, Dr Sullivan said Dr King sought nothing less than a social transformation using methods that were "stubbornly, insistently non-violent".

With its decision to suspend the armed struggle and



US Secretary for Health Louis Sullivan... non-violence will overcome apartheid.

join in a peaceful process of negotiations, the ANC has also returned to the path of non-violence," he said.

"Only by steadfast commitment to the process of negotiation and by adhering to the powerful weapon of non-violence, and only through this process, can this country overcome the long nightmare of apartheid," he said.

Mr Mandela had found "a courageous ally in President de Klerk who has committed himself to building a new, genuinely democratic South Africa based on equal rights and equal opportunities".

Dr Sullivan announced that

25 bursaries would be named in honour of Dr King.

US Aids administrator Dr Ronald Roskens said unless recent trends could be reversed, Aids threatened to become a calamity affecting the development of Africa.

Gains made in the survival of African children in the past decade might be reversed due to the killer virus.

Projections were that 450 000 people in South Africa would be HIV-positive within the next 18 months, he said.

Dr Roskens signed a R605 000 grant to help fund Aids prevention training in Soweto.

Last night, Dr Sullivan and Dr Roskens met an ANC delegation at the home of US ambassador William Swing.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina, and Dr Nthato Motlana. Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his wife, Leah, arrived later.

The US delegation will also meet Government officials and President de Klerk, during their visit. — Sapa.

Exploring the roots of a nonracial society

THE UNBREAKABLE THREAD:
Non-Racialism in SA, by Julie
Frederikse (Ravan Press, R29,95)

CREATING a nonracial society from the strict divisions imposed on SA by centuries of segregation and apartheid is a task that long exercised the minds and energies of those struggling for a just social order.

Julie Frederikse, author and historian based until recently in Zimbabwe, explores the roots of nonracialism in this, her third book on southern Africa.

Unlike her two previous works — the first on the media and the Rhodesian war and the other on SA's political upheavals in the mid-1980s — the book has a less polemical and controversial edge.

"It is not a book by a journalist with a point of view," Frederikse said in an interview this week, "It lets people speak for themselves."

This it does and in 200 interviews what emerges is a fascinating history of the motivations of those

whose vision of a nonracial society is now being incorporated into government policy.

What is now being taken for granted — that all South Africans will have to learn to live together — was not as readily apparent in SA's gloomier days. "We saw the struggle strictly in terms of one race versus another race," Patrick Lekota, then a hardline black consciousness student and now a senior member of the ANC, says in a typical interview.

"We were arrested with men who were blacks like ourselves, men with whom we had shared platforms and campaigned together against apartheid. But it was precisely from among those men that some of them took the witness stand, side by side with the SA Security Police, and condemned us and sent us to jail."

It was especially in the trade union movement where whites often played a vanguard role that many blacks first came to realise the futility of a race-based analysis.

Inevitably it was the credo of class-based politics, leavened by what was seen to be happening on the ground, that nurtured the nonracial approach.

Frederikse documents the early arguments between the Charterists and the Africanists whose gripe has been that whites tend to take up leading roles in organisations.

Frederikse and a team of researchers conducted over 200 interviews to produce a book that is exhaustive and covers an important aspect of SA political history.

A tradition of resistance steeped in nonracialism bodes well for the future of the country, Frederikse says. "Race cannot be wished away but a more subtle analysis shows racism up for what it is."

Whether the nonracialism that Marxist analysis gave birth to can readily be translated into political pluralism and tolerance is perhaps SA's next great challenge.

PATRICK BULGER

AAM action to encourage reform

By Nigel Tutt
Foreign Service

Day
15/1/91

in South Africa and bolstering trade sanctions against the Republic

in South Africa.

BRUSSELS — Anti-Apartheid Movement leaders have agreed to mount new campaigns aimed at encouraging further political reforms

The decision was taken at talks in Brussels at the weekend. British AAM secretary Mike Terry said: "The aim is to secure transformation

304A
The mass action will start on February 1 with protests outside South African missions around the world — coinciding with action in South Africa. The campaign will end with an international day of action on April 5.

US health chief meets Pik

By Carina le Grange
and Sapa

3049
8/15/19

US Secretary of Health Dr Louis Sullivan attended a lunch given in his honour yesterday before travelling to Cape Town to meet President de Klerk.

The luncheon, held near Johannesburg, was hosted by Medical Education for South African Blacks (Mesab), a Washington-based non-profit organisation which aims to improve health care.

Among the guests who attended the lunch were US ambassador William Swing, retired

MP Helen Suzman, Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana and Professor Philip Tobias of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr Sullivan also met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria yesterday. After a 45-minute meeting at the Union Buildings, Mr Botha said the discussion focused on political aspects of South Africa and the "irreversibility" of the removal of apartheid.

Mr Botha said that in his view the meeting had taken place against the background of southern Africa as a region.

Ramsay Milne reports from New York on SA's ambassador-designate

Just listen to me, says Schwarz

3044

Sar 16/11/11

EVEN though South Africa's 37 million people had not chosen him to be South Africa's new ambassador in Washington, Harry Schwarz, who takes over that post from Dr Piet Koorhof next month, says he has made it clear that he is going to be an ambassador for all South Africa's people.

Mr Schwarz gave this pledge in a wide-ranging interview in the New York Times yesterday.

The paper likened President de Klerk's appointment of Mr Schwarz, a long-serving member of the Progressive Federal Party and, later, the Democratic Party, to President Bush selecting someone such as Senator Edward Kennedy, a liberal Democrat and per-

sistent foe, to sell his policies abroad.

The Times added that Mr Schwarz's decision to leave Parliament and give up a prosperous Johannesburg law practice and accept what it described as "Pretoria's most crucial diplomatic posting," illustrated the extent to which Mr de Klerk's policies of change are supported by white liberals who hold no brief for the National Party.

"He (Mr de Klerk) hasn't asked me to change my political convictions," Mr Schwarz told the New York Times correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren. "He knows that I'm implacably opposed to apartheid."

Mr Schwarz said he wanted to

tell Americans that they were responsible for seeing the dismantling of apartheid through to a democratic conclusion.

Once apartheid was eliminated, he asked, "do you then walk away from the South African situation?"

"I say you shouldn't, and morally you are not entitled to do it."

"I think you've got a moral obligation to see that the system that follows is quite consistent with American values, and that those values are political and economic."

American concern, he added, should extend to economic assistance for reconstruction of a non-racial South Africa.

"I believe that freedom isn't complete when you are living in

poverty and degradation."

If a post-apartheid economy stopped generating wealth, he said, inability to meet popular aspirations could tempt even a democratic government to resort to autocratic measures.

Of his reception in the US, Mr Schwarz said all he asked was that "people should be prepared to listen" to him.

Recalling having lunch in Johannesburg with Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, in November, Mr Schwarz added:

"If I can sit down and have lunch with a leadership figure in the Communist Party, why should I not be able to do that with an American politician?" □

Former MP fined R35 000 for fraud

PORT ELIZABETH. — Former East London MP, Petro de Pontes was fined R35 000 (or 30 months) by the Regional Court here yesterday for fraud and related offences. *CAE Times 16/1/91*

De Pontes bribed Department of Interior official Mr Johan Scheffer to falsify an application for permanent residence for international financier Mr Vito Roberto Palazzolo. He also falsified his attorney's file to cover up the original fraud.

The other fraud charge relates to an order he issued to obtain the shareholding in Papillon International (Pty) Limited.

Before passing sentence the magistrate, Mr Gert Steyn, granted state witness Mr Scheffer indemnity against prosecution for his part in the offences.

He said De Pontes's motivation was the profit he expected to make out of the association, and Mr Palazzolo had just as strong a motive in seeking to avoid further prosecution in Europe.

Mr Steyn said he was satisfied that public indignation for De Pontes's abuse of trust could be met by a substantial fine.



The proof . . . Taffy Whyte, "conservative Independent" candidate in the The Hill/Regents Park by-election, produces his membership card to disprove Conservative Party claims that he is not a member of the party. Picture: Stephen Davimes

CP member accused of splitting vote

Municipal Reporter
8/26/11/91

Conservative Party member and independent candidate for Johannesburg's Ward 42 municipal election Taffy Whyte has been accused splitting the conservative vote in The Hill/Regents Park, ensuring the National Party of a win.

Johannesburg CP chairman Andrew McQueen said Mr Whyte's decision to stand in opposition to the official CP candidate, Torrie van Tonder, was detrimental to the conservative standpoint.

"He is splitting the vote and this could lead to the Nats winning."

"I respect the man's right to be an independent, but once you link yourself to a particular party, one's independence is questionable."

Mr McQueen said once Mr Whyte's membership of the CP was verified, it would be withdrawn as he was not working within party principle.

Mr Whyte said he had always been "a CP". He took out official membership in November last year after he decided to apply to stand for the CP in Ward 42.

His election agent, independent Johannesburg city councillor Desiree Simpson, said the CP had ignored Mr Whyte's application.

"Mr Whyte wants to get on to the city council so he can help the people. He is not contesting the election to fight the CP and the NP."

New property Bill outlaws race bars

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has quietly introduced far-reaching legislation, outlawing racial discrimination in the ownership, occupation and letting of land and property.

The Democratic Party has hailed the new Bill as a clear indication that the Government is about to abolish the Group Areas Act and Land Acts.

The legislation, known as the General Law Amendment Bill, 1991, cancels racial restrictions in the title deeds of immovable property.

"Any provision in the title deed of any immovable property prohibiting or restricting the acquisition, alienation, hypothecation, letting, hiring, ownership, occupation or use of such property, by, to, or in favour of any person, by virtue of such person's membership of a particular race or class, is hereby cancelled..." the Bill states.

It was submitted to Parliament's joint standing committee on agriculture and land affairs recently and approved this week.

The Bill will come before

Parliament soon after it convenes for the year on February 1 and is certain to be passed, since it will enjoy the support of all but the Conservative Party.

DP constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday that the effects of the Bill were in fact wider than abolishing the Group Areas Act.

"What this is clearly aimed at is preventing the situation arising after the repeal of the Act where a person can write into the title deed that a property can only be sold to a particular race group.

"This will have a bearing especially on sectional title deeds in respect of flats and cluster housing especially.

"This is a very important piece of legislation and is the clearest indication that the Government intends repealing the Group Areas Act."

Dr Worrall said the Bill had been approved by the relevant parliamentary standing committee and had therefore passed the first hurdle to enactment.

He said the Bill would prevent the sort of problems which had been encountered in the US where people had tried to circumvent anti-discriminatory moves by building racial

clauses into title deeds.

This had resulted in court procedures to challenge the constitutional validity of such measures.

The early introduction of the Bill has strengthened speculation that FW de Klerk will announce the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and Land acts when he opens Parliament on February 1.

Meanwhile Government sources have disclosed that Mr de Klerk is to take his Cabinet into another special special meeting this weekend.

The "bush indaba" will be used to finalise the government's strategy for the year.

It is expected that negotiations, the budget and especially increased welfare spending will be the main items on the agenda.

The sources said the special meeting would update a similar three-day conference which the extended Cabinet held in the Transvaal in December.

The Cabinet will hold its first conventional meeting of the year on Wednesday in Cape Town.

Mr de Klerk returned to his Tuynhuys office on Monday and his Cabinet Ministers have also begun to return from holiday.

British/South Africa relations are changing, reports Shaun Johnson

UK spotlight shifts away from Pretoria

304A
8 Jan 1991

JOHN Major has been Prime Minister for less than two months but already it is clear that South Africa will occupy a much lower rung than before on the ladder of British foreign policy priorities.

It is not just events in the Gulf, the Soviet Union and Europe which have served to kick South Africa downstairs, diplomatically speaking. There are separate dynamics at work which mark a break from the glare of British attention on South Africa afforded by Mrs Thatcher.

Professor Peter Vale of the University of the Western Cape believes Mrs Thatcher was the first British Prime Minister since Harold Macmillan to display "intense, sustained interest" in the South African conundrum, as opposed to the "periodic" bouts of curiosity of the intervening years. He argues that the South African question dovetailed neatly with some broader tenets of Mrs Thatcher's policies.

Because of her long and secure term in office, Professor Vale suggests, Mrs Thatcher had sufficient political latitude to dabble extensively in international affairs.

Professor Vale sees Mrs Thatcher's interventions over, for example, sanctions and the release of Nelson Mandela, as having made considerable political sense for her domestically.

To an extent South Africa did become an issue in British politics, and the then-prime minister's high-profile stance ensured that it enjoyed more attention than was warranted by its actual geopolitical significance. And in appointing — and heeding the advice of — her unprecedentedly adroit and pro-active ambassador Sir Robin Renwick, she carved out for herself a unique position on a subject about which the rest of the world tended to speak in platitudes.

Very few, if any, of this applies to Mr Major. While an interest in developments in South Africa will of course be sustained — if only because of extensive British trade and immigration links — the

country's fate may already have lost its "special status".

First, Professor Vale argues, Mr Major comes to the international field as a player "batting way down in the order". This restricts his room for innovative movement. Second, as British diplomats concede, the "big bang" events in this country have all but spent themselves. Negotiations, even if successful, can hardly compete with the release of Mr Mandela in capturing the imagination of the (foreign) public.

Apart from a short spell as Foreign Secretary between July and October last year (when he was obliged to make some pronouncements on South Africa), Mr Major has not shown especial interest in this country. He has supported moves to "encourage" President de Klerk in his reforms but is unlikely to take a lead. His policy remains consistent with Mrs Thatcher's, but lacks its passion.

All of this could, in Professor Vale's view, have important practical implications for the way in which Whitehall deals with South Africa in future. A powerful triumvirate, made up of Mrs Thatcher, her Private Secretary for Foreign Affairs Charles Powell, and Sir Robin, was reputed to have handled the matter almost exclusively, leaving the Foreign Office to implement rather than innovate. Now Mrs Thatcher is gone, Mr Powell leaves his post in March, and Sir Robin takes up the key Washington ambassadorship later this year.

Mr Major, who has not had Mrs Thatcher's contact with South African politicians, might be inclined to let the Foreign Office reassume its more familiar role.

"I believe that policy towards South Africa will not be as tightly conceived as before," says Professor Vale, "but that it will to a greater extent go through the clearing house of the Foreign Office. One of the essential things about such bureaucracies is that they have a way of slowing things down, of allowing a lot more reflection about policy decisions." □

THE images flash across the screen: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo. They face the press as they leave yet another meeting with FW de Klerk or Kobie Coetsee or Adriaan Vlok, or all of them together.

Negotiations seem set to become an all-male affair.

By including two women in its delegation when it met with the government at Groote Schuur last year, the African National Congress attempted to address the issue.

At a subsequent meeting in Pretoria, however, no women were present and have been absent ever since.

Why are there no women at the highest levels of decision making at this decisive point in South Africa's history?

For the majority of men in the country, this is not an issue. Despite progressive statements made by the ANC, women who have been active in politics know there is a vast difference between policy and practice.

Child-rearing and domestic chores remain the sole responsibility of the woman in many households.

Many men think sexual harassment, abortion and wife-battering are personal problems that are not of political consequence. They are considered best dealt with within the home or in committee or by priests and imams.

White parties

In two of the country's white parties, the National Party and the Democratic Party, there's little hope that women would be represented at the negotiating table — although their constituencies include South African women with privileged and educated backgrounds.

While the ANC considered the participation of women in all aspects of political life a priority, there is little thought given to how this is to be achieved.

When a member of an ANC branch argued for the election of women to branch executive committees, he was opposed by both men and women present.

"Everybody should have an equal chance," somebody said. "Why particularly women? That is discrimination," said another.

Experience shows it would have to be an outstanding woman who would be elected onto a committee alongside a group of men who are not expected to be quite so exemplary.

It is not "discriminatory" to push women into the leadership. Affirmative action can only readjust an imbalance that has left most women voiceless until now.

The ANC's Women's League has realised this and now wants the organisation to ensure that 30 percent of all people nominated for any position within the ANC be women.

Negotiating

They further want 30 percent of the ANC national executive to be women. Presently, three of the 35 are women — Ruth Mompati, Gertrude Shope and Jackie Molefe.

They are no longer prepared to take a back seat and believe they should be adequately represented at the negotiating table.

While women were well represented at the recent consultative conference, it was mainly the men who led the commissions.

Only tough talking and intense lobbying by women over the next five months could possibly make the June conference different.

Leading League member and recently returned exile, Nosiviwe Mapisa, says she is not in favour of "token" women in the ANC leadership.

"But we have women within the movement of the right calibre to ensure that those nominated will be genuinely worthy," she says.

"Sexism is so entrenched in our society. It can only be changed if women are represented in all decision-making bodies, in all structures and on all levels.

"Once women have a voice, they can use it to deal with questions like abortion and contraception," Mapisa says.

Why is it that so many women have participated in the fight against apartheid, yet few presently hold leading

Time to change gender attitudes

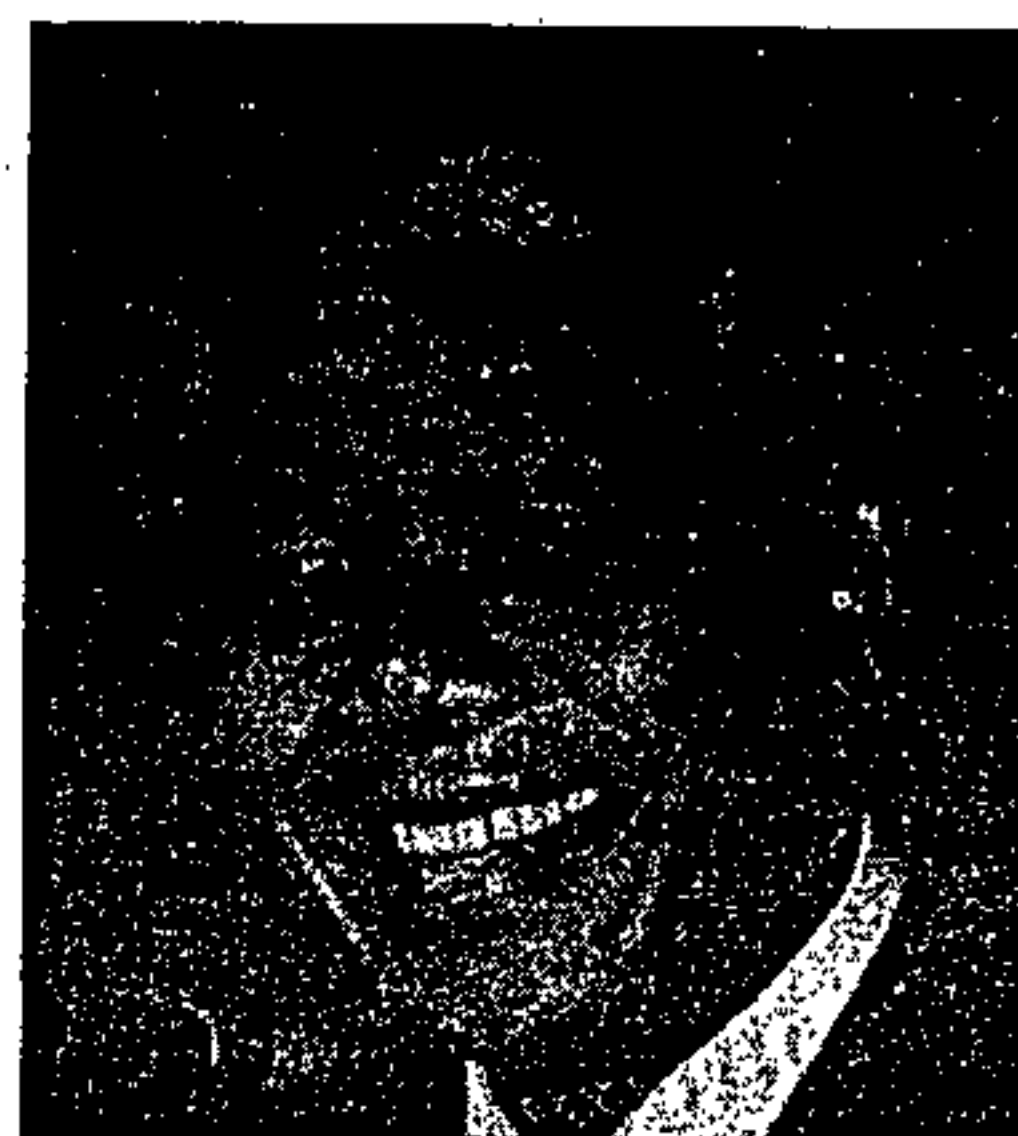
The all-party conference being mooted to get proper negotiations off the ground is likely to be an all-male affair.

As the country's political future unfolds, the absence of women at the negotiations and other forums is conspicuous.

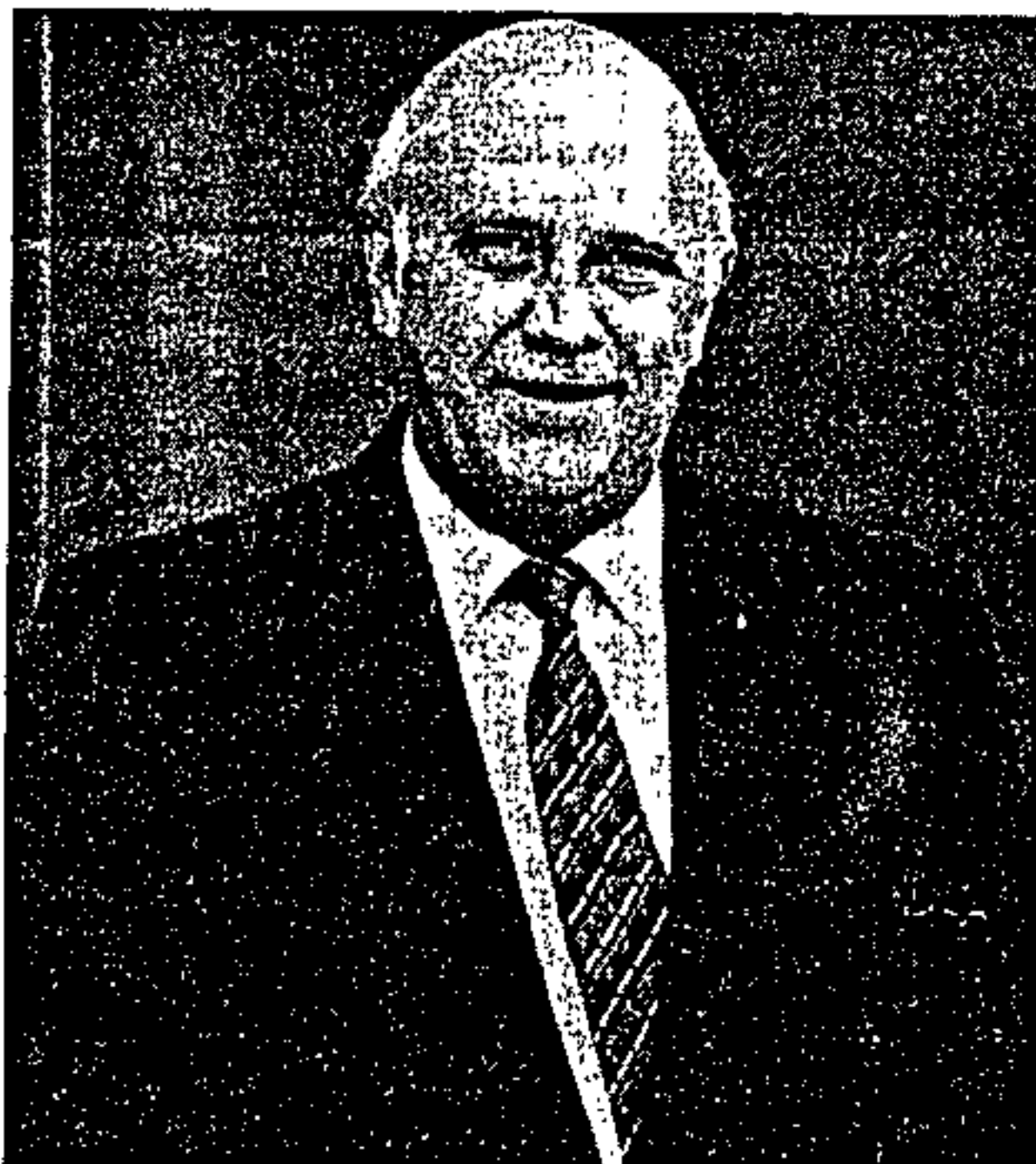
In the ANC, National Party and at every level, only outstanding women get elected to positions alongside males who are not expected to be as exemplary, writes Zubaida Jaffer



Marike de Klerk



Nelson Mandela



FW de Klerk



Cheryl Carolus

positions within the anti-apartheid movement?

Women will have to execute tasks themselves — even if they are still learning how to do so. They will thereby gain the confidence to fully participate in the politics of the country.

This will be fraught with difficulty. Not only will many men resist the changes but also older women who believe in age-old customs, such as lobola.

Although older women are more conservative, younger women are generally critical of this tradition.

Today the ANC and other political organisations are once again legal and many who have never been politically active, are rushing to join.

These new members have a strong commitment to eliminate racism but have little or no understanding of the wrongs of sexism.

And when women want to tackle their sexist perceptions, they are warned by their male comrades to "take it easy".

For so long now, women have had to forego their concern about problems they specifically face in the interest of a broader national political agenda.

At the consultative conference of the ANC Women's League held at the time

of its public launch last year, most of the discussions focused on the Natal violence.

Little attention was given to women's issues.

Nevertheless, the League said in a comprehensive policy statement on May 2 last year that genuine equality would have to be based on a real understanding of gender oppression.

Efforts are also underway to draw up a Charter of Women's Rights.

Informing

The Women's League is spearheading a national campaign to determine women's needs which would be incorporated into the Charter that will guide a future government on women's issues and be a constitutional instrument of the new, non-sexist South Africa.

What are women doing in political organisations at the other end of the negotiations table, the National Party and the Democratic Party, for instance.

I was astonished to discover that women in the National Party, through their organisation, "Vroue Aksie", primarily occupy themselves with informing women about initiatives presently being taken by their husbands.

But even this is a significant move away from earlier days when their or-

ganisation "was orientated towards 'social get-togethers for the ladies'".

Chairperson of the Transvaal "Vrou Aksie", Mrs Antoinette du Plessis, who automatically holds this position because her husband is the leader of the Transvaal, attributes this shift to the efforts made by Mrs Marike de Klerk.

"Mrs De Klerk, when her husband was still leader of the Transvaal, built up Vroue Aksie into a more action-directed organisation, instead of an organisation that only makes fudge for the men. That's the role men foresee for us," she said.

These women within Vroue Aksie, however, see themselves as playing a "behind-the-scenes" role in the process of negotiations unfolding in our country.

"Women are really the power behind the throne. We are very often the people who form the minds of the men in informal discussion. We play such an important part in the informal politics of the country. We can actually get men to calm down or get them to really do a war dance," she said.

"If we talk about negotiations, it's not actually to protect any rights of women. We would rather like to have discussions towards a peaceful South Africa.

In a peaceful South Africa, I feel that our rights will be in order," she said.

Yet after more than four decades of being the ruling party, the National Party has only three women in parliament and five on the President's Council.

One is Marita Olkers, also the deputy mayor of Grahamstown, who says the role of women in a new South Africa is increasingly being discussed at branch level in the NP.

"Women don't make too big an issue of it — the issue of getting the constitution accepted was so much more important."

The other problem, she says, is which women to put on a negotiating team.

"In our senior group, there is no female. Rina Venter is most senior but she will not be included because being a new member, she is low down on the Cabinet protocol list," she said.

Top structures

"They should have involved us earlier so that some of us would have been in the top structures. It's a lesson for them.

"I think there should be women because we have always been the go-between and negotiator between our husbands and children and everything else.

"We feel strongly about it, but it is basically a practical problem," she said.

Women's problems — such as abortion, safe contraception and childcare — will have to be addressed only after a new constitution is in place.

"I can't see any way that negotiations will break down because some people are against abortion."

In the Democratic Party, there was a greater commitment to the need for women to participate in negotiations but little hope that DP women would in fact be there.

The only way women will be represented at the negotiating table, says Dr Anita Worrall of the DP Women's Forum, is if they come together across political parties to lobby strongly for such representation.

As in the National Party, the debate among women in the DP is more about general constitutional matters than specific female issues, according to the only woman member of the national executive of the DP, Dr Esther Lategan.

Dr Worrall, however, says the DP women have gone so far as to study the 1958 United Nations convention on the elimination of discrimination and hope to pressure the government — present or future — to become a signatory to this convention.

"That convention is very important in that it acts as a bill of rights for women," she says.

"We believe we must create awareness among women about the problems they have," she said.

Affirmative action — promoting competent women at every opportunity — is the answer for George city councillor, Democratic Party member and former head of the women's military college in George, Hilda Burnett.

Make provisions

"I think it is very important that the constitution should very clearly make provision for women and if even necessary, some affirmative action be taken to make sure that women's rights are entrenched. If we don't do it now, I don't know when it will be possible," she says.

Surprisingly the only woman member of parliament for many years and veteran human rights campaigner, Helen Suzman, does not believe it to be particularly important that women should be present at the negotiating table.

She places her hopes on a bill of rights which would safeguard the civil rights of every South African.

"I don't think there is a special niche required for women as long as there is a bill of rights which safeguards the civil rights of every individual. There could not then be any special disabilities because a bill of rights would surely include a clause which would militate against any discrimination against women," she said.

The white women interviewed on the whole were very distant from the problems confronting the majority of South African women.

Issues such as birth control and wife-battering seem not to feature prominently on their agendas.

Scrapping of act 'won't change living standards'

South 17/11 - 23/11/91

ON the eve of the expected announcement by State President FW de Klerk abolishing the Group Areas Act when he opens parliament, a government spokesperson says the government relies on "certain measures" to ensure an acceptable environment for people. (304A)

"The South African government is still considering the whole matter of norms and standards, but is at the same time adamant to maintain acceptable norms and standards in respect of density, use of living space and backyards, the maintenance of properties, and noise and other pollution," said Mr Johan Oosthuizen, liaison officer of the Ministry of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

"This became evident when Acts such as those controlling influx, mixed marriages and separate amenities were scrapped by the government," he said.

● See page 25

Thursday, January 17 1991 ★ ★

s in the Gulf

SA split over Middle East

APL Files 17/1/91
304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Opinion on the Gulf crisis is divided among South African political parties — especially over the government's support for US troops.

President F W de Klerk telephoned President George Bush on Monday to pledge support for the multi-national forces in the Gulf.

The Gulf crisis should be settled without force by the UN, according to the ANC — while the Conservative

Party condemned support for the US and called for a neutral stand.

In a statement released yesterday, the ANC said it greatly regretted the imminence of war in the Gulf and prayed that war did not break out.

"The ANC does not believe that the use of war in the place of diplomacy is an appropriate way of solving problems between states.

"The ANC believes that the UN is the most appropriate body that should have handled the Kuwaiti crisis."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed his party's support of the stance taken by Western and Arab allies following the invasion of Kuwait.

"Iraq's ongoing intransigence, and the failure of its leadership to accommodate efforts to resolve the issue, have further compounded the crisis in the region as a whole.

"For the world to be plunged into a war will be a tragedy and this crisis

needs to be resolved quickly," he said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said support for the US was "out of step", as the US still maintained sanctions against the country and had campaigned actively to end white self-determination in South Africa.

"In these circumstances, the government's open offer of favours to America is a humiliation for South Africa," Dr Treurnicht stated. — Sapa

SOWETAN-BUSINESS

SOUTH Africa could regain some of its long-lost strategic importance to the West if a Gulf war closes the Suez Canal, analysts say.

But the United States and its allies are unlikely to resume military ties with the country that for decades has been a world pariah because of its apartheid race laws.

If the Suez Canal were closed, the Cape route would be the way to reach the Gulf from the United States and Europe by sea.

Request

Official sources said South Africa's position astride the Cape sea route was discussed in Pretoria last week by US assistant secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

No US request for South African assistance was made, the sources said, and it was not clear who raised the matter at the meeting, arranged to

If Gulf war shuts Suez SA may gain - analysts

Sowetan 18/1/91

29

3041

discuss southern African issues.

Officials said South Africa would make its ports and bases available to the US-led anti-Iraq alliance if asked.

Officials said South Africa's modern ports of Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Richard's Bay - offering their best facilities on the 10 000 mile route between the Gulf and the United States - would be valuable to western commercial and military shipping if the Suez Canal were blocked.

They could supply fuel, provisions, navigational facilities, repairs - even hospital and medical facilities - to ships forced to go the long way between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Cape Town port director Rudi Basson said he had been alerted by shipping agents to expect 10 or 12 additional commercial vessels for bunkering in the next two or



HERMAN COHEN

three weeks, up significantly on an average of 30 a month now.

He said rocketing insurance rates for the Suez passage were forcing shippers to reconsider the Cape route. More than 100 vessels had been commonly queued up outside the harbour after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war closed the Canal.

American and Euro-

Sowetan Correspondent

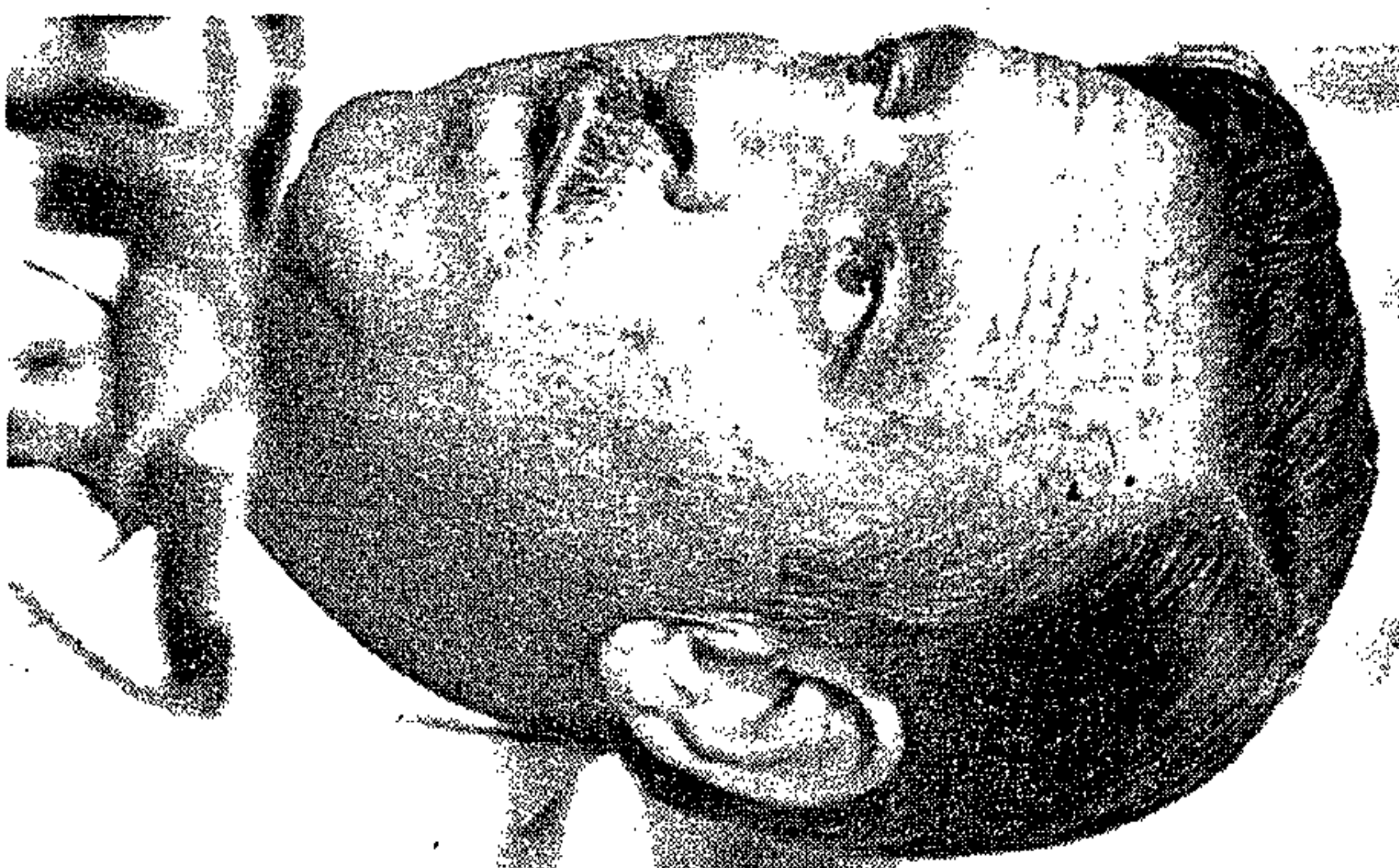
pean anti-apartheid lobbyists would be incensed by military links with South Africa, giving western Governments an additional headache in time of war.

And the Pretoria Government itself could invite more domestic troubles as it juggles with reform if it took sides against Iraq.

President De Klerk this week telephoned President Bush to offer moral support "in the difficult decision-making period that lies ahead".

Analysts say only if a Gulf war exploded into World War Three could South Africa become directly involved.

But even then its contribution to the safety of allied sea lines would be limited. Economic constraints and isolation have reduced the South African navy to little more than a coastal patrol force.



PIK BOTHA

50 Bills before Parliament soon

304A

B/Dam 18/1/91

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Bills scrapping racial restrictions in property and adoption have been tabled in Parliament and are expected to be debated during the opening weeks of the session which begins on February 1.

Among the first batch of 50 Bills tabled so far is the General Law Amendment Bill which scraps racial restrictions in property acquisitions and the Child Care Amendment Bill which cancels race classification in adoption agreements.

The General Law Amendment Bill reinforces the cancellation of provisions in title deeds which restrict certain racial groups from acquiring, owning or occupying property.

The Child Care Amendment Bill proposes the removal of legislation requiring that a child's race classification should be the same as that of its adoptive parents.

Another important Bill, the Advocate-General Amendment Bill, extends the jurisdiction and power of the Advocate-General in investigating corruption.

The Bill proposes that the powers of the Advocate-General be extended to allow him to investigate instances where the state or public in general, is "being prejudiced by maladministration" in connection with affairs of the state.

Our Political Staff reports the Bill also allows him to conduct investigations within the non-independent homelands.

Among the new powers given to him are the right to enter premises for the purpose of gathering information and for his staff to refuse to answer questions in court or

before a commission about information obtained during the course of an inquiry.

The Attorney-General will also be allowed to refuse to initiate an inquiry if the "complainant" has not exhausted all other legal remedies.

The Petroleum Products Amendment Bill will empower the Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister to prescribe minimum and maximum prices for petrol.

The Deposit-Taking Institutions Amendment Bill removes two technical faults from the draft Bill — the limitation on overlapping directorships between a deposit-taking institution and its own controlling company and a restriction on the revaluation of assets.

A Nuclear Energy Amendment Bill clarifies liability for nuclear damage caused during the transportation of nuclear-hazard material, while the Minerals Bill consolidates and rationalises nine different mineral laws into one Act.

The Road Traffic Amendment Bill will make it obligatory for motorists to carry driver's licences at all times and produce it on demand. It also provides for manufacturers, builders and importers of vehicles to register them before they are distributed or sold.

Among the 50 Bills which are expected to come up early in the session are also the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the Businesses Bill and the Harmful Business Practices Amendment Bill.

NEGOTIATIONS FM 18/11/91

FRESH START ~~SECRET~~ 304A

The ANC and government will hold their first major meeting of the year on Monday.

Teams headed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will attempt to salvage the Pretoria Minute.

The meeting, expected to be in Pretoria, comes against a background of widespread dissatisfaction with government's failure to implement fully the conditions of the Pretoria agreement.

It is believed that the Department of Justice is prepared to modify the controversial

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 18/11/91 ~~SECRET~~ 304A

clause C of the indemnity agreement which will remove the onus from certain categories of ANC members to reveal what crimes they have committed.

The issue of an envisaged multi-party congress to take place probably in the second half of this year will also be on the agenda. Both sides agree on the concept of a multi-party congress but differ on its purpose.

The ANC sees a multi-party congress as the new central negotiations arena. According to ANC thinking, it will come up with an election process leading to a constituent assembly.

The assembly, in turn, will nominate an interim government which will include members of the ANC, NP and others; and govern until a new constitution has been drawn up. However, the NP sees a multi-party congress as the forum which will draw up a new constitution.

The ANC opposes this as it believes elections are necessary for a representative constitution-making body.

Talks will also cover the issues around suspension of armed action, including violence in the townships, the role of the police and mass action. ■

Cabinet meets to fine-tune strategy for 1991

CAPE TOWN. The Cabinet begins another two-day "bosberaad" today at a secret venue in the southern Cape as a continuation of its four-day meeting in Pretoria during December.

A spokesman for President F W de Klerk yesterday confirmed the Cabinet would meet white own affairs Ministers, deputy Ministers and other senior political officials.

The meeting is expected to fine-tune government's

BILLY PADDOCK strategy for 1991, plan the constitutional and political programme for the year as well as putting final touches to the Budget, provisionally set for March 20.

The first indications of government's plans for the year will be unveiled only when De Klerk makes his opening of Parliament address on February 1, but it is expected the meeting will discuss scrapping the

remaining apartheid legislation and will plan for all-party negotiations, expected to start in the first half of this year.

Cabinet is also expected to discuss the implications for SA of the Gulf War and SA's role should the war become protracted.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha today reiterated SA's support for the US and the offer of making airports and harbours available to allied forces if needed.

Apartheid could bring pain to FW's family

CP Correspondent

IF ever President FW de Klerk needed a reason to move fast and furiously with his reforms it must have come in the shape of the romance between his son Willem and coloured beauty Erica Adams.

That's because heartache, pain and suffering await the two lovebirds — who are said to be engaged — if the last vestiges of apartheid are not removed from the statute books before they tie the knot. That is, if they ever reach the altar, given the many obstacles in their way. If they do, they will find that apartheid is still alive, kicking and hurting people born on the wrong side of the colour line.

Should the couple marry under the present law their children — like all South African children — will have to register in terms of the Population Registration Act and will be classified coloured.

Unfortunately for any of Erica and Willem's offspring, their racial classification in present-day South Africa will see them becoming second or third-class citizens in the country of their birth.

And there will be nothing Oupa De Klerk will be able to do about it — unless he's bold enough to replace apartheid with real democracy.



President FW de Klerk... nothing he can do.

Maybe if he sits down and reflects, he'll realise that a coloured De Klerk will have to attend a coloured school, get inferior education and be cooped up in overcrowded classrooms, once he embarks on the road to education.

The child could go to an open school if its parents live close to one, but desegregated schools are not National Party policy, and coloured education — admittedly of a slightly higher standard than Bantu Education — will be in store for the child.

Since both his parents would be professionals they — unlike many other couples — would be able to send their children to private schools.

Fortunately for them the Immorality Act, which forbade love and sex across the colour line, has gone — otherwise they would have had to look over their shoulders constantly to see if the enforcers of the law were trying to catch them having intercourse.

Now the Separate Amenities Act has bitten the dust, Willem, Erica and their children could go to beaches like Bloubergstrand in the Cape and use municipal facilities, such as the Johannesburg swimming pool, without fear of contravening the law. But they'd have some trouble if they went to some of the rightwing strongholds because there the name De Klerk won't count for much.

Unless they moved into a "grey" area, or one of the free settlement areas, Willem and Erica would fall foul of the Group Areas Act. Willem, of course, could buy a house in a white area, but he'd have trouble with the law and his neighbours if he allowed his coloured wife to move in with him.

Maybe it would be a good thing if the two got married and had children now because then President De Klerk and his family would know what it means to be black in South Africa.

Not that Willem was born on the wrong side of apartheid. Far from it, he comes from a family who has strongly supported apartheid. His grandfather, the late Senator Jan De Klerk, is probably turning in his grave now.

His mother Marike de Klerk a few years ago made some disparaging remarks about coloureds.

And FW, despite his reforms, still has to say sorry for apartheid.



Erica Adams... heading for heartache, pain and suffering?

'Courts' — more people arrested

PORT Elizabeth police this week arrested five more people for alleged involvement in people's courts in the region, bringing to 27 the number of people now in custody for this reason. (275) (252)

The five, all members of the Helenvale Action Committee (HAC), will reportedly be charged with kidnapping and attempted murder.

The 22 people arrested two weeks ago for their alleged involvement with people's courts in Missionvale are still in custody and bail has been refused. They all face assault charges.

Lawyers acting for the five said attempts to secure bail would be made. The five are to appear in court soon. CPren 20/11/91

The five HAC members are alleged to have kidnapped a resident in the area, accusing him of being in possession of arms. While they were confronting the man, police reportedly intervened and took him away.

The HAC recently claimed that police in the city's northern areas have been slow in responding to alarms raised when crimes are being committed, and at times have not responded at all.

The HAC has said that when residents report incidents to the local police station, they are told to "go to the comrades".

Hopes working group talks will end negotiation logjam

SK 21/1/91
Political Correspondent

Sizwe. 107 (304A)

Hopes for resolving the negotiation logjam are rising with the news that the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the ANC's suspension of hostilities will meet again today.

The "Paragraph 3" working group suspended its meetings on November 22 after deadlocks. The ANC resisted the Government's demands that it end its campaign of mass mobilisation, and the recruiting and training of cadres for its military wing, Umkhonto we

Government sources say the new round of talks is a positive sign. They believe progress had been made in recent discussions between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

The deadlock in the "Paragraph 3" working group is holding up the negotiation process, especially after the Government decided that ANC exiles who had received military training would not be indemnified against arrest unless the problems in the working group were resolved.

SA embassy staff moved

Sowetan 21/1/71

304A

ALL non-essential staff at the South African Embassy in Tel Aviv have moved to other places in Israel, it was reported at the weekend.

A report said on Saturday night that a spokes-

man for the SA Department of Foreign Affairs had confirmed that the ambassador and the staff remaining in the embassy have been empowered to close down the office should they deem this necessary and join the staff who moved elsewhere on Friday.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has fully informed the Cabi-

net about the situation in the Middle East.

A telephone discussion between Botha and the ambassador in Israel on Saturday morning had to be terminated when sirens sounded in Tel Aviv and the ambassador had to put on a gas mask.

There is a general fear in Israel that chemical weapons might be used in raids. - Sapa.

Business Day

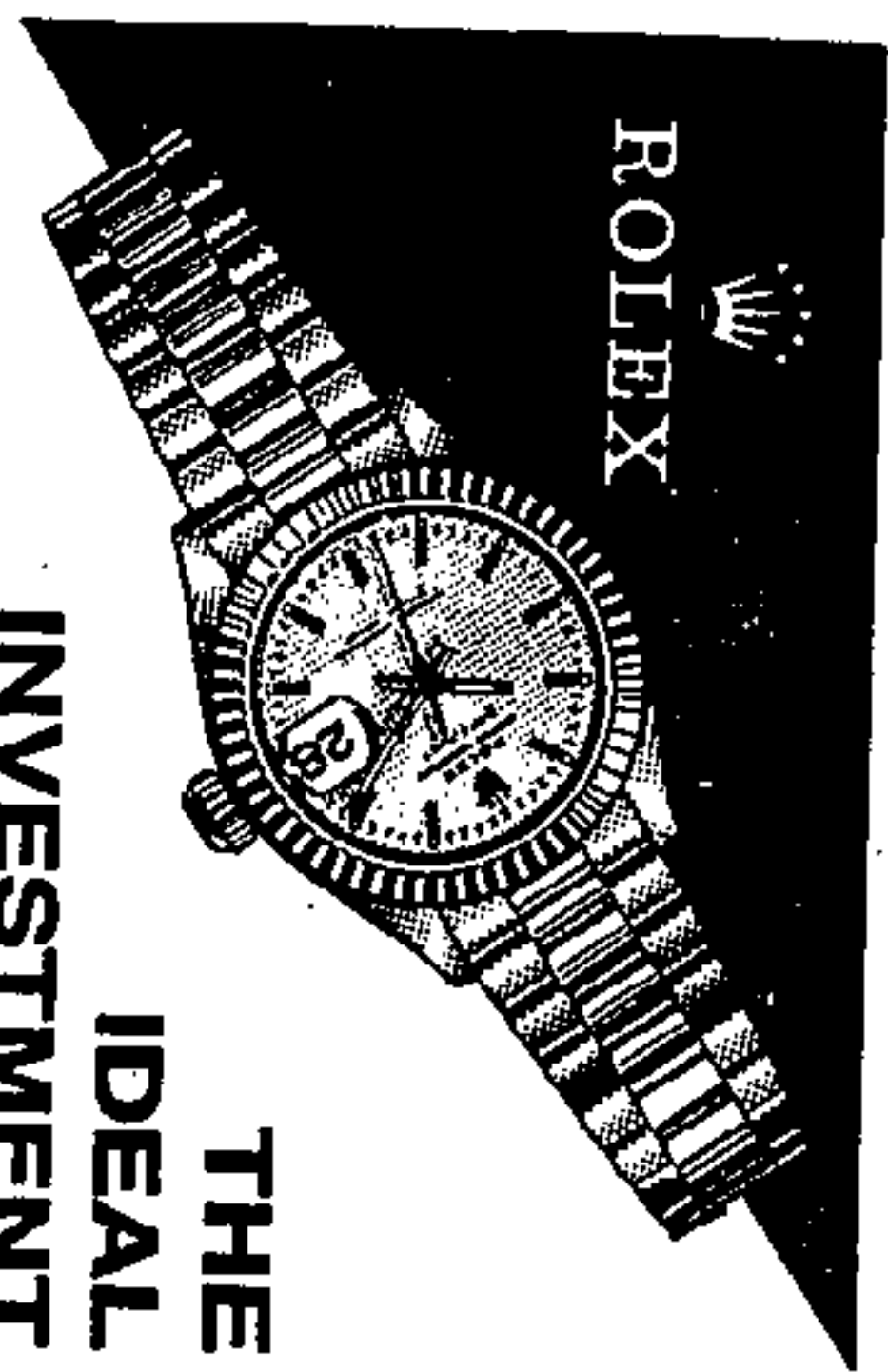
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24 JAN 1991

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THE
IDEAL
INVESTMENT

Cabinet reshuffle discussed as NP holds indaba on Robben Island

CAPE TOWN — Top issues involving the future of SA were high on the agenda at a secret government indaba on Robben Island at the weekend.

The formation of an NP negotiating team, social spending, economic reform and changes to local government were among the topics discussed by Cabinet Ministers and senior NP politicians. Changes in the education system with the possibility of a single non-racial education department were discussed but no decision was taken.

A government source said one of the major issues worrying government was the need to increase social spending and

find ways of raising the necessary revenue without fuelling inflation.

Sources said the meeting completed their planning of government strategy for negotiations and discussed the important issue of an all-party conference which needs to be convened by the end of April.

It was also expected that the "bosheraad" would discuss the formation of the NP's negotiating team and it is understood that five Ministers will be relieved of their posts to undertake this task.

Sources in government said Foreign Minister Pk Botha was likely to be the person heading the team. Others in the team were likely to be Constitutional Min-

BILLY PADDOCK

ister Gerrit Viljoen, Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Justice Minister Kobbie Coetsee. The fifth member could be Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers although Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport has been mentioned as a likely candidate.

Speculation is that the changes are most likely to coincide with Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr leaving at the end of March to take up his ambassadorial post in London.

It is understood that government's plan is to set up a negotiating secretariat that could replace the Constitutional Development Department and Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer has been mooted to head this.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who apparently announced at the end of last year that the next Budget will be his last, is likely to take over as Foreign Minister. Finance Committee chairman Francois Jacobs is being suggested in some circles as Du Plessis's successor.

Speculation is that Own Affairs Housing and Health Services Minister Sam de Beer will become Education and Training Min-

ister.

Government has agreed an independent person should chair the negotiating mechanism, former PFP leader Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, former Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dlamini and former Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer have been mentioned.

High on the agenda at the bosheraad was the collapse of the black local authorities as well as the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts.

Sources said new legislation in all these areas was to be introduced early in the parliamentary session.

Colin Legum looks at all-black domination in the light of SA's political realities

Alliances likely to call the tune

Star 21/11/91 3044

IN a society like ours, still painfully trapped in a transition period away from the known to the unknown, there is an irresistible desire to reach out for a guru, whose wisdom and experience of world affairs sheds light across the hazardous path along which South Africans are struggling in their search for the Valhalla of a non-racial democracy.

There are already signs that Professor Donald Horowitz of Duke University (USA) is a candidate for this role since his important work, "A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society", is based on his study of multiracial societies.

While Horowitz — who savaged Allister Sparks's recent book in a review in "New Republic" (Washington) — deserves to be taken seriously, his conclusions about what can be learnt from the experience of divided societies is seriously flawed in several major respects, and shows a lack of understanding of South African political realities. His biggest error is his presumption that political parties in the post-apartheid era will divide more or less clearly along racial lines, and his breathtaking prediction that racial divisions will take at least 100 years to heal.

Horowitz does not make the mistake of many political commentators — such as Professor Herman Gilliomme — that race and ethnicity are the major elements to be considered in consti-

tution-making. Yet, despite his disavowal of such a view, he nevertheless concludes that South Africa risks ending up under a system of undiluted black majority rule unless the new constitution makes such an outcome impossible.

Ethnicity is undeniably one major cause of societal disharmony, as we well know from our own history and for which we hardly need to learn from the experience of countries like Sri Lanka and Malaysia, or from the current controversies in the Soviet Union and East European countries. But in most countries — even those without serious ethnic problems — conflict is rife and has to do mostly with the inequitable division of political and economic power. And even in countries with severe ethnic problems, systems of government have been devised to bridge these divisions and to allow time to achieve a sense of national consciousness.

Just two examples should suffice to support this view. In Tanzania — a country with 156 tribes which include four dominant communities — ethnic problems have played no significant part in its post-independence development; its difficulties arise from different causes. An even more striking example is that of Nigeria where ethnic conflict resulted in a civil war and wrecked several constitutions.

A federal system based on 23 regional units and which makes it impossible for purely ethnic parties to contest national elections

has overcome the earlier struggle for power between the Hausa-Fulani, Yorubas and Ibos. Nigeria, more than any other country, has much to teach South Africa.

If there are two lessons to be learnt from history and especially from post-independence Third World countries, they are that effective regional autonomy is a *sine qua non* for the achievement of more harmony in multi-ethnic societies, and that an inequitable distribution of power at the centre is a sure recipe for severe political conflict.

Provided these two lessons are grasped by those now engaged in devising South Africa's new constitution, our ethnic problems need not be as divisive as is commonly feared. My reason for optimism derives from an analysis of South Africa's political realities which are largely ignored by academics such as Horowitz.

One of these major realities is that, despite the bitter experience of centuries of racialism, there is a surprising lack of anti-white hostility in this country. All the major black nationalist parties and movements favour a shared society based on an equitable distribution of political and economic power.

The representative leaders of the black community fully accept the need for an inter-relationship between themselves and the whites to ensure the country's future economic development; their differences with the white establishment is not over maintaining the industrial base of the econ-

omy, but over the means for achieving greater equity. This is what is primarily involved in the negotiating process and what will determine the political divisions of a post-apartheid society.

Democratic politics can be defined as the free interplay between competing interest groups for power within a parliamentary system. Thus, a proper analysis of the political future of South Africa requires an understanding of the make-up of its competing interest groups. This country differs from almost all other African countries in that, despite our long history of racial discrimination, it is already a pluralist political society made up of a wide diversity of well-established interest groups.

Some of these groups are centred in the white society which is, of course, by no means homogeneous. Among Afrikaners there are differing interests (for example, between business and rural communities, as well as over the conditions for ensuring the survival of the Boerevolk).

Among the English-speaking community, there are mainly different business interests. The black community is similarly non-homogenous and is composed of diverse interest groups which range from the urbanised workers and those defending the vested interests of the bureaucracies in the homelands, to the still small but not unimportant black middle class.

There is also the exceptional Zulu interest group, which is itself internally divided between the

traditionalists and the urbanised workers spread across the country, but its leader, Chief Buthelezi, sees Inkatha as part of the wider political spectrum.

While some of these interest groups are ethnically based, most cut across ethnic lines. For example, there is a community of interest between Afrikaner and English-speaking business people which has bridged the old Boer-Briton cleavage — and across the colour line, for example between white and black business people, and between those with differing ideas about the shape of a non-racial society.

South Africa's politics are already largely dominated by these heterogeneous interest groups, which leads to the conclusion that the future political struggle will be among them rather than between ethnically centred parties.

The predictable future, therefore, is not of "race politics" (which assumes homogenous black and white parties), but between alliances of interest groups that cut across the racial divide.

The National Party will increasingly rely on attracting allies from among the coloured and Indian middle classes (those represented in the tricameral parliament), possibly Inkatha and some homeland leaders like Chief Mangope, the right wing of the Democratic Party, and probably even a breakaway of the Conservative Party.

The ANC alliance will attract Cosatu, the Communist Party (at least during a transition period,

but probably not thereafter); most of the homeland leaders; the left wing of the Democratic Party, and the restructured UDF. Whichever of these alliances should win the elections, based on a universal franchise and proportional representation, it will be multiracial in its make-up.

Such an analysis precludes the idea of straightforward "black domination". Each of the alliances will perforce have to take account of the need to win support across the colour line.

There are bound to be serious difficulties in the way of reaching an acceptable constitution, with recurrent crises and threats of (or even actual) violence from extremists among both the white and black communities. What is still seriously lacking in the present phase of the negotiating process is the development of a "democratic culture" which eschews violence and encourages tolerance of opposing views.

A "democratic culture" cannot be achieved overnight — as is currently witnessed in Eastern Europe and in many parts of Africa; it requires strong political leadership to cultivate what Julius Nyerere once aptly described as "the habit of democracy".

● Colin Legum is a South African journalist who has spent the past 40 years in England where he was an associate editor of The Observer and is currently editor of Third World Reports. He is also the editor of the Africa Contemporary Record and author of a score of books on the Third World and international affairs. □

"ANC" takeover soon

AN ANC official yesterday pledged his organisation would take over the Government in a short space of time.

ANC Free State convener Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota made this remark at a funeral service for Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Gaitsisiwe "Barnard" Molokoane in Tumahole Township near Parys yesterday.

Molokoane (29), an exile, died in

Luanda, Angola on Christmas Eve.

Lekota also said the Government should immediately convene an all-party congress to determine standards for political parties wanting to participate in the drafting of a new constitution.

The congress would also determine how a constituent assembly could be established, he said. - Sapa

304A

CONFIDENTIAL

Deadlock in talks overcome

Sowetan 21/11/91

304A

HOPES for resolving the negotiation logjam are rising with the news that a joint ANC/Government working group will meet again today.

The so-called "paragraph three" working group suspended meetings on November 22 after running into serious deadlocks.

The group was formed to discuss the suspension of ANC hostilities.

Campaign

One reason for deadlock is that the ANC resisted Government demands that it call off its mass mobilisation campaign and the recruiting and training of cadres for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Government sources said yesterday that the very fact that the group was meeting again was a positive development.

They believed that progress must have been made in several meetings between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela over the holidays.

"I think we can feel each other out and carry on to finish the job," one source said.

The group's deadlock is holding up the whole negotiation process.

This is especially so as the Government has announced that ANC exiles who have received military training will not be granted indemnity unless the group's problems are resolved.

The ANC has strongly criticised the linkage between the exiles question and the working group.

But Government sources said yesterday that the ANC is now prepared to discuss the linkage.

Robberies

The Government is also eager to discuss the position of armed ANC cadres in the country, particularly because of the recent proliferation of armed robberies using AK47 automatic rifles.

Today's meeting will probably take place in the Pretoria office of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who leads the Government's delegation.

The ANC delegation is expected to be lead by MK chief of staff Chris Hani. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Pik eyed for key role in negotiations

Political Staff

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha has emerged as a key figure in the government's negotiating strategy after the cabinet's two-day conference on Robben Island.

Mr Botha, the longest-serving cabinet minister (14 years), will resign in March or April to lend his weight to the government's team, political sources say.

He will probably join Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee around the table.

The National Party's team will consist of no more than five people. Mineral and Energy Affairs minister Dr Dawie de Villiers is thought most likely to be the other candidate.

This departure of senior cabinet ministers would result in a major reshuffle and was one of the major subjects at the "bosberaad".

Also high on the agenda of the private meeting — held to thrash out the government's political plan for the year — was the substance of President F W de Klerk's speech to the opening of Parliament on February 1.

He is expected to announce the abolition of the Group Areas and Lands Acts and steps to rid the statute books of other apartheid legislation.

He will also give a clear indication of the National Party's negotiating strategy.

This includes the holding of a multi-party conference in March, which has apparently received the backing of the ANC.

THERE are not likely to be any whites left in South Africa soon. Nor will there be any blacks. The successful scrapping of the Population Registration Act will mean that only South Africans will be left.

Some will be more wealthy than others. Some will have more skills. These will tend to be those who formerly were white. The new economic order will need these skills and this wealth, but will also have to face the fact that these ex-whites discriminated against the ex-blacks.

Eastern Europe is dealing with the same issue: what action, if any, should be taken against the formerly privileged? Should their wealth and benefits be taken away and redistributed? What role should they play in reconstruction?

I can't speak for the whole of Eastern Europe, but I did discuss the matter with a Romanian cabinet minister a few months back. He told me that while there had been four million communists in Romania (to be in charge of 10 men you had to be a communist), it was now hardly possible to find any former communists at all.

Does this mean that in the future South Africa we will also find few who admit to having been white?

In the reconstruction of Romania it matters little what you used to be. So long as you commit yourself to the new, better order you can expect to be evaluated in terms of the contribution you can make. Former communists are in big demand as they are those with education and skills. In a mutilated economy these attributes are in short supply.

South Africa now has two camps. There are those who say that socialism has been a rotten failure in Eastern Europe; and those who say capitalism has been a dismal failure in South Africa. Most agree that reconstruction is necessary, but the camps have some way to go to decide how to do this.

The goal must be to optimise the

The state's role as facilitator in SA's reconstruction

KEVIN DAVIE

use of resources by involving all South Africans in the process. Racial discrimination will not be allowed. But those with noble thoughts such as these have to face the fact of the unpopularity of capitalism with some and socialism with others.

We are in a fortunate position here. We do not have to re-invent the wheel. A body of economic development theory and practice can be applied relatively easily to South Africa's needs in a way that will maximise foreign and domestic confidence in the country, and free billions of rands in a redistributive programme aimed at massive upliftment. This in itself will give the economy a big push.

The programme could be called affordable affirmative action. It starts from the view that little can be achieved in a stagnant economy and never loses sight of the fact that reconstruction will be constrained by the ability of the economy to deliver.

Growth and wealth are essential to fund affirmative programmes geared to providing social services to the poor (mostly former blacks),

plus bringing them into the economy after years and years of building barriers to thwart entry.

Billions will be required, meaning that if we look to state funding little will be achieved. Our state Budget (R73bn this year) can and will be squeezed to maximise social spending, but the state's resources are finite. The trick is to devise policies which will multiply the benefits from each taxpayer's rand spent.

This sounds like so much pie in the sky, but there is no shortage of examples showing how the process can work. For instance, by raising insurance guarantees of R22m, the Urban Foundation has magically been able to get commitments from banks and building societies to provide housing finance worth R3,5bn.

Government should not try to provide the R3,5bn. Its role should be to provide the R22m guarantee fund, to underwrite the risks which have kept the private sector out of this market until now. One rand can become 20,

R2bn (the amount allocated for special socio-economic spending in this year's Budget) can become R40bn.

But government's facilitating role goes further. It has to systematically find and abolish barriers to market entry. A thriving minibus industry and the resilience of the urban informal sector following the scrapping of the pass laws are pertinent examples where deregulation has given the economy a big boost.

Government is busy doing this. The Group Areas Act will go shortly, as will the Land Acts. It is also investigating housing reform, the idea being to reduce its role to that of facilitator and provider of infrastructure. Proposals by the Development Bank which would revolutionise the housing process are under consideration. These stress that in the main the individual and the private sector have the responsibility for providing shelter. The state's main role shifts from funder to facilitator.

The private sector is keen to play its role, so long as government guarantees or bridging finance makes the investment risk acceptable. The life and pension industry, for instance, is looking at a capital market scheme

which could make billions of rands available for housing finance. Institutions would invest in housing stock in much the same way that Eskom, government or Post Office stock is traded today on the capital market. A housing trust would manage the stock and make loans to home buyers, and use taxpayers' funds as a kind of insurance fund should shortfalls occur.

Many other examples of how this process can work, in areas such as land, agriculture, health and employment, abound in the development strategies of bodies such as the World Bank. The thrust tends to be the same: with the best will in the world, governments cannot fund the needs of burgeoning populations in developing countries. These attempts can end only in the whole economy being dragged down, creating a no-win situation for everyone.

The process or policy outlined above would need a name. Those whose predilections favour capitalism might opt for social market socialism. Others might prefer market socialism.

But whatever the name, it would be built on two pillars — a free market and a social commitment to providing a place in the sun for everyone. There should be no state intervention in the market, save where the market falls short and does not reach, for instance, the poor and the unemployed. Here the facilitating state engineers schemes to encourage private sector initiatives to reach further.

There comes a point, of course, where the private sector will not and cannot provide, and where the state will need to intervene directly in the form of safety nets, including subsidies, pensions, food rations and other welfare programmes.

The social market policy outlined here could go a long way towards reconciling conflicting demands and pushing the economy into a massive growth phase. However it requires people to think ahead — not as whites and blacks, but as South Africans.

Robben Island is *Star 22/11/91* 'no place to talk'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the Democratic Party have told Ministers they had been insensitive by holding their planning session at Robben Island, famous as an apartheid political prison.

President de Klerk led his Cabinet in two days of talks on Friday and Saturday to discuss their strategy for the year ahead.

While his office has not officially said where the talks were held, government-supporting newspapers first reported that they took place on Robben Island. This has not been denied.

A spokesman for President de Klerk said yesterday that Cabinet services organised the programme. The officials involved were not allowed to speak to the press.

Mike Ellis, chairman of the

Democratic Party's Natal coastal region, said it must have been a most extraordinary feeling for political prisoners, knowing that the people on whom their freedom depended were actually on the island.

The choice of venue was remarkably insensitive and tasteless, Mr Ellis said.

"I have no problem with the Cabinet going into hiding to discuss no doubt extremely important matters," he said, but pointed out there were other more suitable venues.

Offend

"Did the Ministers sleep in cells? Did they enjoy a luxury other prisoners did not have? Did they bother to see political prisoners? If so, what discussions took place? Were they eating in luxury while the prisoners were subject to prison food?"

"One cannot imagine the Cabinet going without their com-

forts and luxuries, while hundreds of prisoners were subject to normal prison conditions," Mr Ellis said.

He felt the decision to use Robben Island for such a function would offend many people.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the choice of venue was highly insensitive. Robben Island remained a prison.

With the Government looking at ways forward, "one would think that there would be some respect for the experience of black South Africans".

"What you have got is in essence a white indaba where black people have experienced the harshest of realities."

People had died and suffered on Robben Island and the ANC did not regard it as a place where "light entertainment" or such discussions should take place.

"One should be sensitive to the reality of what Robben Island is to black South Africans," Ms Marcus said.



NAT STAR ...
Dr Tertius Delpont

Rising star for talks team?

304A

Political Staff

A RISING STAR of the National Party, Constitutional Development deputy minister Dr Tertius Delpont, is being widely tipped as another addition to the government's constitutional negotiating team.

Those tipped for the National Party's five-strong team include Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis

CAPE TOWN 22/1/91

and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee.

However, there has also been speculation that Mr Du Plessis may be moved into Foreign Affairs to replace Mr Botha. Mr Botha could also be replaced by his present deputy, Mr Leon Wessels.

Mr De Klerk may be seeking to "depoliticise" the cabinet, by removing prominent political figures to represent the NP in negotiations, and leaving the running of government in the hands

of technocrats. This may go some way towards defusing the ANC's demand for an interim government.

Dr Delpont, the MP for Sundays River, is highly regarded in the NP. He played a key role in defusing tension between white and black communities in the Eastern Cape.

The cabinet is expected to be reshuffled in late March or early April when Trade and Industry Minister Mr Kent Durr leaves to become ambassador to London.

Govt-ANC group tackles deadlock

8/Day 22/1/91
GOVERNMENT yesterday was confident that last night's meeting of the ANC-government working group on the suspension of the armed struggle would resolve the group's two-month deadlock.

The so-called "paragraph three" working group, set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute to iron out aspects of the ANC's suspension of "armed action and related activities", was meeting for the first time in two months.

The group deadlocked after the ANC resisted government demands that it suspend not only open hostilities but also the recruitment and training of cadres for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Members decided to refer problem

8/Day 22/1/91
TIM COHEN
areas to their principals after the group reached deadlock in November.

It is believed President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela discussed the problem areas, particularly the definition of armed action, over the holiday season. (304A) (44)

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok led the government delegation last night. It was expected the ANC delegation would be led by MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

The working group considers its discussions confidential and neither side issued statements after the meeting.

Govt-ANC to reassess armed actions

By Pater Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC have formed a new sub-committee in an attempt to resolve their serious differences over the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed actions and related activities".

The sub-committee was constituted in Pretoria at Monday's first meeting this year of the joint working group established under paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute.

The two sides disagree over what constitutes the "related action" which the ANC has

agreed to suspend.

The ANC has so far resisted the Government's insistence that it should not only cease open hostilities but also end its campaign of mass action and recruiting and training for Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Government is also pressing for the disarming of MK forces inside the country.

The disagreements in the working group led to a breakdown in its activities in November when both sides agreed to refer the problems to President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Sources close to the working

group say there was no breakthrough at Monday's meeting.

But there was an apparent determination on both sides to accelerate the business of the group, which was supposed to have reported to its principals by September 15 last year.

MK chief of staff and head of the ANC delegation Chris Han-
iwas not at Monday's meeting. The ANC said he was out of the country.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Colonel Steve van Rooyen said the meeting was frank and positive and the working group would meet again on February 5.

Govt confident of working group's success

CAPE TOWN — Government is confident the joint working group on the suspension of armed action will resolve all its outstanding problems and that the April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles will be met.

A source said the group would have to meet again before reporting back to the principals.

He said it was vital that the working group resolve obstacles or the multiparty conference, the first stage of real negotiations, could

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BILLY PADDOCK

not be convened (304A)

The working group was set up to iron out aspects of the ANC's suspension of "armed action and related activities".

Talks deadlocked when the two sides could not agree on what constituted related activities. Government insisted that the holding of arms caches and the recruiting and training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members was a related activity. The ANC disputed this. It said it had not abandoned

the armed struggle, only suspended it.

The working group, led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the ANC's Chris Hani, suspended its work and it was left to President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to resolve the question of a definition.

Sources say the principals have made progress on the issue and may decide to agree to differ, after finding an acceptable way of handling the problem.

At the meeting on Monday the group "talked about

areas not touched on before", one source said.

He was confident the group would resolve the problem and the April 30 deadline for the return of exiles and the release of prisoners would be met.

The ANC had to accept the necessary linkage between the suspension of armed action and the release of prisoners and the return of exiles, the source said.

● Comment: Page 6

Constituent assembly 'not the answer for SA'

304A

CAPE TOWN — Former PFP leader and Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday the constituent assembly demanded by the ANC and others would not solve the problems of SA's political transition as it had in Namibia.

Addressing a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce lunch, he also said the ANC was not yet ready to negotiate and still had to resolve many internal organisational dilemmas associated with the sudden transition from being a liberation movement to a legal political contestant.

Slabbert, who has been tipped as an independent facilitator in negotiations, welcomed the ANC's proposal for, and government's approval of, a multiparty conference to clear the way for a post-apartheid constitution.

But he warned that circumstances that had made a constituent assembly appropriate as an interim political mechanism in Namibia did not exist in SA.

LESLEY LAMBERT

Namibia had had an external agent, Untag, monitoring the transition, there had been no "de facto regime" called upon to divest itself of power and the problem of instability had been removed from the political arena.

"There is no clear-cut agenda for the transition in SA."

Deadlock

"Our transition may be more complex and painful but we have the opportunity of dealing with problems that other countries ignored and of achieving greater success in resolving the central issue of conflict," Slabbert said.

He said a multiparty conference would help to avoid a deadlock in negotiations over a constituent assembly.

It would also open up debate on a legitimate point raised by the demand for a constituent assembly — the maintenance of popular

support during the process of transition.

"How do we create popular support for the interim steps we adopt as we move away from domination en route to an agreed and acceptable outcome?"

"A multiparty conference provides an opportunity to talk about all the issues — not just constitutional — which will contribute to a climate that will make negotiations possible," Slabbert said.

He said there was already a convergence of thinking among political opponents on issues such as a democratic constitution, a market economy that would grow but also provide for people's needs and a legal system that would protect civil liberties.

But, there was much more clarity about these goals than about the means of achieving them, Slabbert said.

He warned that successful negotiations and economic recovery and growth depended heavily on the resolution of violence.



Anglo American gold and uranium division chairman Clem Sunter addressing a luncheon yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Degree of social inequality acts as a spur — Sunter

6/24/91 TIM COHEN 304A

THE key to social harmony lay in having some level of inequality in society, Anglo American gold and uranium division chairman Clem Sunter said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing a Reconciliation Forum luncheon, Sunter said many of the world's problems — particularly the growing gap between rich and poor — were reflected in SA's political situation.

In the international sphere, the "rich old millions" were getting richer and the "poor young billions" were getting poorer, he said.

Considerable resentment resulted when the differences between rich and poor became too great.

But some limited level of inequality was necessary, failing which people would have nothing to aspire to.

In order to close the gap between rich and poor it was necessary to have equality of opportunity and equality of access to resources, he said.

To provide this, government should place a high priority on education, and particularly on primary school education.

NP, DP election pact emerges

304A

ster 24/11/91

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There is virtually tacit agreement between the Democratic Party and National Party to stay out of each other's seats in elections, it emerged yesterday after the Democratic Party's decision not to fight the National Party-held Maitland by-election.

Tacit

A senior party source acknowledged that a "culture is developing between ourselves and the National Party — it's becoming almost a tacit agreement that they hang on to their seats and we'll hang on to

ours".

This is in line with an earlier decision by the National Party not to contest Harry Schwarz's Yeoville seat when he resigns to take up the post of ambassador in Washington.

The National Party's majority in Maitland was chopped by the Democratic Party from 4 280 in 1987 to 1 405 in 1989. The seat was held by Minister of Trade and Industry Kent Durr, who has since been appointed ambassador to London.

In a statement yesterday, Democratic Party national council chairman David Gant said that after careful consideration the party had decided not to nominate a candidate, in part because the pace of political change had rendered by-elections for the tri-

cameral Parliament increasingly irrelevant, and also because the Conservative Party — which did not contest the seat in 1989 — was putting up a candidate this time.

Goodwill

Mr Gant said that rather than fight by-elections for a white Parliament, "the real task for people of goodwill is that of building bridges between democrats in all parties and all sections of the population with a view to the ultimate creation of a broad-based government of the centre".

The National Party has chosen Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs Louis Pienaar as its candidate in Maitland.

From Eddie Koch
Johannesburg

Talks could influence regional peace

PEACE in the Southern Africa region, devastated by more than a decade of apartheid aggression, is one of bonuses that may come with political changes inside South Africa this year.

The years in which former State President PW Botha ruled South Africa, in which every one of Pretoria's neighbours felt the wrath of the country's hawkish generals, could come to an end in 1991 if the forces of political transition and peace dominate inside South Africa.

Optimistic

This optimistic prediction by foreign policy observers is tempered, however, by a warning that South Africa's security force chiefs may be making a comeback to the political power they enjoyed under Botha and that, if this happens, the consequences for the region could be dire.

The result of South Africa's foreign policy in the past 10 years are now legion. These include:

- Endemic war in Angola where rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), backed by South Africa, have left a nation of 35 000 paraplegics and an economy in tatters;

- One million died in Mozambique as a direct or indirect result of the war by Pretoria-backed rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR);

- Fierce repression of anti-colonial struggles in Namibia;

- Cross-border raids into Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; and

- War-induced losses to the region's economy estimated at R5m, more than the entire aid package received by the



GUARDING BEIRA CORRIDOR: Soldiers guarding the Beira railway line repeatedly cut by Renamo

Frontline States.

All this now appears to have changed. Namibia won its independence in March last year, forcing South Africa's occupation forces out of Africa's former last colony.

Officially, South African troops are no longer fighting alongside Unita in Angola, although there are indications that rebel leader Jonas Savimbi continues to receive aid from his former allies in Pretoria.

Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano says he believes the South

African government is genuinely promoting peace in his country and has ended its aid for the MNR.

However, this belief hangs against strong evidence that rightwing elements in the South African army still support the insurgents in Mozambique.

The cross-border raids have stopped — at least for now. The man who replaced Botha, FW de Klerk, last year headed a flurry of peace missions to Cote D'Ivoire, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. Cuban president Fidel Castro believes

the turning point in relations between South Africa and its neighbours came after a joint Angolan and Cuban force inflicted a heavy defeat on the South African army at Cuito Cuanavale in May 1988.

Rob Davies, senior lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe, agrees with the Cuban leader, and says the period between the first and second quarters of 1988 (divided by the battle at Cuito) can, in short, be identified as a turning point in the regional struggle. It inaugurated a new conjuncture in

South 24/11-30/11/91
which South Africa's strategists appeared to place greater emphasis on diplomacy and economic action to achieve their regional policy objectives. Pretoria's military defeat at Cuito Cuanavale highlighted the longterm ineffectiveness of military aggression as a means to protect apartheid and strengthened the hands of elements within the government who had realised that the time had come for delecte and a new approach. South African businesspersons are queuing up to sign trade and investment deals in countries to the north of them.

Opponent

Even Madagascar president Didier Ratsiraka, once the most hardline opponent of trade with the apartheid state, has done a backflip and opened his Indian Ocean island to investment from South Africa.

But inside South Africa itself, the pattern of violence in black townships around Johannesburg in the last quarter of 1990 indicates a resurgence of power on the part of the securocrats in Pretoria, says Davies. There is growing evidence that the wave of seemingly interminable violence, which has killed 3 000 people in the past four months, has been stoked up by elements in the police and military.

That the government had done little to stop this is an indication of its reluctance to impose too many constraints on the country's rightwing military leaders.

If this is the case, the groups that favour peace and economic contacts in Southern Africa could be undermined by continued covert and clandestine backing for civil war in the sub-continent by the same people who have been destabilising South Africa's internal political scene. — *Inter Press Service*

SAP has FW in cleft stick

South 24/11-30/11/91

Negotiations won't kick off as long as political violence scars black lives. But the violence can't be contained without effective policing. Proper policing is not possible without a changed face to the so-called forces of law and order, reports Jenny Cargill

THE South African police force has effectively trapped President FW de Klerk in a cleft stick. (30/11/91)

Negotiations won't kick off as long as political violence scars black lives. But the violence can't be contained without effective policing. Proper policing is not possible without a changed face to the so-called forces of law and order. But a restructured police force is too politically touchy for the current government to effect on its own.

That is the shorthand of the problem highlighted by Afrikaner political analysts.

Antagonists

Few doubt that the more lasting answer to the violence is political rapprochement between the primary antagonists in the violence, the African National Congress (ANC), and the largely Natal-based Inkatha Freedom Party. But neither do they expect a quick solution when Inkatha president Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi's hankered-for meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela takes place on January 29.

More immediately, the ANC has put the responsibility for dealing with the violence at the government's feet.

The head of Potchefstroom University's political science department, Professor Pieter Potgieter, agrees police have been backing Inkatha in the township conflicts.

That is enough to make government a key party in violence.

But its responsibility goes beyond that. "The fact is," says Potgieter, "the police have become an illegitimate force."

This, argues Pretoria political consultant Wim Booysse, is the legacy of apartheid which is responsible for the



TRIGGER-HAPPY? There are signs of a serious government rethink to change the image of its police

South 24/11-30/11/91

spontaneous resurgence of people's courts and defence units to cope with the current violence, both criminal and politically motivated.

The imperfections of these community responses are becoming increasingly obvious. Abuses and ill-handling of problems often undermine the democratic principles on which these community structures are based and at times fuel rather than resolve the violence.

The immediate roots of the Sebokeng massacre earlier this month — in which 35 people were gunned down under AK-47 fire — has been traced to an ill-begotten attempt by the "comrades" of this Vaal Triangle township to rein in some gangsters, who then allegedly elicited support from Inkatha.

The ANC has long given rhetorical support to community defence units. But its December 16 consultative con-

ference proposed more than that, and called for a national structure to actively put these units in place. So far it has yet to appoint this structure, for which government has already signalled its distaste.

Defence units pose some problem for the new political democracy within the ANC. They would necessarily have a military character.

(30/11/91) **Tolerance** Added to that, political tolerance could suffer if a community's defence capability is run by one organisation, rather than its being a broadly-based community effort.

But imperfections aside, people's courts and defence units are for the moment the only logical response in a society where there is a breakdown of trust between the police and the com-

munities they are supposed to serve.

It is this problem of illegitimacy which Potgieter argues is "one of the most outstanding factors" facing De Klerk.

"The negotiations process can't start if this is not dealt with," adds Potgieter.

Booyse reckons Pretoria "should be nervous about disciplining its policemen" as a means of bolstering their legitimacy. "There should be a cleansing, but it can't be a warm knife through butter."

Potgieter argues that the necessary changes to South African policing cannot be done by the present government. It needs a "reconstituted government".

It is within this context, he adds, "that an interim government makes sense".

Booyse takes the argument even further, asserting that the police force

needs to be taken out of the hands of politicians in a bid to restructure it.

There are signs of a serious rethink in government on its police, and on some responsibility-sharing with other organisations, but primarily with the ANC.

Some propaganda play has been made of limited cooperation on crime prevention between the Soweto police and ANC-aligned community structures in the township.

The police are also due to unwrap a new manner of operation, and image building would appear to be a priority with the recent appointment of Bureau for Information's Kobus Neethling as "special communications advisor" to Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The touchy question, however, is control — which Pretoria as yet has shown no inclination to relinquish.

The end of

How apartheid was put together; how it is being dismantled

Malan



Dr DF Malan becomes first Nationalist Prime Minister



Population Registration Act passed

- Immorality Act toughened to ban inter-racial sex
- Group Areas Bill introduced
- Suppression of Communism Act passed

- Communist MPs removed from House
- Native Laws Amendment Act passed
- Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act passed. (Introduces 'reference books' for all Africans)
- UN condemns apartheid



General election: NP increased majority

- Acts passed: Reservation of Separate Amenities, Public Safety, Criminal Law Amendment, Bantu Authorities, Bantu Education.

JG Strijdom



Strijdom

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages passed



Native Representative Council abolished
Separate Representation of Voters Bill tabled. (To remove Coloureds from roll)

PW Botha



- Defence white paper outlines 'total onslaught' and 'total strategy'
- Steve Biko dies in detention
- Kruger bans 18 organisations, The World newspaper
- Removals stepped up
- Criminal Procedures Act amended
- Indemnity Act indemnifies security forces
- Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Shelters demolished without warning or appeal

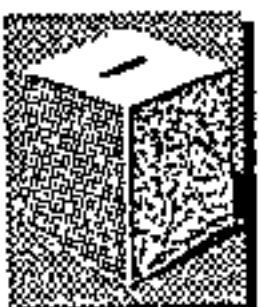
Group Areas Development Board established

- Verwoerd: 'Total onslaught of white and black'
- Tomlinson Commission on homelands
- Coloured franchise through courts
- Sophiatown rezoned
- USSR Consulate closed (Promoting 'subversion')



Soweto uprising
MPLA in for Vorster's
Cabinet changes affected

- Botha talks of a confederation of states again and 'continuing reform'
- Dr A Treurnicht launches Conservative Party
- Botha: 'Power-sharing' and 'co-responsibility' in SA



General election: Swing to right

- Tricameral parliament mooted
- President's Council sits for first time

1981

1980

1979

1978

1977

1976

1975

1974

- Botha meets Pres. Kaunda in Zambia
- Internal Security Act toughened

- Referendum won for tricameral constitution amid much resistance

- Concepts of 'own' and 'general' affairs introduced

- 'Securocrats' influence rises

- Nkomati Accord signed with Mozambique

- Tricameral parliament comes into being

- Botha - Executive State President
- Botha visits Europe

- Civil unrest at new peak
- Outdoor meetings banned

- 'Petty apartheid' questioned
- Botha moots 'Constellation of southern States'
- Wiehahn and Riekert labour proposals accepted in principle
- Botha visits Soweto
- Vorster resigns as president
- State Security Council in central role
- Tensions rise between NP 'verlig' and 'verkramp' factions

- State of Emergency declared
- Congress of SA Students banned
- Businessmen, liberals visit ANC in Lusaka
- Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949 and part of Immorality Act, 1957 repealed

1985



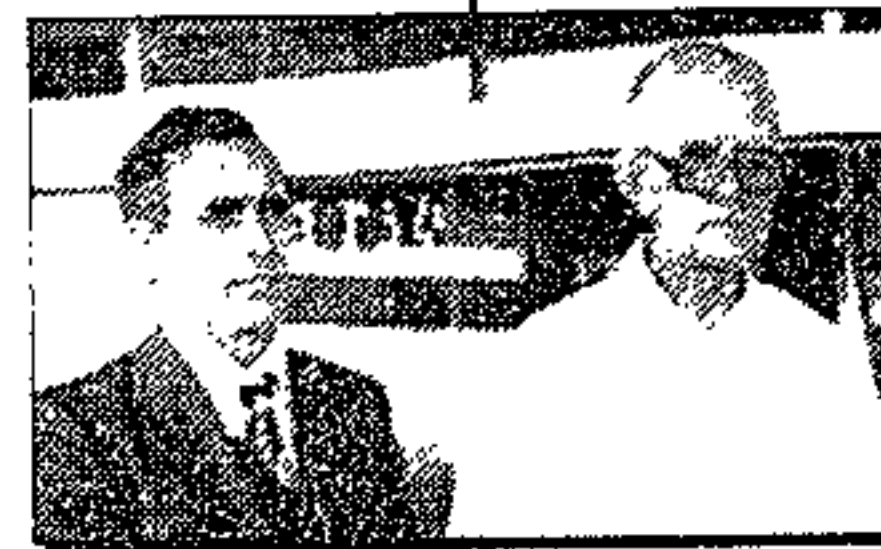
Political representation for Africans promised
First city cinemas opened to all races
Suspension of all forced removals

- Botha's 'Rubicon' speech causes confidence crisis



Chase Manhattan Bank refuses to roll over loan to SA
JSE trading suspended for 3 days
Reagan imposes limited sanctions, disinvestment campaign grows

- SADF in townships to quell unrest
- SADF troops raid Gaborone
- Botha offers to release Mandela conditionally - refused



Eschel Rhoodie, Hendrik van den Bergh

- Information Scandal
- Vorster retires, becomes ceremonial State President



General election: NP gains

- March - State of Emergency lifted
- June - National State of Emergency declared
- SA troops raid Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe
- Freehold rights in townships for urban Africans

1986



Pass Laws (Abolition of Influx Control Act) abolished, arrests suspended
Common ID book introduced, SA citizenship restored to 'homeland' citizens

- Some CBDs opened to all races
- Full property rights for township residents



Barclays Bank and estimated 48 US companies disinvest

- US Congress passes Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act



General election: NP returned, CP official opposition

- Government rejects 'Natal' Executive Authority launch
- State of Emergency renewed

1987

- Botha blames 'Interference' reform
- Heunis: Reform process is
- Rev A Hendrickse leaves C with Botha
- Afrikaners visit ANC in D



- Govan Mbeki released, later Emergency regulations

an era

26/1/91 A 1948 3004

taken apart: A chronology 1948 — 1990

HF Verwoerd



- Macmillan: 'Winds of change' speech in Cape Town
- Sharpeville massacre
- ANC and PAC banned
- State of Emergency declared
- SA declared a republic after referendum
- Hostile UN resolutions
- Verwoerd assassination attempt fails



- '12 day' Detention Law passed under Vorster
- House arrest added to banning and 'listing' powers
- Nelson Mandela arrested
- UN urges member states to break diplomatic ties with SA
- '90 day' Detention Law passed
- Rivonia raid
- Wide powers to Publications Control Board
- UN moots arms embargo

Aided Institutions bars blacks from
funded institutions
Stem' official, and only,
m

1967

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963

- 18-year old whites enfranchised
- Government refuses to attend first Conference of Independent African States in Accra
- Strijdom dies in office

- Extension of University Education Act passed
- Homeland 'independence' mooted
- Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill tabled

- Defence Act amended and toughened
- Urban Bantu Authorities Act passed
- SA forced out of WHO and FAO



Umkhonto we Sizwe - first act of sabotage

- Prevention of Political Interference Act passed. (No multi-racial parties)
- Coloured Persons' Representative Council enacted
- Pressure on English churches, newspapers, universities
- Hertzog dismissed from Cabinet

Rivonia trial begins

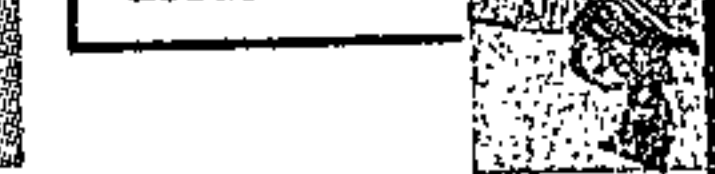
1964

- '180 day' Detention Law passed

1965

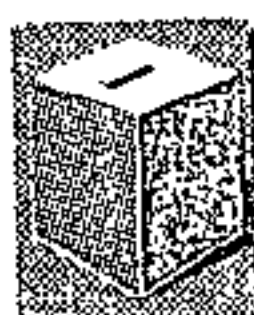
General Election: Increased NP majority

Defence budget - R230m



Verwoerd assassinated

1966



Early general election called and easily won

- Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act passed. ('Homeland' citizenship for every African in SA)

in Angola. Setback
'detente' in Africa
for possible constitutional
Coloureds and Indians

1973

1972

1971

1970

1969

1968

1967

organisations
forced



Forced removals begin in earnest

- Hertzog forms HNP
- Bureau for State Security (BOSS) formed - responsible to Vorster

FW de Klerk



General Election: Whites, coloureds, Indians on same day. NP reduced majority

- Mandela to Tuynhuys for tea
- Many senior political prisoners released
- Untag supervises transition to independent Namibia



1991 may see all apartheid laws but one (Population Registration Act) abolished

- 17 anti-apartheid groups (UDF, Cosatu, Azapo) severely restricted
- Changes to Group Areas Act mooted. Proclamation of 'Free Settlement Areas' allowed
- Mandela (70) treated for TB in hospital

but Joint

1988

1989

1990

- State of Emergency renewed
- Educational desegregation begins
- ANC in exile publishes its Constitutional Guidelines
- Botha appeals to CP for Afrikaner unity. He is rebuffed
- Promotion of Constitutional Development Act passed. (For still-born multi-racial 'National Council')
- PAC President Zeph Mothopeng and ANC veteran Harry Gwala released from prison
- Mandela moves to prison warder's house
- First all-race local government elections held. (Separate polls) Bitter opposition

- State of Emergency renewed
- 'Purple dye' machines break up protest march in Cape Town
- SA Law Commission calls for bill of rights and repeal of discriminatory legislation
- Botha has stroke. FW de Klerk is NP leader
- Botha resigns. After elections De Klerk is State President



De Klerk: 'New South Africa' Protesters allowed new latitude

- ANC President Oliver Tambo has stroke
- De Klerk visits African and European countries
- Malan: USSR no longer a threat

- De Klerk unbans political parties
- GrooteSchoor and Pretoria Minutes signed
- State of Emergency, many restrictive laws, lifted
- ANC suspends armed struggle



Mandela freed



Hundreds killed in township battles

- Inkatha calls for negotiations
- PAC and Azapo refuse to take part
- NP opens its ranks to all races
- Tambo returns to SA
- De Klerk and Mandela remain committed to negotiations. Deep divisions over interim government, constituent assembly

holding up
reversible'
Cabinet after clash

Thabo Mbeki,
Frederik
van Zyl
Slabbert,
Breyten
Breytenbach

restricted under

9.0	23.0	U-CON-15D	70	9.6	34.5	BLUCHS	28	1	12.8	15.4
		UNIHOLO	110	11.4	32.5	BLOCKTEC	10		30.0	43.0
						CENMAG	50		12.0	28.0

do the cherished work

304A

Argus

24/1/91

Nationalist leaders will this year undo of their forefathers in the party

24/1/91

304A

Argus

The Argus Correspondent
reports from Johannesburg

IN May 1948, having just come to power, the National Party set about constructing one of the most complicated social systems the world has ever seen.

With it, a new word entered the international political vocabulary: apartheid.

Now, more than four decades later, MPs are assembling in Cape Town for a parliamentary session in which it is expected that most of the myriad apartheid laws, enacted and implemented over the years by five Nationalist leaders, will be swept away by the sixth.

On February 1, a year almost to the day since his seminal speech which changed irrevocably South Africa's political landscape, President F W de Klerk will rise to open parliament and

set out an agenda for the business of the session.

It is a moment of great historical import, and some pathos: Nationalist leaders will be undoing the cherished work of their forefathers. This parliamentary session can be seen as the climax of a long and painful story in its own way, a spectacular allegory.

Imagine apartheid as a giant Lego set, the pieces put together painstakingly and deliberately over 40 years and more.

The structure grows quickly and sure-footedly at first. Its bricks are acts of parliament, its fancy balustrades and sweeping arches the attendant actions of the mighty construction company. It will be unique in the world, say its architects, it will be magnificent in its scope and cohesion. It will last forever.

As it gets bigger it gradually

begins to take on the look of the baroque — and the architectural-ly unstable.

The builders and engineers grow worried: buttresses are called for, but still the structure becomes more rickety. More plaster is added, and the architects begin to concentrate on preserving what has already been created, rather than constructing more floors. They die, still engrossed in their toil of attempted restoration.

The descendants of the original designers decide eventually that some of the more elaborate components of the building might be done away with, without changing its shape.

They chip away, pulling out bricks here and plastering over cracks there.

The building's enemies, meanwhile, attack it in the dead of night, causing damage but not

collapse. Repair work is a constant activity, and eventually it takes its toll. It is time to hand over to a new generation of builders.

These builders look carefully at their forebears' creation. They study it from every side. They look, for the first time, at the foundations, which are rotten and weak. They begin to tear from the top.

Still the structure groans and creaks and they fear it will fall down upon them. They confer in deadly earnest, and finally agree. It cannot be saved. It is condemned, to be demolished as soon as possible.

The new architects promise they will call in the wreckers, and that nothing will remain when they are finished. Where the old building stood, they say, a new one will be built — this time with the help of those who hated the old.

ANC not yet ready for talks, says Van Zyl

CH 1/1/91 24/1/91
30/1/91

Political Correspondent

IDASA policy director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert warned yesterday that the establishment of a constituent assembly would not necessarily solve the problem of transition to a democratic order in South Africa.

All parties in Parliament have opposed proposals for the formation of a constituent assembly, while all major black extra-parliamentary parties — except the Inkatha Freedom Party — have insisted that such a mechanism is essential to decide on a new constitution.

Dr Slabbert was speaking at a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce lunch on "Shifting political dynamics in SA".

He said that although there was widespread anger about a perceived deadlock in the political process, he believed "remarkable progress" had been made since February 2 last year.

He said the ANC's proposal for a multi-party conference, and the government's enthusiasm about the suggestion, represented a significant breakthrough.

However, not all parties were equal-

ly prepared for the negotiation process.

He was not surprised to hear President F W de Klerk saying he was "in a hurry", because he was prepared.

"The ANC may say they are in a hurry but they are not ready."

It had a number of organisational dilemmas and communication problems to resolve.

Dr Slabbert noted the ANC maintained that a constituent assembly would be an "automatically successful mechanism" to speed up transition to a democratic outcome.

But such thinking assumed the Namibian experience could be replicated in South Africa.

However, there were at least three critical circumstances obtained in Namibia which did not apply:

- An external agent, Untag, set up and monitored the process towards a liberal democracy in Namibia.

- There was no regime to divest itself of power in Namibia.

- The problems of stability and violence during transition in Namibia were removed from the arena of politics, allowing non-contestants to maintain a climate conducive to free and fair elections.

THE United States government has been urged to call on Pretoria for a public investigation of the role of security forces in township violence.

This is one of a wide range of recommendations contained in a new report by the influential Washington-based human rights group, Africa Watch.

The special report, released yesterday, reviews the role of the security forces in continuing violence and maintains Washington should retain the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act until the South African government has met "all the conditions that would end human rights abuses".

The report says if the South African government wants a peaceful resolution to the Natal and Transvaal conflict, it must first accept its own responsibility in perpetuating the violence.

In addition, the government should encourage respect for the rule of law if it is serious about creating a "genuine post-apartheid society" and, the report adds, "prosecuting violations is a necessary component of that pro-

US report urges inquiry into SA security forces

W/11/25 25/11-31/11

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Its recommendations relating to the South African security forces begin with a call that unequivocal instructions be given to all security force members "that bias against any group will not be tolerated and that members of the forces who commit abuses of human rights will be prosecuted".

Other recommendations about the security forces included:

- the issuing of written orders establishing guidelines about the procedures to be followed in dealing with political violence;
- restraint, with an emphasis on peacekeeping and protection rather than on enforcement of "outmoded apartheid laws";
- all security forces should be consolidated into one force to oversee actions and ensure neutrality;
- the preparation of cases should be

A report by the US group Africa Watch calls for a public investigation into South Africa's security forces. **CARMEL RICKARD** reports

more thorough to ensure that courts have evidence on which to convict perpetrators of violence.

● legal reforms should be implemented to protect witnesses in cases involving violence.

The report urges the government in particular to establish an "independent and thorough judicial commission of inquiry" into the role of the police and the defence forces and then act on the evidence collected. "The government should investigate on its own initiative serious human rights cases that come to its attention, regardless of whether a

formal complaint has been filed."

Africa Watch suggests the government should invite "genuinely independent domestic and international monitoring groups to help implement changes", and hold joint forums with the police and political groups to hear grievances.

These and other recommendations follow a range of interviews carried out by an Africa Watch researcher.

Washington is found to have consistently refrained from publicly raising the issue of security force involvement in township violence. It is also accused of making public statements on the issue of "black on black violence" which "underemphasise the (South African) government's responsibility to protect the lives of its citizens".

The report notes that the historic visit to the US by State President F.W. de Klerk in September last year took

place during the height of the Transvaal killings, "yet they were barely acknowledged by officials of the Bush administration".

A short section of the report deals with violence perpetrated by the ANC, and acknowledges that the organisation has "for several years also engaged in violent attacks on its political opponents".

● Meanwhile, De Klerk has been urged by the International Commission of Jurists to use his next cabinet reshuffle to appoint a new minister of law and order "who is not identified by the public with discredited policies".

An ICI report, prepared after a visit to the country by a three person commission, was released today.

It deals with the violence in Natal and makes a number of recommendations, one of which is the need for a massive increase in police resources.

The report notes, "There is a need for some 5 000 officers in Natal to investigate crime in place of the 150 who are currently available."

The ICI report also urges that the carrying of all weapons, including cultural weapons, should be banned at all political meetings and rallies.

A tale of two rigid nations

South Africa 25/1/91

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"STALINISM is a totalitarian form of apartheid, bordering on the absurd."

In his comparison of South Africa and the Soviet Union, Mr Kamil Ivanov repeats this quota-

tion by Dr Boris Asoyan, a senior Africa specialist in the Soviet Government.

Apartheid is not only a policy of racial discrimination and state-sponsored terrorism, says Ivanov, it is a bureaucratic system of centralised economic regulation.

"The genetic code of history," Ivanov argues, has produced two almost look-alike bureaucratic systems on two different continents.

"It is true that violence was the midwife of the history of Russia and South Africa," he writes.

Serfdom

Before the abolition of serfdom in 1861, Russian peasants, just as the Africans at the time of the first Boer republics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, could not make any economic deals on their own.

Seasonal migration of peasants in pre-revolutionary Russia was akin to the shuttle migration of bantustan residents to the "white regions" in

South Africa and the Soviet Union have a great deal in common, says Professor Kamil Ivanov of Moscow State University in an article in the Moscow journal *World Economics and International Relations*. This account of the article was put out by the Soviet news agency Novosti.

modern South Africa.

Russian economist Nikolai Berdyayev noted many similarities between Russia in the 1920s and pre-revolutionary Russia: the excessive role of the state, rigid centralism and the existence of a privileged bureaucratic class.

Ivanov writes that the same tendencies became widespread in South Africa after the National Party came to power in 1948.

Overwhelming state control over the black economy in South Africa can only be compared with the Stalinist model of a barracks-room socialism.

Target

All totalitarian regimes behave in the same way: they may use the colour of the skin or nationality as a pretext for declaring their opponents "enemies of the people".

Both the Soviet and South African regimes made the peasantry the main target of their reform experiments.

change jobs for a specific period.

According to Ivanov, the Soviet shock-work construction projects resembled the system of compounds in the gold-mining industry in South Africa.

Ivanov believes that yet another similarity between the Soviet Union and South Africa is the existence of a vast mass of low-paid workers and only a small number of high-paid people.

Change

In the Soviet Union, poverty is the result of the egalitarian policy of wage-leveling, now slowly being changed.

The erosion of South African state control in the economic sphere is also slow.

FW de Klerk is under-standably called the "South African Gorbachev".

The release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and legalisation of the ANC itself may be compared to the Soviet rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist terror.

The present state of the South African and Soviet economies are also much the same.

And both countries increasingly realise the negative effect of raw material exports (gold from South Africa and oil and gas from the USSR) on their economic relations with other countries.

One can draw some parallels between restrictions on the sale of high technology to the USSR and the international sanctions against South Africa.

Both have contributed to the let-up of economic growth rates in the Soviet Union and South Africa.

Ivanov believes that it is not accidental that the Soviet Union and South Africa have somewhat close GNP per capita levels.

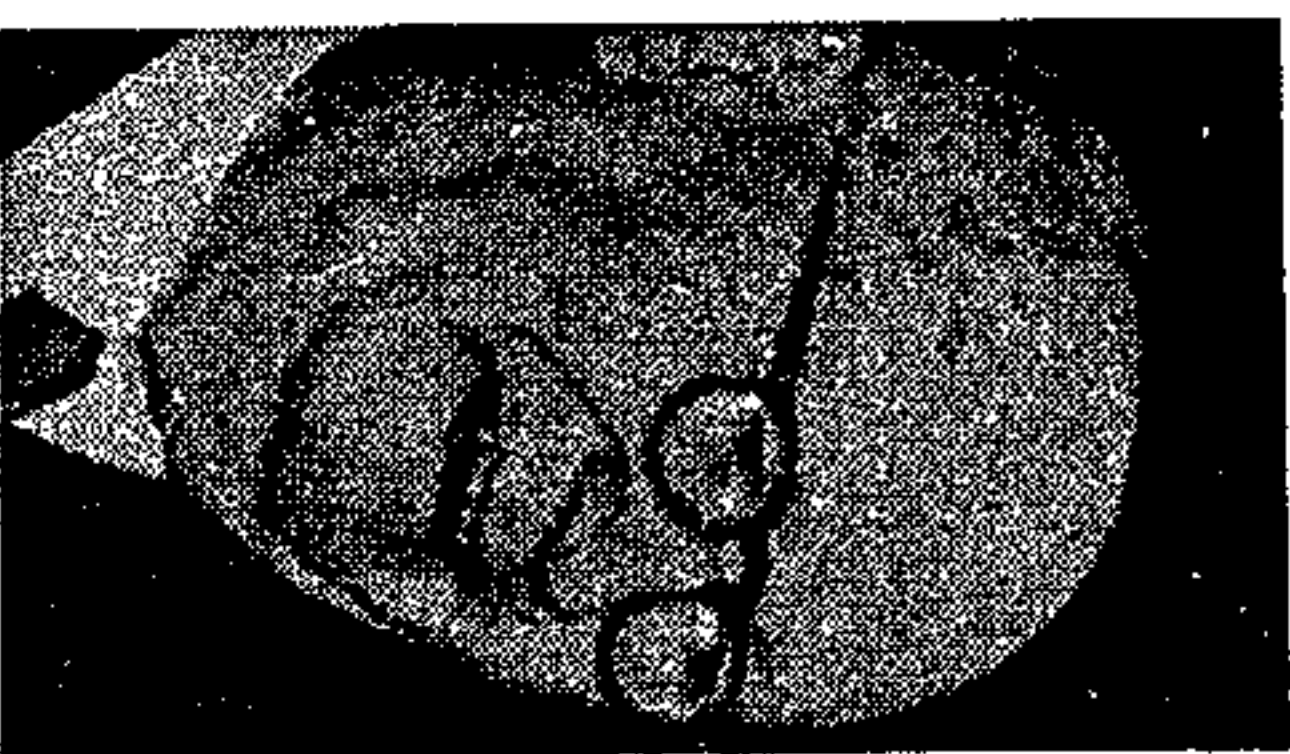
Experts estimate that the average GNP in the USSR is 30 to 50 percent higher than in South Africa.

It is an indisputable fact that both countries belong to the same group in terms of their development and neither is an industrialised nation by international standards.

However different their economic potentials in absolute terms, both the USSR and South Africa have mining industries that account for a large part of their GNPs.

Both export few high-level commodities and

Comparisons made with SA



Former South African Prime Minister D F Malan and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev led countries with tightly controlled economies.

have economies dominated by basic industries, especially the metallurgical, fuel and energy industries.

The military-industrial complex plays a leading role in both countries, employing vast numbers of people.

The conversion of defence factories and plants to civilian production will be a key problem for the Soviet Union and South Africa in the pres-

ent and the future. There is a debate in both countries over their level of development.

South African scientists who place their country among the world's rich countries point to its mineral resources and the existence of a developed industry and infrastructure.

Soviet scientists give the same reasons for placing their country among industrialised nations.

Patrick Laurence talks to Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard about reform in South Africa

Grim warning of ambush on the 'clear road'

THE road ahead appears to be open but there is no guarantee that South Africa will not veer off it into a ditch, declares Samuel Huntington, professor of government at Harvard University.

The present position contrasts with that of the mid-1980s under P W Botha when "all the roads to the future seemed closed", Professor Huntington says.

The professor, who is on his fourth trip to South Africa, first came here a decade ago. He smiles when reminded that he provoked a minor controversy on his first visit by commending a strategy of "reform by stealth".

He fills in the context of the situation which led to that label being hung around his neck.

He had been invited to deliver a paper at a conference convened by the South African Political Science Association, but, as he did not know much about South Africa at the time, decided to talk about countries which had also faced the challenges of reform, liberalisation and democratisation.

He recalls: "I said, 'Here is the experience of some countries which have opened up to democratisation. Perhaps there are some lessons for South Africa.'"

Two central points emerged in

the paper which looked at the relevance to South Africa of reform in modern Brazil and Amal Turk's Turkey, he says.

Firstly, reformers face potential opposition from the Right and the Left and, for that reason, must not be too explicit about long-term objectives.

He said: "You don't want to create a situation where the two extremes coalesce against you to stop reform."

Secondly, while reformers must not move simultaneously on a wide range of issues, once a decision has made to advance on a specific issue, they must move

speedily and decisively.

Summing up, Professor Huntington describes the lesson emanating from his paper as one of combining "Fabian strategy" with "blitzkrieg tactics."

But, Professor Huntington adds, when he returned to South Africa in 1986 he found President Botha had committed two errors.

● Faced with rebellion in the townships, he had "stopped reforming" and lost the initiative.

● Confronted with the 1982 revolt against reform by Andries Treurnicht, which deprived him of part of his traditional constituency, he failed to recruit new supporters

among English-speaking whites and the business community.

"I think De Klerk has done that," Professor Huntington adds, having earlier commended President de Klerk for keeping the initiative or successfully deploying "blitzkrieg tactics."

But, he adds, President de Klerk faces a different situation from Mr Botha: while reform from above was possible under Mr Botha it is not viable now.

Mr de Klerk has to accept that the only path open to him is one of negotiated reform. It is the challenge of his presidency. Comparing South Africa under

Mr Botha in the mid-1980s with the present situation under Mr de Klerk, Professor Huntington says: "In 1986 nobody could see a path to the future. Now it seems that there is a reasonably clear path."

The drafting of a basic constitution by a multi-party conference or all-party congress, and its ratification later by a constituent assembly, are developments which can seen further the road.

But the possibility of the reformers being ambushed and forced off the road by extremists, or of themselves taking a wrong turning, cannot be excluded, he warns. □

ahead
304A

ON THE MARCH ... WOMEN IN THE AWB

WHERE are the women when it comes to filling leadership boots in right-wing politics? Are they in the kitchen making koeksusters and coffee while the men are drilling the commandos and oiling the wheels for the next great trek?

Commandant Sannie van der Merwe is the first woman to have been appointed to a senior position in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). She is in command of the women in the AWB's Wenkommando (Win commando) and has been working in the organisation's head office in the Western Transvaal town of Ventersdorp since June last year. Towards the end of last year AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche appointed her as a commandant.

The AWB's official policy says that no woman shall be in charge of men.

"The structure is such that I do not need to give orders to men," says Van der Merwe, dressed in the AWB's full khaki uniform. "Because I work in head office I get good co-operation from the men."

"Maybe in the Burgerrade (citizens' councils) the women are looking after the coffee and the rusks, but in the commandos we get more or less the same training as the men."

"In any case, women do not need to be trained on how to cook — it comes naturally, they are born that way."

Van der Merwe, who keeps a "beautiful" shotgun in the house she rents in Ventersdorp, explains: "The women get training on how to defend themselves with or without weapons. The war we Boere are fighting is not like the one in Iraq. Here you have to defend yourself as a person because you will be attacked in your own house. Part of the training without weapons is in houses — we even learn how to use household implements for self-defence."

"With nursing we concentrate on bullet and burn wounds. With the training we get quite fit because we do a lot of drilling."

Van der Merwe's office is a small room in the house in which the AWB is based. "You must excuse the mess," she says, although her office is quite neat. "The Leader decided he wanted an oxwagon in his office so we had to move the offices around so that he could get the biggest room and

Cooking comes naturally to these warriors

The AWB's first female commandant keeps a 'beautiful' shotgun in her home and feels that women are born cooks.

By CHARLES LEONARD

space for the wagon."

Middle-aged Van der Merwe became actively involved in politics 15 years ago when she was still living in Johannesburg. Then this born and bred Western Transvaler was working as departmental head for the building industry's pension fund.

"I joined the Conservative Party and became first vice-chairman and later chairman in the Jeppe constituency," she says. "The deterioration in the country began way back with (prime minister John) Vorster. (State President FW) De Klerk just put his stamp on it."

Van der Merwe was notorious in Johannesburg as one of the ringleaders of a group of rightwingers who tried to move black people out of their houses when they moved into white suburbs.

"We would go to the blacks and ask them to leave," she explains with a smile. "If they did not do that on their own we used to just go to their houses and move their belongings out of their houses. We did a lot of work in Jeppe and Malvern."

"After some time it became too much. They streamed into those places and we could not stop the flood."

She left the building industry to start work at the Perskor newspaper group after the industry started appointing black people to their board of directors. "Sorry, but I could not work under blacks."

At Perskor she also had problems. "You know, it gets difficult when your picture is on the front page of *The Citizen* chasing blacks out of white suburbs and you have a 'pink' boss and you know he is going to see

that picture." She eventually left Perskor because she refused to work in the same office as an Indian woman.

Van der Merwe joined the AWB after the election on September 9 1989: "I gave the CP until then, but when they did not win the election I realised the only way to self-protection was to join the AWB."

She quickly rose to the position of secretary in the Johannesburg regional council. Last year she moved to Ventersdorp to run the bookkeeping and help organise the women in the commandos.

Like many rightwingers, Van der Merwe is very despondent about the future. "The process to their new South Africa is irreversible. This government has already made too many concessions to the anti-Christ

and the communists.

"All a Boer can do now is to defend his own land, because no one else will do that for us."

Her son was arrested last year for his involvement with Piet "Skiet" Rudolph in the weapons heist at Air Force headquarters in Pretoria in May. He was one of two national servicemen who helped Rudolph steal weapons and ammunition. They were released on bail soon after their arrest.

"You know, these youngsters get impatient," she says laughingly. "I can understand them, but I deal with that anger differently. You get clever as you get older."

She is very upset by the notion that the AWB may be deemed racist.

"People have the wrong idea about the AWB. If someone is a threat you

won't take his hand. You are going to take him on, never mind his colour."

"The leader", as she refers to Terre Blanche, has a very tender heart, she says. "He really cares about his people's well-being."

It seems as though Van der Merwe will remain the top woman in the AWB for quite a while. "There are a few ladies who qualify to become commandants, but we do not want to appoint them too quickly. It is difficult for women to be as active as a commandant is supposed to be. They have houses, children and husbands to look after."

After a mid-morning coffee at the end of the interview, Van der Merwe had to go. She had to go and tidy the new offices of a fellow commandant (who, incidentally, is male).

Good co-operation from the men ...
Commandant Sannie van der Merwe.
Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK



STRATEGY PLANNING

304A

FM 25/1/91

NEW MEN ON THE ISLAND

President FW de Klerk and his men plan to keep the moral high ground captured on February 2. To this end, the broad framework of a plan of action was discussed by the Cabinet and senior State and NP officials at a two-day conference on Robben Island off Cape Town last weekend. Details will be announced by De Klerk when he opens parliament next Friday.

Why Robben Island, a famous political prison, was chosen is not clear.

Government planners believe it is now essential for De Klerk to make another massive leap in the reform process — on a similar scale to last year's unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela. But they caution against expecting too much: for De Klerk to better or even match last year's speech in terms of its effect on SA politics would be almost impossible.

It is not known what he will announce. Scrapping of all remaining apartheid laws, except the Population Registration Act, is already on the next parliamentary session's agenda. The Act is as fundamental to the superstructure of apartheid as the land apportionment laws, which will go.

In fact, De Klerk could ask parliament to suspend the operations of the Act. Though it underpins the tricameral constitution it is not essential to its day-to-day functioning except, arguably, in by-elections. But then these could be held on the basis of existing voters' rolls as an interim measure.

With all apartheid laws either scrapped or suspended, pending abolition, De Klerk would have far more leverage in his efforts to draw the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups into not only a national convention (which most of them support in one form or another) but into a new executive authority, a Super Cabinet.

This could be what lies behind speculation of a major Cabinet reshuffle and the hiving-off of a number of senior ministers to become permanent negotiators.

A Super Cabinet could be more than a talking shop; it could also seek ways to solve problems like endemic violence, alleged partiality of the police, inadequate local government and unequal social spending. It could set policy on these issues to be implemented by the existing State departments headed by more junior ministers. In this way De Klerk could give an equal say — and equal responsibility — to extra-parliamentary leaders to set the scene for constitutional negotiations.

The chances of the ANC accepting such an offer appear slim while the apartheid-based constitution remains in place. But if a plan along these lines is correctly structured, and perceived to be more than mere gim-

mickry, De Klerk would be applauded for his efforts even if few accepted the offer.

This would have two effects. It would undermine the moral defensibility of the ANC's current strategy to smash local au-



De Klerk ... can he match last year's speech?

thorities and intimidate government through mass action and draw the spotlight away from its demands for an elected constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution. It would also weaken arguments for the retention of sanctions and their application in practice.

The focus could then return to efforts to reach consensus on the process of negotiation. The ANC would be compelled to bend particularly if, in any case, attempts at true mass action fail or lead to more violence. The ANC's dwindling audiences at rallies tell one kind of story; and the unthinking support of certain influential members, such as Winnie Mandela for Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, foreshadows a limit to Western tolerance for all-or-nothing politics in SA. ■

THE NEETHLING JUDGMENT

BELIEVING COETZEE

The Harms Commission into alleged death squads cost the taxpayer R12m. It said there weren't any such squads. So perhaps having to cough up a further R1m-R2m for the legal costs of a police general who lost a defamation action may seem small beer. However, the general is SA's number two policeman and stands accused of having misled two judges and of having distributed poison to kill opponents of Pretoria — of having con-

nived with death squads, in other words.

At the heart of his now celebrated judgment involving Gen Lothar Neethling, *Vrye Weekblad* and *Weekly Mail*, Judge Johan Kriegler said Neethling — head of the SAP's forensic laboratories — was a lying (*leuenagtige*) witness. He had misled Judge Louis Harms and sought to mislead Kriegler. Moreover, the key damning evidence of former police captain Dirk Coetzee — “an unattractive person,” Kriegler found — was accepted above that of Neethling.

Neethling has given notice of appeal, but there looms the question of who will foot the final bill, estimated by lawyers acting for *Vrye Weekblad* and *Weekly Mail* at somewhere between R1m-R2m.

Law & Order spokesman Leon Mellet referred the *FM* to the office of the State Attorney when he was asked about costs. At that office, the *FM* was told Neethling had his own attorney who instructed counsel and “that the matter rests with Neethling, his attorney and his department.” Neethling's attorney, Ari Kanichowsky, was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

It was initially reported that Neethling's costs would be carried by the State unless it was found he had acted irregularly, as Kriegler's judgment states he does. Neethling would have been enriched in his personal capacity if Kriegler had granted him the R1.5m he claimed for defamation by the newspaper articles linking him to death squads.

The judgment leaves a stain on at least one other career. Prosecuting and cross-examining witnesses before the Harms Commission, Free State Attorney-General Tim McNally failed to reveal the evidence which lawyers for the two newspapers had accumulated — and were able to use to convince Kriegler — that death squads *had* existed and that Neethling's role had not been as innocent as he protested it was.

When Neethling told Harms that Coetzee must have seen a British TV programme, *Dispatches*, in which Neethling's house had been shown, the commission neglected to look at the video to verify or negate details. Attorneys from Bell Dewar & Hall (for the newspapers) did just that and found that Coetzee could not have described Neethling's house merely from looking at the video. Armed with a court order, they visited Neethling's house and corroborated Coetzee's evidence.

While McNally and, it seems, Harms as well, accepted police evidence as gospel, attorneys for the defendants queried and subpoenaed security police dockets and files. Coetzee's evidence was corroborated time

SA plans East Bloc offices

Sowetan 25/1/91
304A
SOUTH Africa would shortly open representative offices in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He said heads of mission and staff for the offices were in the process of being appointed from the ranks of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The broadening of South Africa's official representation in central Europe follows visits by Botha to the region last year. - Sapa.

Raze Melrose House, say far-rightwingers

3648
The Argus Correspondent

17/6/91 25/1/91

PRETORIA. — The Boerestaat Party has rejected plans to restore Melrose House and called instead for it to be razed.

The historic Melrose House was where the Boers signed the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902 conceding defeat in the war against Britain. It was badly damaged by a bomb blast in 1989.

In a letter to the Pretoria town clerk and management committee, Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder describes Melrose House as a "house of shame and humiliation" for the Boers and claims a monument with similar significance would not be allowed by any other city in the world.

He proposes that Melrose House be demolished and in its place a monument be built to honour the burghers who died in the South African War as well as the women and children who died in concentration camps.

Trouble and strife over constituent assembly

Star 26/11/91

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

SOUTH Africa's major political players agree on the need for an all-party body entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution, but differ greatly on the main extra-parliamentary organisations' demand for a constituent assembly to fulfil this task.

Leading political formations yesterday discussed the hotly debated topic of a constituent assembly at a one-day seminar in Johannesburg, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

Participation

Representatives from the ANC and PAC stressed that such a body would ensure the participation of all citizens in a democratic constitution-making process, while spokesmen for the National Party, the Democratic Party and Inkatha argued that a premature election for a constituent assembly could jeopardise the negotiating and reconciliation process.

University of Cape Town political scientist Professor Andre du Toit focussed the debate by predicting that the NP and ANC might form a pact which would guarantee their interests. This agreement, he said, would then be ratified by the electorate in a one person, one vote referendum.

The ANC's head of political education, Raymond Suttner, denied that this "undemocratic" option was on the cards.

PAC executive member Mark Shinnars said a constituent assembly would rid the country of its "legacy of colonialism" in ensuring an end to white domination.

Transfer

A constituent assembly was a bridging mechanism which would "communicate in depth and scope the significance of the transfer of power".

Inkatha's Gavin Woods expressed several objections to the concept of a constituent assembly, arguing that elections for such a body would jeopardise national reconciliation and could be catastrophic "in view of the ANC's campaign of violence against its political opponents".

He accused the ANC of being more interested in obtaining power than of achieving national reconciliation.

DP constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said his party shared many of Inkatha's reservations about a constituent assembly. He reiterated the DP's suggestion that a panel of wise men should act as a facilitator to address burning socio-economic issues.

The NP's Transvaal director of information, Piet Coetzer, agreed with his debating partners that the NP Government could not one-sidedly administer the country in the transitional phase.

Fea Ren

HARARE — Concern is mounting over the fate of nearly a million refugees in southern Malawi as stocks of emergency relief supplies dwindle because of the severing of the country's transport lifeline.

A spokesman in Blantyre for the World Food Programme, which is co-ordinating a shipment of 32 000 tons of grain and milk powder for the 850 000

'Gassed' v gangsters

A RANDBURG resident is ex she was gassed into a deep sleep by a gang who raided her fridge and erally made themselves at home fore leaving her duplex flat with of her possessions.

"Having your home broken bad enough," said Lynne Simpson of Windsor West, "but to know were here while I was sleeping stairs is very frightening."

Miss Simpson, a sales representative, told Saturday Star she was by a telephone call at 7 am last day. "I shuffled downstairs awake," she said, "but noticed out of the ordinary because I an the call with my back to the lounge dining-room area.

"The call was from a police at the Maraisburg police station said he had my ID book, my hand TV set and parts of a hi-fi system first I didn't understand what he talking about, but then I turned towards the lounge and saw a chaos.

"There was mud everywhere television and hi-fi sets were gone

Talks with ANC may be *Stew 26/11/91* 'months away'

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Unless President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament next week concedes more than expected, talks with the ANC remain months away, says The Economist in a leading article this week.

But, it cautions, Mr de Klerk should resist the temptation to by-pass the "disorganised" and "sluggish" ANC.

To continue with his unilateral reforms while letting the drive for give-and-take negotiations on the constitution fall into second place would plunge the country deeper into violence.

"With a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi now in the offing, hopes have risen that the township violence may soon be over. Yet those hopes could quickly be dashed."

Despite its internal disorder, the ANC remains "quite capable of spreading chaos to every corner of the land", it warns.

The Economist concludes: "The president must go on reassuring other parties — some of whom bloody-mindedly reject negotiation — that their views will be heard. Unilateral reforms will achieve little if he does not talk to blacks."

Knuckles show white in Maitland

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

ALMOST overnight Mr Theunis Kruger has switched his political role from National Party branch chairman in Milnerton to Conservative Party candidate for parliament.

Within days of resigning from the NP on Monday night, Mr Kruger emerged as challenger to his former colleague, Mr Louis Pienaar, Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs, in the Maitland by-election.

Mr Kruger's sudden defection caused rumblings of a bitter political row and point to a possible gloves-off election battle in the constituency.

So far it seems to be a straight fight between the NP and the CP. The Democratic Party has no candidate. Polling day is March 6.

Mr Kruger, 34, confirmed this week that he had aspired to the NP candidacy but switched to the CP after Mr

Pienaar was chosen as candidate. He disclosed that almost immediately after his resignation on Monday night he spoke to the CP's Cape leader, Mr Jan Hoon, and made himself available as CP candidate.

Mr Kruger rejected an allegation by chief Cape secretary for the NP, Mr Carl Greyling, that Mr Kruger approached NP executive members in the constituency this week to support his NP candidacy.

"That is not correct. I automatically had the support of my own branch in Milnerton," Mr Kruger said. He claimed the Maitland branch chairman had offered to second a proposal for his NP nomination.

'Open' area

Mr Kruger claimed he had been unhappy about NP policy for a long time and that many other NP members in the constituency felt as he did — including a majority of the members of the NP's district council for Maitland.

However, the NP's Mr Greyling told Weekend Argus that

Mr Kruger had not told him he was unhappy about NP policy. "He did not discuss it with me. He was an aspirant NP candidate."

Mr Kruger noted that NP district council chairman Mr Klaas Basson had been involved in a recent campaign in Maitland to stop moves for an "open" area.

Mr Kruger said he expected more NP members in Maitland to defect to the CP.

Outlining his reasons for leaving the NP, Mr Kruger said his main objection was that "the negotiation process has become more important than the position of white voters."

Arising from this was the squatter problem in Milnerton where the government had failed to take adequate steps to protect the white interests.

Mr Kruger also claimed there had been unhappiness among NP supporters in Maitland about Mr Kent Durr's performance as their MP. Mr Durr had been too busy with overseas tours and jobs under his Cabinet portfolio to attend to his constituents' affairs.

W 16-ARGUS
26/1/91

30/1/91

All eyes will watch President De Klerk on Friday for his next reform moves towards a 'new South Africa'. Will his speech at the opening of parliament be as bold and far-reaching as his historic announcements a year ago? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at some possibilities.



Weekend
FOCUS

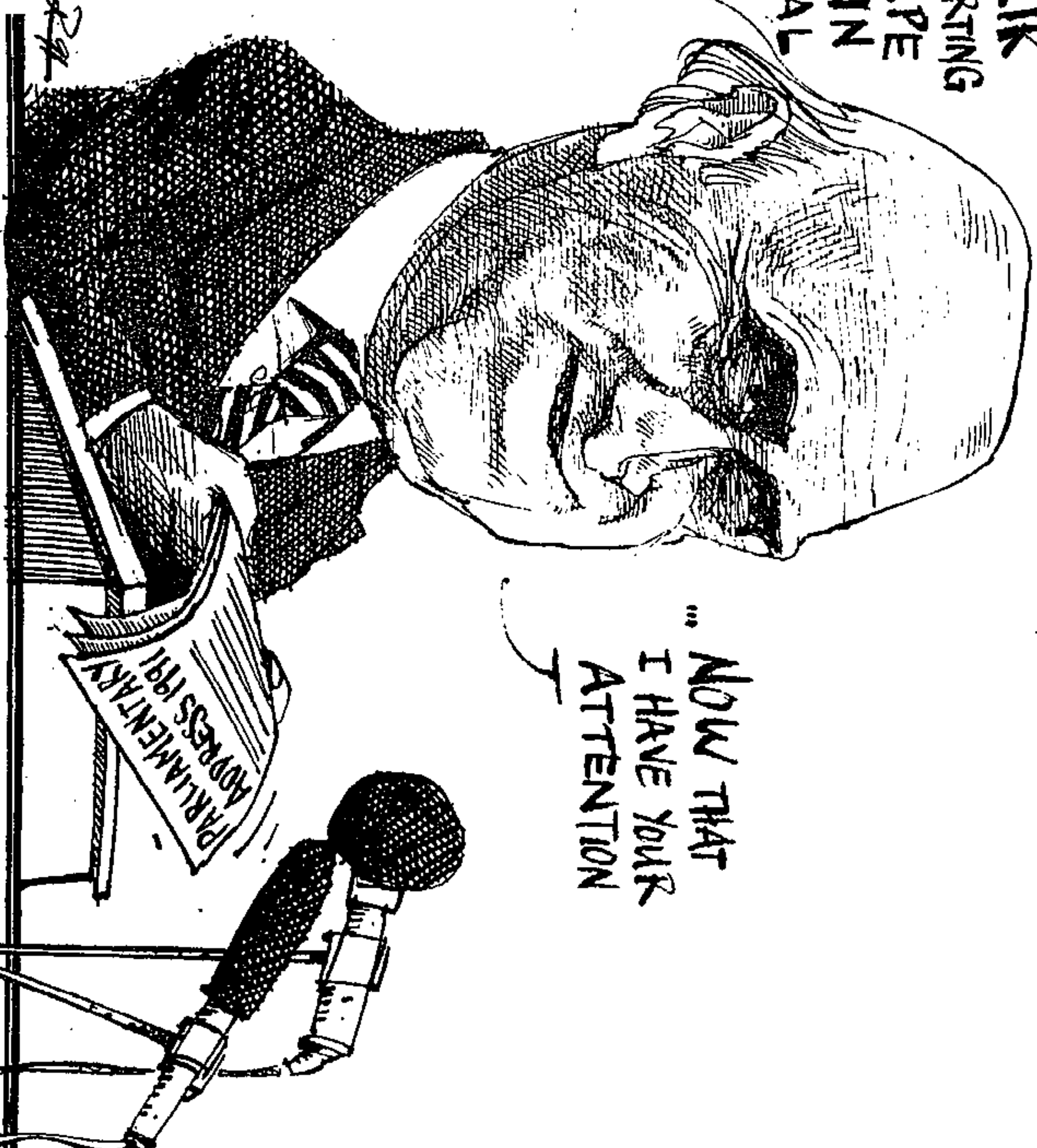
How will constitutional negotiations get going?

All eyes on F.W. for next reforms

THIS IS FREDERIK de KLERK REPORTING LIVE FROM CAPE TOWN FOR CNN INTERNATIONAL

... AHEN

... NOW THAT I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION



26/1/91
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THERE are certain issues President De Klerk cannot afford to ignore. One of these, according to political analysts, is the big question of what to do now to get viable constitutional negotiations off the ground.

Events show more will have to be done than the removal of remaining "obstacles" to negotiations. The big debate on how, by whom and under what conditions negotiations are to be conducted has hardly begun.

Political analyst Mr Mark Swilling expects President De Klerk will speak on Friday about the significance of the proposed all-party conference and may announce details and possible further moves.

Mr Swilling regards it as virtually inevitable that South Africa, whether it likes it or not, will move towards a constituent assembly and interim government.

The government's acceptance of an ANC proposal for a multiparty constitutional conference could be a breakthrough in this direction — although the government will not admit it, he said this week.

He expects the government will play down the issue by using new names for interim structures to be formed during negotiations.

Mr Swilling told Weekend Argus that few countries in transition — including Namibia — had been able to avoid the use of con-

stituent assemblies. In Namibia the South African government had not been against the principle of accepting one.

He expects the proposed multiparty conference will lead to the election of a constituent assembly or similar body — a step likely to be taken by way of a majority decision from the multiparty conference itself.

At this stage, however, it may be prudent for the government to save face by not deviating from its declared opposition to a constituent assembly and interim government.

The way Mr Swilling expects Mr De Klerk to handle the issue is to spell out the government's approval of a multiparty conference, and to say yes to the idea that such a conference will identify constitutional principles and possibly methods of negotiation.

THAT is probably as far as Mr De Klerk will go at this stage, but he may name some kind of interim structure, like a "constitutional chamber" or "interim administration" or something similar.

While the government may not want to be seen to back down from its rejection of a constituent assembly, it could hardly have escaped the message coming from black townships across the country: no settlement until there is a constituent assembly.

This also appears to be the main thrust of the countrywide campaign to be launched by the ANC on February 1 to coincide with the opening of parliament.

Mr Swilling has ventured to predict a possible timetable of events after February 1. His fast-moving scenario, if all goes well:

■ By April — removal of all the obstacles to negotiations. This to be followed by an all-party conference to discuss "constitutional principles";

■ By December — agreement on constitutional principles, including a decision on the election of a constituent assembly.

■ By mid-1992 — election of constituent assembly and formulation of a constitution. This to be followed by reconvening of the tricameral parliament to pass the new constitution, and to dissolve parliament to make way for a constituent assembly as the first non-racial and democratic legislature;

■ By late 1993 — the first general election under the new constitution.

However, there are other analysts who think it is not as simple as that. They believe a constituent assembly will bedevil negotiations and, therefore, the government is likely to stick to its guns on this issue.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch, this week gave as his "minimum expectations" for President De Klerk's speech:

■ To spell out the government's viewpoint on the question of a forum for negotiation, a multiparty conference, and a constituent assembly. He is likely to give the green light for a multiparty conference to go ahead, but is expected to reject the idea of a constituent assembly.

■ To announce the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and important changes for local government in the foreseeable future.

These, according to Professor Breytenbach, are issues Mr De Klerk can hardly avoid. In addition, he expects the President will deal with a

range of matters in the category of "hangovers" from the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

These include issues like political prisoners, the return of exiles, township violence, and the ANC's latest campaign for certain changes it seeks.

PROFESSOR Breytenbach believes there are good reasons why Mr De Klerk should not agree to a constituent assembly. The most important reason, the professor says, is that it will intensify the struggle between black groupings. This will lead to more instability at a time when sanctions against South Africa are about to be lifted. Such instability will discourage new investment after sanctions.

A move for a constituent assembly will also bedevil the negotiation process by making various groupings outbid one another on their "bottom lines" for negotiation. The aim will be to seek maximum public support, but in the process groupings on all sides will commit themselves to promises that will undercut the potential for mutual concessions and trade-offs during negotiations.

In seeking mass support with a view to maximum advantage in a constituent assembly, individual groupings will tend to adopt hardline or radical positions leading to tensions and instability.

"We can't afford this at a time of negotiation," Professor Breytenbach said.

On the issue of local government, he says there are already indications that the government is thinking on the lines of "one city, one tax base". However, at this stage it is unclear what new local government structures the government has in mind for the future.

South Africa and the Soviet Union have a great deal in common, says Professor Kamil Ivanov of Moscow State University, in an article in the authoritative Moscow journal, World Economics and International Relations. This account of the article was put out by the Soviet news agency, Novosti.



Russia/SA same under the skin

w/c Arkus 26/1/79

Prof draws attention to the many similarities

STALINISM is a totalitarian form of apartheid, bordering on the absurd. This unexpected pronouncement by Dr Boris Asoyan (former acting Soviet ambassador in Lesotho and recently-appointed ambassador to Botswana) is repeated at the beginning of Professor Kamil Ivanov's article. Essentially, apartheid was not only a policy of racial discrimination and state-sponsored terrorism, he says, it was also a bureaucratic system of centralised economic regulation.

The causes of the emergence on two different continents of almost look-alike bureaucratic systems lie in the "genetic code of the history of the two countries". Kamil Ivanov writes. "It is true that violence was the midwife of the history of Russia and South Africa."

Non-economic coercion was nearly a national tradition of Russian and South African societies.

Before the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the Russian peasants, just as the Africans at the time of the first Boer republics (the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century), could not make any economic deals on their own.

Seasonal migration of peasants in pre-revolutionary Russia was akin to the shut-the-migration of Bantustan residents to the "white regions" in modern South Africa.

YET another similarity in the economic structures of the two countries is feudalism of State ownership and State control. Russian economist Nikolai Berdyaev noted many similarities between Soviet Russia in the 1920s and pre-revolutionary Russia: the excessive role of the state, rigid centralism and the existence of a privileged bureaucratic class.

Professor Ivanov writes that the same tendencies became widespread in South Africa after the National Party came to power in 1948.

Its continuous rule, for a long time without any real opposition, was an extremely rare phenomenon in the capitalist world. As one researcher said, an elephant-like State sector developed in a short space of time and in 1986 it consumed 38 percent of all capital investment, while accounting for as little as four percent of the entire accumulation fund.

Overwhelming State control over the

black economy in South Africa can only be compared with the Stalinist model of bar-rack-room socialism. All totalitarian regimes behave in the same way: they may use the colour of the skin or nationality as a pretext for declaring their opponents "enemies of the people."

BOTH the Soviet and South African regimes made the peasants the main target of their reform experiments. In the USSR Stalin created collective farms (Kolkhozi), which peasants could not leave, without official permission, to ensure a constant supply of labour, while the South African regime created the Bantustans for the same purpose.

It is the use of labour resources that makes the Stalinist regime most closely resemble the apartheid system.

Both systems are based on the state monopoly on industrial relations and employment policies, which has produced organisations that are amazingly similar in appearance.

At the top of the pyramid of employment regulation was the unpaid work of political prisoners. Like the Soviet gulag system, the South African prison administration made convicts toil on white farms.

Yet another common practice for both countries was the system of employment that required employees, tempted by rather high pay, to sign an obligation not to change their place of employment for a specific period.

According to Professor Ivanov, the Soviet shock-work construction projects resembled the system of compounds in the gold-mining industry in South Africa.

Professor Ivanov believes that yet another similarity between the Soviet Union and South Africa is the existence of a vast mass of low-paid workers and a very small number of high-paid people in both countries.

In the Soviet Union, poverty is the result of the egalitarian policy of wage-leveling, which is being changed slowly and with great difficulty, while in South Africa the dismantling of the most outrageous structures of State control as a result of the erosion of the apartheid system also fails to produce instant improvements.

A PARTHEID as a system of non-economic State regulation of the black labour market no longer meets the strategic interests of the majority of the white population in South Africa. Some African ruling circles demonstrate an obvious tendency to adopt a more realistic policy. No wonder President De Klerk is called the "South African Gorbachev".

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela and legalisation of the African National Congress may be compared to the Soviet policy of rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist terror.

The state of the South African and Soviet economies reveals the greatest number of similarities. The best known fact is that both countries are the world's largest gold producers. And, both countries increasingly realise the negative effect of raw material exports (gold from South Africa and oil and gas from the USSR) on their economic relations with other countries.

One can draw some parallels between the COCOM restrictions on the sale of high technology to the USSR and the international sanctions against South Africa. Both have contributed to the let-up of economic growth rates in the Soviet Union and South Africa, though it was not the decisive factor.

Professor Ivanov believes that it is not accidental that the Soviet Union and South Africa have close GNP per capita levels. Expert estimates show that the average per capita GNP in the USSR is 30-50 per-

cent higher than that of South Africa. It is an indisputable fact that both countries belong to the same group in terms of their development; neither the Soviet Union nor South Africa is an industrialised nation by international standards.

The amazing similarity of major elements of economic development of the Soviet Union and South Africa and the awareness by the mass of people in both countries of the need for reforms could not fail to affect their reform programmes.

With the exception of questions concerning apartheid, the various plans for economic reform in South Africa are little different from the Soviet economic reform programmes. All South African reform plans envisage a fairer sharing out of wealth and incomes between the white and black communities and the most controversial issue is that of the role of the state sector.

Discussing the influence of the Soviet policy of perestroika on the programme of the South African communists, Professor Ivanov writes that previously the latter visualised the future South African economy as a centralised economy close to the Soviet model, whereas the latest programme approved by the South Africa Communist Party (SACP) envisages an economic model with elements of planning and market principles.

THE programme says that workers should have a major role to play in managing enterprises on the basis of democratic ownership and, at the same time, demands state guarantees to protect private business.

The economic reform programmes in the Soviet Union and South Africa accord a great significance to the question of optimum level of state ownership. Yet, denationalisation poses different problems for the two countries.

In the Soviet Union denationalisation will affect all aspects of economic activity, whereas in South Africa privatisation of some industries will be accompanied by re-orientation of State investment to other.

The Soviet author considers the declaration of State monopoly in foreign trade in South Africa an historical anachronism if not an experiment that will inevitably fail.

ONE word is notably missing from the vocabulary of negotiation so painfully built up during the past year. That word is "liberty".

The debate began a year ago, *mea culpa*, with nationalisation, moved on wealth redistribution, touched on wealth creation, and eventually settled on affirmative action, sometimes called "reparations".

It resolved nothing, but the ANC did become a bit shame-faced about nationalisation, and the government about poverty. The ANC promised to limit its appetite for other people's property and the government put up £2 billion for good works, setting an example that some corporations have allowed.

Beneath this, however, lie the hidden agendas. The ANC is obsessed with power, the National Party with security, and many black people are doing their best to emulate the greed or which white South Africans are notorious. Soweto's elite, ostentatious and flashy, has simply adopted the creed of the kugel: "I want". To the angry young, the future South Africa appears as Rome did to the Visigoths: a chance or looting. The whites, fearfully angling on to their riches, grow more careful.

Laurens van der Post, appalled by this array of tawdry concerns, has berated Nelson Mandela for lack of vision, but I don't think that's fair. In Mr Mandela's pronouncements, as in those of other ANC leaders, I discern that most insatiable of passions: the lust for power to do good.

Because they are determined to do good, but unsure how, the ANC leaders are driving for unfettered power, with relentless consistency they reject any democratic mechanism that might hamper their good works. And they are too ignorant, or too sure of their own virtue, to recognise this as classical totalitarianism.

FEDERALISM is rejected, ostensibly because it may entrench remnants of white racism. The argument is of course absurd, because there is no part of the country in which whites are not a minority; it is also mendacious, because the ANC's real fear is that Natal might become a base from which Inkatha would oppose its policies.

Free speech is rejected, ostensibly on the grounds that racists must not be permitted to preach racism, an argument whose superficial attraction conceals the need to define racism and

KEN OWEN



racists, just as the Suppression of Communism Act tried to define communism and communists.

The ANC leaders know, better than most, that the Suppression of Communism Act became the pivot of all subsequent oppressive legislation, and they know, too, that the effect of a law to suppress racism will simply be to drive racism underground, where it will flourish unchallenged by rational thought.

Having dealt thus with potential critics, the ANC sets about shaking off other restraints. It is consistent in its refusal to define "the mix" of a mixed economy, or to insert into a bill of rights the protection of private property. Albie Sachs says he believes in one man, one house and one man, one car, but that doesn't take us much further.

Nor will Joe Slovo offer a definition. Instead he offers the excuse that the ANC was far too busy putting bombs in Winpy bars to think about economics. (That at least is true: I recently heard one of the more prominent ANC economists confess he couldn't imagine what happened at the Reserve Bank.)

But Slovo is not inhibited by his self-confessed incompetence in economics — he still argues fiercely for state intervention in the economy, refusing to define his programme more precisely on the grounds that he hasn't yet reached that chapter of the book.

The excuses of ignorance and unpreparedness may suffice in economics, but they fail Slovo, a lawyer, when he also refuses to define in a constitution the limits of any special powers which a future government

may invoke in a state of emergency. "Too idealistic," he said in a debate with the liberal Professor John Dugard of Wits. He'll make up emergency measures as he goes along, like John Vorster.

A pattern emerges from all this, a pattern familiar to those of us who watched Vorster go about his systematic violation of the common law: nothing must be permitted to stand in the way of the "sovereign parliament", acting in the name of "the people". That is the creed of the totalitarian.

On the other hand, the National Party doesn't have much to say about liberty either. Its concern is, as it always has been, the survival of the white Afrikaners. On the liberty of the individual, it is lukewarm, or silent. This is a pity, because the intellec-

tual failures of the ANC offer the Nationalists a rare opportunity to seize the ideals of liberation and to build their own broad South Africanism on that base. So far, they have done no more than formally open their ranks to other races.

To raise the banner of liberty would, of course, create difficulties. It is not possible to preach free speech and retain the restrictions of the Police Act, the Defence Act, the Prisons Act and so forth; it is not possible to talk of law while failing to prosecute the killer squads in the SADF and the SAP; it is not possible to talk of liberty without talking of equality, and of justice. It is not possible to talk of freedom under a system of coercion.

MEANWHILE, it is difficult to escape the suspicion that what President F W de Klerk really wants is not so much a democratic South Africa as an effective Afrikaner veto, and that he will not yield up power to the ANC on any other basis. That suspicion must linger until the National Party takes up the vocabulary of liberty.

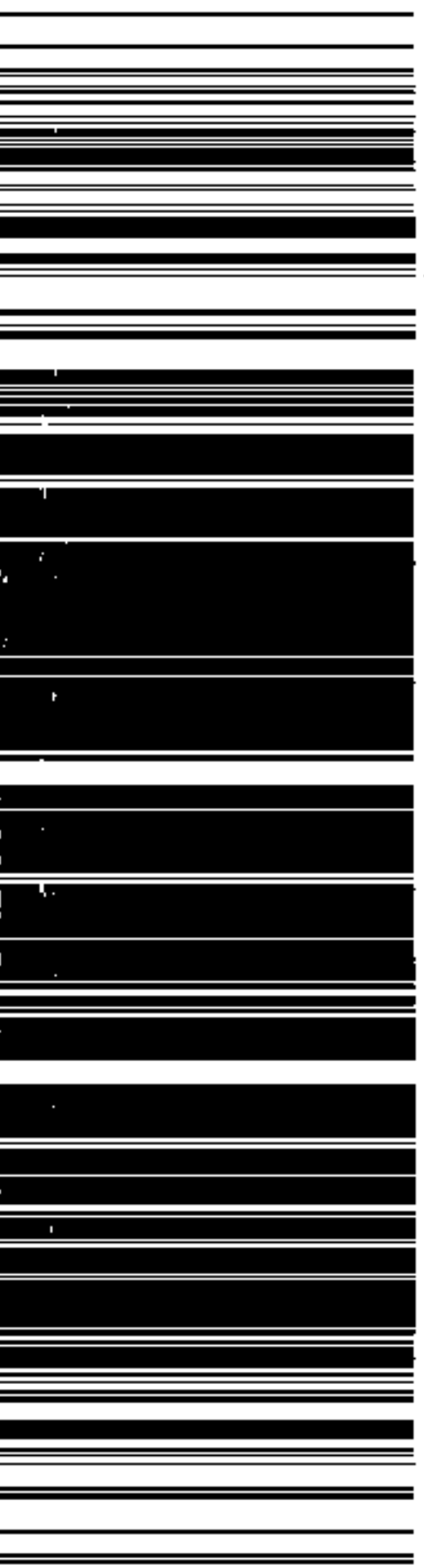
So the task fails, once again, to the powerless liberal minority, now utterly disorganised by the unhappy conversion of the PFP into the DP

coalition of Worrallites, Malanites, old Progs and ANC groupies. Sadly, the departure of Harry Schwarz as ambassador to Washington deprives the DP of its one coherent political theorist, a social democrat, leaving it to perform such useful but minor tasks as pointing out the insensitivity of a cabinet meeting on Robben Island.

IN the United States, the turmoil of liberation and the challenge of creating a new state threw up men like Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and John Adams, to uphold the cause of liberty, and to fashion a new democracy. They had fought a better war than Joe Slovo, but that did not prevent them from thinking carefully, and in detail, about the nature of government.

They began, more or less, by defining the proper basis of government — that all men are born equal and that each of them, individually, is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights — and they set out to secure those rights against the tyranny of government.

By comparison, this country is an intellectual desert. It has so far thrown up only demands for power and wealth. Our distinguishing national characteristic, alas, is a venal materialism.



Workers hit at SACC 'no pay' stand

Cl Pros 27/1/91

304

WCC made redundant

By LULAMA LUTI

THE South African Council of Churches and its Witwatersrand region were locked in a wage dispute this week amid rising fears that essential community projects could grind to a halt.

About 25 staff members on Friday picketed Khotso House, protesting that the church organisation was not giving them a fair deal.

The workers said the SACC was known for its vociferous attacks on unfair practices but it acted in an unfair manner towards them.

They have threatened the church organisation with Industrial Court action if the SACC does not pay them.

In all 48 workers of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC) have not been paid this month and they allege the SACC said in a directive that

funds would be stopped from January.

A spokesman for the workers said the SACC had cut all funds to the WCC, "rendering the organisation redundant".

The spokesman said the SACC was involved in a squabble with the executive council of the WCC, an independent body of ministers appointed to administer and allocate funds to the various WCC departments.

SACC administrative secretary Rev Francois Bill said his organisation was not responsible for the WCC and there was no way they were going to pay the salaries.

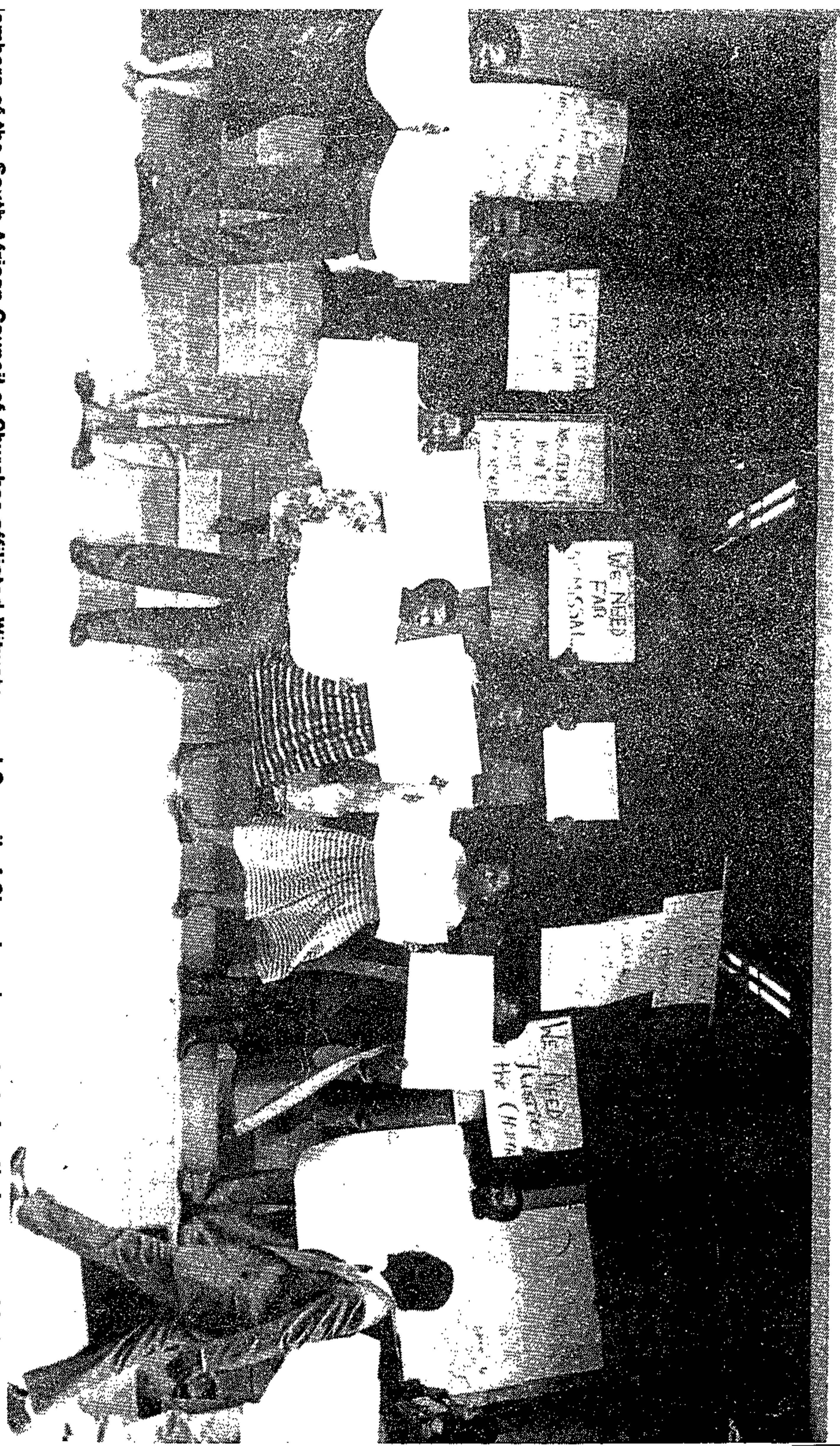
"We are not responsible for the WCC. We never elected them and we have no contract with them. The staff members are picketing the wrong people," he said.

Rev Bill said the SACC funded 23 regions throughout the country, each an autonomous body controlled by an executive committee.

"We fund these regions through the executive committees who employ their own staff. We have had problems with the people in the authority of the WCC in that they have not been able to account for funds allocated to them.

"Their reports had been unsatisfactory and we set a December 20 deadline for them to put their house in order. We gave them enough time to do this and it's a pity that workers are now the victims of their non-accountability," he said.

27/11/91
KHOOTSO HOUSE
(504)



Members of the South African Council of Churches-affiliated Witwatersrand Council of Churches demonstrate for their pay outside Khootso House in Johannesburg.

Man with a mission

CIP News 27/1/91 (304A)
Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo has emerged from the political wilderness to launch the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. The task of the institute, according to Dhlomo, would be to safeguard democracy.

Special Correspondent

JUST what is Oscar Dhlomo up to? This was the question on the lips of many people when this influential politician and academic resigned as secretary-general of Inkatha last year.

Speculation grew as Dhlomo turned down several offers – including that of South African ambassador to the US.

This question has now been answered. Dhlomo will soon be launching the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

About declining the post of ambassador, Dhlomo said: "My feeling was that there is more work to be done in South Africa than abroad."

"The situation overseas has normalised thanks to the initiatives of De Klerk and Mandela."

Over recent months he has studied the viability of an institute to promote the concept of multi-party democracy.

This study has now been completed and he is working full-steam to establish the institute.

How did he go about it and what does he want to achieve?

"The study consisted of a think-tank involving academics, community leaders, businessmen and politicians."

"They assisted me in drawing up basic guide-

All voices must be heard – Dhlomo

lines, and we agreed on a blueprint."

Dhlomo spoke to, among others, Prof Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner-Volkswag, Dr Andries Treurnicht of the CP, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the ANC, the PAC, the SACP, Azapo, Inkatha, Cosatu and Nactu.

"They were very recep-



Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo ... determined to make SA a safe place for democracy. (304A)

tive and open to my ideas," he said.

"The result was overwhelming support for a multi-party democracy – even from the SACP."

Dhlomo said the initial

task of the institute would be to ensure that democracy meant the same thing to everybody.

"We will then draw up a bill and circulate it among the main actors

for approval so they can conduct their politics accordingly."

When will the wheels start rolling?

"Soon. Much will depend on financial support,

but we are in the process. We have already advertised positions. The head office will be in Johannesburg, with branches in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

"We have recently constituted a board of trustees which includes the whole spectrum of South Africans."

Well-known names on the board of trustees of 35 people include Dr Simon Brand, Prof Herman Gilmore, Bobby Godsell, Prof Hennie Kotze, Dr Ester Lategan, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Don Neube, Prof Harriet Ngubane, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, journalist Nomavenda Mathiane, Dr Saths Cooper, Sally Motlana, Dr Richard van der Ross and Prof Herbert Vilikazi.

What exactly is a multi-party democracy?

"A multi-party democracy is a system which can be described by a word which is not very popular here because of our history – namely pluralism."

"Political pluralism – which means everybody is free to propagate their political convictions and organise around them without hindering people who hold opposing views."

"The basic principle is that a society characterised by variety is much richer than a society which is uniform in its ideological orientation and conduct."

"Variety is strength. People who favour a variety of political views should not only be tolerated, but should be acknowledged and protected. They should not be persecuted for their convictions. There is political tolerance within a multi-party democracy."

"We must safeguard

the country for democracy. We must ensure that democracy will be maintained for ever."

"Admittedly we have a long way to go, but the challenge is to start walking along that road. We have no illusions that we can complete the journey in our lifetime because ideas, traditions and habits take a long time to grow."

"It is more difficult in this country because we come from a divided past. We have no common heritage or ideals, we have never had anything in common – not even our public holidays or national symbols."

Sounding every bit the reluctant politician, Dhlomo said he would have preferred to spend his life as an academic.

"I was ambitious in respect of my education. I was inspired by my late father, Isaac."

"I became a politician by accident. In 1977 I was asked to join the KwaZulu government. I turned down the offer without hesitation. However, my uncle persisted." He discussed it with his wife, who pointed out that Dhlomo agreed with Mangosuthu Buthe's rejection of homeland policy.

"Absolutely contrary to our plans we decided I should enter politics."

He won an election in Umbumbulu without resistance and became member of the Legislative Assembly of the KwaZulu government.

On his first day in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly he was appointed Minister of Education and Culture.

Six months later he was appointed secretary-general of Inkatha.

He held these positions for 12 years.

It's time for power-sharing, says former ace spy

51 Time 2-11-91 (304A)

SUPERSPY-turned-politician Craig Williamson, who has resigned from the President's Council, has a parting message for President FW de Klerk: some interim form of power-sharing has to be worked out now.

Mr Williamson believes the National Party, which he served as a President's Councillor from 1987 until his resignation late last year, is wrong to reject any form of interim government.

"One party can't have sole monopoly on power," he said in an interview.

He said the government was wrong to reject an interim form of power-sharing, as was the ANC in insisting on an elected constituent assembly and

By MIKE ROBERTSON

an interim government on its terms.

"You don't have to agree with them, but you cannot write the ANC off as it is probably the most important black political organisation," he said.

Business

He also believed that the President's Council had "done its job" and no longer had a useful role to play.

Now that negotiations on a new constitution were imminent was his view that "people like myself who were at the sharp end

of conflict are not the most suitable to do what has to be done. The hard guys of the past who were busy killing each other are not the best people to be involved in negotiations.

"I don't think the Craig Williamsons of the world are the best people to have at the negotiating table. They have done their jobs. It's time for all of them to retire."

Mr Williamson said that no longer being a public representative of the National Party allowed him the freedom to criticise the government.

He said he would now

devote more attention to his "thriving" business concerns, which were concentrated on trade with African countries.

He said he dealt in sea food, timber, iron and steel and "things I am not allowed to talk about and things which you will get into trouble for if you write about them".

Mr Williamson infiltrated the ANC in the 1970s and was appointed to the President's Council in 1987 after resigning from the police force in 1985.

He unsuccessfully contested the Bryanston constituency for the NP in 1987 and Ermelo in 1989.



OPTIMISTIC: Nat recruit Dougie Poonan, who is ready to face the music

More firsts for mixed-race NP

8/ Times 27/1/91 304A

By BOETI ESHAK

THE National Party has scored two firsts in a CP-controlled Eastern Transvaal town.

The party signed on its first ever Indian member. Then it held its first meeting in a black area.

Financial consultant Dougie Poonan, 54, from Eastdene in Middelburg, became the first Indian to register with the NP when he officially joined the party on November 2 last year.

Then last week he organised the first NP meeting in the town's Eastdene Community Centre, which was attended by high-ranking party officials, including deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

Mr Poonan, a retired school principal and father of three boys, is also the chairman of the local Indian management committee.

"I joined the NP because I realise the changes announced by President F W de Klerk will be far-reaching and irreversible," Mr Poonan said.

"I have become disillusioned with the criminal element and the

politically uneducated on the left and right of the political spectrum — particularly those who resort to violence, murder, rape and armed robbery to achieve their objectives.

"However, I am optimistic that with the opening of parliament next week further reform measures will come under the hammer — the repeal of apartheid legislation and the Group Areas Act.

"I am also convinced that law and order will be restored in the townships."

However, being a member of the NP could have its disadvantages. Mr Poonan is certain to be expelled from his post of assistant secretary of the Eastern Transvaal Tennis Association.

The ETTA is a member of the Tennis Association of South Africa, an affiliate of the hard-line Sacos.

"I realise it is not going to be easy," he said. "I will be getting flak from Sacos and the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal, but I will explain my decision.

"I have the courage of my convictions."

Idasa hosts multi-party discussion

THE Durban branch of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) has organised a discussion on Friday, the day Parliament opens.

Speakers from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC, PAC and Cosatu will debate the issue of what some observers believe will be the opening of the country's last white Parliament.

Idasa hopes the meeting will give a voice to those who cannot respond in Parliament to State President FW de Klerk's opening speech.

The discussion will come two days after the projected peace meeting between Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela and, say the organisers, De Klerk will be "on trial".

Announcing the meeting, Idasa said: "The opening of Parliament is an opportunity for the State President to outline the government's direction for the Parliamentary session. Last year De Klerk used the opportunity to urban organisations and agree to engage in

talks about a new constitution for South Africa.

"A year later, with levels of violence high, little movement on the fate of the majority of exiles and political prisoners, and heightened expectations

that the remainder of apartheid legislation will be removed, this year is again seen as a key opportunity for De Klerk.

"One thing has not changed. Some groups cannot reply in Parliament."

"We invite you to listen to the State President and an initial response from some of those outside the present constitution."

First there will be a direct broadcast of De Klerk's speech as he opens the session - then the respective delegates will be called upon for comment and discussion of the speech.

SJ Mhlungu will represent the Inkatha Freedom Party; the ANC has still to announce its representative; Dr Sulvy Saman will speak for PAC; Cosatu's representative will be Thami Mhlomi, and the SACP spokesman will be Dikobe Ben Martins. - Sapa

FEBRUARY has been a good month for President FW de Klerk. Two years ago, on February 2, 1988, he narrowly defeated Barend du Plessis to become the leader of the National Party.

Exactly a year later he delivered a watershed speech which overnight transformed the political landscape in South Africa. But next Friday, February 1, he faces perhaps his toughest challenge yet.

A virtuoso performance is always a difficult act to follow — more so when it is your own.

Which is no doubt why cabinet ministers last week went out of their way to dampen expectations of Mr De Klerk's opening of parliament speech on Friday.

Mr De Klerk, in some ways, stole his own thunder by signalling on several occasions in the past year that the Group Areas and Land acts would be repealed this session (imagine the orgy of excitement that would have accompanied such announcements had they been made by any of his predecessors).

But more than this, the president is also a victim of his own success. He and, to a much greater extent,

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

Building a new South Africa, and this includes new education, health and social welfare systems, the vexing question of land allocation and even future economic policy are subjects for negotiation.

To deliver on these issues, the National Party needs the consent and co-operation of its negotiating partners.

It has rejected the ANC's call for an interim government, but ministers readily concede that any decision of lasting consequence requires input from negotiating partners. Reality dictates that some interim form of power sharing is not only desirable but necessary.

some of his more myopic colleagues might deny it until they are blue in the face. But the reality is that there are very few decisions of major significance that can now be taken without consulting and involving the very people who just a year ago were still jailed, banned or languishing in exile.

Being the government of the day, the task of removing the remaining pillars of their failed apartheid system falls to Mr De Klerk and his colleagues.

defence budget has again been slashed, as has that of the Department of Trade and Industry.

Black education will be a big beneficiary and another large contribution to Jan Steyn's independent fund can be expected.

Mr De Klerk is unlikely to mention it this week, but any assessment of this parliamentary session would be remiss in not mentioning a Cabinet re-shuffle.

One cabinet minister said this week it was "highly likely" but not yet "probable" that up to five senior ministers would leave the cabinet to represent the NP in negotiations.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has denied he will be one. No firm decisions have been made but it is almost certain that Viljoen will be one of the five. For the rest, senior NP members are looking for provincial leaders such as Barend du Plessis, Dawie de Villiers and Kobie Coetsee to be involved.

This, however, raises new problems in replacing them. Du Plessis is understood to have told his staff this year's will be his last Budget. The problem is that within the ranks of the NP there is no obvious replacement for him.

Can FW pull more rabbits from his hat?

ty to produce out of the hat rabbits as remarkable as those he did last year is constrained.

Some of his ministers, admittedly not those charged with controlling either the white or national education departments, are prepared to say — on an off-the-record basis — that race is not a criterion on which admission to schools can in future be determined.

This is a leap of faith from even the existing policy which has seen some white schools opened after an overwhelming majority of parents voted in favour.

Mr De Klerk could on Friday earn more kudos by declaring an intention to have one education ministry. But when it comes to deciding what powers this ministry should have, he is hamstrung by the fact that it is dependent on whatever is agreed on as the new

constitutional dispensation for SA. Just as important, it is also dependent on what is acceptable in the interim to those negotiating the new constitution.

Which is why Mr De Klerk can be expected to place much emphasis on the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) which, while it is now accepted as having been proposed by the ANC, is precisely the format suggested as a negotiating mechanism by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen all along.

The government's hope is that after a successful first meeting the MPC will evolve into not only the negotiating mechanism but also a body via which parties such as the ANC and Inkatha can influence decisions taken in the interim at the executive levels (in other words

interim government without calling it as such).

Even allowing for these constraints, Mr De Klerk's speech will not be lacking in substance.

The scrapping of the Group Areas and Land Acts will free President George Bush to begin undoing parts of America's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Their demise would have seen four of the five conditions for the lifting of restrictive measures fulfilled, allowing him the discretion to do away with some. The fifth condition is the repeal of the Population Registration Act, which cannot be done in its entirety as long as the present constitution is in place.

There are questions, however, as to whether Bush, pre-occupied as he is with the Gulf War, would be prepared to turn his attention to South Africa.

Perhaps for this reason there



President de Klerk — challenge

has been persistent speculation among the diplomatic community in Cape Town that Mr De Klerk will repeal all but those parts of the Act necessary for the functioning of the present parliament in the hope that this would be sufficient to trigger the automatic lifting of US restrictive measures.

This session is also likely to see the passage of important economic bills, not least the Budget in which the government can be expected to divert even more resources to correcting apartheid imbalances. The

AS WE approach the first anniversary of the presidential speech that signalled the sharp turn in SA's political direction, one thing is most apparent.

This is that the formal aspects of the peace process — where most difficulty was expected — have been, or are being, handled relatively smoothly. The most serious problems — the incipient and actual anarchy in the streets — were hardly foreseen.

The peace process as envisaged consisted of the dismantling of apartheid, the elimination of obstacles to negotiation, and establishing the ground rules — the issues for which President F W de Klerk deliberately set the stage last February 2. Fourteen days later, at a specially convened national executive meeting in Lusaka, De Klerk's main adversary, the ANC, took up the challenge by agreeing in principle to return for talks.

From then on — not without hiccoughs — each made regular considered strategic decisions which took the process further. Concessions were made all along the line, but the parties always tried to ensure these did not leave their backs unguarded.

The first top-level meeting between the two parties at Groote Schuur was delayed for a month because of ANC rank-and-file protests at the March 25 Sebokeng shootings. That was a useful lesson for the ANC leadership to deal once and for all with the old kneejerk "boycott" reaction to any problem. Since then, Nelson Mandela in particular has been at pains to convince his followers that any further such delays do not suit the ANC's interests. Similar rumblings from advocates of disengagement during the September/October violence were dismissed.

The Groote Schuur meeting served two other purposes — it began the process of devising rules for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and it started the ANC thinking about formally suspending the armed struggle. When the Pretoria Minute was signed those rules were agreed to and the

Will the troops break ranks in the march of change?

13/00w 28/1/91.

ALAN FINE

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ANC suspended armed action.

But the minute fudged some questions — like the definition of "related activities" (to armed action) — and the linkage between the release of prisoners and agreement on that definition. That fudging, to facilitate a demonstration of quick progress to the outside world on August 6, later cost the ANC leadership dearly in its relationship with prisoners and exiles.

Disagreements on interpretation led to delays which caused resentment to build up in political prisons and among refugees. That was not the only issue over which the ANC leadership either moved too fast for followers or, perhaps, failed them. It took anger in the ranks at the ANC's December consultative conference to demonstrate to the NP that too much politicking could shift the balance of power in the ANC towards more radical elements.

In its dealings with its own following the NP leadership, with the advantage of foresight, was better prepared almost every step of the way. It had more time to prepare itself, and had already decided it was prepared to jettison into the hands of the CP those supporters who would not be taken along.

While more hiccoughs are inevitable, the stage has now been reached

where, within months, the formal aspects of the peace process can proceed. That does not mean, however, that there will be peace.

The greatest threats to peace come from those who were, before last February 2, the "shock troops" on all sides. They now present as great a danger to their own leaders as to the old enemy.

The troops include those who once held the frontline in protecting apartheid — elements of the security forces — and those who most energetically fought against them, predominantly the young comrades in the townships. Then there are those described variously as vigilantes (often said to be aided by the police) or defenders of the (Zulu) realm, depending on your perspective.

A new category of destabiliser is the heavily armed criminal, possibly a member of a gang, operating without any apparent political motive but — as in the recent Sebokeng massacre — coming into conflict with political forces on the ground. Anyone who pretends to know exactly how these different groups are operating and interacting is being disingenuous. But there are suffi-

cient signs to support worst fears.

In many areas, groups of young people operate purportedly in support of the ANC but answerable to no one. If and when the full story of Sebokeng emerges, it could show that it was a conflict between a purely criminal mafia and a supposedly political one, each trying to assert control. And Sebokeng, sources say, was just the tip of the iceberg. Political tolerance is a meaningless concept to much of this stratum.

This is not to suggest it is a problem applying to the ANC alone. PAC and Azapo supporters — whose leaders are most inclined to indulge in war talk — have become embroiled in it. But because of its larger numbers, it is most apparent where the ANC is concerned.

The one consolation is that the crisis is being recognised as such by some ANC leaders, although it is open to question whether sufficient energy is being devoted to remedying it. The problem was highlighted in the NEC's 79th anniversary message, and the elder statesmen of the ANC — the likes of Mandela and Walter Sisulu — are making increasingly frequent references to it.

The ANC/Inkatha meeting scheduled for tomorrow may be the beginning of a solution to that facet of SA's political violence. But those wounds

run deep, and there are many local and national political sensitivities at stake. Mangosuthu Buthe's threat to reconsider his attendance because of an anti-Kwazulu statement by the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralea) suggests he, too, has much to learn about the line between political debate and coercion.

The role of a so-called "third force" is the most difficult of all these patterns of violence to discern. The Goldstone report and the Neethling vs Vrye Weekblad case notwithstanding, proof has been difficult to come by. Have the police sought information energetically enough, or are conservative elements in the security forces — as in the Soviet Union — trying to block reform while the political leadership lacks the power to stop them?

Either way, large sections of the public have lost faith in the ability of the security forces to police themselves.

Unscrambling this violent mess may prove impossible, and at some stage it could seriously endanger the negotiating process rather than just delay it, as it has done until now.

Increased social spending — government's prescription discussed on this page on Friday — may be part of the answer, but is no more the entire solution than was P W Botha's total strategy. Nor is simplistically equalising political protest with intimidation (although the ANC and its allies have an extra obligation to ensure its more spirited supporters do not use protest as a licence for coercion).

Another part of the solution is to ask whether concerted disciplinary efforts by the political parties and government departments involved. Imposing law and order is also part of the solution. But this includes establishing the legitimacy of the security forces, and that requires broader political control — which is where some form of interim government, or power sharing, comes in. Finally, although neither side yet has any real concept of a non-partisan security force, it is a lesson that will have to be learned. It is an essential pillar of a democracy.

Respect should be foundation of democracy

Sowetan
28/1/91
304A

ONE of the building blocks of the new South Africa would be respect for one another's viewpoints, which was also the foundation of democracy, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan said on Saturday.

"It is therefore necessary that content and correct interpretation be given to the concept of democracy. We must know exactly what we mean when we talk about democracy," he said while opening the Central Karoo Show.

This also meant that all the players would accept responsibility for the future. Freedom without the corresponding responsibility easily turned into licentiousness and anarchy.

Sensible

"I believe all sensible and reasonable people, who form the backbone of stability and progress in South Africa, will not allow the country to be dumped into a state of chaos and anarchy."

The new South Africa, which should come a step closer this year, should be better than the "old", better than the "old".

Sapa.

US 'cautiously optimistic' on SA deadlock

304A

Political *Jan 29/1/91*.
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The US government is "cautiously optimistic" that the deadlock in Government/ANC talks will be overcome, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said yesterday at a press briefing.

He is in Cape Town for a meeting today of the Joint Commission monitoring the Angola/Namibia peace agreements.

Mr Cohen said that over the last few months he had begun to think the peace process and political reform in South Africa were bogged down.

There had been an over-emphasis in the ANC on the armed struggle and on the need for the SA Government to make more concessions.

On the Government

side there had been an "over-judicial" approach to the preconditions for negotiations.

But after holding discussions in South Africa over the last few days, he felt both the Government and ANC were committed to moving ahead and would overcome the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

He was cautiously optimistic they would succeed.

The Government had a brief "window of opportunity" until October to influence the Congress to lift sanctions, then the US would become engrossed in the first rounds of the 1992 presidential campaign.

He said that if President de Klerk repealed the Land Acts and Group Areas Act, and announced a multiparty conference, early this year, as expected, this would help to influence the Congress to lift sanctions.

Cosatu calls national stayaway for Friday

Sowetan 29/1/91

304A

By IKE MOTSAPI

A NATIONAL work stayaway has been called for this Friday - the opening of Parliament - to mark the first stage of the ANC's "mass action" campaign against apartheid.

Cosatu, an affiliate of the ANC, appealed to all people who are "dreaming for a just society" to join the stayaway.

Also on Friday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead the organisation's members in a march to the Parliament buildings in Cape Town to demand that President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet step down in favour of an interim government.

Mandela will demand that the Government agrees to hold elections for a constituent assembly which will draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

Cosatu has called for:

- * An interim government;
- * A constituent assembly;
- * The unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles;
- * The scrapping of all security legislation and an end to all political trials; and

* An end to violence.

In view of Friday's stayaway, it is no day to celebrate. For this reason *Sowetan* has decided that the special supplement which would have been published on Friday to celebrate our 10th birthday will now be published on Friday February 8. Don't miss it in *Sowetan* on Friday next week.

In a statement released after a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday Cosatu said it had noted with great concern the reluctance of the "South African Government to remove the obstacle towards negotiation".

Responsibility

The statement said: "The De Klerk regime is a creation of apartheid. It does not enjoy the confidence and support of our people.

"Such a Government cannot be trusted with the responsibility of managing the transition to a new democratic society. What is required is an interim government.

"The latter will create the necessary climate for a constituent assembly elected on a one-person one-vote basis," the statement added.

From NORMAN CHANDLER, The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Chaos reigned in Pretoria today as fighting broke out between police and farmers after thousands of disgruntled farmers brought the city to standstill by blocking roads.

Fighting started on the corner of Andries and Church streets in the middle of the city just after 8.40am. Police declared the area an unrest area and ordered everyone to leave.

The farmers stood their ground. Police moved in and arrested at least 50 farmers, bundling them into vans and cars, as fighting continued. Police brought in reinforcements and threatened to teargas farmers.

Major roads blocked

Using tractors, harvesters and other agricultural machinery, bakkies and large vehicles, the farmers today blocked off major roads as well as the Union Buildings and the city centre.

In pouring rain, motorists found their way in to town blocked from all sides by the biggest demonstration yet seen in Pretoria.

The farmers are protesting about their parlous financial state, brought about, they say, as a result of government agricultural policies.

The agricultural debt stands at more than R15 billion and the farmers maintain that high interest rates, a poor return on production costs, soaring input costs, and disquiet over land reform have contributed to their becoming "the nation's beggars."

Hundreds of cars were stranded in a huge traffic jam on the Ben Schoeman Highway from Johannesburg while rail and bus connections ran late as well.

Ms Alta Oberholzer, a Pretoria City Council spokesman, said: "The whole city centre has been barricaded. People are having to park outside the CBD and walk to their offices."

Municipal tow trucks fought in vain to get through to tow away hundreds of vehicles that had been parked across main thoroughfares.

Services paralysed

Services were paralysed. A dismayed ambulance driver, stuck in the traffic with a casualty, said he had been there for more than an hour.

People resorted to driving on pavements while others abandoned their cars.

One Brits farmer commented: "Can the city exist without agriculture? Can you people live without food? The farmers can't take this anymore. We have been trying to reach the Minister for years and today he will talk to us."

The Pretoria City Council was today trying to contact the organisers of the demonstration, Farmers' Crisis Action (FCA), to get them to withdraw their supporters and their vehicles from the city.

Farmers, who had earlier swamped the city with illegal placards reading "Farmers in Crisis", began gathering on main arterial roads into Pretoria from yesterday.

At Roolhuiskraal, just off the N1 freeway, and at Wag'n Bieje, near Brits, hundreds parked their vehicles to meet over braais and discuss tactics. Media representatives were not made welcome.

Shortly before midnight the vehicles began to move towards the city.

They parked strategically in the city centre and before dawn were in position across the main roads leading to the central business district. Chaos then ensued.

Memorandum

The FCA is hoping to later today present a memorandum to President De Klerk, or his representative, in which the farmers' grievances will be listed. They had earlier asked for a meeting with the President but by late yesterday no reply had been received.

The Office of the State President says the request was received only on Thursday, but this is disputed by the FCA which says it asked the South African Agricultural Union to request the meeting. The SAAU however declined to do so and the FCA then sent their own request on January 21.

All council's rules for mass action broken

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Farmers taking part in the protest action against the government's agricultural policies have broken virtually all the conditions set when the Pretoria City Council granted permission for the action.

A council spokesman said it was stipulated that the farmers might not disrupt traffic with heavy vehicles, that normal road and pedestrian traffic might not be disrupted, that there might be no obstructions in city streets, that all stipulations of the Road Traffic Ordinance be adhered to and that orders from traffic officers be strictly obeyed at all times.

The city council called on residents not to go to the city centre. Church Street was blocked by heavy vehicles from as far east as Eastwood Street and residents of eastern suburbs had no access to the city centre. No municipal buses ran to and from the eastern areas.

WARNING AGAINST MASS ACTION

In Cape Town, the minister in charge of white agriculture, Dr Kraai van Niekerk, has warned against the type of mass action causing chaos in Pretoria today, the Argus Political staff reports.

He said after meeting a South African Agricultural Union delegation last night that illicit actions could undermine the farmers' bargaining power.

Dr Van Niekerk urged farmers to co-operate with his department and the SAAU and its affiliates in the search for solutions to problems with which agriculture was wrestling.

He said he would study as soon as possible an SAAU memorandum appealing for extra aid.

Farmers battle police in Pretoria

Argus 21/1/91

3044

SA and Soviets keen to keep in contact

CAPE TOWN — SA and the Soviet Union favoured continued bilateral contacts once the multilateral Joint Commission talks on Angola/Namibia were finally wrapped up in June this year.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Soviet ambassador at large Vyacheslav Ustinov were positive about further meetings between their governments.

Botha described the idea of a possible longer-term quorum of nations currently involved in the Joint Commission talks — SA, Angola, Namibia, Cuba, the Soviet Union and the US — as "attractive to us".

Ustinov, who led a high-powered Soviet delegation in talks with the SA government ahead of today's Joint Commission meeting in Somerset West, said that further bilateral contacts were inevitable.

However, he emphasised it was up to the full members of the Joint Commission — SA, Namibia, Angola and Cuba — rather than those with observer status — the Soviet

Political Staff

Union and the US — to take the initiative.

"But we are prepared to continue meeting if this is agreed upon," he said.

Earlier, US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Hank Cohen said the US delegation that met an SA delegation led by Botha had come to the conclusion that there could be a ceasefire this year in both Angola and Mozambique.

Both Cohen and Botha said that the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola was on track and the process was expected to be completed on schedule in June this year. (304A)

The Joint Commission delegations attended a reception hosted by President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys last night.

Today's meeting will be the commission's last in SA. It will hold its final two meetings in Luanda and Havana during the first half of this year.



VAN ZYL SLABBERT

Politics affects fiscal policy

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE effects of politics on fiscal policy is the subject of a seminar today organised by the accounting and business advisory firm Price Waterhouse. The seminar will be held at the Milpark Holiday Inn.

The director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and Price Waterhouse national tax director Mr Chris Frame will be keynote speakers.

According to Frame, the seminar was prompted by the perceived need for the business community to be better informed about the potential impact of political changes on fiscal policies in the next few years.

"South African companies need to be cognisant of how their businesses may be affected, adversely or positively, in a rapidly changing political environment," Frame said.

A limited number of delegates will be admitted to the seminar. Registration will start at 2.30pm. Contact Shelagh Smith on (011) 836-3111 for further details.

FW urged to reject interim government call

Political Reporter

Three right-wing organisations have asked F.W. de Klerk to turn down demands for an interim government.

Orde Boerevolk yesterday called on Mr de Klerk to hold a referendum to choose either a volkstaat or a unitary state.

The call was backed by the Transvaal Separatists and the Solidarity Party.

In a statement, the organisation said: "Only when the people's views have been tested can our leaders negotiate with other groups about a volkstaat or a unitary state."

The organisation also undertook to stop the hunger strike of four rightwingers if the Government would allow a delegation of Orde Boerevolk leaders to meet them.

Bold steps expected from De Klerk

TOS WENTZEL on the
Presidency

A BOLD new government approach to local government aimed at creating joint, nonracial structures in towns and cities is expected to be one of the main features of President De Klerk's speech when he opens parliament on Friday.

He is also expected to announce a thorough overhaul of security legislation and will confirm that the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts are being scrapped.

Measures to give local authorities powers to enforce existing standards after group areas have been scrapped are being considered.

POST-APARTHEID

While the government is keen for negotiations on a post-apartheid constitution to start soon, top Nationalists feel that the local government crisis must meanwhile enjoy top priority.

Black local government structures have collapsed in many areas, there are pressures on remaining councillors to resign with the ANC calling for elections and there are serious problems arising from rent and electricity boycotts.

A government initiative on these problems is now urgently needed according to Nationalist politicians.

They therefore expect this to be one of the main features of Mr De Klerk's speech exactly a year after the unbanning of organisations and the start of moves in the direction of a new South Africa.

In his opening speech Mr De Klerk is expected to elaborate on a statement last month that the necessity to end the fragmentation of local government on racial grounds had been accepted by the government.

He then said that considerable progress had been made with the planning of a new system that would acknowledge the principle of "one city, one tax basis".

He envisaged interim steps and negotiation initiatives aimed at the speedy institution of joint local management systems for all communities in towns and cities.

It appears as if the government will at this stage propose metropolitan boards in which representatives of all the communities can consult and negotiate.

One of the problems to be ironed out is that of the tax base and the division of local government revenue.

NEW DEAL

The emphasis will be on the negotiation of a new deal in local government, even before negotiations on a new constitutional system start.

The need to start negotiations is bound to be another theme in Mr De Klerk's speech, but he is not expected to make a firm announcement on this.

Instead of this he will probably call on interested parties to join in the planning of the negotiations in a multiparty conference without being prescriptive about this.

Protest: Police 'did not refuse to act'

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Political Staff

THE Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has denied that policemen in Pretoria refused to act against the protesting farmers.

"I am aware that rumours are circulating that members of the force were supposed to have refused to carry out orders, but I have been able to find no evidence whatsoever to substantiate this," he said yesterday.

General Van der Merwe explained that the police were forced to act against the farmers when they "deliberately flouted and broke the laws of the land, including forcing traffic to a standstill".

He said the farmers had undertaken to participate in a peaceful protest and had given an assurance that no laws would be broken.

The chief magistrate of Pretoria had given permission for a march to go ahead, but the conditions were "not honoured at all and the peak-hour traffic in the city centre was disrupted in a deliberate and well-planned manner".

He said police helicopters had been forced to ferry emergency supplies of blood to hospitals "in several cases", including two of open-heart surgery.

He said farmers had formed human chains and tried to prevent the police from reaching their vehicles.

Policemen and traffic authorities were also prevented from cutting the chains binding the farmers' vehicles together.

"Arrests were made," he said.



PROTESTING FARMER ... A farmer who took part in yesterday's protest in Pretoria is restrained by three policemen.

Picture: REUTER

From page 1

national secretary Mr Andries Beyers.

Democratic Party spokesman on agriculture Mr Errol Moorcroft accused the CP and other right-wing organisations of "using the plight of the farmers to pursue their own political aims".

"This does not best serve the interests of agriculture," he said.

There were flashes of sporadic violence yesterday when farmers, called on by police to remove their vehicles, refused and then resisted arrest.

Farmers howled with disapproval when policemen rained baton blows on other farmers they were trying to bundle into police vans.

Pretoria's traffic flow was reduced to chaos by the protest, organised by the Farmers' Crisis Action.

"The whole city centre has been barricaded," said Mrs Oberholzer. "People who want to come to work will have to park outside the CBD and walk to work."

She said some people were rushed to No 1 Military Hospital because they could not reach the H F Verwoerd Hospital.

Ambulances and fire engines had battled to get to emergency scenes, she said.

While a mass delegation of farmers moved to the heavily guarded Union Buildings to hand over the petition late yesterday afternoon, Supreme Court judge Mr Justice J G M Swart was ferried from his home to court by motorbike to preside over an urgent application by Pretoria Town Council to stop the protest.

The interdict was granted, with Mr Justice

Swart ruling that Mr Daniel Elardus de Beer and the other respondents immediately remove vehicles and other objects obstructing traffic in the city centre.

The large assembly of farmers at the Union Buildings laughed derisively when the court order that they remove their vehicles was read to them over a megaphone.

Farmers' Crisis Action leader Mr Leonard Venter declared: "We are going to our bakkies. We will stay there."

Last night Agriculture Minister Mr Kraai van Niekerk said the government would not speak to the protesting farmers.

He said all their demands and grievances were already "enjoying the necessary attention", as they had been put to the government by the SA Agricultural Union. — Sapa

Pretoria under siege

Cape Times 30/11/91

PRETORIA. — Defiant farmers last night continued their siege of Pretoria — despite earlier clashes with police and negotiations with the City Council here.

The estimated 1 500 farmers are protesting against agricultural conditions and demanding a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

Police moved in when farmers refused to remove their vehicles, and 120 protesters were arrested.

Last night there was an uneasy calm in the city as farmers turned large sections of the city into a Rio-like carnival, braaing meat and wolf-whistling at girls.

Speaking from Brits last night, right-wing stalwart and AWB member Mr Manie Maritz vowed to bring in reinforcements from the Western Transvaal during the course of the night to "take up positions".

Mr Maritz, 66, was arrested early yesterday in Pretoria and released later in the day. A former wrestler, Mr Maritz put up a spirited fight against seven policemen trying to arrest him.

The son of a Boer general, Mr Maritz

INSIDE

- Big changes in land — Page 5
- Police chief denies rumours — Page 5
- Three cops restrain farmer — Page 5

rolled underneath a police van to evade arrest, but was subdued when police sprayed teargas in his face.

The Pretoria siege began before dawn yesterday when the protest column roared into the city centre to block off all main thoroughfares with trucks, tractors, caravans and bakkies which were then chained together.

The protests brought all traffic in the city centre to halt, stranding commuters and disrupting emergency services.

Farmers yesterday gave notice of a long park-in, with some saying they had enough food to last them a week, and numerous trucks sported porta-toilets on the back.

Early last night the council said the farmers had been persuaded to move.

But later municipal spokeswoman Mrs Alta Oberholzer said that though some

farmers had left, "the militant ones are now digging in their heels".

By late evening vast numbers of farmers were still barricading important thoroughfares, and municipal officials confirmed that a number of roads were still sealed.

Yesterday afternoon Mr De Klerk insisted that he would not go to Pretoria to receive the petition, as this would legitimise the protest.

"Protests and mass-mobilisation are counter-productive, particularly in the present climate," he said.

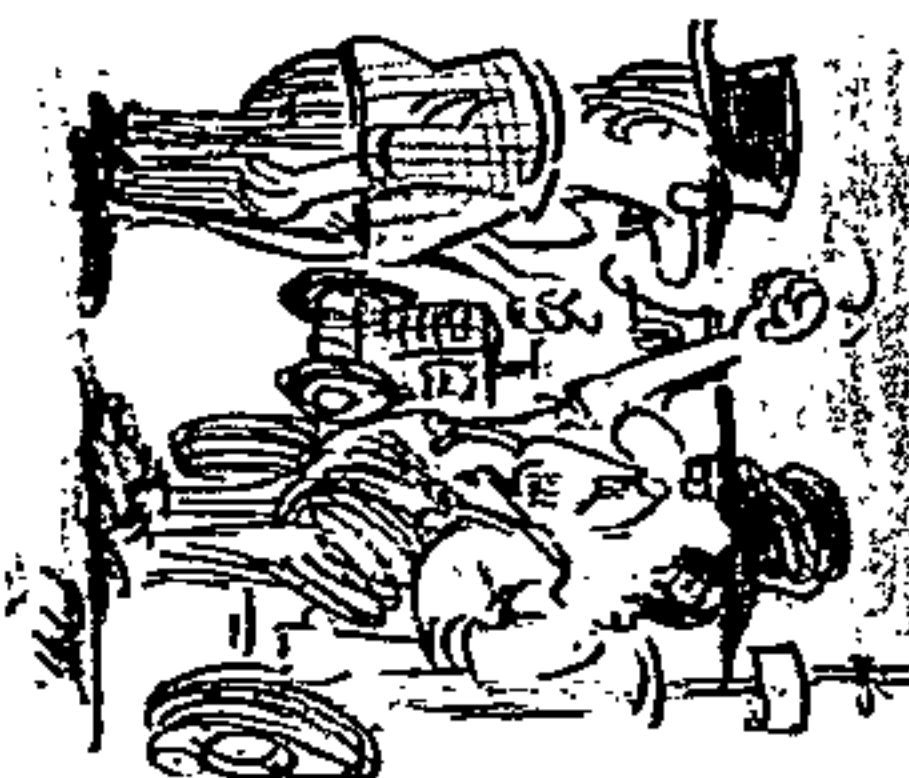
"It is also my conviction that people who have parliamentary representation and are invested with full democratic rights have a particular responsibility in this regard."

Meanwhile, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and a delegation of 18 MPs hastily ended a Cape Town caucus meeting and headed for Pretoria yesterday afternoon.

"The CP stands by the farmers," said CP

To Page 5

crack of dawn



No, no, Koos you don't stick your clenched fist in the air. Nor do you shout Amandla!

Bold steps expected from De Klerk

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FW's guests may join Cape march

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Sowetan 31/1/91

AMBASSADORS attending a reception hosted by President FW de Klerk at his Tuynhuys office in Cape Town today have been invited to join a protest march against 'hit squads' beforehand.

The invitation to attend the march on the eve of Parliament's opening was issued at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday called by the Campaign for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Hit Squads.

More than 100 people at the lunch-time meeting in the St George's Cathedral Hall heard an MP, a former 'hit squad' target and a law professor call for a full and renewed probe into State-sanctioned 'hit squads'.

Speakers also demanded the resignation of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and that responsible Government officials be called to account for alleged "acts of State-sponsored terrorism".

Government embarrassment at a planned vigil at the Tuynhuys during the Presidential reception had probably led to the chief magistrate of Cape Town ordering a re-routing of the march, said campaign spokesman Mr Kobus Visser.

Marchers, including Democratic Party MPs, would silently stand at Parliament's Adderley Street gate, pointing accusing fingers at whom they believed responsible for covering up 'hit squads', said Visser.

Mrs Molly Lubowski, the mother of slain Windhoek lawyer and Swapo official Anton Lubowski - an alleged 'hit squad' victim - and another targetted for assassination, Mr Laurie Nathan, would address a rally beforehand on the Grand Parade at 7pm.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, Democratic Party MP for Green Point, Stellenbosch public law lecturer Professor Lourens du Plessis and lawyer Mr Dullah Omar, also targetted for assassination, addressed the meeting. - Sapa.

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

THE repeal of the Land Act in itself is not only "insufficient", but "endangers" the land blacks presently occupy, Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's Legal and Constitutional Department, said this week.

"It endangers the land we have at present because, if no steps are taken to ensure that the 13 percent remains directly in the hands of Africans, the big corporations can buy the land," he said.

Negotiation

Land and resources to buy it should be made available to blacks. Mechanisms to do this could be part of the negotiation process.

Skweyiya said he anticipated that the property rights section of the ANC Bill of Rights would be "most contentious" to the government. "We hope to call a conference on the proposed Bill of Rights by April."

He said the ANC and the government agreed on the need for a Bill of Rights, an independent judiciary and the concept of one person, one vote.

On federalism, Skweyiya said: "We have rejected federalism completely. We

foresee the reincorporation of the bantustans.

"But that does not mean we will not allow the devolution of power. While we believe people at local level should be involved in second-tier government, a central government should play a coordinating role as South Africa is unevenly developed.

Skweyiya said the ANC insisted on an interim government "because the government cannot arbitrate and participate.

"Their performance at Groote Schuur and Pretoria has not been reassuring. The exiles are not back,

political prisoners are still in jail, the security forces are still acting in the same way."

The ANC demanded an all-party conference, but remained committed to a constituent assembly, he said.

"The ANC cannot say at present that it represents 80 percent of the people of South Africa. Only elections will fairly reflect the different groupings' real support. That is the only democratic way."

Skweyiya said a constituent assembly a way to make everyone part of the constitution-making process —

including the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The language question was "politically sensitive", he said.

Under the ANC, the development of all languages would be ensured.

"But we also see a need for a business (common) language. We feel English would play a prominent role."

There had been "quite a resistance" to Afrikaans, specially from the youth. But Afrikaans would be made equal to all other languages, he said.

Repeal of Land Act is not enough

304A
South
31/11-4/2/91

Debate on the 'last white Parliament'

304A

REPRESENTATIVES of Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC, PAC and Cosatu will take part in a debate organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa tomorrow - the day Parliament opens.

The discussion on what observers believe would be the opening of the 'last white Parliament' comes two days after a 'peace' meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy presi-

SA Press Association

dent of the ANC, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha.

Idasa said the opening of Parliament was an opportunity for State President F W de Klerk to outline the Government's direction for the parliamentary session. The organisation said De Klerk last year used the opportunity to unban

organisations and agree to engage in talks with the ANC.

"A year later, with levels of violence high, little movement on the fate of the majority of exiles and political prisoners, and heightened expectations that the remainder of apartheid legislation will be removed, this year is again seen as a key opportunity for President de Klerk.

"One thing has not

changed. Some groups cannot reply in Parliament," Idasa said.

Inkatha will be represented by Mr S J Mhlungu, Cosatu by Mr Thami Mhlomi while Dr Sulvy Saman will speak on behalf of the PAC. The ANC had not announced its representative at the time of going to Press.

The discussion will start after a direct broadcast of Mr de Klerk's speech as he opens Parliament.

FW, ANC voice our views — Hendrickse

3048
South 31/1/-6/2/91

The Labour Party is confident that, despite years of being ostracised for participating in the tricameral parliament, it will play a key role in formulating a new constitution for South Africa. After all, Labour Party spokesperson Mr Peter Hendrickse told **Rehana Rossouw**, it has been his party's policies which have guided the ANC and the government in drafting their policy statements:

LABOUR Party MPs occupy swank offices off the polished corridors of parliament — offices they are confident they will keep in a new South Africa.

They claim they have hammered out the solutions to the problems of the country in these offices — solutions which have since been adopted by other political organisations and parties.

Labour's "Young Turk" Mr Peter Hendrickse, national public relations officer, is confident that his party will continue to play a pivotal role in hammering out a new constitution for South Africa.

And if they are not invited to the table with their ideas, they could use their veto rights in parliament to block the passing of a new constitution.

"There was a slump in support after the unbanning of the ANC where people felt that, because the ANC could speak for itself, there was no longer a role for Labour," Hendrickse said.

Hendrickse claimed that this has been the role of the Labour Party for years — speaking on behalf of the ANC when it was silenced.

He also claimed the idea of an all-party congress was first mooted by Labour, then accepted by the ANC.

The ANC's policy statements on economics, housing and education also contained Labour Party policies.

"Even President FW de Klerk's speech on February 2 last year contained things I had said two years ago," Hendrickse said.

Stand back

He said the Labour Party would not stand back and allow the ANC and the government to dictate the terms of the process of constitutional change in South Africa.

"This must not be a two-party process; we want to help set the table, not just come to dinner," he said.

"It is not clear yet whether we will form an alliance with the National Party or the ANC. We might agree with one of them on one issue and disagree on others," Hendrickse said.

"All we can say at this point is that we are prepared to talk to anyone who is prepared to talk to us.

"We have the solutions to the problems in this country — all we have to do now is convince others."

The Labour Party's veto right in parliament over constitutional change would guarantee its participation at an all-party congress.

The party was confident that the tricameral parliament would not be dissolved while a constituent assembly was drafting a new constitution for South Africa.

The party would maintain its racial identity, representing coloured voters.

Interim govt inevitable

South 31/1 - 6/2/91 (304A)

The transition between the present parliament and the new — with a government chosen through universal franchise — will be marked by an interim government as an historic inevitability, argues **Noel Bruyns**

THE De Klerk government must give in to calls for an interim government, whether it likes it or not, and despite its present protestations.

It must do so because it no longer can legislate in a vacuum from the political realities and political forces which now are key actors in the debate for a future, nonracial South Africa.

It has to receive the approval of the black majority for those steps it claims to want to make for the final dissolution of apartheid to succeed. If not, its actions — no matter how good-intentioned — will be torpedoed because the state failed to consult the people, who would be affected, for their input.

Dictatorial

The state has already compromised its former absolute, dictatorial or — at best — patronising powers on several occasions since and immediately preceding the State President's watershed speech when he opened parliament last year.

Prime examples are that the state did not alone decide on the details of the release of ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, from Victor Verster prison. Numerous reports attest to Mandela being consulted on the issue.

In more recent months, De Klerk and Mandela exchanged ideas in discussing the proposed all-party conference.

And only last week, there were reports that the government had taken steps to involve the ANC in financial and economic matters by nominating its internal manpower director, "Poti" Moloto, to serve on Vatcom, a committee set up by Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais to oversee the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT).



Thabo Mbeki

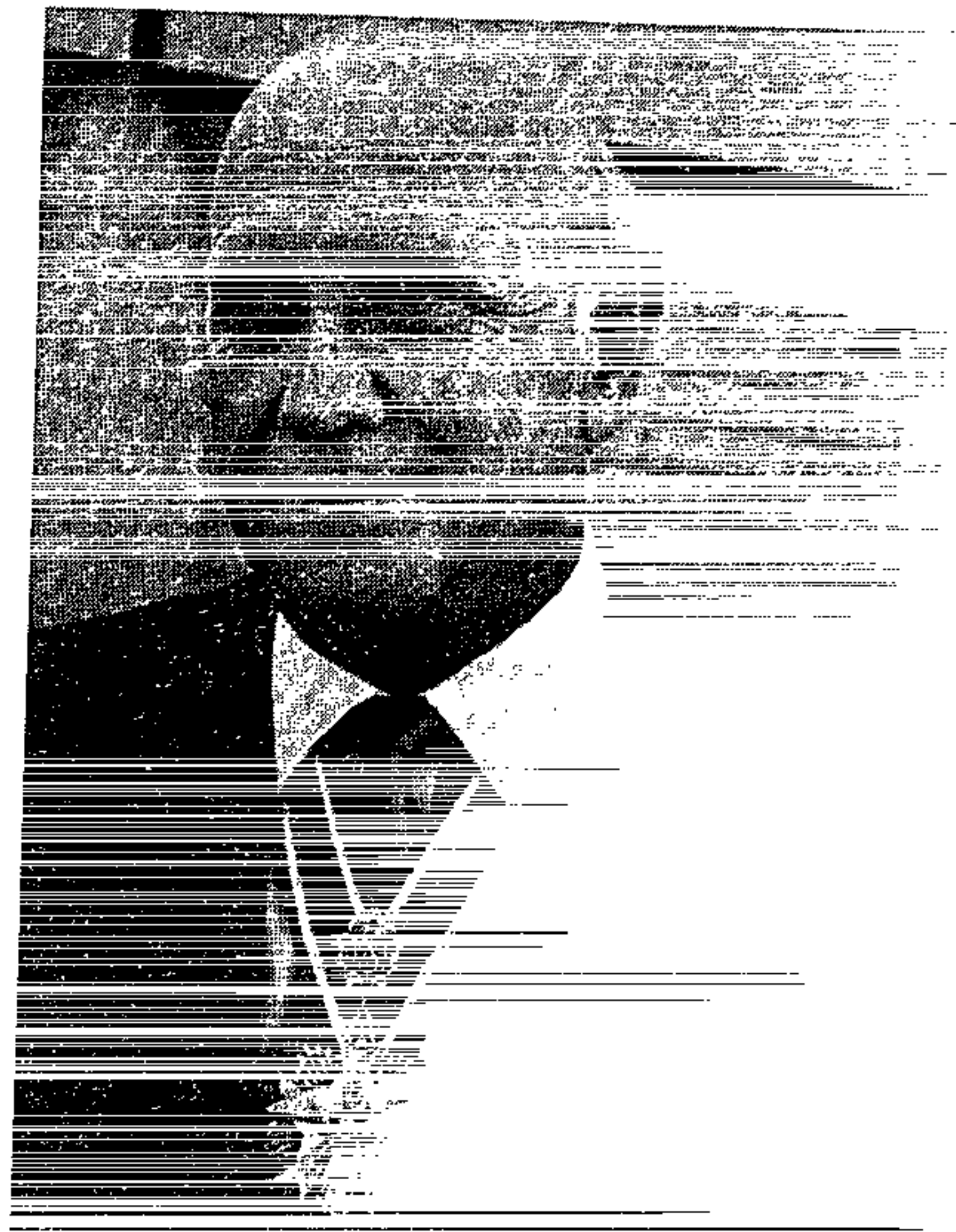
These examples are precedents for increased cooperation and consultation between the government and the broad democratic movement. Such steps, which will not feed the fears of whites about losing control because of their apparent insignificance, at the same time prepare them subconsciously and gradually for greater instances of co-operation.

In the long run, the major forces representing the broad democratic movement will not be satisfied with just being consulted when the government wants to consult. They, too, will demand to take the initiative in proposing changes.

The government will be forced by historical inevitability — whether by mass protests and confrontation or by friendly encounters as those between De Klerk and Mandela — to accommodate the wishes of the broad democratic movement to have a say in the scrapping or replacing of laws and the running of the country.

This is what the interim government will be about.

The history of the political struggle in South Africa provides another indicator for the inevitability of an interim gov-



FW de Klerk

ernment.

The scrapping of apartheid laws — such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the banning of formerly "illegal" organisations and those regulating influx control — has come about not only because of the political, diplomatic and economic pressures exerted, even if halfheartedly, by the international community.

They were scrapped also because the majority of South Africans disregarded them and made them inoperable.

This same majority is now calling for an interim government.

Support

The ANC and its allies — unanimously in favour of an interim government — enjoy the support of at least a simple majority.

A major survey conducted by Market Research Africa (MRA) in the middle of last year, for instance, showed the ANC was by far the most popular of political organisations vying for support in the black community.

A separate survey conducted by Markinor by April 1990 in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban,

also pointed to the increasing appeal of the ANC and the corresponding decline in the appeal of Inkatha.

And a survey conducted by the Johannesburg-based Sowetan newspaper showed most of its readers would vote for the ANC and only a minority for the PAC.

Because the ANC and its allies in the Charterist camp therefore have the numbers behind it, De Klerk would be hard-pressed to ignore the wishes of the majority for the present parliament to be replaced by an interim government on the path towards South Africa attaining its first-ever, democratically-elected, nonracial government.

If parliament goes, who will govern the country in the interim while a new constitution is being hammered out?

Thabo Mbeki, ANC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, points out that it is unthinkable for a ruling group to supervise their own demise.

So whatever the misgivings of the major actors, it is likely that the view which sees an interim government running the country until a new constitution comes into force, will hold sway.

South 31/1 - 6/2/91 (304A)

Things FW may push for on Feb 1

Star 26/1/91
304A

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

FAR-REACHING legislation to empower local communities to establish multiracial city and town councils is expected to be one of the main thrusts of President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

The Government says it is hoping that this initiative will help to defuse the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign which has been largely directed at separate black (and latterly, white) local authorities.

It is expected to form part of a broad drive to remove the last vestiges of apartheid — except the race classification of the Population Registration Act, which will remain in place until a new constitution has been negotiated, because it underpins the tricameral parliament.

Education move

There is wide expectation in opposition circles that Mr de Klerk will also tackle the education crisis head-on by taking a significant step towards a single integrated education system.

Although Government Ministers have denied speculation that he will announce a single education department, informed educationists believe he will move in that direction.

They expect him to do this by transferring many of the powers of the many separate racial education departments to the existing over-arching national education department.

This interim measure will enable education to be planned as a whole, and for instance, allow surplus white teachers to be employed in black schools where there is a dire need for them.

Government sources have also made it clear that when Mr de Klerk announces the repeal of the Group Areas Act, as widely expected, he will do it in full measure.

It will not be replaced by any measure to allow apartheid through the backdoor by means of local option, for instance.

Keeping standards

But stricter measures are likely to be introduced to maintain the historic physical standards of different residential areas.

And Mr de Klerk is also almost certain to scrap the Land Acts, which segregate the owning and occupation of farmland.

It is expected that Mr de Klerk will announce measures which will allow local communities to negotiate their own form of interim multi-racial government — pending the outcome of national constitutional negotiations.

This will, for instance, mean that the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber — now purely an advisory body — will be given the legislative teeth to negotiate a new integrated government for the Witwatersrand area and then perhaps constitute itself as a metropolitan government.

The agreement to form this chamber has been hailed as a triumph of negotiations, involving as it did, representatives right across the political spectrum, from the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the much-maligned black township councils, to the tough-talking ANC-affiliated Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST).

Mr de Klerk will not lay down strict or detailed guidelines for multi-racial local government, according to sources. Instead, he is expected to present empowering legislation which will allow local communities to negotiate their own particular form.

Beyond present era

The days of the present form of parliament are numbered, as political developments make obvious. The debate on what will replace it is already raging. **Chiara Carter** looks at some of the issues raised in this debate.

A year ago South Africa's gaze was firmly fixed on the opening of parliament and a new era in South African politics. Now the major political parties are looking beyond Government Avenue to the shape a new parliament might take.

All political actors are agreed that the present parliament is not satisfactory, but the outline of a future parliament remains shadowy.

The rightwing would like a whites-only parliament with some form of own affairs government for blacks.

The Nationalists, by agreeing to negotiate South Africa's political future, have acknowledged that dramatic constitutional change is essential.

The form of that change is currently

the topic of debate within both the Democratic Party and the National Party. Whatever the hopes of the present parliamentary incumbents, it seems clear the rationale for the tricameral system is rapidly crumbling. Meanwhile, the major extra-parliamentary forces are preparing to march to demand the abolition of the very parliament that unbanned them a year ago.

For these groupings, a constituent assembly holds the key to the future.

They argue that a democratically-elected constituent assembly must draw up a constitution for a new South Africa which will be governed by a democratic parliament based on a single voters' roll and universal franchise.

The liberation movements differ on how this will be achieved.

Both Azapo and the PAC have rejected talks on anything short of a constituent assembly.

The ANC has adopted a more pragmatic line, calling for an all-party congress at which political groupings can discuss the basic principles of a new constitution as well as the mechanism of drawing up a constitution.

Although the ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, has mooted the idea of transforming this congress into

a constituent assembly, the national executive committees of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu at a joint meeting last Sunday stated the congress was not a substitute for a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

Advocate Dullah Omar, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee, cautions that a new parliament is not going to emerge overnight.

The obstacles to negotiations have to be removed first.

"It is not just a question of a list of obstacles that can be ticked off from a list. The climate in South Africa has to be one where free political activity can occur," Omar said.

The next step was for all parties to agree that the objective of negotiations was the creation of a nonracial, democratic, non-sexist south Africa.

"In general, the MDM favours a constitution which enshrines basic human rights for people, political groups, religious groupings, trade unions and other groups in civil society," Omar said.

Such a constitution, which would hold status above parliament, would be unique in South Africa where constitutions have had the value of a law which can be amended like any other legislation.

The Nationalists, whom political ana-

lysts agree will seek to retain the strategic and moral high ground they won last year, are likely to hold out for a constitution which protects white security — including property interests.

Whatever the status of a constitution, whether it is upheld ultimately depends on the degree of support it has. This realisation lies behind the broad democratic movement's emphasis on maximum popular participation to ensure a constitution has legitimacy.

But the major actors have not yet formulated fixed positions on the details of a future parliament.

The ANC favours a unitary system — as opposed to the federal government mooted by both the Nationalists and the Democratic Party.

Omar points out that a unitary state with power concentrated in parliament means the state can tackle inequalities.

At the same time constitutional thinking in the MDM concurs that power cannot be vested in parliament alone.

"Our vision is one where civic, religious, trade union and other groupings exercise real power at a national, regional and local level," Omar said.

Beyond a universal franchise in a unitary state, the MDM has no proposals on how elections for a new parliament would take place.

PARLIAMENT opens in Cape Town this week with muted ceremony and against a backdrop of unprecedented debate over South Africa's constitutional future.

A year after State President FW de Klerk's opening speech signalled a new era in South African politics, a question mark hangs over the future of parliament itself, Chiara Carter reports

Throughout its 81-year history, parliament has been the eye of the storm in South Africa's turbulent history.

It is here, amid ritual pomp and ceremony, that the cornerstones of segregation, apartheid and exploitation were laid.

Parliament has been the scene of outraged protests ranging from lone demonstrators chained to parliament's railings to mass marches and pitched street battles.

Once the focus of black middle class aspirations, parliament has become the target of bitter rejection by a disenfranchised majority.

Steeped in South Africa's colonial heritage, parliament increasingly resembles a relic of a bygone era where whatever storms might rage beyond its portals, within strict gentlemen's rules of debate apply.

The red-brick houses of parliament building at the top of Adderley Street was first used by the parliament of the Cape of Good Hope in May 1885.

With the Act of Union in 1910, the four colonies came under one flag and into a single parliament based on Britain's two-house Westminster system.

Upto 1961, when South Africa became a republic, the Governor General opened parliament on behalf of the king. Only once did the George VI open parliament in person.

Segregation

Cementing the 1910 union was a doctrine of racial segregation and the "native question" bridged the divide between English and Afrikaner.

From the outset parliament has been a bastion of white privilege; excluded from its corridors of power were the country's black majority.

Before union, the Cape was the only province where blacks had the vote in terms of a limited franchise for black adult males.

The black vote in the Cape survived union, lasting in a limited form for coloured people until it was abolished in 1956 by the government of Johannes Strijdom.

After its inception, parliament moved swiftly to dash the aspirations of middle class moderate Africans who held out hope of gradual incorporation in the parliamentary process.

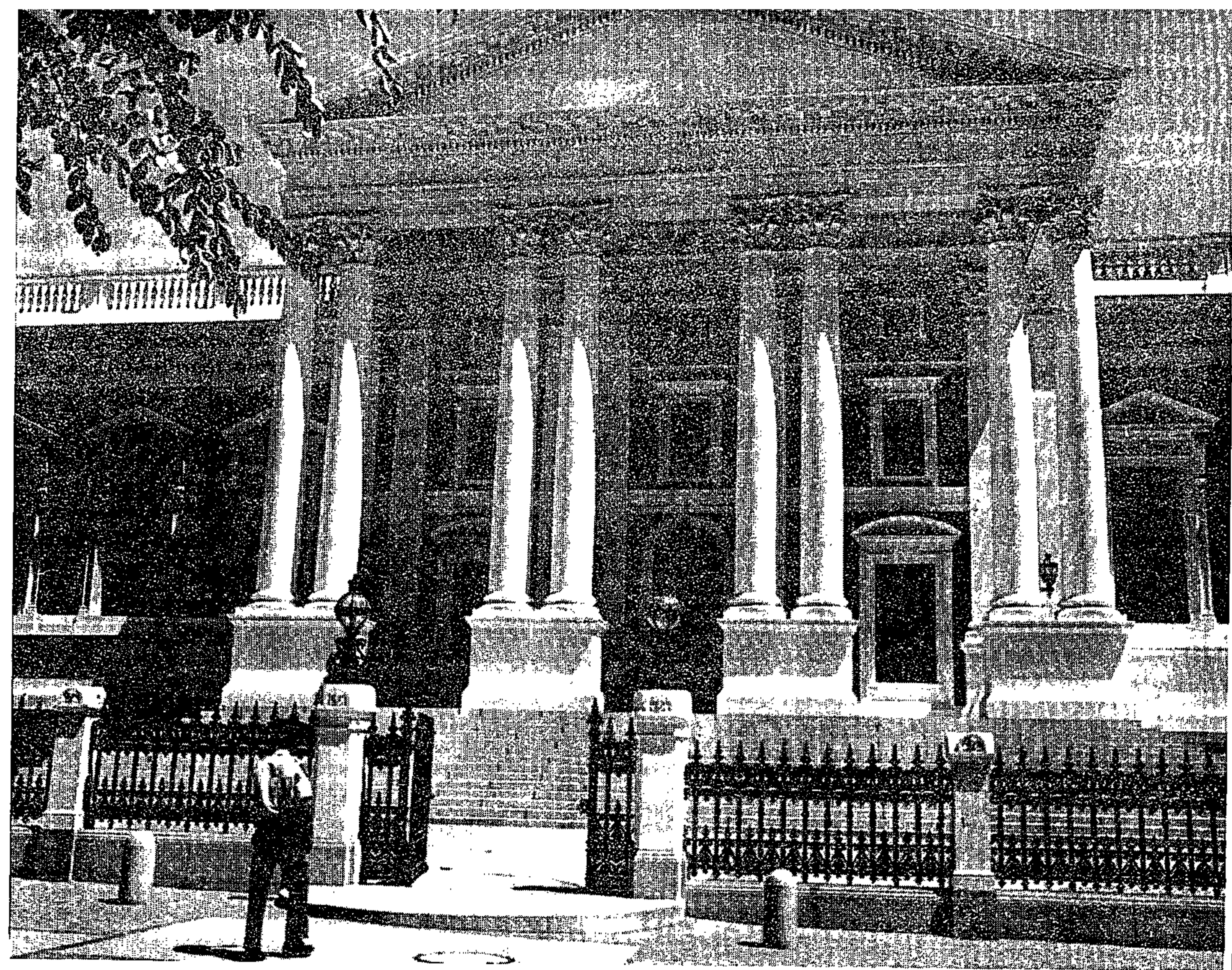
Any notion that Britain would intervene to protect the rights of black South Africans was shattered as delegation after delegation returned home from Britain emptyhanded.

Starting with the 1913 Land Act which effectively dispossessed Africans of the land, much of South Africa's parliamentary history is a catalogue of legislation that stripped black people of all rights.

Among the most notorious laws enacted by parliament are the Land Act, the Urban Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Registration of Voters Act and the Group Areas Act.

An early architect of segregation, Prime Minister Jan Smuts recognised the importance of a cheap, docile and highly exploitable labour force and early in the century masterminded a series of laws which sought to control the movement, settlement and economic status of blacks.

Meanwhile, powerful political forces were born outside parliament with the



FACADE: The red-brick Houses of Parliament building at the top of Adderley Street was used in May 1885

Parliament: SA's greatest divider

306A

South
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formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the ANC, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and the Industrial and Commercial Union.

With the majority of South Africa's population excluded from a parliament which passed increasingly repressive laws, much of the country's political drama has been acted out beyond parliament's gates in an extra-parliamentary terrain that became increasingly militant as the century grew older.

While black voting rights in the early parliamentary years were extremely limited, they nevertheless held a symbolic significance for the disenfranchised.

By the 1930s even these rights were under assault.

First to go was the Cape African vote.

Dr James Moroka, an executive member of the All African Convention, bluntly told Prime Minister Barry Hertzog: "I want the (black) vote extended from the Cape to the OFS, the Transvaal — the whole country".

Hertzog, a dyed-in-the wool white supremacist, responded by saying the 80-year-old Cape African franchise had to give way to a uniform native policy.

Cape Africans were given a separate voters roll to elect an additional three white MPs to represent them at parliament in addition to the newly established Native Representative Council.

By 1956, the National party which had triumphed in the 1948 elections managed to remove coloured voters from the common roll after several years of bitter resistance which included a fairly successful strike in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town organised by the Franchise Action Committee, torchlight mass rallies by the War Veterans Torch Commando and a Civil Rights League petition with more than 100 000 signa-

tures.

In May 1951 more than 50 000 protesters marched on parliament to protest the Act and clashed sharply with police.

The same year, four "coloured" voters — WD Franklin, a Woodstock van driver, WD Collins, a Cape Town businessman, Edgar Deane, a trade unionist, and Ganief Harris, a Woodstock bricklayer — asked the courts to restrain the electoral officer from removing their names from the common roll. The Appeal Court ruled in their favour and the government responded by appointing parliament the highest court in the land, a move overturned in the courts.

The Nationalists finally pushed through the act by packing both the Appellate Division and the Senate with pro-government members.

Power

The rise to power of the reunified National Party heralded the age of apartheid designed to ensure that Afrikaans speaking voters remained the majority in a minority whites-only parliament.

In the name of apartheid, later euphemistically renamed separate development, parliament passed laws which required massive social engineering in the course of which millions of people were uprooted. Black resistance grew apace and with it state repression.

The CPSA disbanded to anticipate the suppression of Communism Act and the lone CPSA MP, Sam Kahn, was forced out of parliament in 1952.

Another communist, Brian Bunting, won the seat in 1953 but was ousted in August the same year while the next year trade unionist and communist Ray Alexander was elected to parliament but prevented from entering by police.

Mass resistance met with a mass

clampdown that saw the banning of both the ANC and PAC and the subsequent birth of the armed struggle by liberation movements forced underground.

Parliament was the target of an unprecedented march in Cape Town following the Sharpeville and Langa shootings in 1960.

Walking 12 abreast, a crowd of about 30 000 people marched to the city centre from Langa and Nyanga while troops and police dug in machine guns around parliament.

At their head was Philip Kgosana, a PAC leader.

The march was detoured to Caledon Square where police Chief Ignatius Terreblanche assured Kgosana that he would set up a meeting with the Minister of Justice, Mr JM Erasmus. Before the meeting could take place, Kgosana was arrested.

It was to be another decade before the shadow of mass unrest once again hung over parliament.

Meanwhile a parliamentary messenger, Demitri Tsafendas, was committed to a mental asylum after he stabbed the prime minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, to death in September 1966.

Within parliament a few lone MPs kept the spark of resistance alive. Doughty parliamentary veterans like Helen Suzman voiced opposition to the government's policy often relying on parliamentary privilege to raise questions newspapers and organisations were prevented from asking — a tradition continued by MPs like Jan Van Eck.

Black resistance re-emerged in the 70s with the growth of militant industrial unions and the black consciousness movement, followed a decade later by the formation of Cosatu and the UDF.

With the spectre of mass uprisings, it

was evident that the old order could not withstand new forces and parliament was restructured.

Seventy-four years after parliament's first sitting, the speaker of the House of Assembly brought the final sitting of the Westminster style, whites-only parliament to a close.

Far from resolving the country's political divisions, the new constitution exacerbated tensions to an unprecedented degree.

Critics charged that the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, while allowing Coloured and Indian members into a tricameral parliament, entrenched apartheid.

The new system provided for separate voters' rolls, separate chambers, a complex system of own and general affairs and a powerful state president assisted by a state president's council.

Resentment

The decision by the Labour Party to participate in the new system created deep and as yet unhealed divisions in the "coloured" community and the turnout for the 1984 elections was a dismal 20 and 30 percent in the House of Representatives and Delegates respectively.

Within the white camp, the new reforms divided Afrikanerdom as well and the Conservative Party was formed.

The fuse of African resentment exploded and the new parliament's first sitting in September 1984 took place against a backdrop of violence in the Vaal Triangle which soon ignited the entire country.

Ultimately this mass resistance coupled with international sanctions forced the government to place the country's political future, including that of parliament and its political parties, on the negotiating table.

The challenge facing De Klerk

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Sowetan 31/11/91

STATE President F W de Klerk opens Parliament tomorrow. A year ago almost to the day he astonished much of the nation with his historic speech which unbanned the ANC, PAC, SACP and de-restricted a host of other organisations.

Last year's speech also heralded a new era of reconciliation and redevelopment which during the past 12 months has had a fair share of hiccups, setbacks and obstacles...

When De Klerk ascends the podium tomorrow morning, he will try his best to try to repeat the impact of last year's speech.

He is expected to make further similarly historic announcements - the most significant of which might be the abolition or relaxation later this year of the Group Areas Act, which forces people to live apart on the basis of their skin colour alone.

Standards

As far as the Act is concerned, measures to allow local authorities to maintain existing standards but on a non-racial basis, are expected to accompany the likely repeal.

With regard to local authorities, indications from Parliamentary sources are that President De Klerk will try to restructure this vital area of local government.

Sources refer to De Klerk's speech late last year where he said that interim steps and negotiation initiatives were needed for the speedy institution of local management for all towns and cities.

He pointed out in the speech, delivered at a graduation ceremony at Stellenbosch University where he received an honorary doctorate, that the necessity to end fragmentation in local government on a racial basis had already been accepted.

The strategy by radicals to destroy existing structures at local

State President F W de Klerk is expected to make major historic announcements when he ascends the podium in Parliament tomorrow, the most important of which will be the abolition or relaxation of the Group Areas Act, Ismail Lagardien, Sowetan Political Correspondent, reports from Cape Town.

level must be stopped, he said.

He also said at the time that considerable progress had been made with the planning of a new system guided by the concept of "one city, one tax base".

"The question is not if this must happen but how," De Klerk said.

De Klerk has also indicated that he would like to "get on" with the negotiation process this year, and an announcement is expected in this regard.

Speedy

He told the Stellenbosch audience that 1991 would see great expectations in terms of the speed and discipline of the negotiation process. The methods and criteria for negotiations will also be laid down and should include:

- * Inclusivity - representation for all political parties with proven support,

- * A definition of the base on which decision-making during the negotiation process would take place,

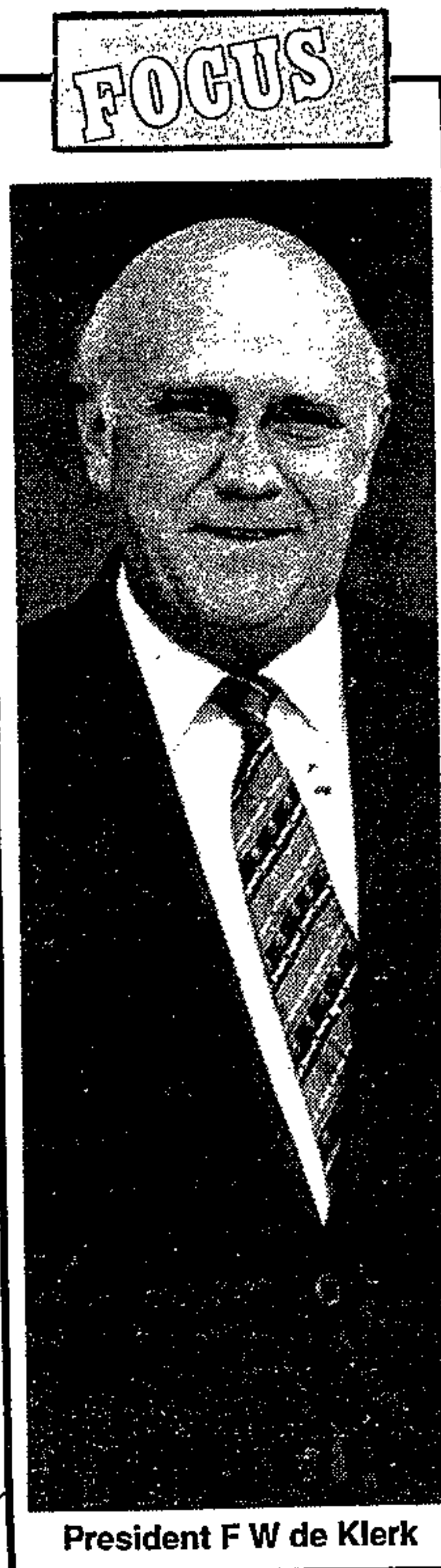
- * Agreement on the relationship between the negotiation process and the process of government.

Challenge

De Klerk is on record as saying that the Government and the National Party are ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of the "new South Africa."

He said that the first challenge was to establish a broad consensus on the foundations of freedom, justice and stability.

The Government remains opposed to the idea of a constituent



assembly and an interim government.

But it has indicated its approval and interest in the ANC's proposal for an all-party congress. De Klerk is expected to deal with

this in his opening address tomorrow.

While there was no major achievement or breakthrough during last week's working group meeting between the Government and the ANC, both sides seem positive and full of hope that this will be the decisive year in the building of the new South Africa.

There are still question marks over the question of the return of exiles and the ANC's commitment to mass action.

The ANC has said continuously that mass action is a democratic right and that it would continue to allow it - even if it came to power.

The Government, in turn, says that "undemocratic" means of coercion are used when it comes to mass action.

De Klerk might announce a Cabinet shake-up to enable certain senior Cabinet ministers, such as Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, to join in the negotiation process while others continue running the country.

Extra-parliamentary groupings have, however, expressed their concern over the perception that the Government plans to be "a player and a referee" in the negotiation process.

Vagueness

Observers believe De Klerk could address this issue in his opening speech tomorrow.

One source said that while mediation of the talks has been discussed informally, no firm decision has been taken at this stage.

And, while De Klerk has often been vague and almost non-committal with regard to alliances, he has continually referred to his becoming part of the majority in the new South Africa.

By sunset tomorrow, however, South Africans will know.

New local govt likely keynote in FW's address

CAPE TOWN — Government's plan for creating joint nonracial local government structures on the basis of "one city, one tax base" is likely to be one of the main features of President F W de Klerk's speech when he opens Parliament tomorrow.

Senior government Ministers said the collapse of black local authorities, the concomitant violence resulting from rent and service boycotts and the call on councillors to resign, had made it a top priority.

De Klerk is expected to elaborate on plans based on the Thornhill Commission report envisaging joint management systems for all towns and cities. Negotiations on a system of local government are likely to start before constitutional negotiations.

Politicians expect that the need to start negotiations will also form an important part of De Klerk's speech with this week's ANC-Inkatha peace accord enhancing prospects for a multiparty conference.

Sources said he is also expected to announce an overhaul of the security system in line with the Groote Schuur undertaking that security legislation impeding free political activity would be reviewed.

He is also expected to confirm government's commitment to abolishing the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Sources indicate the plan is to use two Bills to scrap the Land Acts: one dealing with their repeal and another with redressing historical imbal-

BILLY PADDOCK

ances. The tribal trust tenure will probably remain untouched.

Sources have also speculated that some creative thinking on the suspension of the Population Registration Act, which cannot be repealed in its entirety because the constitution is based on it, could enable De Klerk to satisfy sufficiently the terms of the US's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and allow US President George Bush to start lifting sanctions.

Another important aspect of his speech will be government's intention to increase its social spending.

In the field of education he is likely to announce initiatives to start negotiations on a new nonracial education system. But in the interim he is expected to call for co-operation from the ANC and other bodies in government's endeavour to rationalise the present system by bringing all the education departments under the general control of the Department of National Education.

On the economic front, finance department sources said he is likely to express the need for increased growth and productivity, a reduction in government's portion of total spending and inflation and the need for greater saving.

Addressing white fears, De Klerk is expected to deal in some way with the dramatic increase in the crime rate and could announce a further police recruitment drive.

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1991

FEBRUARY

Population, Group Areas
and Land Acts scrapped



All-race town and city
councils are on the way

Apartheid dead

SPK 11/2/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk this morning announced the repeal of the Population Registration Act — a major reform initiative which will sweep away the remaining cornerstones of apartheid.

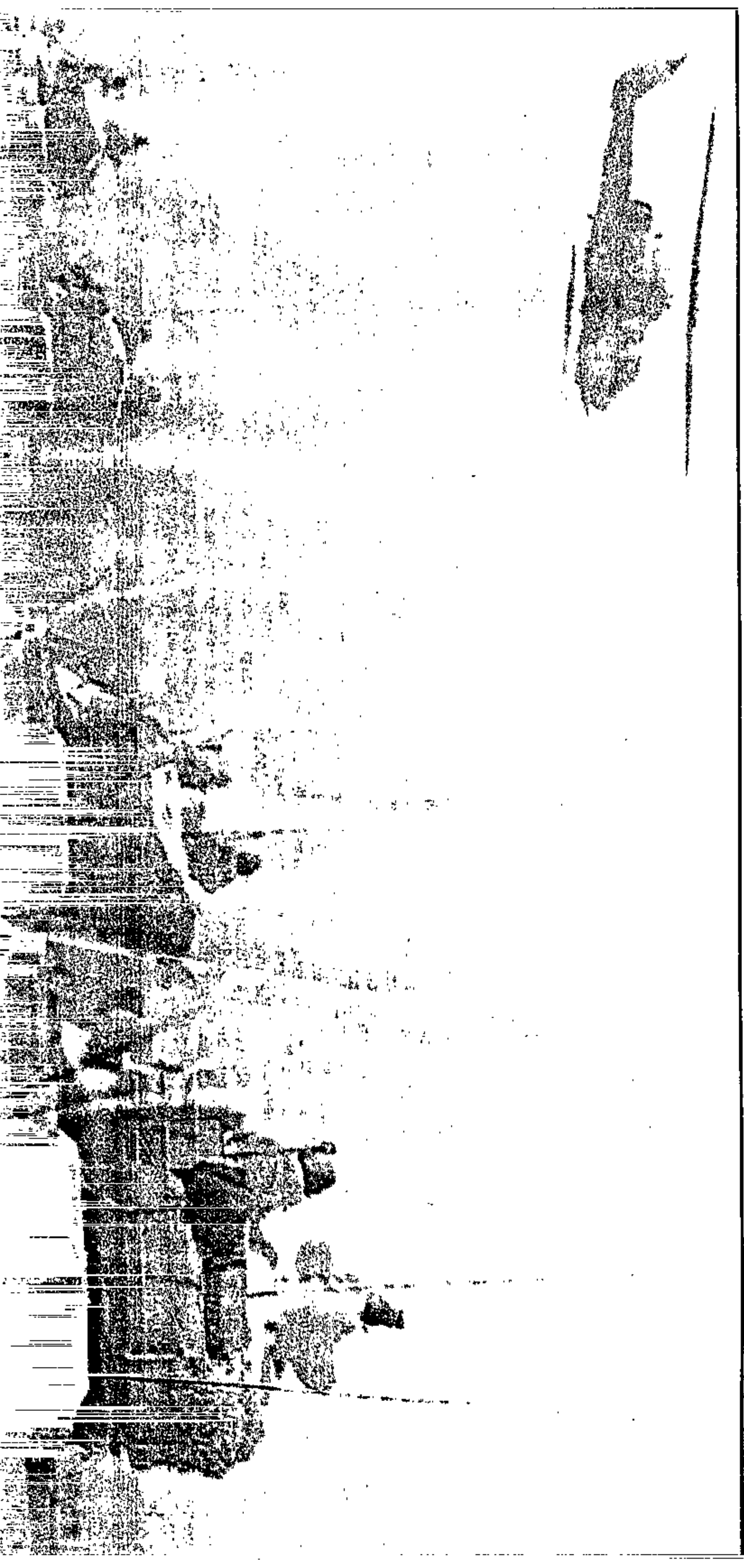
The Act makes race classification compulsory and is the foundation of all other apartheid measures — and, all the Acts which determine where races may live.

As widely expected, Mr de Klerk also announced the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Development of Black Communities Act which underpin the segregation of residential and farming land.

"The South African statute book will be devoid within months of the remnants of the racially discriminatory legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid," he said.

And while firmly rejecting the ANC demand for an interim Government, Mr de Klerk agreed to "transitional

FW Manifesto:



FW Manifesto: Page 2

arrangement... people outside Parliament a voice in government.

He acknowledged that "much more was needed than the mere repeal of discriminatory legislation".

Although private property rights would have to be protected — with due consideration of common and indigenous law — land ownership and financing for it would have to be accessible to all.

He also announced that legislation would be introduced this year to enable mixed town and city councils to be formed as an interim measure before a new constitution was introduced.

Mr de Klerk said the Government had originally believed that the Population Registration Act would have to remain in place until a new constitution was negotiated. However it had decided instead to scrap the Act and adopt temporary transitional measures.

The decision to scrap the the Population Registration Act, means that for the first time in 40 years, babies born later this year will not be classified according to race.

It is likely to provide a huge boost to moves to have American sanctions legislation repealed.

However Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen made it clear in a briefing that those presently classified by race would have to remain so until a new constitution had been negotiated.

Dr Viljoen also said the transitional arrangements to give blacks an interim voice in government would probably be negotiated in the multiparty conference which the Government hoped to set up soon to decide on a mechanism to negotiate a new constitution.

President de Klerk also rejected the demand for a constituent assembly but welcomed the ANC decision to accept the principle of a multiparty conference.

He also unveiled a Manifesto for the New South Africa — a set of "common values and ideals" around which all South Africans could build a new nation.

He said this manifesto could provide the cohesion lacking in South Africa and give direction to the constitutional negotiations.

Interim measures to overcome the "fragmentation" in education, housing, health and agriculture were also being considered.

Mr de Klerk also acknowledged the need for single education system.



Armour and air power area is continuing. The

Bombs poi

DHAHRAN (Saudi Arabia) — Allied forces poured bombs on a 16 km-long Iraqi armoured column headed into Saudi Arabia after the Allies snatched back a Saudi town from defiant Iraqi tanks. Sporadic fighting resumed early today.

US B-52 bombers yesterday rained explosives on an Iraqi column said to contain as many as 1 000 vehicles, according to a pool report by a British reporter with Britain's 4th Armoured Brigade near the Kuwaiti border.

Saudi General Khalid Bin Sultan said his troops, backed by US Marines, had killed 200 soldiers and captured 350 in driving them

Stayawa

Staff Reporters Star 1/2/91

There was a mixed response on the Reef today for the joint African National Congress/Pan Africanist Congress call for a huge work stayaway to back demand for a constituent assembly.

Trains to Johannesburg from East Rand township carried few passengers this morning, but many Sowetans went to work as usual.

A Spoornet spokesman said Soweto trains were 70 percent full, while East Rand trains were 10 percent full.

Two of the most prominent symbols of the present parliamentary system — the

SUNDAY STAR

THE MEN C



Manifesto for the new South Africa

WE, as South Africans from all walks of life, associating ourselves with the goodwill and the shared desire for justice, peace and freedom among the majority of our fellow South Africans,

DECLARE

THAT a just and fair New South Africa, free from apartheid, requires a strong South African nation,

THAT there exists, therefore, an urgent need for the leaders of all our people and communities to come together to shape a mutually acceptable new constitution for our country,

THAT such a constitution should be based on the rule of law and lay the foundation for a nation dedicated to justice, democracy and freedom for all, through the pursuit of participation, peace, progress, and prosperity,

THAT Christian values and universally accepted civilised norms and standards should be maintained in South Africa together with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship,

THAT all the people of our country should take part in this endeavour,

THAT we, to this end, subscribe to the following:

PARTICIPATION

A FREE and democratic political system

WE commit ourselves to the creation of a free and democratic political system in South Africa, in which:

* All people shall be free in this, their country of birth;

* All the people of our land shall participate fully at all levels of government on the basis of universal adult franchise;

* The government of the country shall at all times be based upon the consent of the governed;

* All people shall be equal before the law, and shall enjoy equal rights regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;

* The rights of all individuals and minorities defined on a non-racial basis shall be adequately protected in the constitution and in a constitutionally guaranteed and justiciable Bill of Rights;

* Freedom of expression, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people;

* Freedom of movement and of association shall be guaranteed to all.



MANIFESTO FOR

THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

PROGRESS

A N equitable social system:

WE commit ourselves to the creation of an equitable social system in South Africa in which:

* The human dignity of each individual, being a unique creature of God, shall be respected at all times;

* Freedom of religion and of worship shall be guaranteed for all;

* All discrimination between groups of people or between individuals shall be eliminated and discriminatory legislation shall be repealed;

* The goal of just and equitable educational systems, accessible to all, shall be striven for unswervingly;

* Access for all to affordable shelter shall be a high priority.

PROSPERITY

A FREE and equitable economic system:

WE commit ourselves to the creation of a free and equitable economic system in South Africa in which:

* All people shall be free to sell their labour and market their products;

* The ownership of property shall be open to all;

* Economic growth with the emphasis on the creation of employment shall be vigorously promoted;

* The resources of the state shall be fairly used for the common good, with special regard to the socio-economic backlogs existing in our country;

* The State and all the members of our society shall accept our responsibility as custodians of our environment and resources.

PEACE

FREEDOM and security for all:

WE commit ourselves to the maintenance of South Africa as a sovereign independent state, secure against foreign interference, in which:

* The protection of, and respect for life, liberty and property shall be a first principle;

The peaceful settlement of political and other disputes between groups and individuals shall form the foundation of a democratic society;

* Violence and intimidation shall not be tolerated as tools to attain political ends;

* The State shall be charged with the duty to ensure the maintenance of stability in a peaceful and orderly society;

* The application of the powers of State shall be limited to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and orderly society, and shall be governed by the law.

WE, who associate ourselves with this Manifesto, to, recognise that we are still divided by many differences concerning the manner in which these ideals may best be realised, but

WE also recognise that we are united in our love for our country and all its people, and therefore

WE declare that we are determined to apply all our talents and our labours to overcome these differences and to find a peaceful way to build a great South African nation and a better future for the generations to come.

tudes of hostility, rivalry and suspicion which characterised international relations in all the years since the Second World War.

It is remarkable how the convergence of South African and international events has brought about greater harmony between us and the rest of the world. The fundamental change of course we embarked upon a year ago, was motivated primarily by our national interests. Yet, the progress we have made since then has created an entirely new situation for South Africa internationally. I am happy to be able to say that we have succeeded in breaking out of the dead end of isolation.

The exploitation of regional conflict in our part of the world to further ideology and power has come to an end. Political opportunism, diplomatic blackmail and playing off the two major powers against one another for the achievement of questionable political objectives cannot be used effectively against us any longer. Revolution is no longer a marketable product in the world today. The resources of the destabilisation and propaganda campaigns against South Africa are drying up. The anti-South African industry is facing insolvency. Sanctions are withering away.

Mr Speaker, I have high hopes that we shall further improve our situation internationally in the year ahead. We shall be opening several new Missions in Central Europe and Africa. Our contact with the rest of Africa is growing. Reciprocal visits by delegations are a frequent occurrence. We see this continuing in the future. We are also looking to the East

as an area of greater opportunities. I will be undertaking further visits abroad during the course of the year.

All of this means that we are now able to look forward with greater confidence towards resuming our rightful position in the wider comity of nations and restoring the many ties which were severed over the years.

South Africa is also interested in how current world events will affect our region. At a time when there is talk of a looming marginalization of the African continent, Africa has to take stock. If Africa remains poor, underdeveloped, unstable and undemocratic, then it will isolate itself and move into inevitable obscurity. Therefore, Africa's reaction to the new international spirit which favours multi-party democracy and free-market systems, is of vital importance. We in Africa have to realise that we have to save ourselves. The world will certainly not do it for us.

Regional development is of decisive importance to Southern Africa. The eleven states of Southern Africa have a combined population of more than 100 million. The region is endowed with valuable natural resources and has the potential to become one of the most prosperous regions in the world. However, the nations comprising the region, divided for so long by colonialism, wars, conflicts and racial strife, will have to join forces, work together and plan together.

If we succeed in this, our region should be able to realise the common aim of a better future. If we work together, we will succeed in obtaining active involvement by Europe, the

USA and other developed countries in the developing economies of Southern Africa.

Security:

This positive picture, which I was able to sketch over a wide area is constrained by the high level of political and criminal lawlessness in the country. It is worrying and unacceptable. It has the potential to abet serious delays and even undermine the progress already made. Therefore, everything is being done to create a more conducive climate.

One of the great evils is the abuse of mass actions which degenerate all too often. In this connection a clear distinction has to be drawn between peaceful mass actions which are part of the normal democratic process and mass actions with revolutionary aims or which lead to crime or infringe against the safety and rights of others. Lately, there has been a tendency to challenge the legal order and exceed the bounds of the normal democratic process.

Political opponents who assault and murder one another, negate every democratic principle and fan flames of hatred which will remain difficult to extinguish long after a new constitutional era has dawned.

Demonstrators who disrupt the public, harm individuals and undermine the economy, are not engaged in democratic activities.

Mass action has to take place peacefully, responsibly and within the law. Should the current trend towards the abuse of this method continue in any way, the government will be obliged to apply stronger measures to prevent abuse.

Of course it is not the task of the Government alone to act in this respect. The pressure and demands exerted on our security forces - on the Police Force as well as the Defence Force - are already enormous. Political and community leaders have to accept co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling supporters and creating a climate for negotiation.

By and large our security forces are doing an excellent job and do not deserve the vilification to which they are subjected from many quarters. I wish to urge all the inhabitants of South Africa to give their full support to the security forces. If the authority and integrity of our police are undermined, all of us will have to pay a heavy price.

On the part of the government, everything possible will be done as a matter of high priority to make our police force more effective and efficient.

In respect of crime in general, the Minister of Law and Order has already announced that the Police are launching a special campaign. The cumulative effect of the increase in the numbers of police officers, the optimal utilisation of manpower and special actions and campaigns, should have the result, in terms of all reasonable expectations, that crime will be combatted more effectively. The Defence Force, in particular, is making an exceptional contribution in a supporting role, to the capabilities of the Police Force. The joint capacity resulting from this co-operation will continue to be deployed effectively against the forces of chaos and anarchy.

Together with the South African Police, the Defence Force and Armscor ensure that South Africa is able to depend on a strong and ready security base that makes peaceful change possible. We will have to build on this further. The security forces of the new South Africa will have to be manned and managed properly. Continued national service and training have to be seen in this light. A professional and well-trained Defence Force and Police Force, which are not subject to political expediency, are the best guarantee for the maintenance of a safe environment in which everybody is able to live and work. The Government will continue to ensure this.

Conclusion:

The Parliamentary session beginning today, will exact high demands from us. The year ahead will be as decisive as 1990. Our ability, here in Parliament and in our relations with extra-parliamentary organisations, to broaden co-operation and rise above petty politics, will be of decisive importance.

There is neither time nor room for turning back. There is only one road - ahead. Ahead with courage, boldness, deliberation and planning, understanding and balance.

Ahead with purpose and dedication. Ahead with faith and certainty in the knowledge that our future is in the Hands of the Almighty God, Lord of the destinies of peoples and nations.

It is my prayer that He will lead and sustain us in all our labours and deliberations.

THE TEXT

(Continued from page 14)

this will have to be true of education as well. However, distinctive or autogenous education, conducted with Government assistance within a single system by those who desire it, has to remain an option. For this we need the constructive co-operation of all who have an interest in education.

It is gratifying, therefore, that leaders and organisations with divergent political programmes have begun to raise their voices against the disruption and chaos which characterised the school year of 1990. I also wish to urge all involved - parents, teachers and the children themselves - to place the interests of the pupils above all else.

Political and community organisations should encourage teachers and children to make use of education and not allow schools and pupils to be abused for political purposes.

The present educational system shall and must be changed. Work on this is being done on the political and educational levels. In the meantime, education has to continue in an orderly manner.

We are determined that our ultimate system of education shall enjoy the acceptance and support of the majority of our population. It will have to be an educational system that will be affordable and in which appropriate education is offered. In addition, it will have to keep abreast of changing needs and trends in our society.

The economy:

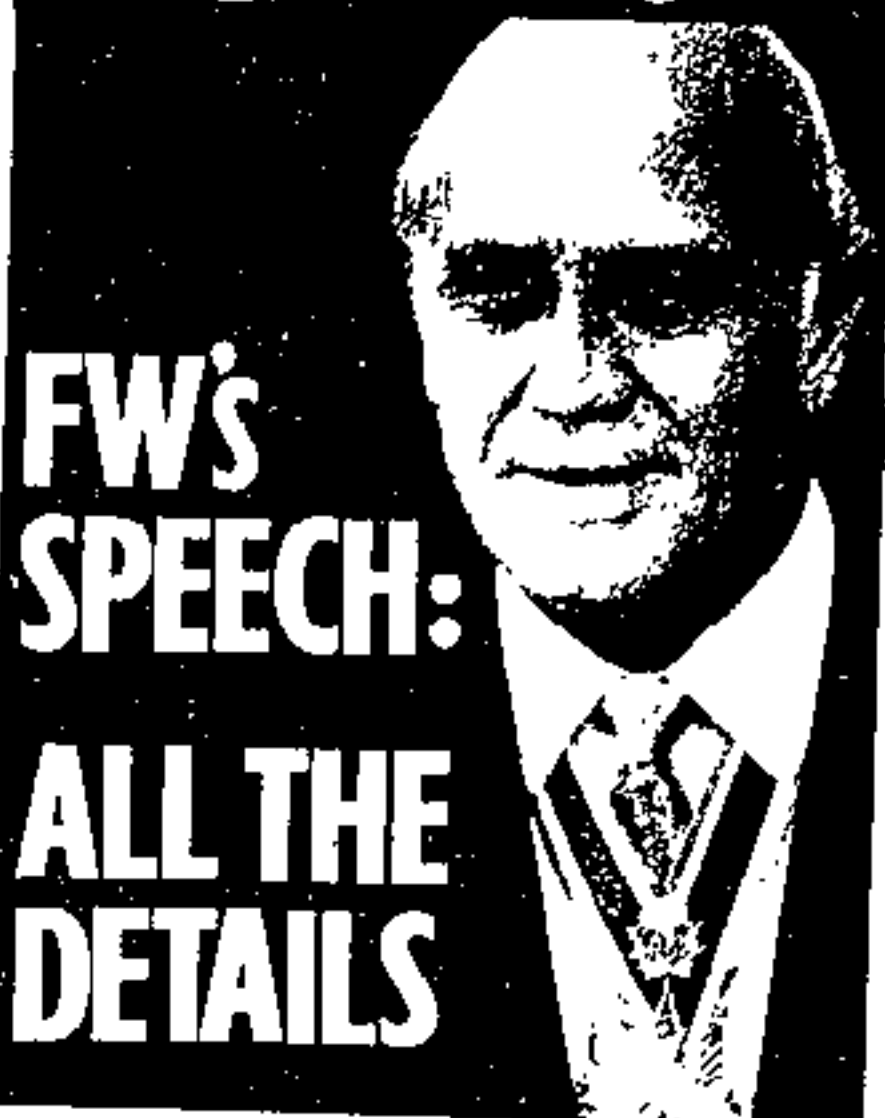
One other great imperative facing us in this closing decade of the twentieth century is economic restructuring. It is the only way through which we will be able to return to a high growth path and meet the reasonable aspirations of all our people. No economy, least of all that of a developing society, can do this overnight; but we can and must promote the creation of employment opportunities and the generation of incomes to meet the basic needs of our rapidly growing population in the shortest possible space of time.

Economic growth and constitutional reform have to be mutually reinforcing. Unless the pressing problems of poverty and unemployment are alleviated, constitutional models will be of little avail to us.

There is room for debate on economic structures, but not on the necessity of effective macro-economic management. Throughout the world, a stable, non-inflationary environment has been rediscovered as a key element of sustained economic growth. Therefore, our own fight against inflation has to enjoy top priority, as well as united and ongoing support. Failure on this front will leave us with scant hope of success on any other. Inflation does not alleviate poverty - it aggravates it.

The government has neither the capability nor the desire to intervene directly in the price and wage determination process of the private sector. However, unjustifiable wage increases, especially in times of

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believe the vast majority of South Africans prefer opportunities for the self-advancement of all, to largesse and patronage for some.

To achieve even the goal of parity in social expenditure will require hard work and stern discipline over the next decade and beyond. Attempts to shorten this inevitably incremental process by militant action in the labour or other fields, will merely serve to lengthen it.

By contrast, some form of "social accord" on economic goals and actions would be a powerful instrument for achieving the shared national goal of a common society, offering wider material prospects and a higher quality of life to all its members. However, such an accord has to recognise these realities and provide a time span and a structure for orderly economic and social development.



I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made in the field of economic development by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the South African Housing Trust, the Small Business Development Corporation and other agencies. Similarly, the Independent Development Trust and the newly-announced Private Sector Initiative, operating under the aegis of the Urban Foundation, are set to make major contributions towards addressing endemic problems in housing, health and education.

The recently announced allocation by the Independent Development Trust of substantial resources directed at giving poor people access to land ownership, is of great significance. For its part, the government is currently taking an urgent look at innovative methods of financing the provision of land and housing.

I should also like to mention the committee of Deputy Ministers which, in close liaison with the private sector, is investigating imaginative ways of raising substantial capital funds for further development projects.

The government places a high premium on job and income-creating growth. In broad terms, this requires:

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lised, and the role of the Competition

Board, represent some of the evidence of the government's ongoing commitment to consumer protection and the proper functioning of markets.

Given the expected slowdown in the world economy, quite apart from the Gulf crisis, the economic outlook for South Africa in 1991 is one of consolidation of the gains already made, and a continuation of the restructuring process. I wish to urge all South Africans - particularly those involved in the creation of wealth - to join hands with the Government in this great and urgent effort to provide jobs and incomes.

Foreign affairs:

Internationally, far-reaching changes have taken place during the past year. The world scene was dominated by the events in Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the process towards European unity, including German unification, and lately, the conflict in the Gulf region. These turbulent events, which have coincided with rapid and fundamental changes in our own country, will have a significant impact on the future of world politics.

With Communism a discredited and defunct ideology, and the Cold War virtually something of the past, we have witnessed the removal of major obstacles in the way of achieving values and objectives which will benefit mankind as a whole.

Obviously, much remains to be done. The Gulf War is particularly regrettable at this time. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, an independent Muslim state which has long been a recognised member of the United Nations and of the Arab community of states, was an act of aggression which cannot be condoned. South Africa's position in regard to this is based on accepted principles of international law and is in line with the position adopted by the vast majority of states, Islamic states included.

Having said that, let me add that it is our earnest hope and prayer that this conflict will soon be brought to an end with a minimum loss of life, injury and destruction.

In addition to the Gulf War, the Palestinian issue, unpredictabilities occasioned by the unfolding situation in the Soviet Union and the spectre of AIDS and poverty looming ominously over Africa, should all serve as warnings that the elimination of world crises and flashpoints has not yet been accomplished.

Nonetheless, the important reality is that a new beginning has been made out of the vortex of world events; that a climate was created, before the Gulf war erupted, in which greater freedom, greater security and greater peace could prevail than at any other time this century.

There is so much at stake for mankind, that the world dare not allow the crises now confronting it to re-create the atti-

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economic downturn, do not serve the overall public interest: they may well result in lost jobs and fan inflation. The same applies to excessive and routinely instituted price increases that fuel the wage-price spiral.

Fortunately, the past year has seen several economic gains. Our programme of economic restructuring, in line with the political and socio-economic exigencies, is firmly on course. Progress has also been made in short-term stabilisation, especially concerning monetary policy. The current account of the balance of payments has been performing well and the real effective exchange rate of the rand has been comparatively stable.

Of special importance has been our new access, in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, to markets long closed to our exports, as well as our readmission to capital markets in Western Europe. These and other opportunities resulting from the positive international reaction to the Government's initiatives, have to be grasped firmly and decisively.

We shall continue to sustain and enhance the competitive ability of our exporters. Surplus capacity in areas such as electricity generation and transport, is being exploited through favourable power and freight charges to our manufacturers. Increased beneficiation of our abundant raw materials will continue to be encouraged. We simply cannot forego the much-needed employment opportunities this will bring about.

All concerned South Africans working for a peaceful transition to a new society wish to see the reduction and ultimate elimination of the disparities that still exist. Restructuring the economy and allocating resources to specific needs are essential to this end. Equally important, however, are the channels for deploying the resources, the involvement of the people concerned, and their acceptance of mutual responsibility.

All of our citizens have to join both in shaping and in sharing the national product. I

□ Firstly, that maximum private sector development be encouraged.

□ Secondly, that the State's economic involvement be reduced in consequence to a minimum, with its residual activities based increasingly on business principles.

Thirdly, that Government policy and actions be geared to the fullest utilisation of national resources. This includes a shift from import replacement and strategic self-sufficiency to an export-oriented strategy, involving limited protection of domestic industry, and aimed at maximum productivity and cost-effectiveness.

Development agencies have an important role to play in adding impetus to job creation. While celebrating its 50th anniversary, the Industrial Development Corporation is to be restructured so as to promote the optimal industrial development of South Africa.

The agricultural sector is primarily responsible for feeding the nation - a most important strategic consideration. It also provides both a direct and indirect base for employment and for small and informal business, and is an important contributor to the domestic product and to our foreign exchange earnings.

It has had to grapple with severe problems during the past year, but is assured of a helping hand from the government where appropriate. However, aid on a blanket basis cannot be considered. Assistance has to be targeted as a bridging measure to those whose viability is not in doubt, in order to fulfill the essential mission of this sector of our economy.

The pursuit of greater economic growth demands that the remaining inhibiting legislation and administrative regulations or structures be vigorously scrutinised. Good progress has been made here too.

Deregulation, however, does not mean no regulation at all. The consumer's interests have always weighed heavily with government. The creation of the Business Practices Committee in 1988, the proposed general codes for specific business sectors now being fina-

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President F W de Klerk and his wife, Marike, at the state banquet at Tuynhuys last night.

ly, the adoption of these values is merely a first step. Giving them constitutional content will require long and thorough negotiation. And before that can happen, agreement will have to be reached on the nature of the negotiations, procedures and structures.

Multi-party conference:

Discussions on the way forward in this regard have taken place regularly and with increasing frequency among political parties and interest groups. There is growing consensus that the time has arrived for a multi-party conference.

The government is playing a key role in promoting this idea. So have others. At the end of a fully representative meeting of leaders of first and second tier governments, which was attended by the chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils, Chief Ministers of the self-governing territories and Provincial Administrators, a joint statement was issued on the November 30 last year.

I quote from it:

"The meeting strongly supported the view that a multi-party conference must be convened urgently in order to set in motion a process through which consensus on a future negotiation forum could be reached. The meeting committed itself to support the steps the State President may take in this regard. Such a multi-party conference should include as many political parties as possible."

Against this background, the government was pleased to take note of the anniversary message of the ANC on the January 8 this year, in which the principle of a multi-party conference as a first step that could lead to the adoption of a new constitution, was also accepted.



The result is that most of the major political groupings are now ready to attend multi-party exploratory talks. I trust that these talks will begin soon. I am also convinced that this

The government does not wish to anticipate the national process of negotiation in any way. Therefore, without wishing to establish a final structure at the local level, the decision has been taken to initiate interim steps to accommodate the dynamics of co-operation which have developed in many communities in respect of co-operation, and to give legal sanction to agreed joint actions and joint structures.

Consequently, legislation will be submitted during this session to enable communities to enter into discussions with one another on a voluntary basis and establish joint structures.

In terms of this legislation, room will be created for the following:

□ The joint provision of services and the establishment of a single administration for various participating local authorities.

□ The possibility for participating local authorities to take decisions at joint meetings that will be binding on all of the participants.

□ The admissibility of the various local authorities that wish to enter into such an agreement, proceeding to the establishment of a single body or bodies to which the powers, duties and functions of the various participating authorities may be assigned, either wholly or in part.

Currently, the government is also giving attention to the financial implications, since progress in the development of structures for co-operation should not be impeded by financial limitations.

In fact, substantial progress has already been made with the planning of a new system of local government that will give recognition to the concept of "one municipality, one tax base". Therefore, the strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures on the local level, has to end.

This senseless and futile disruption serves no purpose and merely causes pain and suffering, particularly in black communities. Moreover, it is a serious obstacle in the way of reform and negotiation on every level. It is to the latter in

and land questions. Both the White Paper and the relevant legislation will be at the disposal of members shortly.

No-one dare underestimate the emotions and even the conflict potential relating to land rights. Everybody has a natural need for access to land and its utilisation as living space and source of livelihood. Therefore, much more is necessary than the mere repeal of discriminatory legislation. At the same time, provision will have to be made for the protection of rights and of making landownership accessible.

On the one hand, there is a need for the protection of private property rights and security of title and tenure with due consideration for common and indigenous law. On the other, land ownership and financing for it have to be accessible to all in a non-discriminatory manner.

These points of departure will be contained in the envisaged White Paper.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 has been subjected to scrutiny as well. On the part of the government, the view was held that the Population Registration Act would have to be repealed eventually, but that this could not be done immediately because the Act was technically necessary for the maintenance of the present constitutional dispensation. Therefore, it would be possible to repeal the Act only once a new constitution had been implemented.

Following investigation, it would, in fact, appear possible to repeal this Act, provided that this is accompanied by the adoption of temporary transitional measures towards the acceptance of a new constitution. Consequently, I announce that legislation to this effect will be tabled during this session of Parliament.

Should Parliament adopt the government's proposals, the South African statute book will be devoid, within months, of the remnants of racially discriminatory legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid.

Own community life:

Against this background, urgent consideration will have to be given to the question of community rights may be rightfully accommodated in South Africa. Important political role players, inside and outside of Parliament, are in favour of the principle, and work on proposals in this regard being widely undertaken.

Legal reform:

The concept of an own community life may be associated logically and meaningfully with the concept of a bill of rights. As is already known, the Government favours such a bill of rights and is currently awaiting the final report of the South African Law Commission.

In the widest context, the Government wishes to bring the aims it has concerning community life, into line with the concept of a just state in which the rule of law prevails, a state which does not seek to prescribe communities or community life, nor force them upon anybody, but which maintains the legal principles, measures and courts that will make it possible for people to feel secure in the communities of their choosing.

Our legal system has to be subjected to continuous scrutiny to ensure that it meets the needs of the ever-changing demands of our society. In this regard the recognition of indigenous law, alongside common law, remains important.

The maintenance of the independence of our courts is indispensable to a stable and secure future. In this respect, our legal system, and specifically our judiciary, enjoys international recognition and respect.

Where we find ourselves on the eve of constitutional developments in which our jurisprudence will have a decisive role to play, the government will ensure continuously that the status of our jurisprudence is enhanced and even strengthened further. This applies to all its facets, but especially to judges and magistrates.

The Chief Justice, judges-president and the Minister of Justice are working on this continuously. Specific attention is also being given to the status of positions such as those of attorneys-general and magistrates.

Against the background of the world-wide trend towards simplifying legal procedures, making the legal process more accessible and involving the community with it to a great extent, several further initiatives are now indicated:

□ Envisaged is a broadening and expansion of the basis of appointing assessors. The intention is to extend the system, as it currently prevails in the supreme court, to the lower courts in specific cases, as well as to make use in future, not only of jurists and experts as assessors, but also to involve ordinary members of the public served by the court concerned.

□ Greater status and significance for the position of justice of the peace or a similar position, is envisaged to give them a role in the disposal of less serious, decriminalised misdemeanours. In this way, local

the mistakes that have led to impoverishment and dictatorship in so many countries of the world.

Therefore: No matter the pressure or from whence it comes, I shall not be instrumental in creating a dispensation here that is out of step with the basic values and ideals of the world's successful democracies and economies.

If we build the new South African nation on the foundation of these values and ideals, a good future awaits us and our children.

□ We shall be able to unite the rich diversity of our population behind common goals.

□ We shall be able to settle our differences through co-operation and peaceful negotiation.

□ We shall be able to lay the foundations for a new, comprehensive South African nation which will include all our people with allegiance and loyalty to our common fatherland.

□ We shall become part of the international community - finally, fully and with honour and dignity - and play a full part in the rest of Africa and the world.

□ We shall be able to enter the new century as one of the most successful and dynamic nations of the world.

That is our vision. That is our intent. That is our challenge. To this I commit myself. And I ask every leader to support me in this. If South Africans make the essence of a manifesto such as this their own, then the foundations of our new nation will have been firmly laid.

With single-minded unity of purpose, we must build our new South African nation around these values and goals. Constructively, we have to mobilise all the energy, skill and inventiveness of every individual towards building a new South African nation, a nation that will stand proudly in its rightful place amongst the nations of the world. If South Africans do not truly become a nation, there will be no peace. Natural-

way to ensure that the process, as well as the outcome, will be legitimate, durable and acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

In this connection, the government declares its opposition to the idea of an elected constituent assembly. It is of the opinion that the negotiation of a new constitution should be the responsibility of the representatives of all political parties which enjoy proven support and are committed to a peaceful and negotiated solution.

In respect of constitutional development I wish, further, to state the government's point of view clearly on an interim government. The idea that the present, legally-constituted government should relinquish its powers and simply hand over its responsibilities to some other temporary regime, cannot be considered in a sovereign, independent state. Effective government and administration in terms of existing constitutional legislation has to continue until a new constitution has been negotiated and been implemented after the acquisition of a mandate.

However, consideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements on the various legislative and executive levels to give the leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions.

Local government:

Other interim measures may be considered as well. Local government is an example.

The government has been giving attention to reform at the local authority level for quite some time. The options concerning possible models, as contained in the report of the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government Affairs, have stimulated debate at the local level.

In many cases, discussions opened doors to co-operation which could not be implemented because of legal impediments. This leads to frustration which has a negative influence on the process of reform.

particular, that those who are fighting about something which will disappear in any event, should rather direct their efforts.

Apart from local government, the Government is also looking at present, and with a view to interim arrangements, at the problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially in respect of education, housing, health and agriculture. In this context, there is a serious need for fundamental rationalisation linked to effective protection of standards and the rights of individuals and communities.

Before further progress is possible in this regard, wide consultation will have to take place and I urge all who have an interest in this, to co-operate in this process of deliberation. Overly hasty action is not indicated in this regard.



Removal of statutory discrimination:

The elimination of racial discrimination goes hand in hand with the constitutional process. The government has expressed its intention repeatedly to remove discriminatory laws and practices. Many of them have been abolished already. Those remaining could not be repealed out of hand, because their complex nature required in-depth investigation.

These investigations have now been completed to the extent that I am able to make certain announcements today. Legislation is to be tabled shortly for the repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Development of Black Communities Act of 1984, as well as all other stipulations that determine rights concerning land according to membership of population groups.

The Government will also table a White Paper in which it will fully state its approach to the future treatment of land

of apartheid and the repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era - an era in which it was sought to deal with the reality of a diversity of peoples and communities within the same national boundaries, by means of discriminatory coercion.

However, the removal of discrimination and coercion, which is now being completed, does not alter the reality of the existence of a variety of peoples and communities.

This is not unique to South Africa either. Throughout the world, there are certain communities within countries and states that have maintained a specific identity. Individuals, who feel attracted to certain communities and feel happy and secure in them, are also allowed to do so.

In South Africa, too, a deeply-rooted desire exists among some communities for a system in which certain human needs may continue to be met in a community context - without coercion, without discrimination and without apartheid.

The government is convinced that recognition has to be given to this reality in any new dispensation. Therefore, it remains committed to ensuring community rights for those who desire them and believes that they will have to be accommodated in the new South Africa.

The government's points of departure in this respect are that:

□ People cannot be coerced into communities;

□ The authorities may not discriminate against certain communities in favour of others;

□ A community life of one's own has to be sustained by one's own inherent will and abilities and not by statutory coercion;

□ Community recognition has to be based on freedom of association, as it is recognised constitutionally and otherwise by various countries in the world.

communities will become more intimately involved with the administration of justice, and faster settlements will be assured.

□ The intention is also to make civil procedure simpler, faster and cheaper by instituting a mediation procedure and courts for an abridged procedure in certain civil cases. A Bill to this effect was submitted to Parliament today.

The government is also occupied in numerous other fields with reform, renewal and progress directed at a new and stable dispensation. I wish to deal with some subjects in this regard.



An exceptionally topical aspect of our society is education. It is well-known that the government is fully aware of, and deeply concerned about, serious problems in education.

Problems such as inadequate vocational emphasis in our school syllabuses, fragmented state administration, equal financial treatment for all pupils, finding alternative sources of finance for education, the adequate provision of facilities, liaison between formal education and the informal sector, and distance education as an alternative mode of providing education, receive continuous and urgent attention. To equip the individual better for his task, renewal in the educational dispensation is essential to make it more career-oriented and more closely-related to the economy.

Therefore, the Government announced an investigation into a comprehensive educational renewal strategy last year already. The results are expected soon. Thereafter, the matter will be taken further seriously.

Education affects the future of everyone of us. If we wish to create a future South Africa without discrimination and with equality of opportunity,

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FW'S

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A ADDRESS by State President F W de Klerk, DMS, at the opening of the third session of the ninth parliament of the Republic of South Africa today.

From this Chamber a year ago tomorrow, South Africa was placed finally on a new course. Events succeeded one another in rapid succession and I have no doubt that our country is irrevocably on the road to a new dispensation. The goal, with the removal of discrimination, is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life.

In the short span of a single year, substantial progress was made. The Government is determined to build on the foundations laid purposefully, efficiently and with due speed.

South Africa cannot allow or permit the dynamic process of reform to slow down.

Consequently, the process of fundamental reform and all it entails, is the first priority, not only among politicians, but among all. Organisations, columnists, academics, churches and especially the man in the street are thinking and talking about reform continuously. It could hardly be otherwise, since it is, indeed, the future of our country and of every one of its people that is at stake.

Two basic questions arise in relation to reform: What has to be done; and what needs to be abolished?

Today I wish to emphasise the positive, but shall also make announcements on that which has to be abolished.

The initiatives of the past year have prepared the way for a new South Africa. Our task this year will be to give greater content to our vision of what the new South Africa should be like. Simultaneously, we have to give impetus to our resolve to build a new South African nation.

There were centrifugal forces that promoted confrontation, hatred and violence; that thrived on envy, suspicion and fear, and which alienated South Africans from one another.

Against this, the vision of a new South Africa brought most South Africans increasingly closer together. In most hearts there is a yearning for peaceful solutions and co-operation. The majority are tired of the negative and destructive. They wish to 'take hands', but do not always know how to do this.

These facts place the responsible and positive leadership corps in our country before this challenge: The time has arrived for nation-building.

I wish to accept this challenge today and invite every leader in every field to join me in doing so.

In South Africa the task of nation-building is formidable because of the diversity of our population. We lack the natural cohesion of a single culture and language that frequently forms the cornerstone of nationhood. Consequently, we shall have to rely heavily on the other cornerstone - that of common values and ideals.

I have taken the liberty, on the basis of an analysis of the views of a wide spectrum of leaders, of formulating a set of these common values and ideals. Without laying claim to it being complete or the last word on the subject, I believe that it may serve as a point of departure in the search for a national consensus.

The full text will be released today under the title "Manifesto for the new South Africa".

I believe that these values and ideals could provide the cohesiveness of a new South African nation, of a nation that will include all peace-loving South Africans on an equal footing. Furthermore, a Manifesto such as this will be able to be associated with a Bill of Human Rights to which the Government is already committed. It should also give direction to the constitutional negotiations that lie ahead.

In a nutshell, the basic values and ideals, as formulated in the Manifesto, and as they have crystallised out of the national debate, could be summarised thus:

The basis of the new South Africa should be justice. The great majority of South Africans desire a just state which will guarantee basic liberties, rule out arbitrary actions and domination, and which will require and assure responsible citizenship. Everyone desires a just dispensation in which fairness will be the point of departure.

On this basis, South Africans ask that the new South Africa should epitomise the following objectives:-

□ They want peace. They wish to be assured that they and their families and their property will be safe.

□ They want prosperity. They wish to share in a sound and growing economy that will make employment opportunities and better living conditions possible for everybody and allow everybody to reap the fruits of their labours.

□ They want progress. They wish to have effective educational, health and welfare services, as well as adequate housing and recreational facilities.

□ They want participation in democratic institutions. They wish to feel that they are part of government on every level, that they are not dominated and that they may be proud together of our country, South Africa.

On these broad basic values and ideals we can found a new South African nation. They do not belong exclusively to any single political party. They are universal.

They find expression in the hearts and dreams of all successful, prosperous and stable nations.

We may differ about how we should realise these values and ideals. It is in the nature of political parties within a democracy to differ with one another. But we have to agree with one another on basic value systems. There simply is no room in the new South Africa for the alternatives to these values and ideals. There is no room for injustice, tyranny, domination, violence, or for social degradation and economic decline.

Affluence a distant dream for most blacks

AMID the squalor of Soweto, 19-year-old Siphso dreams about a life of luxury.

"I wonder what it is like to live in Sandton," the black youth said about the wealthy town.

"I think the whites would be angry if they knew a black man was living next door," Siphso said with a smile.

Black expectations and white fears have been heightened dramatically by South Africa's year-old reform process and are putting the search for racial peace under mounting strain.

President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are under pressure to persuade their followers to trust reform rather than repression or revolution.

De Klerk is due to announce further reforms of apartheid at the opening of parliament today, continuing a process he began last year by freeing Mandela from jail, legalising black politics and starting negotiations with anti-apartheid forces.

Hysteria

But with black warfare ravaging townships and paramilitary pro-apartheid extremists sowing hysteria among whites, many commentators say prospects for peaceful change are gloomy.

"Anarchy spills wider by the day," said the *Sunday Times*.

"The shallow euphoria of a year ago has dissipated; in its place there is now a hint of despair."

Blacks, who outnumber whites by five to one, live in tribal reserves in the countryside or in spartan townships on the edge of white cities. Most whites live in affluent European-style suburbs.

Blacks have flocked to the cities in recent years, often housing themselves in shanty towns where crime and unemployment have become rife.

Some rightist whites have reacted violently, whipping or beating blacks who use amenities once reserved for whites.

"The fear we have is of an avalanche, where an ignorant ma-

FOCUS

majority will take us into a black period of chaos," a white caller named Reg told a radio phone-in programme.

Soweto social workers say warfare among black political rivals is so intense that increasing numbers of youths do not expect to live long and turn to crime to grab what they can.

Siphso, who spends his days at Inkanyezi Youth Club amid the

beyond our reach are now attainable. We can now make choices in our lives. But many feel the process is not moving fast enough," Gama said.

Blacks did not want to live in townships because the conditions were starkly inadequate compared with white areas.

"It's like looking at A and B," she said. "A is glittering, while B is just mud and overcrowding."

"Transport is poor, so we get up early in the morning and get home very late at night. It interferes with family life."

But even basic amenities may be too much to expect.



All townships lack the most basic amenities.

squalor and gang violence of a Moroka North slum, said a trip from Soweto to Johannesburg's bright lights was a major outing for which funds were saved days in advance.

There, amid glittering city skyscrapers, Sandton's Californian lifestyle seems tantalisingly close, but for impoverished blacks such affluence will remain a world apart.

Social worker Jane Gama said for most township folk the most urgent need was for basic amenities - tarred roads, street lighting, hot running water and regular refuse removal.

"Things that previously were

Business leaders say there is not enough money to extend even proper housing and sewerage to all 28 million blacks, a third of whom live in shacks.

"The expectations of black people are high and are exercising tremendous pressure on the fabric of society," wrote Harry Schwartz, the ambassador-designate to Washington.

The South African Chamber of Business said it would cost the equivalent of 20 billion dollars to create immediate parity for blacks and whites in health, education, housing and social services.

"The sheer magnitude of this challenge cautions against un-

realistic expectations and calls for creative responses," Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said.

But many political analysts say business must play the main role in allaying black mistrust of white intentions.

"If the economy doesn't change gears immediately, the doors of hell will be opened," said political analyst Wimpie de Klerk.

"The key to political success lies in the immediate and dramatic improvement of the quality of life of the black masses," said De Klerk, who is the president's brother.

He said black support for the reform process would collapse unless there were concrete improvements in their lives - township amenities, wages, transport - during 1991.

Boiling

"The pressure cooker of expectations is boiling," said Rand Afrikaans University professor Nina Overton.

Opinion polls show blacks, though angry about township poverty, are optimistic about the future of race relations while whites are gloomy.

"Whites have more to lose from reform. Blacks have more to gain," Overton said.

The prospect of having a black neighbour makes most whites uneasy and a good many furious.

"The prevailing emotion among whites is fear," novelist Nadine Gordimer told a literary symposium.

"(It is) fear of retribution for all that has been done to blacks by whites' forefathers; for all that the whites themselves have done by their own actions and for their own silence, their turning away with closed eyes," she said.

"I believe we must create material justice before we can hope to eliminate the kind of violence that has become a tragic habit in South Africa," Gordimer said. - *Sapa-Reuter*

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

THE last remnants of apartheid laws, including the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts are to be scrapped, President De Klerk announced today.

He also envisaged transitional arrangements on legislative and executive levels to give leaders of negotiating parties a voice in formulating important policy decisions.

Mr De Klerk offered this instead of concepts of an elected constituent assembly or an interim government, which he rejected.

Measures are to be taken to bring about joint nonracial local government structures, mainly on a voluntary basis.

He issued a "manifesto for a new South Africa" which, he said, was aimed at formulating common values and ideals which could serve as a point of departure in the search for a national consensus.

One of the aims of today's speech was clearly to create a post-apartheid mood.

Foundations

"The government is determined to build on the foundations laid purposefully, efficiently and with due speed in the past year.

"South Africa cannot allow or permit the dynamic process of reform to slow down," he said.

Mr De Klerk said he was keen for multiparty exploratory talks on negotiations to begin soon but he did not make a firm announcement on this.

Discussions among political parties and interest groups had shown a growing consensus that the time had arrived for a multiparty conference.

The government was pleased to take note of an African National Congress message accepting such a conference as the first step that could lead to adopting a new constitution.

This approach was the best way to ensure that the process as well as the outcome would be legitimate, durable and acceptable to most.

●Text of FW's speech — pages 14 and 15.

Rejecting the idea of an elected constituent assembly, Mr De Klerk said the government felt the negotiation of a new constitution should be the responsibility of the representatives of all political parties with proven support and a commitment to a peaceful and negotiated solution.

Referring to the concept of an interim government, he said that "the idea that the present, legally constituted government should relinquish its powers and simply hand over its responsibilities to some or other temporary regime cannot be considered in a sovereign, independent state".

"Effective government and administration in terms of existing constitutional legislation has to continue until a new constitution has been negotiated and implemented after the acquisition of a mandate."

Mr De Klerk said the statute book should within months be devoid of racially discriminatory legislation which had become known as the cornerstones of apartheid.

The removal of discrimination and coercion did not, however, alter the reality of the existence of a variety of peoples and communities.

It remained the government's aim to ensure that the need to meet certain human needs in a community context, but without coercion, discrimination or apartheid.

The government had previously maintained that the Population Registration Act had to be retained because it was necessary for the maintenance of the present constitutional system.

Transitional measures

It now appeared possible to repeal this Act provided there were temporary transitional measures before the acceptance of a new constitution.

According to government sources this meant that the present population register will be maintained under the present system but that there will not be any further race classifications after the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

Referring to local government, Mr De Klerk said interim steps were needed, although the government did not want to anticipate the national process of negotiation.

The dynamics of co-operation which had developed in many communities in respect of co-operation had to be accommodated.

Legislation would be submitted during the present session of parliament to enable communities to enter into discussions on a voluntary basis and establish joint structures.

Room would be created for:

- The joint provision of services and the establishment of a single administration for various participating local authorities;

- The possibility for participating local authorities to take decisions at joint meetings that would be binding on all the participants;

- The establishment of a single body or bodies to which the powers, duties and functions of the various participating authorities may be assigned, either wholly or in part.

Substantial progress had been made with the planning of a new system of local government that would recognise the concept of "one municipality, one tax base".

The strategy of radicals to destroy existing local government structures had to end.

The government was also looking at problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially in education, housing, health and agriculture.

"There is a serious need for fundamental rationalisation linked to effective protection of standards and the rights of individuals and communities."

Wide consultation was necessary and Mr De Klerk called on all interested parties to co-operate in this process of deliberation.

(Turn to page 2, col 1)

Race laws to go

(Cont from page 1)

He also announced reform aimed at making the legal process more accessible and involving the community with it to a greater extent.

Among the initiatives that were being considered were:

- A broadening and expansion of the basis of appointing assessors.

- Greater status and significance for the position of justice of the peace or a similar position to give them a role in the disposal of less serious, decriminalised misdemeanours.

- Steps to make civil procedure simpler, faster and cheaper by instituting a mediation procedure in certain civil cases.

In his speech Mr De Klerk also expressed concern about the high level of political and criminal lawlessness in the country.

He said this was worrying and unacceptable and could seriously delay or even undermine progress. One of the great evils was the abuse of mass action which degenerated all too often.

Everything possible was being done to make the police force more effective and efficient, but it was not the task of the government alone to act.

Political and community leaders had to accept co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling supporters and creating a climate for negotiations.

Race laws to go

Apartheid

CAP-THS 1/2/91

3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is widely expected to deal apartheid a mortal blow when he opens the 1991 session of Parliament this morning.

Government sources indicate that the president will announce a number of bold steps to convince the international community and liberation movements of the government's commitment to irreversible reform.

Although sources emphasised that a final decision on the contents of today's keenly awaited address will be Mr De Klerk's alone, among the possible measures being mooted in top government circles include:

- Suspending major sections of the Population Registration Act—including all fresh classification of people according to race—pending the final repeal of this cornerstone of apartheid once a new constitution is introduced.
- Clearing the slate for a new South Africa by pardoning and expunging from the record crimes committed against apartheid laws like the Group

Areas and Immorality Acts—a de facto confession by the government that apartheid was wrong.

- The scrapping of two cornerstones of apartheid—the Group Areas Act and the Land Act—coupled with possible affirmative action programmes for black farmers, in particular to redress imbalances created by discriminatory laws.

- The phasing out of aspects of the race-based tripartite Parliament, including separate ministers' councils and parliamentary debates.
- The possible establishment of a "collegial" or

multi-party cabinet, involving both MPs and extra-parliamentary politicians of all races.

- Plans for a new system of non-racial local government, with drastically increased powers and sources of finance for third-tier government.

- An open-ended commitment to negotiate a single ministry of education, with possible large-scale emergency funding to reduce historical discrepancies in funding and resources for black pupils and schools in the meantime.

The government sources say that Mr De Klerk might hold over some of these steps for discussion at a multi-party conference which the government and some of its potential negotiating partners are keen to get off the ground in coming months.

However, the president seems certain to announce a number of measures aimed at convincing black South Africans of his government's bona fides and drawing as many parties as possible into the multi-party talks, and eventually into fully fledged negotiations for a new constitution.

It is possible that Mr De Klerk will today throw further light on how the government plans to separate its role from that of the National Party ahead of negotiations.

To page 2

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From page 1

FW speech

Capt T. 11/2/91
308A

There have been suggestions that a number of senior cabinet ministers might eventually be seconded to take care of negotiations on a full-time basis.

Mr De Klerk could aim at winning further goodwill among liberation movements by giving blanket indemnity to certain types of politically motivated offences which did not result in injury or death, the sources said.

The government could also use the promise of financial help for returning exiles as an act of good faith, they said.

Mr De Klerk has promised to review existing security legislation during the coming session. Extra-parliamentary groups have targeted the Internal Security Act as a major impediment on free political activity.

The president is likely to underline the government's commitment to socio-economic upliftment.

One idea actively entertained in cabinet circles is the creation of a lottery with the proceeds being earmarked for a socially acceptable cause like the upgrading of health facilities.

There has also been speculation that when he addresses Parliament today, Mr De Klerk will refer to the problems of violence and intimidation, the controversial issue of mass mobilisation, the state of the economy and South Africa's international relations.

FW's manifesto for the new South Africa

8 Feb 11 21 1

30411

We, as South Africans from all walks of life, associating ourselves with the goodwill and the shared desire for justice, peace and freedom among the majority of our fellow South Africans, declare:

That a just and fair New South Africa, free from apartheid, requires a strong South African nation.

That there exists, therefore, an urgent need for the leaders of all our people and communities to come together to shape a mutually acceptable new constitution for our country.

That such a constitution should be based on the rule of law and lay the foundation for a nation dedicated to justice, democracy and freedom for all, through the pursuit of participation, peace, progress, and prosperity.

That Christian values and universally accepted civilised norms and standards should be maintained in South Africa together with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship.

That all the people of our country should take part in this endeavour.

That we, to this end, sub-

scribe to the following:

Participation. A free and democratic political system. We commit ourselves to the creation of a free and democratic political system in South Africa, in which all people shall be free in this, their country of birth; all the people of our land shall participate fully at all levels of government on the basis of universal adult franchise; the government of the country shall at all times be based upon the consent of the governed; all people shall be equal before the law, and shall enjoy equal rights regardless of race, colour, sex or creed; the rights of all individuals and minorities defined on a non-racial basis shall be adequately protected in the constitution and in a constitutionally guaranteed and justiciable Bill of Rights; freedom of expression, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people; freedom of movement and of association shall be guaranteed to all.

Progress. An equitable social system. We commit ourselves to the creation of an equitable social system in South Africa in which: the human dignity of each individual, being a unique creature of God, shall be re-

spected at all times; freedom of religion and of worship shall be guaranteed for all; all discrimination between groups of people or between individuals shall be eliminated and discriminatory legislation shall be repealed; the goal of just and equitable educational systems, accessible to all, shall be striven for unswervingly; access for all to affordable shelter shall be a high priority.

Prosperity. A free and equitable economic system. We commit ourselves to the creation of a free and equitable economic system in South Africa in which: all people shall be free to sell their labour and market their products; the ownership of property shall be open to all; economic growth with the emphasis on the creation of employment shall be vigorously promoted; the resources of the State shall be fairly used for the common good, with special regard to the socio-economic backlogs existing in our country; the State and all the members of our society shall accept our responsibility as custodians of our environment and resources.

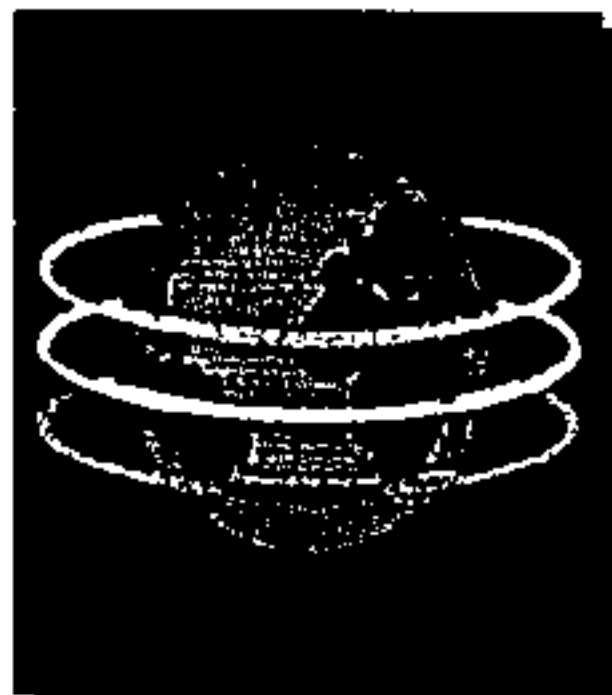
Peace. Freedom and security for all. We commit ourselves to the maintenance of South Africa as a sovereign independent state, secure against foreign interference, in which: the protection of, and respect for life, liberty and property shall be a first principle; the peaceful settlement of political and other disputes between groups and individuals shall form the foundation of a democratic society; violence and intimidation shall not be tolerated as tools to attain political ends; the State shall be charged with the duty to ensure the maintenance of stability in a peaceful and orderly society; the application of the powers of State shall be limited to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and orderly society, and shall be governed by the law.

We, who associate ourselves with this manifesto, recognise that we are still divided by many differences concerning the manner in which these ideals may best be realised, but we also recognise that we are united in our love for our country and all its people, and therefore we declare that we are determined to apply all our talents and our labours to overcome these differences and to find a peaceful way to build a great South African nation and a better future for the generations to come.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HAVE POLICY, WILL TRAVEL

WITH REFORM, PIK BOTHA AND HIS TEAM FEEL AT HOME IN THE WORLD



Just as F W de Klerk has managed to disconcert his rivals at home with what might be called rational reform, SA's long-withheld re-entry into the world has been spearheaded by the force of a single personality —

the blunt yet oddly engaging Pik Botha.

He has not done the job by himself — as he makes plain — but it is not for nothing that he is the longest-serving foreign minister in the West. He was there before all the others. Like his president, he is battle-hardened — a survivor, waiting the hour of redemption. Now, at 58, he is spearheading his department's initiatives in a wider and more sympathetic world.

But it was never easy. Behind such announcements as last week's — that low-key diplomatic links will soon be in place with Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, following Poland, Romania and Hungary — lies a complex personal crusade which at times had personal as well as political penalties for Botha.

His problem was always that he worked towards a political system which, if not downright idealistic, lay far in the future. The record indicates that he was prepared to take the consequences of criticising apartheid. As a young MP (in 1970) he and his wife Helena were ostracised by party members after a maiden speech in parliament in which he pleaded for a Bill of Rights. P W Botha openly humiliated him in front of foreign ambassadors — at least, those whose governments still maintained some links with SA — after his casual remark about the possibility of a black president. He twice threatened to resign.

Now, in the De Klerk era, he fairly obvi-

ously projects a sense of having come home. And, as it happens, the entire game plan of SA's foreign service has changed with the times — to his liking. As Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden notes: "We were in a boxing ring; now we find ourselves on a racetrack."

This does not mean that Foreign Affairs has embarked on an offensive — in the sense of aggressive lobbying for goodwill. But there is much work to be done. Van Heerden defines the process as "a normalising of diplomatic traffic... We would like to market SA in a dynamic manner abroad without being apologetic or pleading." This compares with attitudes in the Seventies, when the powers-that-were saw everything in terms of image-broking, with money changing hands for influence that came to nothing.

The department's strategies — with those of the new government — have undergone enormous changes. The changes have not come solely with De Klerk — P W Botha was himself a reformist president; it was just that his reforms had a finally deadening ceiling. Yet De Klerk, as much as P W before him, relies on his foreign minister and his worldly-wise department to carry the meaning of reform to the outside world.

How does Pik Botha see his role? "For years this department was really in the forefront of SA's international fight... We had to do the resisting. We had to analyse in time for the government to see the danger of sanctions. In parliament and outside parliament, when I warned that sanctions were coming, I was called an alarmist. Eventually they came.

"(Our duty was) to either circumvent sanctions or to do our best to prevent further sanctions. One of our greatest achievements is that we never got sanctions as a result of Namibia; we never got sanctions over Rhodesia. This department handled it."

This would seem to suggest a certain uncomfortableness in working for leaders whose policies were, ultimate-

ly, apartheid-based — and doing a "selling" job on what little good was left after that. Botha doesn't quite see it that way; he argues that neither he nor his department ever defended apartheid. *Explained* it, yes. Personally, he says, he could never have sold the idea of apartheid.

"On entering parliament I made the speech on the desirability of subscribing to

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the UN (as ambassador) I made a statement that I couldn't defend apartheid; thereafter I came back (to SA) and I made it clear publicly that I was not prepared to go to war for apartheid signs. Then there was my black president remark... so I don't want to boast about it, but I can look back on a record which is there for everybody to see."

Today it is clear that Botha and the youthful team of Foreign Affairs officials that he and Van Heerden lead, relish their newly found role

and its implementation. "We astounded the world, even ourselves, with the speed with which President De Klerk moved ahead," he says. "He announced Mr Mandela's release (and) that immediately opened doors."

What followed was a carefully planned strategy to reap the fruits of De Klerk's concessions and initiatives. Mandela's release initiated the negotiation process and the Groote Schuur Minute (the first government-ANC pact) opened the doors for De Klerk's European visit. After that came the Pretoria Minute, which cleared the way for the Rose Garden meeting with US President George Bush, and then the historic opening up of NP party membership to all races preceded the trip to Holland, Luxembourg, Morocco and Senegal.

It is in Africa and the deteriorating East Bloc that diplomatic gains have been most remarkable — a matter not of old friends allowing the prodigal to return, but of making new friends in a rapidly altering world. It is in Africa, particularly, that Botha and Van Heerden believe Foreign Affairs — representing SA as a regional economic and political power — has an emerging and important role. Botha is known to favour a



Alayne Reesberg... young team fends off criticism



Pik Botha... still running ahead

Marshall Aid-type plan for the regeneration of southern Africa — and lately to this scheme he has added a centralised airways system which would link SA and its neighbouring countries. At the end of this road would lie a united southern African region with enormous potential for wealth-creation, a model for Africa as a whole.

Botha is not too blithe about the prospect. He cautions against the kind of over-optimism, virtual euphoria, which gripped the nation after February 2 1990: "I believe we must now cultivate and tend to the lands already ploughed — and not try to plough the whole world overnight. I think we must consolidate . . . open the seven or eight new missions and get them started."

The next, vital step is in a sense out of Foreign Affairs' hands — the need to achieve successful negotiations on a constitutional framework for SA. "We honestly feel we have crossed the threshold of isolation," he says. "Now things must happen here."

So what is holding things up? Botha is careful not to blame the ANC: "I do not think (they do it) intentionally. It is a party that must adjust itself, it must get its structures into place — and I believe we ought to understand that and show understanding for that dilemma."

Meanwhile, the re-orientation of Foreign Affairs gains pace by the day. The new diplomacy needs new perspectives — and the department has enlisted various outside consultants to instruct officials on the theme of "management under conditions of change," as Van Heerden puts it. "We devote a lot of attention to the psychology of this transition," he adds.

Van Heerden has a young team in comparison with career diplomats from countries such as the United Kingdom and France. There is Botha's personal spokesman, Pieter Swanepoel (41), who is taking up the ambassadorial post in Portugal. Van Heerden's own public affairs official, Alayne Reesberg (33), who became a familiar face on US TV in the late Eighties, fending off difficult questions, is to go to London.

There is no lack of talent: "All our posts are filled at the moment," Van Heerden says. "We also have more English-speaking officials than any other government department."

Van Heerden and the minister are keen to appoint blacks to the diplomatic corps — but recruitment has been slow. Botha recalls that he obtained Cabinet permission 11 years ago to appoint blacks, but at that time they wouldn't serve. While some at least are now "prepared to do so," one offered ambassadorship to a black was declined. (The *FM* thinks it was Oscar Dhlomo.)

The department also has a dilemma. As Van Heerden puts it: "We have a double-edged problem. On the one hand, the polarisation of our community has resulted in a reluctance among blacks to join the department . . . On the other, we have the interesting situation that the upwardly mobile black candidate is a prime target for the private

sector — and we simply cannot compete with them. Our starting annual salary of R18 700 gets laughed at."

However, Van Heerden has hopes that future differentiation in the civil service could improve matters. He has appointed a task group which has been investigating the financial position of Foreign Affairs' officials in relation to other government departments. He is also convinced that a career in diplomacy will ultimately be attractive to blacks: "It is intellectually stimulating, and most South Africans have an inborn yearning to travel. In all modesty I think that Foreign Affairs has a good image."

The department, once beleaguered by the international community, quite suddenly has a new product to offer and market — to blacks. Botha adds: "We are now in line, I believe, with all the basic fundamental values and principles applicable in all civilised countries. And because we are in step we can appeal to them, not only to accept the irreversibility of the process of change — the dismantling and complete withdrawal of apartheid — but we can appeal to them for help if and when proposals are made at the negotiations which deviate from principles the West adheres to."

Will the new diplomat necessarily have a different style to his predecessors? "No," suggests Botha. "Exactly the same personality. It requires judgment — a calm, inoffensive style — but the man must know when to be fair. However, a person with a greater capability to sell will now do better than the quiet one."

The appointments of the Democratic Party's Harry Schwarz to Washington and Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr to London seem to indicate that Botha has opted for politicians rather than the career diplomats waiting in the east wing of the Union Buildings. He modifies this: "We already have that core of career diplomats serving overseas. They have held office under the most trying circumstances, stood alone, had to bear the brunt of the fire . . ."

So there is no trend to appointing "outsiders." Botha says: "We have always done that. Washington often had an outsider, London virtually always. But we must retain a balance too — young men join this department to become ambassadors."

Still, Durr's appointment did come as a surprise. There had long been rumours of a rift between Botha and Durr relating to Trade & Industry's often innovative forays into foreign markets — trade preceding the flag, as it were. Botha does admit that "you must always expect a little bit of rivalry between departments. I think it is healthy if it is only competition — but it must never get out of hand and to the point where it harms the interest of the country as a whole."

Durr's appointment, which the *FM* understands to have been at his own request, fuelled speculation that it was an early move to subsume Trade & Industry under Foreign Affairs. Van Heerden comments: "In many countries, for example Canada, Germany



Van Heerden . . . interesting signals from Africa

and Australia, in all export-driven countries, trade & industry has been integrated with foreign affairs. One can look at that model — but I do not want to create the impression that we want to swallow other departments."

Botha leaves no doubt as to who is in charge abroad: "Our task is to handle all relations with governments. That is the foreign affairs function of everyone — the US State department, the foreign office in Britain — everywhere. You cannot have three departments dealing with governments."

"In our isolation days it was often difficult because we had no contact with governments. Now we have in my opinion normal relations with all the central and eastern European states. However, if on occasion it is necessary for a man from Trade & Industry to go into a country, I'll support it."

But if Foreign Affairs is being a little assertive over its turf vis-à-vis Trade & Industry, this is nothing compared to its feelings about the various cloak-and-dagger operations of the past conducted by securocrats abroad under the cover of the department. The attempted sale of missiles in Paris — which led to the expulsion of a so-called diplomat — was one recent example. "We have learnt valuable lessons from these incidents," asserts Van Heerden. "We have now laid down rules to people who are attached to our missions under the roof of Foreign Affairs. These rules are nothing more or less than the normal diplomatic practices."

But these shadows from the past have the effect of compromising Foreign Affairs' legitimate — and proud — activities in the era of reform. Botha and Van Heerden in time will overcome the problem. Botha, certainly, has been around so long that such unexpected obstacles cannot withstand his long-term professionalism — and he is at last secure in agreeing with overall policy at home. He is finally a salesman with something to sell. ■

PARLIAMENT

IN THE TIME WARP

THE THREE HOUSES ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY LESS IMPORTANT

President F W de Klerk is likely to use this Friday's opening of parliament to usher in a new wave of reform but he will do so in a forum he has relegated to a sideshow in national politics. The very basis on which it is constituted is in question — to the extent that the tricameral House lacks the legitimacy to play any role other than a rubber stamp for technical measures needed to run the country and as the constitutional mechanism necessary to scrap the apartheid laws — including the constitution.

De Klerk conceded as much at last year's opening when he committed himself to a more just and democratic future. While parliament remains a useful forum for making important announcements, even that role may wane. As negotiations — meaning negotiations for a new constitution — develop, progress will increasingly depend on participants who want nothing to do with the tricameral system.

De Klerk's ability to maintain momentum could then be better served if future announcements are made in some forum acceptable to all — perhaps a multiparty conference. He could well involve parliament as little as possible in issues with direct bearing on the negotiations.

The white House will continue to function as a soapbox — particularly for Nat politicians to rail against opposition parties and to reassure white voters that they're not being sold down the river. It will also be required to sign the legislation that will enable reform in the next year. To assist NP MPs, De Klerk or his agents will brief them confidentially in caucus — and their contributions to parlia-

mentary debate will be carefully planned not to upset government's extraparliamentary strategies. Inevitably, the focus of debate will be on sterile, interparty squabbling.

Even the legislative procedures are likely to be truncated: of the apartheid laws only two or three are likely to go this year — the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. The Population Registration Act, the pillar of apartheid, may be dealt with in another way (*Current Affairs* January 25).

Racial measures in a number of laws — such as child adoption and access to State-controlled cultural institutions — will be scrapped. But these are measures that have either not been enforced for some time or are necessary to give legislative force to previous announcements.

There is no doubt they will be approved. P W Botha, perhaps unwittingly, ensured the NP's total domination of the system. This means that whatever De Klerk and other negotiators decide in forums outside parliament will pass as a matter of course. MPs will give legislative force to reform but have little say in changes.

This is not to suggest that parliament had real power before De Klerk's presidency. Under Botha the Cabinet and State Security Council made the important decisions and parliament — or more correctly the NP — gave them constitutional legitimacy.

What has changed is that instead of fine-tuning apartheid, as did P W, De Klerk is seeking ways to dismantle it. Barring an unlikely cataclysm — such as a majority of Nat MPs defecting to the CP — the NP will continue to run the show.

DP leader Zach de Beer agrees that it's impossible to pretend the main political action is not outside parliament — and because of this the coming session will be shrouded in unreality. Nevertheless, he believes parliament remains an important forum for debate on certain issues. "Apart from rather trivial legislation necessary to run the country, our time will be taken up with testing one another on our attitudes to what is happening outside parliament."

He says many Nats seem to regard the ANC as an election foe instead of a potential ally in a broad-based centralist coalition that is probably essential if SA is to survive politi-

cally and prosper economically over the next few years. Parliament presents an opportunity to talk them out of that attitude.

It is also a forum for raising and debating issues of national crisis. High on the DP's agenda is the rapidly waning credibility of the SAP, particularly following the Neethling defamation judgment. And there is the

multifaceted crisis in black townships.

De Beer says the economy needs intensive debate: "Everyone simply says it will come right once our politics come right. This is partly true, but for how long can we adopt this relaxed attitude while the average South African is being impoverished at a rate of 3,5% a year, given a 2,5% population growth rate and a minus 1% economic growth rate?"

The DP will also use the session to urge

De Klerk forward, particularly towards a multiparty conference which all but extremists now accept as the next step forward.

Robert Schrire, director of the Institute for Policy Studies at Cape Town University, says De Klerk's effective acknowledgement that parliament lacks legitimacy means it can't fill its traditional role of legitimising actions of the Executive. This function is now taking place outside parliament in the negotiating process and through the informal relationship that has developed between government and the ANC.

Schrire adds that, because parliament lacks legitimacy, it is also no longer an appropriate forum for important announcements. He also believes government may decide to bypass it in future to avoid jeopardising progress in negotiations.

Many parliamentary debates will be almost ignored by the media and opposition MPs will become increasingly frustrated. In a public sense they will be largely irrelevant. But activity on the periphery of parliament — lobbying, briefings and the release of information by bureaucrats and ministers — will be the best barometer of reform.

Parliament is caught in a time warp between the apartheid system that spawned it and the transition to democracy. Until that transition is complete it will remain a monument to 40 years of Nat blunder, and a costly one, paid for by the taxpayers it no longer exactly represents. ■



F W de Klerk ... main attraction

OILING THE WHEELS

According to parliament's provisional programme, the Budget will be presented by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis on March 20. The Joint Committee on Finance will sit to consider the Budget from March 21-28 and on April 8; and it will be debated in parliament from April 9-12 and on April 15, 16 and 18. The debates on the Budget votes of individual State departments will begin on April 18 and probably last until early June.

The additional appropriation will be on February 18 and the part appropriation (mini-Budget) on February 19. The Post Office additional appropriation will be on February 14 and the Post Office main budget on February 25. The three "own affairs" budgets will be on March 22.

By CHARLES LEONARD

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has lost a constituency — and it seems it does not really bother him.

On Tuesday more than 10 000 farmers waited in vain at the Union Buildings in Pretoria for De Klerk to address them on their grievances.

In a statement released by his office in Cape Town he said he had already relayed his personal viewpoint to the organisers that marches and mass mobilisation are counter-productive.

He said he believed that people who had parliamentary representation and full democratic rights had a special responsibility in relation to this kind of protest.

And their parliamentary representatives were there in full strength. Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and 18 members of his caucus left a meeting in Cape Town on Wed-

Farmers are angry, but

FW doesn't seem to care

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2

nesday afternoon and flew up to mingle with the angry farmers camping in Pretoria's Church Street.

The far right, in the form of Hertzog Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Jaap Marais and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre-Blanche, also did their rounds and needless to say scored some political points with the aggravated farmers.

The farmers' grievances centre around economic factors but the political dimensions cannot be ignored.

For many, political factors dominate their protest against the government. Primarily this involves the proposed

extension of labour-related Acts to agriculture. One of the demands they planned to present to the state president was that labour legislation should not be applied to this sector.

A Free State farmer told *The Weekly Mail* on Tuesday that union involvement on the farms would ruin even more farmers, especially if minimum wages were introduced. "We treat our people well," he said. "Why do they (the unions) want to come and meddle in our affairs?"

The rightwing is clearly honing in on this discontent, concentrating even more strongly on the issue of land re-

form. They are getting a lot of political mileage from farmers up to their necks in debt and losing their land.

Right-wing propaganda zooms in and adds a racist dimension by telling farmers that the government is dumping them so that black farmers can get their land at ridiculously low prices.

So, another demand the farmers presented this week was that the status quo in relation to the ownership and usage of land should be retained so that "white land stays white land".

It appears the government has decided to ditch the farmers, a constituency its predecessors always nurtured through substantial subsidies.

There are, however, still several farmers behind the National Party. The situation is likely to come to a head when real land reforms are introduced. And this has to happen sooner than later.

Call for new 'super cabinet'

By ARTHUR MAIMANE: Cape Town

THE Solidarity Party intends to place a motion before parliament calling on the state president to dissolve all three Ministers' Councils "as soon as possible" and amend the constitution to allow for the appointment of what it calls a "super cabinet" that would include extra-parliamentary parties committed to negotiations.

In a move that appeared to be pre-empting President FW de Klerk's speech, MP Ishmael Omar said yesterday that at the moment politicians were "talking past each other instead of to each other". Solidarity leader JN Reddy, said "the wounds of history have to be healed" and the proposed "super cabinet" would allow leaders of the disenfranchised to contribute to the running of the country while negotiations

for a new constitution were in progress.

Solidarity says the "super cabinet" could be regarded as an interim government — an administration that the African National Congress is demanding. The all-party conference proposed by the ANC was likely to appoint a steering committee that could, said Omar, "be elevated to 'super cabinet' status". (304A) 253

The majority party in the House of Delegates says the government, and some extra-parliamentary movements, have shown an interest in its proposal — "at least it hasn't been shot down in flames", said Reddy. Another proposal is that the rules of parliament should be changed so that non-MPs like Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi can use parliament as a platform to address the nation.

Mandela gets peek at the speech

W/Ma 1121-7291 304A

STATE President FW de Klerk opens parliament this morning with a speech expected to announce major measures to end apartheid and remove obstacles to negotiations — and which has already been discussed with African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

Diplomatic, state and ANC sources say De Klerk has discussed the speech with Mandela and most say it is likely to have a dramatic effect in easing remaining US and European sanctions, as well as in getting negotiations going.

Some commentators believe it to be fortuitous that Mandela's doctors advised him not to lead today's march on parliament — not only because he has effectively contributed to its content, but also because the enormity of its impact may take much of the wind out of the ANC's protest.

Among the measures which may be announced are the following:

- The repeal of the Group Areas Act. Government sources stress this will not be replaced by "backdoor" apartheid, through, for example, allowing local authorities to retain Group Area measures.

- The repeal of the Land Acts, which segregate the ownership and occupation of farmland — and ensure that it does not fall out of white hands.

- Legislation aimed at empowering local communities to establish non-racial city and town councils immediately — before the issue of local government is decided on in national, constitutional negotiations.

One effect of this would be to defuse the campaign by ANC-aligned civic associations against separate black and white councils — at least in those areas which accept non-racial local government.

- While government sources have made it clear that De Klerk will not announce a single, non-racial education department, they say he will suggest progress in this direction by, for example, opening the way for significant numbers of white teachers to be employed in black schools, and reducing the powers of separate racial education departments by transferring them to the department of National Education.

- The immediate repeal of the Population Registration Act is not expected, it several commentators say that an announcement of this intention is on the cards.

Said Stellenbosch University political scientist Professor Hennie Kotze: "The American Anti-Apartheid Act makes the lifting of the Population Registration Act a prerequisite for lifting remaining sanctions, so I think it is safe to assume that President De Klerk will make his intentions known, and his speech may well suggest major progress in this regard."

The difficulty is that the Population Registration Act creates the basis for,

FW de Klerk may try and facilitate negotiations and ease economic sanctions in one blow with his opening speech to parliament today, writes **GAVIN EVANS**

among other things, the tri-cameral parliament, "own affairs" education, whites-only military conscription and the racially separate police training colleges. Instantly removing the basis for these could throw the country into administrative and political chaos.

- Major changes in existing security legislation. As Kotze put it: "He won't necessarily announce the scrapping of the Internal Security Act, but he may well do away with some of the more contentious elements in it."

- An intention to break the deadlock around exiles, political trials and political prisoners with measures to speed up progress in these respects.

The ANC has made it very clear in statements following its consultative conference in December that the indemnification procedures currently in effect are not viable because of the category system.

Movement representatives say they are expecting De Klerk to announce something approaching a general amnesty for all exiles and political prisoners. Some are also predicting an end to current politically related trials to be announced.

- The speech is also expected to contain a strong stress on maintaining standards, and on law and order being a prerequisite for further progress.

- De Klerk is also likely to propose a major socio-economic upliftment programme involving a significant contribution from big business, says Kotze.

- He is expected to provide some idea of how the government perceives the negotiation process over the next year and a further indication of the government's support for the all-party conference proposed by the ANC on January 8.

Sources close to government say it is hoped the speech will have the dual effect of opening the way for the all-party conference to begin the business of constitutional negotiations, and to speed up the reversal of economic sanctions, the sporting and cultural moratoriums and diplomatic pressures.

One problem for De Klerk is that there is widespread expectation that his February 1 1991 speech will have the same kind of momentous effect as his February 2 1990 one did.

As Kotze put it: "It is quite possible that at the end of it people will still say that it did not go as far as last year's, and it will be difficult to surpass that one — even though the political and symbolic effect of the changes expected to be announced will be huge."



President FW de Klerk ... widespread expectations surround his speech to open parliament today

FW gives Mandela

a sneak

30411
11/2 - 11/2/91

preview...

...but seems to have forgotten about his farmers

RESIDENT FW de Klerk opens parliament today with what is expected to be a landmark speech — which he has already discussed with African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Earlier this week De Klerk appeared to have lost a crucial white constituency — and it didn't seem to bother him at all. This was on Tuesday when more than 10 000 farmers waited in rain at the Union Buildings in Pretoria for the president to address them on their grievances.

In a statement released by his office in Cape Town he said he had already relayed his personal viewpoint to the organisers that marches and mass mobilisation were counter-productive. (Full story on Page 6.)

When De Klerk opens parliament today, he is expected to announce a wide range of measures to end apartheid and remove obstacles to negotiations.

These are expected to include:

- The repeal of the Group Areas Act
- The repeal of the Land Acts
- Major changes to existing security legislation

Full story on Page 3



Tiekie-draai ...protesting farmers paralysed Pretoria this week, and after President de Klerk refused to discuss their grievances with them, celebrated in the streets



Law versus agriculture ... a protesting farmer is bundled into the back of a police van during Tuesday's 'Great Trek-tor' in Pretoria

Photos: JUSTIN SHOLK

NEWS

De Klerk does it his way

Star 2/2/91

SHAUN JOHNSON

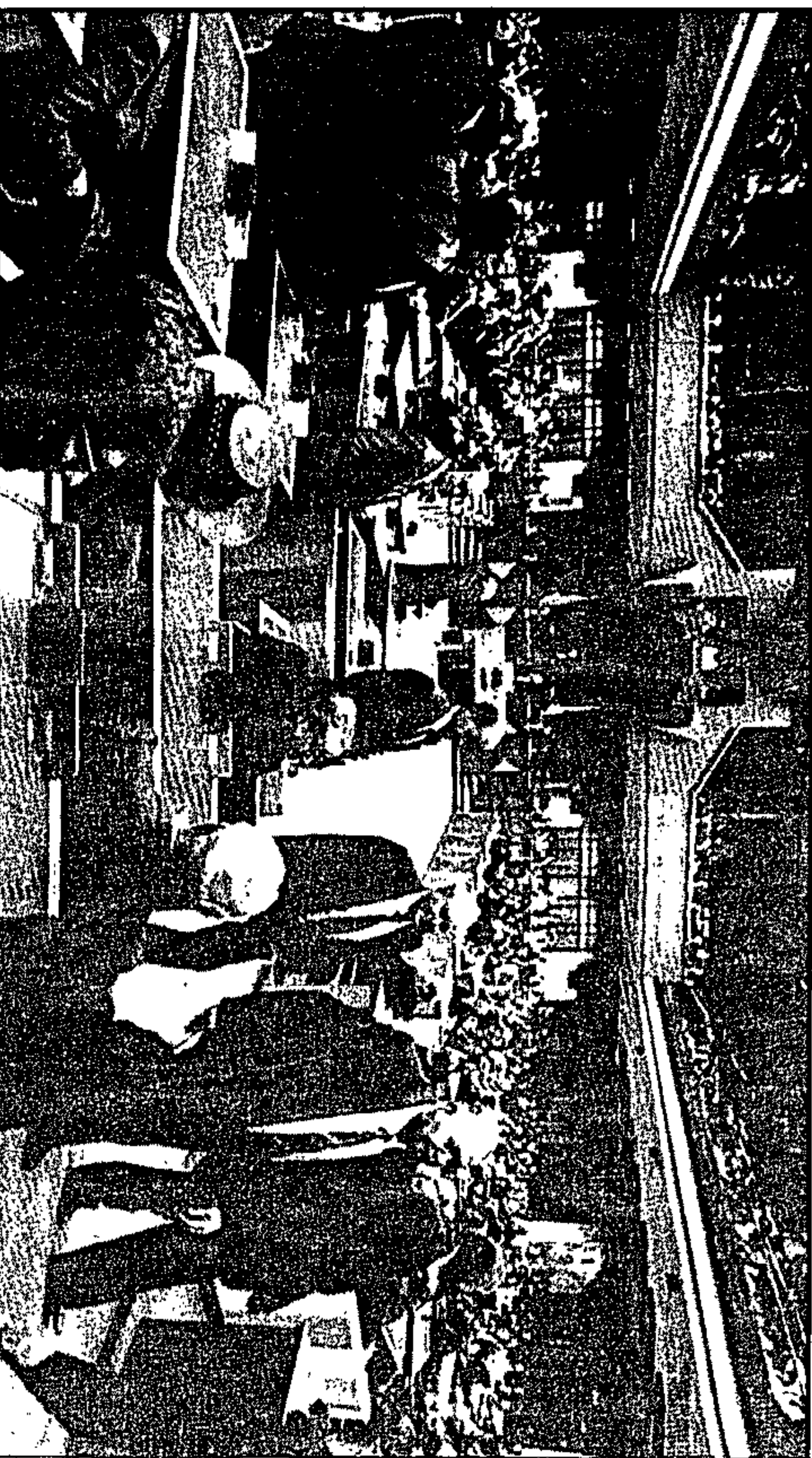
CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk bought himself another sizeable chunk of moral high ground yesterday, simultaneously frustrating the ANC's attempts to regain the initiative in the negotiations process.

By signalling the collapse of the so-called "pillars of apartheid" — and by getting rid of the Population Registration Act before he had been expected to do so — President de Klerk won accolades here and abroad and has convinced the overwhelming majority of diplomats that his reforms are indeed "irreversible".

Good follow-up

At the level of public perception, such a crucial factor in the run-up to negotiations, he managed a credible follow-up to last year's bombshell speech — without in fact making overtly uncomfortable concessions on behalf of the National Party.

The NP has ensured that it is viewed as the most eager of all parties to get "real" negotiations under way, while in fact on the subject of basic agreed principles to underpin constitutional negotiations — and indeed the timely convening of a multi-party conference, regarding which he took the opportunity of



THE GREAT TREK: Conservative Party MPs storm out of Parliament in protest against President de Klerk's announcement of the scrapping of racist laws.

quietly claiming the origin of the idea as the Government's.

Also, by issuing a draft "Manifesto for the New South Africa", he ensured that his negotiating partners will initially be responding, not imitating, on the subject of basic agreed principles to underpin constitutional negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrie Viljoen, in a briefing to Parliamentary colleagues,

The President was aided in his image-building task by the separate actions of both the ANC and the Conservative Party. Yesterday's protest march on Parliament Square was the first major event in the ANC's "year of mass action", and failed to achieve anything like the impact of earlier demonstrations.

It certainly did not succeed in deflecting attention away from the President's speech in the Chamber of Parliament. Further, the ANC's tardiness in issuing a considered response to the contents of the speech — there was still no word from the organisation by last night — ensured that the Government's interpretation of its own actions prevailed.

And the CP, by beating an undignified retreat from the unpalatable news that the Group Areas, Land and Population Registration Acts

were going simply reaffirmed the Government's contention that the white Right was an unreasonable and obstructionist grouping.

As one NP MP commented after the noisy walkout during Mr de Klerk's speech: "The good news is that the CP walked out. The bad news is that they'll come back in again."

The limited effectiveness of the CP protest

Group Areas, Land, Development of Black Communities and Population Registration Acts, but pointed out that he had chosen not to show magnanimity regarding indemnity for political prisoners and exiles, or the amendment of existing security laws.

Thus, it is argued, his negotiating teams go back into the working groups emboldened by the positive publicity achieved without concession on the substantive issues.

Exiles

Dr Viljoen explained the omission of any reference to the prisoners and exiles by saying the Justice Minister Kobbie Coetsee would address the subject once the session was under way, adding that President de Klerk had wanted "not to be forced into detail" in his speech.

The Government also managed to hold fast to its rejection of the ANC demands for a constituent assembly and interim government, while implying sufficient flexibility on the latter issue to avoid being branded as obstructionist.

Finally, it was made clear that demands for the dissolution of the tricameral parliament before the achievement of a negotiated settlement would not be considered. "It is not our intention to phase out aspects of the present constitution," said Dr Viljoen.

● See Editorial, Page 10.

Whites must fight to survive — CP

SAFE Times 2/2/91 (30/1)

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was "destroying" the white community in South Africa, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Speaking on the steps of Parliament shortly after storming out of the building during Mr De Klerk's opening address, Dr Treurnicht said: "I am astonished that he is the only leader in the Western world who is prepared to negotiate himself, his party and his people out of political power."

The CP's fiery deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg, told reporters: "The fight is now on for the survival of the white people."

Dr Treurnicht said his party had decided to stage an unprecedented walk-out from Parliament because the CP wanted to demonstrate in the most visible manner that it regarded Mr De Klerk's announcements about the removal of apartheid laws in "a very, very serious light".

Dr Treurnicht said the planned repeal of the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the Population Regis-

tration Act affected the root of "own community" life, the self-determination rights of groups, and the right of whites to have their own government and territory.

He predicted that the move would result in a new era of conflict and clashes. Reaction from the farming community to the scrapping of the Land Acts would be "very strong".

Dr Treurnicht said that despite yesterday's walk-out, the CP planned to continue participating in parliamentary debates during the coming session.

Asked if the CP planned to attend the proposed multi-party conference on negotiations, Dr Treurnicht responded: "That involves strategy for the future."

"We have done enough today to tell the government that we will be opposing them at every possible opportunity."

● Sapa reports that the Boerestaat Party yesterday called on the CP to quit parliament and to join other rightwingers in reforming a "Boere Volksraad" as a first step towards the establishment of Boer republics.

Sanctions will fade,

World assures SA

w/c Argus 2/2/91
304A

Weekend Argus Political Staff and Foreign Service
GOVERNMENTS around the world today indicated sanctions against South Africa could start disappearing within weeks following the bold announcement by President De Klerk yesterday that the remaining statutory vestiges of apartheid were to go.

Officials in the US Congress and in the Bush Administration indicated all the punitive measures now in force would automatically begin to fall away.

And in Australia yesterday Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke called for a phased lifting of sanctions and announced he had called for a special meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa to consider President De Klerk's "milestone" announcement.

The meeting is likely to be held on February 15 and 16 in London. Australian Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans will propose the Commonwealth "move immediately to a phased lifting of sanctions as the South African government implements its promised reforms," Mr Hawke said in a statement.

In Brussels the European Commission said Mr De Klerk's initiatives would allow the European Community to ease sanctions.

"The execution of these initiatives will allow the Community, as the Council of Ministers announced in Rome on December 15 last year, to ease the measures adopted in 1986," EC External Affairs Commissioner Mr Frans Andriesen announced.

Meanwhile international applause for President De Klerk's speech continues to pour in.

Britain, the United States and France were among the first to react.

Parliament must act

The US hailed Mr De Klerk's announcement as "further evidence that an irreversible process of change is in progress.

"We welcome the move by Mr De Klerk. We will wait until the (South African) parliament acts and then we'll see," said White House spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater, travelling with President George Bush on visits to three US military bases.

US ambassador to South Africa Mr Bill Swing said he was "strongly encouraged" by the speech.

Swift and full of praise was the response from British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd who said Mr De Klerk had once again shown his commitment to end apartheid and to transform South Africa into a genuinely non-racial society.

"It is clear that these changes are irreversible," he said.

United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Pérez de Cuellar considered the measures "a very constructive step toward ending apartheid," a UN spokesman said.

"The secretary general is studying the statement made by Mr De Klerk and considers it a very constructive step," the spokesman said.

A French foreign ministry spokesman said in Paris it was welcome news. "We will study his speech more closely, and we look forward to seeing its measures being carried out."

Radio and television stations in France led their noon bulletins with the "end-of-apartheid" statement, easing the Gulf war from the prime slot for the first time in two weeks.

While a British Foreign Office spokesman warmly welcomed the reforms, he said action by the European Community would probably follow the passing of enabling legislation.

In the case of the US, reports David Braun of The Weekend Argus Foreign News Service in Washington, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) enacted by the US Congress in 1986, would automatically fall away if five specific conditions were met.

All that would be required to complete those conditions now would be for the South African government to make good on its promises to release all political prisoners (a process supposed to be completed by the end of April) and to repeal the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

Once those things happen, President Bush would lift the sanctions by executive order, certifying to the Congress that the CAAA's requirements had been met.

The US Administration would further give favourable consideration to supporting a South African application for a substantial International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan, if such assistance was required and South Africa qualified in terms of technical conditions set for all member countries.

The White House, State Department and Congress all welcomed Mr de Klerk's Friday speech, using epithets such as "courageous", "big step" and "historic".

US television news broadcast the details of the speech prominently throughout Friday.

US Senator David Boren, a key player on the South African issue on Capitol Hill, said Mr De Klerk had made historic and fundamentally important proposals to move South Africa towards a non-racial and just society.

Respect increases

He said: "The leadership being shown by President De Klerk continues to increase the level of respect for personal courage and integrity all around the world."

"The measures he has proposed, if adopted, will undoubtedly lead to a substantial improvement in the relationship between South Africa and the US."

In Canberra, Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke said that although Mr De Klerk's speech "did not address still unresolved questions relating to the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners, and did not go as far as hoped in some other respects — including the repeal of repressive security legislation and possible

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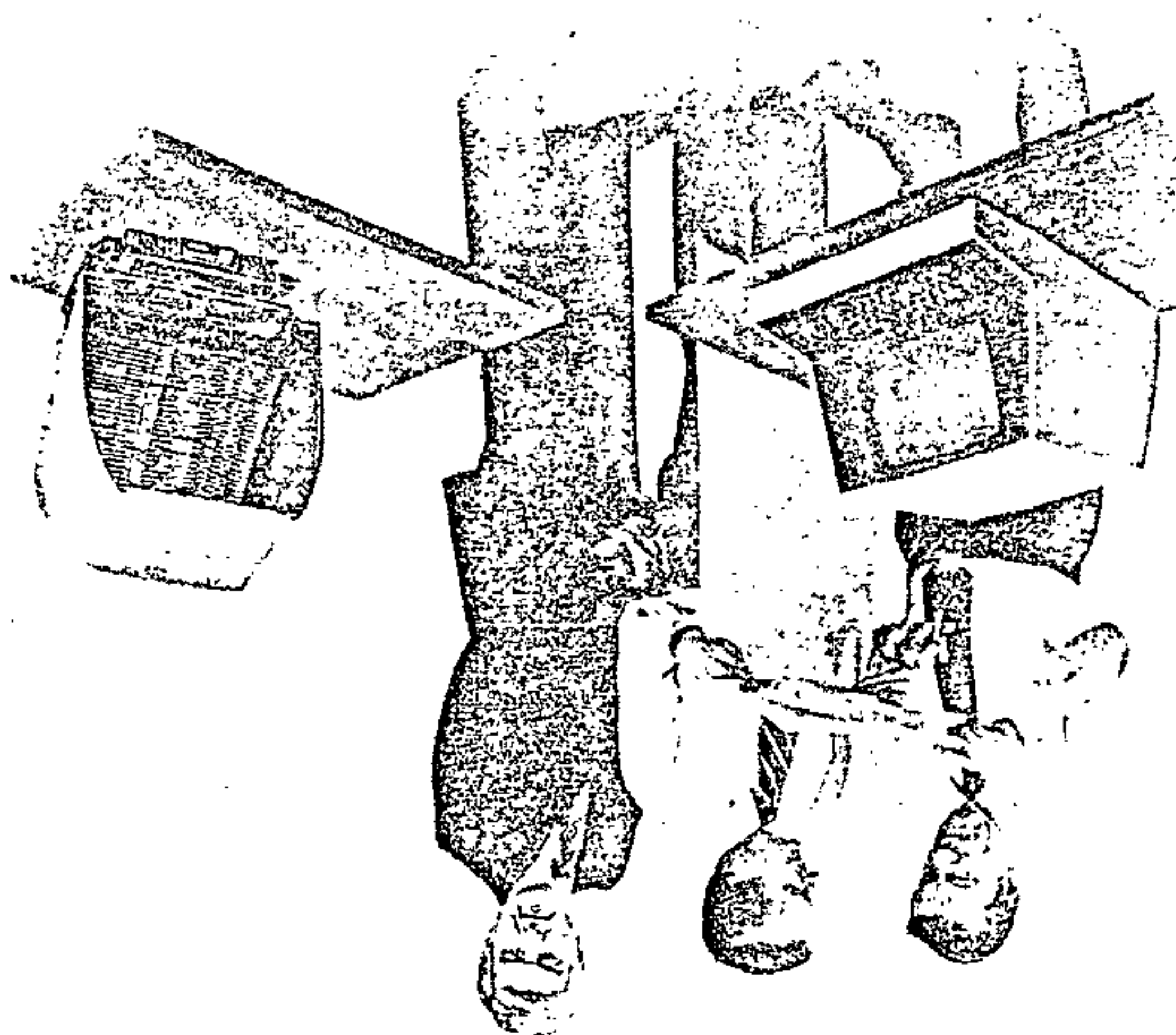
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Summary
The Navy's MITS demonstration system will be implemented in an operational environment in June 1981. The test population.

slightly over half a minute for filming from the video device. Transmission times required for the entire 58-image record would be 14½ minutes using the COM, versus slightly less than 2 minutes for the video/camera unit. The COM unit used will be modified, primarily in the software area, to increase the operating speed to that required for the MITS application.

national environment in June 1981. The test population. The test population. The test population.

...does constitute a major new milestone on the road to the destruction of apartheid.

"Most importantly it signifies the repeal within a matter of months of all the major legislative pillars of apartheid, except the Constitution itself," he added.

"The time has now come for the international community to review systematically the measures it has in place on South Africa to reform, so now we intend to be among the first giving practical encouragement to President De Klerk's reform process."

COM unit, versus

...image of the selected transmission standard, off-the-shelf COM unit and a larger imaging unit, such as that shown in the times of a typical Navy enlisted can rates shown on a two-second use, as shown on the able, 4.3 minutes produce each fiche

image recording, some degradation in output quality would be experienced as a standard COM

The COM alternative of Figure 6 has been selected for the MITS demonstration system because of its higher quality of output. While the design of the video/camera alternative incorporates use of a flat screen on the video display to enhance image recording, some degradation in output quality would be experienced as a standard COM

The COM alternative of Figure 6 has been selected for the MITS demonstration system because of its higher quality of output. While the design of the video/camera alternative incorporates use of a flat screen on the video display to enhance image recording, some degradation in output quality would be experienced as a standard COM

Two alternative configurations were considered to satisfy MITS user space limitations. As illustrated in Figures 5 and 6, both include a remote user request terminal, a scanner, a master controller and a radio link. The difference between the alternatives is the microfacsimile output device. The configuration shown in Figure 5 uses a high-resolution graphics video display interfaced with a step-and-repeat camera. In this design, the transmitted images are filmed by the camera from a display produced on the video screen. The camera has its own controller, which can be driven by command signals used for frame indexing. The other alternative, illustrated in Figure 6, replaces this device with a computer-output-microfilm (COM) recorder.

The COM alternative of Figure 6 has been selected for the MITS demonstration system because of its higher quality of output. While the design of the video/camera alternative incorporates use of a flat screen on the video display to enhance image recording, some degradation in output quality would be experienced as a standard COM

operator efficiency to enable the system designers and managers to refine the operation as necessary. These statistics will be essential in the development and design of future MITS applications.

Recorder Alternatives: The space required for the MITS output equipment was a major consideration in system component selection. The primary MITS output mode, and the one to be demonstrated, is film. However, the space required for separate film processing facilities simply does not exist at many Navy sites, particularly on board a ship. Thus, the output recorder must be a self-contained unit, capable not only of receiving, reconverting and recording the incoming data signals on film, but also capable of developing and cutting the film internally.

Two alternative configurations were considered to satisfy MITS user space limitations. As illustrated in Figures 5 and 6, both include a remote user request terminal, a scanner, a master controller and a radio link. The difference between the alternatives is the microfacsimile output device. The configuration shown in Figure 5 uses a high-resolution graphics video display interfaced with a step-and-repeat camera. In this design, the transmitted images are filmed by the camera from a display produced on the video screen. The camera has its own controller, which can be driven by command signals used for frame indexing. The other alternative, illustrated in Figure 6, replaces this device with a computer-output-microfilm (COM) recorder.



SPEECH AND DRAMA ... Inside Parliament President F.W. de Klerk announces the abolition of more apartheid laws while outside a huge crowd marches on Parliament from the Parade.

F.W.'s blow to sanctions

31x11

CPT-TMIS 2/2/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BRITAIN has called for an end to South Africa's international isolation following President F.W. de Klerk's pledge yesterday to scrap key apartheid laws.

Prime Minister Mr John Major said economic sanctions should be lifted to help Mr De Klerk in his plans to create a "new South Africa".

At home, the ANC reserved comment on Mr De Klerk's landmark opening of Parliament speech.

crack of dawn

End of a bureaucratic

which promised the imminent end to the legal pillars of apartheid — including the Population Registration, Group Areas and Land Acts.

Parliamentary parties warmly welcomed Mr De Klerk's strongly worded announcement but Conservative Party MPs disrupted his address by yelling "traitor" and "executioner of the Afrikaner" at him and storming out of the Chamber.

The reforms unveiled by Mr De Klerk came close to meeting the requirements for the lifting of the 1986 trade sanctions imposed by both the European Community and the United States.

Mr Major last night bluntly called for the end of South Africa's international isolation and the lifting

of restrictions which impeded the country's economic progress.

"President De Klerk has kept his promises and fundamental change has come to South Africa," he said.

And the British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said: "Mr De Klerk has shown once again his commitment to end apartheid and transform South Africa into a genuinely non-racial society."

He then added significantly: "It is clear that these changes are irreversible." The acceptance of irreversibility of change in South Africa is a key element to the lifting of sanctions by the EC.

In Brussels, EC external affairs commissioner Mr

Frans Adriaenssen said that once Mr De Klerk's undertaking to scrap the apartheid laws was executed, the EC would be able to ease the sanctions — principally trade in iron and steel and Krugerrands.

EC foreign ministers who will be meeting in Brussels on Monday have adapted their scheduled agenda to include South Africa and diplomats indicated that the lifting of sanctions in the wake of Mr De Klerk's speech would now be aired.

There was no official reaction to Mr De Klerk's speech last night from Mr Neil Kinnock's opposition Labour Party.

To page 2

When invited to go sailing on a large cruising yacht, I'm always a little at sea as to who should board first — the

"All our foreign affairs spokesmen are travelling at the moment... there might be something later," said an official of the party, which has been a staunch supporter of the pro-sanctions, anti-apartheid lobby.

But the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) strongly welcomed Mr De Klerk's measures, but pointed out that the lifting of international sanctions depended on the US Congress.

"Mr De Klerk's announcements are as much as one ever could have expected, and probably more so," said Mr Neville Thomas, the CBI's spokesman on Africa and the Middle East.

'Encouraging'

"It is a very positive step forward and confirms that reforms are irreversible."

These sentiments were echoed by Mr Nick Mitchell, director general of the British Industry Committee on South Africa (BICSA), representing the 20 biggest British companies which have maintained ties with South Africa despite sanctions.

"Mr De Klerk has clearly covered expectations and gone even further, with the Population Registration Act measures being specially encouraging."

On the prospect of international sanctions being lifted he said, however: "What really matters now is the reaction in Washington."

The US hailed Mr De Klerk's promise — calling it "further evidence that an irreversible process of change is underway".

"We welcome the move by Mr De Klerk. We will wait until the (South African) Parliament acts and then we'll see," said White House spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater, travelling with President George Bush on visits to three US military bases.

But he said "it certainly appears to take a big step in the right direction" towards lifting US sanctions.

At the State Department, spokeswoman Ms Margaret Tutwiler was more effusive, calling the announcement historic and saying it demonstrated Mr De Klerk's "courageous statesmanship".

Once the three acts were repealed, there was only one more obstacle to lifting economic sanctions against South Africa — the freeing of all political prisoners, she said.

In registering his "strong encouragement" at the steps announced by Mr De Klerk, US ambassador Mr William Swing said the repeal of the remaining "pillars of apartheid" would clearly bring South Africa closer to compliance with the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act conditions on the easing of sanctions.

'Constructive'

"I also welcome Mr De Klerk's promotion of a multi-party conference and his recognition of the need to give leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in shaping government policy," he said.

UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar said the announcements were a very constructive step towards ending apartheid.

Veteran Anti-Apartheid Movement campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston also welcomed Mr De Klerk's speech as "the most important he has ever made", but warned that international sanctions had to be maintained until a non-racial apartheid-free democracy was secure in South Africa.

"Mr De Klerk's Manifesto is also welcomed... in many respects, after 36 years, it is similar to the Freedom Charter signed in Kliptown in 1955."

Mr De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly was, however, unacceptable to the AAM. "It means that a minority government will be setting the agenda for the constitutional process."

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku was more sceptical, saying that more time was needed to assess the substance of reform in South Africa before sanctions could start to be relaxed.

"We have to see whether we have got to a point where that should now happen," he said.

The 10-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and its leading development sponsors called for sanctions to stay, despite Mr De Klerk's pledge.

A joint communique at the end of two-day talks in Windhoek said "the conference affirmed that it will be necessary for the international community to maintain the measures taken against apartheid, until that system is completely dismantled".

SADCC executive secretary Mr Simba Makone, after studying reports of Mr De Klerk's speech, told a news conference: "There is nothing I have read or heard which would change the position that the conference has taken."

He drew a distinction between what he called "a notice of intent, subject to parliamentary vote, and actual repeal of the remaining apartheid laws."

The SADCC — Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe — was formed in 1980 to cut the region's economic reliance on South Africa.

More than 500 delegates attended the Windhoek talks. They included representatives from 33 industrialised and developing countries, ranging from the United States, Japan and leading European states to Cuba, and officials from 25 United Nations and other aid agencies.

In his wide-ranging address yesterday, Mr De Klerk went a long way to undermining key building blocks of the huge and complex apartheid edifice painstakingly built up over the past four decades.

But important elements of apartheid and its legacy remain in place for the time being — including the Bantustan system, the absence of voting rights for blacks, key aspects of "own affairs" administration and a largely race-based school system.

'Knockout'

In the words of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerri Viljoen: "Apartheid will only be gone once the new constitution is implemented. The constitution will not go in months."

However, Mr De Klerk announced a number of steps which amount to an effective technical knockout to old-style apartheid:

- The scrapping of the "big three" apartheid laws — the Population Registration, the Group Areas and the Land Acts.

- Allowing "outside" political leaders — both in and out of Parliament — a decision-making input in the executive and legislative arms of the government so that important policy decisions can become a joint-effort pending a new constitution.

- Legislation to facilitate non-racial local government on a voluntary basis in the run-up to the new constitution.

- A "fundamental rationalisation" and simplification of racially fragmented "own affairs" administrations affecting education, housing, health and agriculture.

- A revamp of the education into a single system but with the proviso that education for "distinctive" communities remain an option.

Mr De Klerk said: "Should Parliament adopt the government's proposals, the South African statute book will be devoid, within months, of the remnants of racially discriminatory legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid."

"The ending of apartheid and the repeal of these remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era..."

"However, the removal of discrimination and coercion, which is now being completed, does not alter the reality of the existence of a variety of peoples and communities," he said.

In his address Mr De Klerk also unveiled a "Manifesto for a new South Africa" which he said was geared to formulating common values and ideals which could serve as a point of departure in a search for a national consensus.

He also announced a comprehensive programme to simplify South African legal procedures, make the legal system more accessible and involve ordinary members of the community to a greater extent.

Concluding his address, Mr De Klerk told Parliament that he believed the year ahead would be as decisive as 1990.

"Our ability, here in Parliament and in our relations with extra-parliamentary organisations, to broaden co-operation and rise above petty politics, will be of decisive importance."

"There is neither time nor room for turning back," he said as he declared the third session of the ninth Parliament of South Africa duly opened. — with Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondents

From this Chamber a year ago tomorrow, South Africa was placed finally on a new course. Events succeeded one another in rapid succession and I have no doubt that our country is irrevocably on the road to a new dispensation. The goal, with the removal of discrimination, is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life.

In the short span of a single year, substantial progress was made. The government is determined to build on the foundations laid purposefully, efficiently and with due speed. South Africa cannot allow or permit the dynamic process of reform to slow down.

The process of fundamental reform and all it entails, is the first priority, not only among politicians, but among all. It could hardly be otherwise, since it is, indeed, the future of our country and of every one of its people that is at stake.

Two basic questions arise in relation to reform: What has to be done, and what needs to be abolished?

The initiatives of the past year have prepared the way for a new South Africa. Our task this year, will be to give greater content to our vision of what the new South Africa should be like. Simultaneously, we have to give impetus to our resolve to build a new South African nation.

There were centrifugal forces that promoted confrontation, hatred and violence; that thrived on envy, suspicion and fear, and which alienated South Africans from one another.

Against this, the vision of a new South Africa brought most South Africans increasingly closer together. In most hearts there is a yearning for peaceful solutions and co-operation. The majority are tired of the negative and destructive. They wish to take hands, but do not always know how to do this.

These facts place the responsible and positive leadership corps in our country before this challenge:

The time has arrived for nation-building. I wish to accept this challenge today and invite every leader in every field to join me in doing so.

In South Africa the task of nation-building is formidable because of the diversity of our population. We lack the natural cohesion of a single culture and language that frequently forms the cornerstone of nationhood. Consequently, we shall have to rely heavily on the other cornerstone — that of common values and ideals.

I have taken the liberty, on the basis of an analysis of the views of a wide spectrum of leaders, of formulating a set of these common values and ideals. Without laying claim to it being complete or the last word on the subject, I believe that it may serve as a point of departure in the search for a national consensus.

African nation on the foundation of these values and ideals, a good future awaits us and our children.

● We shall be able to unite the rich diversity of our population behind common goals.

● We shall be able to settle our differences through co-operation and peaceful negotiation.

● We shall be able to lay the foundations for a new, comprehensive South African nation which will include all our people with allegiance and loyalty to our common fatherland.

● We shall become part of the international community — financially, fully and with honour and dignity — and play a full part in the rest of Africa and the world.

● We shall be able to enter the new century as one of the most successful and dynamic nations of the world.

That is our vision. That is our intent. That is our challenge.

To this I commit myself. And I ask every leader to support me in this. If South Africans make the essence of a manifesto such as this their own, then the foundations of our new nation will have been firmly laid.

Constructively, we have to mobilise all the energy, skill and inventiveness of every individual towards building a new South African nation. If South Africans do not truly become a nation, there will be no peace. Naturally, the adoption of these values is merely a first step. Giving them constitutional content will require long and thorough negotiation. And before that can happen, agreement will have to be reached on the nature of the negotiations, procedures and structures.

DISCUSSIONS on the way forward in this regard have taken place regularly and with increasing frequency among political parties and interest groups. There is growing consensus that the time has arrived for a multi-party conference.

The government was pleased to take note of the Anniversary Message of the ANC on the 8th of January this year, in which the principle of a multi-party conference as a first step that could lead to the adoption of a new constitution, was also accepted.

The result is that most of the major political groupings are now ready to attend multi-party exploratory talks. I trust that these talks will begin soon.

I am also convinced that this approach is the best way to ensure that the process, as well as the outcome, will be legitimate, durable and acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

In this connection, the government declares its opposition to the idea of an elected constituent assembly. It is of the opinion that the negotiation of a new constitution should be the responsibility of the representatives of all political parties

WE, as South Africans from all walks of life, associating ourselves with the goodwill and the shared desire for justice, peace and freedom among the majority of our fellow South Africans, declare:

That a just and fair new South African free from apartheid, requires a strong South African nation.

That there exists, therefore, an urgent need for the leaders of all our people and communities to come together to shape a mutually acceptable new constitution for our country.

That such a constitution should be based on the rule of law and lay the foundation for a nation dedicated to justice, democracy and freedom for all, through the pursuit of participation, peace, progress, and prosperity.

That Christian values and universally-accepted civilised norms and standards should be maintained in South Africa together with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship.

That all the people of our country should take part in this endeavour.

That we, to this end, subscribe to the following:

Participation: A free and democratic political system

We commit ourselves to the creation of a free and democratic political system in South Africa, in which:

● All people shall be free in this, their country of birth.

● All the people of our land shall participate fully at all levels of government on the basis of universal adult franchise.

● The government of the country shall at all times be based upon the consent of the governed.

● All people shall be equal before the law, and shall enjoy equal rights regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

● The rights of all individuals and minorities defined on a non-racial basis shall be adequately protected in the constitution and in a constitutionally guaranteed and justiciable Bill of Rights.

● Freedom of expression, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people.

● Freedom of movement and of association shall be guaranteed to all.

Progress: An equitable social system

We commit ourselves to the creation of an equitable social system in South Africa in which:

● The human dignity of each individual, being a unique creature of God, shall be respected at all times.

● Freedom of religion and of worship shall be guaranteed for all.

● All discrimination between groups of people or between individuals shall be eliminated and discriminatory legislation shall be repealed.

● The goal of just and equitable educational systems, accessible to all, shall be striven for unwaveringly.

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● Access for all to affordable shelter shall be a high priority.

Prosperity: A free and equitable economic system

We commit ourselves to the creation of a free and equitable economic system in South Africa in which:

● All people shall be free to sell their labour and market their products.

● The ownership of property shall be open to all.

● Economic growth with the emphasis on the creation of employment shall be vigorously promoted.

● The resources of the state shall be fairly used for the common good, with

existence of a variety of peoples and communities.

In fact, substantial progress has already been made with the planning of a new system of local government that will give recognition to the concept of "one municipality, one tax base". Therefore, the strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures on the local level, has to end.

This senseless and futile disruption serves no purpose. Moreover, it is a serious obstacle in the way of reform and negotiation on every level. It is those who are fighting about something which will disappear in any event, should rather direct their efforts.

The government is also looking at present at the problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially in respect of agriculture, housing, health and education. In this context, there is a serious need for fundamental rationalisation linked to effective protection of standards and the rights of individuals and communities.

Wide consultation will have to take place and I urge all who have an interest in this, to co-operate in this process of deliberation. Overly hasty action is not indicated in this regard.

special regard to the socio-economic backlogs existing in our country.

● The state and all the members of our society shall accept our responsibility as custodians of our environment and resources.

Peace: Freedom and security for all

We commit ourselves to the maintenance of South Africa as a sovereign independent state, secure against foreign interference, in which:

● The protection of, and respect for life, liberty and property shall be a first principle.

● The peaceful settlement of political and other disputes between groups and individuals shall form the foundation of a democratic society.

● Violence and intimidation shall not be tolerated as tools to attain political ends.

● The state shall be charged with the duty to ensure the maintenance of stability in a peaceful and orderly society.

● The application of the powers of state shall be limited to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and orderly society, and shall be governed by the law.

We, who associate ourselves with this manifesto, recognise that we are still divided by many differences concerning the manner in which these ideals may best be realised, but

We also recognise that we are united in our love for our country and all its people, and therefore

We declare that we are determined to apply all our talents and our labours to overcome these differences and to find a peaceful way to build a great South African nation and a better future for the generations to come.

administration of justice, and ever, unjustifiable wage increases, especially in times of economic downturn, do not make civil procedure simpler, faster and cheaper by instituting a mediation procedure and courts for an abridged procedure in certain civil cases. A bill to this effect was submitted to Parliament today.

The government is also occupied in numerous other fields with reform, renewal and progress directed at a new and stable dispensation. I wish to deal with some subjects in this regard.

● People cannot be coerced into communities.

● The authorities may not discriminate against certain communities in favour of others.

● A community life of one's own has to be sustained by one's own inherent will and abilities and not by statutory coercion.

● Community recognition has to be based on freedom of association, as it is recognised constitutionally and otherwise by various countries in the world.

Against this background, urgent consideration will have to be given to the

existence of a variety of peoples and communities.

Throughout the world, there are certain communities within countries and states that have maintained a specific identity. Individuals, who feel attracted to certain communities and feel happy and secure in them, are also allowed to do so.

In South Africa, too, a deeply-rooted desire exists among some communities for a system in which certain human needs may continue to be met in a community context — without coercion, without discrimination and without apartheid.

● Secondly, that the State's affect our region. At a time when there is talk of a looming marginalization of the African continent, Africa has to take stock. If Africa remains poor, underdeveloped, unstable and undemocratic, then it will be late itself and move into inevitable obscurity. Therefore, Africa's reaction to the new international spirit which favours multi-party democracy and free-market systems, is of vital importance.

Regional development is of decisive importance to Southern Africa. The eleven states of Southern Africa have a combined population of more than 100 million. The region is endowed with valuable natural resources and has the potential to become one of the most prosperous regions in the world. However, the nations comprising the region, divided for so long by colonialism, wars, conflicts and racial strife, will have to join forces, work together and plan together.

If we succeed in this, our region should be able to realise the common aim of a better future. If we work together, we shall succeed in obtaining active involvement by Europe, the United States and other developed countries in the developing economies of Southern Africa.

His positive picture which I was able to sketch over a wide area is contrasted by the high level of political and criminal lawlessness in the country. It is worrying and unacceptable.

The creation of the Business Practices Committee in 1988, the proposed general codes for specific business sectors now being finalised, and the role of the Competition Board, represent some of the evidence of the government's ongoing commitment to consumer protection and the proper functioning of markets.

Given the expected slowdown in the world economy, quite apart from the Gulf crisis, the economic outlook for South Africa in 1991 is one of consolidation of the gains already made, and a continuation of the restructuring process. I wish to urge all South Africans — particularly those involved in the creation of wealth — to join hands with the government in this great and urgent effort to provide jobs and incomes.

INTERNATIONALLY, far-reaching changes have taken place during the past year. The world scene was dominated by the events in Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the process towards European unity, including German unification, and lately the conflict in the Gulf region. These turbulent events, which have coincided with rapid and fundamental changes in our own country, will have a significant impact on the future of world politics.

With communism a discredited and declining ideology, it

economic involvement be rewarded in consequence to a minimum, with its residual activities based increasingly on business principles, and

Thirdly, that government policy and actions be geared to the fullest utilisation of the national resources. This includes a shift from import replacement and strategic self-sufficiency to an export-oriented strategy, involving limited protection of domestic industry, and aimed at maximum productivity and cost-effectiveness.

Development agencies have an important role to play in adding impetus to job creation. While celebrating its 50th anniversary, the Independent Development Corporation is to be restructured so as to promote the optimal industrial development of South Africa.

The agricultural sector is primarily responsible for feeding the nation — a most important strategic consideration.

It has had to grapple with severe problems during the past year, but is assured of a helping hand from the government where appropriate. However, aid on a blanket basis cannot be considered.

The pursuit of greater economic growth demands that the remaining inhibiting legislation and administrative regulations or structures be vigorously scrutinised.

Deregulation, however, does not mean no regulation at all. The creation of the Business Practices Committee in 1988, the proposed general codes for specific business sectors now being finalised, and the role of the Competition Board, represent some of the evidence of the government's ongoing commitment to consumer protection and the proper functioning of markets.

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under the title "Manifesto for the new South Africa".

I believe that these values and ideals could provide the cohesiveness of a new South African nation, of a nation that will include all peace-loving South Africans on an equal footing. Furthermore, a manifesto such as this will be able to be associated with a bill of human rights to which the government is already committed. It should also give direction to the constitutional negotiations that lie ahead.

The basic values and ideals, as formulated in the manifesto, could be summarised thus:

The basis of the new South Africa should be justice. The great majority of South Africans desire a just state which will guarantee basic liberties, rule out arbitrary actions and domination, and which will require and assure responsible citizenship. Everyone deserves a just dispensation in which fairness will be the point of departure. On this basis, South Africans ask that the new South Africa should optimise the following objectives:

● They want peace. They wish to be assured that they and their families and their property will be safe.

● They want prosperity. They wish to share in a sound and growing economy that will make employment opportunities and better living conditions possible for everybody and allow everybody to reap the fruits of their labours.

● They want progress. They wish to have effective educational, health and welfare services, as well as adequate housing and recreational facilities; and

● They want participation in democratic institutions. They wish to feel that they are part of government on every level, that they are not dominated and that they may be proud together of our country, South Africa.

On these broad basic values and ideals we can found a new South African nation.

We may differ about how we should realise these values and ideals. But we have to agree with one another on basic value systems. There simply is no room in the new South Africa for the alternatives to these values and ideals. There is no room for injustice, tyranny, domination, violence, or for social degradation and economic decline. South Africa dare not make the mistakes that have led to impoverishment and dictatorship in so many countries of the world.

Therefore: No matter the pressure or from whence it comes, I shall not be instrumental in creating a dispensation here that is out of step with the basic values and ideals of the world's successful democracies and economies.

If we build the new South

are committed to a peaceful and negotiated solution.

In respect of constitutional development I wish, further, to state the government's point of view clearly on an interim government. The idea that the present, legally-constituted government should relinquish its powers and simply hand over its responsibilities to some other temporary regime, cannot be considered in a sovereign, independent state. Effective government and administration in terms of existing constitutional legislation has to continue until a new constitution has been negotiated and been implemented after the acquisition of a mandate.

However, consideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements on the various legislative and executive levels to give the leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions.

OTHER interim measures may be considered as well. Local government is an example.

The government has been giving attention to reform at the local authority level for quite some time. The options concerning possible models, as contained in the report of the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government Affairs, have stimulated debate at the local level. The government does not wish to anticipate the national process of negotiation in any way. The decision has been taken to initiate interim steps to accommodate the dynamics of co-operation which have developed in many communities, and to give legal sanction to agreed joint actions and structures.

Consequently, legislation will be submitted during this session to enable communities to enter into discussions with one another on a voluntary basis and establish joint structures. In terms of this legislation, room will be created for the following:

● The joint provision of services and the establishment of a single administration for various participating local authorities;

● The possibility for participating local authorities to take decisions at joint meetings that will be binding on all of the participants; and

● The admissibility of the various local authorities that wish to enter into such an agreement, proceeding to the establishment of a single body or bodies to which the powers, duties and functions of the various participating authorities may be assigned, either wholly or in part.

Currently, the government is also giving attention to the financial implications, since progress in the development of structures for co-operation

intention repeatedly to remove discriminatory laws and practices. Many of them have been abolished already. Those remaining could not be repealed out of hand, because their complex nature required in-depth investigation.

These investigations have now been completed.

Legislation is to be tabled shortly for the repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Development of Black Communities Act of 1984, as well as all other stipulations that determine rights concerning land according to membership of population groups.

The government will also table a White Paper in which it will fully state its approach to the future treatment of land and land questions. No-one dare underestimate the emotions and even the conflict-potential relating to land rights.

Everybody has a natural need for access to land and its utilisation as living space and source of livelihood. Therefore, much more is necessary than the mere repeal of discriminatory legislation. At the same time, provision will have to be made for the protection of rights and of making land ownership accessible.

On the one hand, there is a need for the protection of private property rights and security of title and tenure with due consideration for common and indigenous law. On the other, land ownership and financing for it have to be accessible to all in a non-discriminatory manner.

These points of departure will be contained in the envisaged White Paper.

The Population Registration Act of 1960 has been subjected to scrutiny as well.

Following investigation, it would appear possible to repeal this Act, provided that this is accompanied by the adoption of temporary transitional measures towards the acceptance of a new constitution. Consequently, I announce that legislation to this effect will be tabled during this session of Parliament.

Should Parliament adopt the government's proposals, the South African statute book will be devoid, within months, of the remnants of racially discriminatory legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid.

HE ending of apartheid and the repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era — an era in which it was sought to deal with the reality of a diversity of peoples and communities within the same national boundaries, by means of discriminatory coercion.

However, the removal of discrimination and coercion, which is now being completed, does not alter the reality of the

in, y accomm... Africa. Important political role players, inside and outside of Parliament, are in favour of the principle, and work on proposals in this regard is being widely undertaken.

HE concept of an own community life may be associated logically and meaningfully with the concept of a bill of human rights. As is already known, the government favours such a bill of rights and is currently awaiting the final report of the South African Law Commission.

In the widest context, the government wishes to bring the aims it has concerning community life into line with the concept of a just state in which the rule of law prevails, a state which does not seek to pre-empt communities or communities of law, nor force them upon anybody, but which maintains the legal principles, measures and courts that will make it possible for people to feel secure in the communities of their choosing.

Our legal system has to be subjected to continuous scrutiny to ensure that it meets the needs of the ever-changing demands of our society. In this regard the recognition of indigenous law, alongside common law, remains important.

The maintenance of the independence of our courts is indispensable to a stable and secure future.

Where we find ourselves on the eve of constitutional developments in which our jurisprudence will have a decisive role to play, the government will ensure continuously that the status of our jurisprudence is enhanced. This applies to all its facets, but especially to judges and magistrates.

The Chief Justice, judges-president and the Minister of Justice are working on this continuously.

Against the background of the world-wide trend towards simplifying legal procedures, making the legal process more accessible and involving the community with it to a great extent, several further initiatives are now indicated:

● Envisaged is a broadening and expansion of the basis of appointing assessors. The intention is to extend the system, as it currently prevails in the Supreme Court, to the lower courts in specific cases, as well as to make use in future, not only of jurists and experts as assessors, but also to involve ordinary members of the public served by the court concerned;

● Greater status and significance for the position of justice of the peace or a similar position, is envisaged to give them a role in the disposal of less serious, decriminalised misdemeanours. In this way, local communities will become more intimately involved with the

working for a... tion to a new society wish to see the reduction and ultimate elimination of the disparities that still exist. Restructuring the economy and allocating resources to specific needs are essential to this end. Equally important, however, are the channels for deploying the resources, the involvement of the people concerned, and their acceptance of mutual responsibility.

All of our citizens have to join in shaping and in sharing the national product. I believe the vast majority of South Africans prefer opportunities for the self-advancement of all, to largesse and patronage for some.

To achieve even the goal of parity in social expenditure will require hard work and stern discipline over the next decade and beyond. Attempts to shorten this inevitably incremental process by militant action in the labour or other fields, will merely serve to lengthen it.

By contrast, some form of "social accord" on economic goals and actions would be a powerful instrument for achieving the shared national goal of a common society, offering wider material prospects and a higher quality of life to all its members. However, such an accord has to recognise these realities and to provide a time span and a structure for orderly economic and social development.

I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made in the field of economic development by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the South African Housing Trust, the Small Business Development Corporation and other agencies. Similarly, the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the newly-announced Private Sector Initiative, operating under the aegis of the Urban Foundation, are set to make major contributions towards addressing endemic problems in housing, health and education.

The recently-announced allocation by the IDT of substantial resources directed at giving poor people access to land ownership, is of great significance. For its part, the government is currently taking an urgent look at innovative methods of financing the provision of land and housing.

I should also like to mention the committee of deputy ministers which, in close liaison with the private sector, is investigating imaginative ways of raising substantial capital funds for further development projects.

The government places a high premium on job and income-creating growth. In broad terms, this requires:

● Firstly, that maximum private sector development be encouraged;

Education affects the future of everyone of us. If we wish to create a future South Africa without discrimination and with equality of opportunity, this will have to be true of education as well. However, distinctive or atogenous education, conducted with government assistance within a single system by those who desire it, has to remain an option. For this we need the constructive co-operation of all who have an interest in education.

It is gratifying, therefore, that leaders and organisations with divergent political programmes have begun to raise their voices against the disruption and chaos which characterised the school year of 1990. I also wish to urge all involved — parents, teachers and the children themselves — to place the interests of the pupils above all else.

The present educational system shall and must be changed. In the meantime, education has to continue in an orderly manner.

We are determined that our ultimate system of education shall enjoy the acceptance and support of the majority of our population. It will have to be an educational system that will be affordable and in which appropriate education is offered.

NE other great imperatives facing us in this closing decade of the twentieth century is economic restructuring. It is the only way through which we will be able to return to a high growth path and meet the reasonable aspirations of all our people. No economy, at least of all that of a developing society, can do this overnight, but we can and must promote the creation of employment opportunities and the generation of incomes to meet the basic needs of our rapidly growing population in the shortest possible space of time.

Economic growth and constitutional reform have to be mutually reinforcing. Unless the pressing problems of poverty and unemployment are alleviated, constitutional models will be of little avail to us.

There is room for debate on economic structures, but not on the necessity of effective macro-economic management. Throughout the world, a stable, non-inflationary environment has been rediscovered as a key element of sustained economic growth. Therefore, our own fight against inflation has to enjoy top priority, as well as united and ongoing support. Failure on this front will leave us with scant hope of success on any other. Inflation does not alleviate poverty — it aggravates it.

The government has neither the capability nor the desire to intervene directly in the price and wage determination process of the private sector. How-

working for a... tion to a new society wish to see the reduction and ultimate elimination of the disparities that still exist. Restructuring the economy and allocating resources to specific needs are essential to this end. Equally important, however, are the channels for deploying the resources, the involvement of the people concerned, and their acceptance of mutual responsibility.

All of our citizens have to join in shaping and in sharing the national product. I believe the vast majority of South Africans prefer opportunities for the self-advancement of all, to largesse and patronage for some.

will benefit... Obviously, much remains to be done.

The Gulf War is particularly regrettable at this time. South Africa's position in regard to this (war) is based on accepted principles of international law and is in line with the position adopted by the vast majority of states. Islamic states included.

Having said that, let me add that it is our earnest hope and prayer that this conflict will soon be brought to an end with a minimum loss of life, injury and destruction.

In addition to the Gulf War, the Palestinian issue, unpredictabilities occasioned by the unfolding situation in the Soviet Union and the spectre of AIDS and poverty looming ominously over Africa, should all serve as warnings that the elimination of world crises and flashpoints has not yet been accomplished.

There is so much at stake for mankind that the world dare not allow the crises now confronting it to re-create the attitudes of hostility, rivalry and suspicion which characterised international relations in all the years since World War II.

It is remarkable how the convergence of South African and international events has brought about greater harmony between us and the rest of the world.

The fundamental change of course we embarked upon a year ago, was motivated primarily by our national interests. Yet, the progress we have made since then has created an entirely new situation for South Africa internationally. I am happy to be able to say that we have succeeded in breaking out of the dead end of isolation.

The exploitation of regional conflict in our part of the world to further ideology and power has come to an end. Revolution is no longer a marketable product in the world today. The resources of the destabilisation and propaganda campaigns against South Africa are drying up. The anti-South African industry is facing insolvency.

I have high hopes that we shall further improve our situation internationally in the year ahead. We shall be opening several new missions in Central Europe and Africa. Our contact with the rest of Africa is growing. Reciprocal visits by delegations are a frequent occurrence. We see this continuing. I will be undertaking further visits abroad during the course of the year.

All of this means that we are now able to look forward with greater confidence towards resuming our rightful position in the wider community of nations.

It is my prayer that He will lead and sustain us in all our labours and deliberations — on the defence force — as the defence force — already enormous. Political and community leaders have to accept co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling support and creating a climate for negotiation.

By and large our security forces are doing an excellent job and do not deserve the vilification to which they are subjected from many quarters. I wish to urge all the inhabitants of South Africa to give their full support to the security forces. If the authority and integrity of our police are undermined, all of us will have to pay a heavy price.

On the part of the government, everything possible will be done as a matter of high priority to make our police force more effective and efficient.

In respect of crime in general, the Minister of Law and Order has already announced that the police are launching a special campaign. The cumulative effect of the increase in the numbers of police officers, the optimal utilisation of manpower and special actions and campaigns, should have the result, in terms of all reasonable expectations, that crime will be combatted more effectively. The defence force, in particular, is making an exceptional contribution in a supporting role. Together with the South African Police, the defence force and Armscor ensure that South Africa is able to depend on a strong and ready security base that makes peaceful change possible. We will have to build on this further. The security forces of the new South Africa will have to be manned and managed properly. Continued national service and training have to be seen in this light. A professional and well-trained defence force and police force, which are not subject to political expediency, are the best guarantee for the maintenance of a safe environment in which everybody is able to live and work. The government will continue to ensure this.

HE Parliamentary session beginning today, will exact high demands from us. The year ahead will be as decisive as 1990.

Our ability, here in Parliament and in our relations with extra-parliamentary organisations, to broaden co-operation and rise above petty politics, will be of decisive importance.

There is neither time nor room for turning back. There is only one road — ahead.

Ahead with faith and certainty in the knowledge that our future is in the hands of the Almighty God, lord of the destinies of peoples and nations.

It is my prayer that He will lead and sustain us in all our labours and deliberations.

on our security — on the police force — as the defence force — already enormous. Political and community leaders have to accept co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling support and creating a climate for negotiation.

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Easing of sanctions may follow 'death blow' to apartheid

SUPPORT and praise flooded in last night from world leaders and a wide spectrum of South Africans for President de Klerk's death blow in Parliament to the remnants of apartheid.

The only dissenting voices came from right-wing opponents of reform, notably the Conservative Party.

President de Klerk's announcement that the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and Land Acts — the cornerstones of South Africa's hated discriminatory laws — were to be swept away, brought swift response from British Prime Minister John Major and the European Commission.

It was also hailed by the French government, United States diplomatic sources and such long-time opponents of apartheid as Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, leader of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Mr Major said economic sanctions should be lifted to help Mr de Klerk in his plans to create a "new South Africa".

The promised reforms would "remove the remaining traces of apartheid", Mr Major said in a statement.

"President de Klerk has kept his promises and fundamental change has come to South Africa. The international community's response should measure up to this," he said.

"South Africa's isolation should be ended and the restrictions which impede its economic progress should be lifted."

The United States hailed President de Klerk's promise to dismantle the last barriers of

apartheid, calling it "further evidence that an irreversible process of change is under way".

His proposal to repeal key pillars of South Africa's system of racial segregation was a big step towards lifting US sanctions against Pretoria, US officials told reporters.

"We welcome the move by de Klerk. We will wait until the South African parliament acts and then we'll see," said White House spokesman Marlin Fitz-

water, travelling with President George Bush on visits to three US military bases.

But he said it certainly appears to take a big step in the right direction towards lifting US sanctions.

At the State Department, spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler was more effusive, calling the announcement historic and saying it demonstrated de Klerk's "courageous statesmanship".

The proposals "are the latest evidence that an irreversible process of change is under way", she added.

Once the three acts are repealed, there is only one

more obstacle to lifting economic sanctions against South Africa — the freeing of all political prisoners, she said.

Over the past year, some 300 political prisoners have been released but others remain, she added.

European Commission external affairs commissioner Frans Andriessen said: "The execution of these initiatives will allow the Community, as the Council (of Ministers) announced in Rome in December last year, to ease the measures adopted in 1986."

The EC imposed an embargo on imports of iron, steel and

TV puts PW in charge

LONDON — In its haste to compile a news report on President FW de Klerk's announcements in Parliament yesterday, Sky satellite television broadcasting to Britain inadvertently screened file footage of former President PW Botha, complete with lapel carnation and belligerently wagging finger.

The error was rectified in later reports. — Sapa.

World acclaim for FW

Acclaim

● FROM PAGE 1.

gold coins from South Africa in 1986.

A ban on new investment imposed at the same time was lifted by EC leaders at their summit in Rome last December.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the party's walkout from Parliament was staged to inform the Government of the seriousness with which the CP viewed the proposed repeal of discriminatory legislation.

In a statement yesterday, Dr Treurnicht said the repeal of the Land Acts, Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act touched the roots of own community life, the self-determination of nations, the right of whites to their own government and land, and would lead to further division and friction.

"It is surprising that Mr de Klerk wants to institute an obsolete order in South Africa. The time for a centralised unitary state for different nations has passed. Nations now want their own land and want to govern themselves."

In London, Archbishop Huddleston welcomed Mr de Klerk's speech as "the most important he has ever made", but warned that international sanctions had to be maintained until a non-racial, apartheid-free democracy was secure in South Africa.

In Paris, Archbishop Desmond Tutu welcomed plans to scrap apartheid laws, but added: "In fact, 87 per cent of the land in South Africa is in the hands of white people. Blacks do not have the means to procure the land, so that while the legal barriers have been removed, the real barriers remain and poor people will remain poor."

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar considers measures announced President de Klerk as a very constructive step towards ending apartheid.

"The secretary-general is studying now the statement made by Mr de Klerk and considers it a very constructive step towards the eradication of the system of apartheid," a UN spokesman said.

Here is a summary of other local reaction:

● The repeal of the Group Areas Act was meaningless as it only favoured people with money, according to African National Congress Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala.

Addressing about 1 000 people during a placard protest in Pietermaritzburg yesterday, Mr Gwala said the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would mean "almost nothing" to the ordinary man on the street.

● KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi: "The scrapping of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act, the commitment to examine the Population Registration Act while we negotiate a new constitution, and moves towards establishing a single education system, all amount to a significant move forward."

"It must now surely be recognised there really can be no turning back now by the South African Government."

● The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said the proposed repeal of the Land Acts and Group Areas Act would not return the land to the landless, and the Government's insistence on a free market economy disregarded the need for an economic system where all people had ownership, control and full participation in the creation and sharing of wealth.

Azapo rejected "with contempt" the notion expressed by Mr de Klerk that mass action was unacceptable.

National Party MPs rebel against the Broederbond

DISGRUNTLED National Party MPs are threatening to form a country-wide anti-Broederbond organisation to counter what they believe is a bid by the secret society to spread its influence within the party's ranks.

About 20 percent of the NP's 105 MPs are not Broederbond members, but few of these hold positions of any importance in the party.

Members who don't belong to the

By **MIKE ROBERTSON**
Political Correspondent

Broederbond are particularly irate about Frik van Deventer (NP Durbanville) being appointed chairman of the Cape provincial affairs standing committee, instead of Ray Radue (NP King William's Town) who, they believe, should have got the job.

They described Mr Van Deventer

as a Broederbond organiser.

Another MP who is not a member of the Broederbond was defeated by a member of the secret organisation in the whips election, when Attie Jooste (NP De Aar) easily defeated Callé Badenhorst (NP East London North). *S/Times 3/2/91*

An MP who is not a member of the Broederbond said he was seriously concerned about the role the organisation was playing in the NP.

"They are having a bad effect on the party and on the country too," he said.

"It's getting worse all the time. They are trying to get as many of their guys into a future government as possible."

"We believe an anti-Broederbond organisation would be in the interests of the country."

Another MP who does not belong to the Broederbond said this week a Broederbond document, which called for a two-chamber parliament, with racial groups having veto rights in the second chamber, had been put before the NP caucus in May.

He said the plan had been presented by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Caucus

He claimed a group of 27 MPs had staunchly objected to the proposals and, after much debate, President F.W. de Klerk had intervened, stating that the proposal would have to go "back to the drawing board".

However, Sakkie Louw (NP Newton Park), who is not a Broederbond member, said a Broederbond proposal had not been put before any caucus meeting he had attended.

"Although I am on record as saying I detest the Broederbond, I can honestly say that a Broederbond proposal has not been put before caucus," he said.

Some NP MPs suspect the Broederbond had a hand in the decision to send Trade and Industry Minister Kent Durr to London as ambassador.

They claim Mr Durr's initiatives in streamlining the Decentralisation Board, stopping new applications for grants and capping existing claims had affected the livelihood of 72 Broederbonders who were dependent on the "decentralisation gravy train" for their income.

But in an interview, Mr Durr said he had volunteered for the ambassadorship.

FW consigns apartheid to history and launches the quest for new

OUR FUTURE

BEGETS

S/Times 3/2/91 (304A)

By MIKE ROBERTSON

apartheid law, President F.W. de Klerk this week launched the country on the search for a democratic alternative.

In the course of a 40-minute opening speech to Parliament on Friday, he shifted the focus of political debate from an unjust past to a hopeful future, putting forward a manifesto that set out his own vision of the future.

He offered the manifesto — which promised justice, full political rights and freedom to all — as a starting point for a national debate to define common values and ideals, and he invited other leaders to join him in the task of nation-building.

Referring to the diversity of people in the country, Mr De Klerk said: "We lack the natural cohesion of a single culture and language. Consequently, we shall have to rely heavily on the other cornerstone — that of common values and ideals."

"If South Africans do not truly become a nation, there will be no peace."

The speech was immediately recognised at home and abroad, by friend and foe, as the death blow to

Door of hope: OPINION, Page 22

apartheid. Conservative Party MPs, led by Dr Andries Treurnicht, walked out in uproar, crying "Traitor". Overseas European, American and Commonwealth leaders promised to review sanctions.

Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of De Beers and Anglo-American, said: "This ought to remove all reasons to isolate South Africa from the rest of the world."

President De Klerk built both his opening speech and his manifesto around three main themes: justice, law and unity. In doing so, he both seized the political initiative from the ANC, whose marches and stayaways passed almost unnoticed, and set a framework for future debate.

"The basis of the new South Africa should be justice," he said. "The great majority of South Africans desire a just state which will guarantee basic liberties, rule out arbitrary actions and domination, and require and assure responsible citizenship."

The manifesto echoed the theme: "A constitution should be based on the rule of law and lay the foundation for a nation dedicated to justice, democracy and freedom for all."

In his speech, he said South Africans were united in wanting peace, prosperity, progress and the right to participate in politics. The manifesto promised a free and democratic system, political participation on the basis of a universal franchise, government based on the consent of the governed, equality before the law, a justiciable bill of rights and freedom of expression, religion, movement and association.

His vision of the future South Africa was firmly rooted in Western free enterprise. The manifesto offered a guarantee of property rights, ranking property directly after life and liberty, and the speech reaffirmed recent capitalist experience.

Hard work

"Throughout the world," he said, "a stable non-inflationary environment has been rediscovered as a key element of sustained economic growth. Therefore, our own fight against inflation has to enjoy top priority."

However, he acknowledged the need for a fundamental restructuring of the economy to reduce, and ultimately eliminate, the great disparities of wealth left by apartheid and a history of racial discrimination. But he warned that even to achieve parity of social spending would demand "hard work and stern discipline over the next decade".

Mr De Klerk referred only briefly and in passing to arbitrary state action as being unacceptable, although his manifesto said the powers of the state would be limited to "the minimum necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and orderly society and shall be governed by law".

There was, however, no express indication whether detention without trial would be considered a "minimum necessary" measure, and he did not try to define the limits of state power.

In the firm rejection of discrimination, there was only one faint echo of apartheid: the manifesto promised that all discrimination against "groups of peo-

FW opens world doors

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□ From Page 1
ple" as well as individuals would be eliminated, and, in his speech, Mr De Klerk insisted on the right to "an own community life". A search for ways to entrench that right was under way.

Euphoria was the mood of South African business leaders after the president's announcements. A speedy lifting of sanctions is now expected.

Anglo Vaal's Basil Hersov said: "My reaction is extremely positive, very positive, and Mr De Klerk is very courageous. He has really grasped the nettle with both hands."

Congress

Anglo American and De Beers chairman, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, warmly welcomed Mr De Klerk's address. Its content not only presaged the imminent disappearance of all racial discrimination from the statute books, he said, but also proposed a framework of inclusive values and ideals and constructive actions which could serve to bring together all South Africans.

Dr Conrad Strauss of the Standard Bank said: "If four conditions have been met, President Bush has the discretion to remove them and take it to Congress for confirmation."

"Whatever doubt there was in the minds of people that the removal of apartheid was irreversible surely must now be gone and

we can expect steps will be taken by Europe and America on sanctions."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday said South Africa had entered a new post-sanctions era in its relations with the world.

Mr Botha said that, after studying initial reactions of foreign governments to President De Klerk's opening-of-Parliament address, he was convinced remaining sanctions against SA would soon be lifted.

The foreign minister said he was particularly pleased by the reaction of the European Community, which he interpreted as an indication that remaining restrictive measures would begin to be lifted as soon as legislation to repeal the Group Areas Act, the Land acts and the Population Registration Act were tabled in Parliament.

It was originally expected that the EC would act to undo restrictive measures only after the repeal of the acts had been approved by Parliament.

Mr Botha categorised the initial responses of foreign governments as varying from "positive" to "excellent".

It was significant, he said, that Australia and Canada, which had been in the forefront of Commonwealth sanctions against SA, had undertaken to review their position.

While the lifting of US sanctions was dictated by the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act, Mr Botha said, he was very encouraged by the response of Ambassador William Swing, who said the repeal of remaining pillars of apartheid would "clear bring South Africa closer

to compliance with CAAA conditions on the easing of sanctions".

Mr Botha said British Prime Minister John Major's call for an immediate end to South Africa's international isolation and the lifting of restrictions which impeded the country's economic progress was firm proof that South Africa had taken a giant leap along the road to normalising its relations with the rest of the world.

Era

"We have passed the point at which we needed to convince foreign government that change in South Africa was irreversible," he said. "That is now accepted. Not only are we in this country entering the post-apartheid era, but in terms of our international relations we are entering the post-sanctions era."

Tangible support for President De Klerk's decision to tear down the pillars of apartheid will be given in Brussels tomorrow when the world's most powerful trading bloc, the 12 governments of the European Community, will start the process of ending sanctions.

Confusing means, common ends

511/200 3/2/91

AN South Africa rid itself of white minority domination as the central issue of political conflict? Or, quite probably and quite soon, can South Africa become a functioning democracy? This is not as certain, and if so, could take somewhat longer.

Getting rid of apartheid/ separate development as manifestations of white minority domination may be a necessary, but is certainly not a sufficient, condition for bringing about a fully democratic state in South Africa.

Although there is no self-evident, uncontroversial concept of democracy, or only one form of democratic government in the world, this need not complicate analysis in the South African case so much.

There appears to be a growing convergence among most protagonists on the basic elements of democratic government for South Africa: universal franchise, regular elections, multi-party competition on an independent judiciary based on the rule of law, and a justifiable bill of rights.

Obviously there are, hitherto, radical or reactionary exceptions to this convergence on the basic elements and needs of democratic government for South Africa.

These are not rhetorical questions. Underpinning them all is perhaps the fundamental question: Is what South Africa is attempting at all possible? That is, negotiating a democracy as an alternative to domination? There is no political script available for us to follow in answering this question. Can fundamentally undemocratic structures and mechanisms be made serviceable to a commonly declared and preferred democratic outcome?

Before one says yes too easily, it is appropriate to keep in mind the history that precedes such an approach — not only the history of racial domination, massive social engineering, misallocation of resources and economic inequality, but also the history of struggle against such domination and the expectations inculcated at the prospect of a successful outcome to such a struggle.

It is not inconceivable that every new area of political space that is created to negotiate transition will also be occupied to contest and redress historical imbalances that brought to bear the pressures for negotiation in the first place.

This contest in itself can inflame expectations and intensify fears during transition and become part of the problems that have to be solved. Thus, the more agreement is reached on a democratic outcome, the more polarised we become in our approach to it.

This could be a compelling reason enough for the government and its opponents to negotiate not only the outcome of transition, but the very conditions of transition that could make negotiations difficult.

Negotiating stability is part of a much wider problem that also has to be addressed during transition: what kind of transformation is the South African state going to undergo en route to a negotiated democratic outcome?

The problem of stability relates directly to the SADF, SAP, MK, homeland armies, Agulha and vigilantes as part of the security situation during transition and the responsibility of the South African state in this regard.

But all the other aspects of the South African state are going to be fundamentally affected by the process and outcome of transition. It would be silly and even dangerous to assume that those remaining state departments are disembodied automatons with no vested interests in the outcome of negotiated transition. It would be equally short-sighted to assume an unproblematic identity of interests between the government and the state when the regime negotiates with its opponents.

One of the very significant consequences of the historic compromise between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela on negotiation was an acceptance by both that

the South African state was not going to collapse or disappear as a result of either revolution or partition.

However, this acceptance highlighted a common dilemma for the government and its opponents, particularly the ANC — the absence of a mutually shared or even competing strategies for state transition as part of negotiated transition.

The South African state will have to be transformed as part of the process of negotiation and it is highly unlikely that this problem can be addressed by a constituent assembly or by open-ended invitations to "come and talk".

That is why the ANC's proposals for a multi-party conference, and the government's positive response to it, holds much more promise of dealing with serious issues of transition.

Let us assume that at such a multi-party conference a willingness becomes evident between the government and its opponents to also negotiate conditions of stability and state transformation. This could certainly raise new issues for the current tactical commitment and composition of, for example, the ANC and other opponents of the regime.

Because, to seriously negotiate stability and state transformation, it is to create the opportunity for widening participation in government and the state during transition. It means in effect that the government and its opponents begin to accept joint responsibility for managing transition, as well as negotiating its outcome.

For some organisations and parties this could raise the spectre of "collaboration" and a "sell-out". It would certainly be a test of the strength, confidence and organisational coherence of all alliances and parties to deal with such new tactical demands.

There is always the possibility that the revolutionary commitment to the "transfer of power" and the "total emancipation of the majority" could in the eyes of some, become blunted in the everyday cut and thrust of state transformation, joint management of stability and participation in government during transition.

On the other hand, not to participate at all but to continue with multi-party conferences to negotiate stability and transformation is to maintain a contradiction which cannot be taken seriously. In the short term, opponents of the regime face the challenge to resolve tactical ambiguities in the face of this dilemma.

For the government, the challenge is to seriously put the issue of stability and transformation up for discussion at such multi-party conferences.

What about the rest of civil society? Those ordinary people who fall outside the organised ambit of the regime, its mobilised opponents and the state, communities and families, commerce and industry, peasants and unorganised workers, the youth and the aged and all kinds of voluntary associations?

Can they contribute to a democratic culture and a climate of tolerance when the major political opponents and interest groups literally back and kill each other and indulge in all kinds of undemocratic practices?

Civil society in South Africa faces constitutional breakdown in many areas. This is evident in the explosion of crime, community disruption, family breakdown, the alienation of youth. Any society caught up in fundamental transition imposes severe strains on its "normal" institutional life.

The quality of civil society can play an important role in making transition bearable and even successful.

This is where the community, the family, the voluntary organised network of the small society can carry the larger society through times of stress and change.

During the 80s, in particular, civil society in South Africa took a severe beating and in many respects reinforced the segmented, fractured and fragmented nature of South Africa.

Now, in many parts of urban South Africa, communities are painfully seeking a new civic coherence and identity. Such

communities do not stand the remotest chance of contributing to a democratic culture during transition if they become the killing fields of political predators.

The quality of interactions between the government, its opponents and the manner in which the state is being transformed, must create the opportunities for civil society to contribute to successful transition.

If not, South Africa may find itself without a viable social infra-structure to sustain the outcome of whatever has been negotiated. To put it bluntly, most people "out there" haven't got a clue what is going on at the moment.

The time is overdue for organisations such as the South African Council of Churches to devote most of its energies to strengthening the growth of a democratic culture and promoting tolerance for political diversity, rather than tending and comforting the victims of violence and social dislocation. But the lead must come from those who are involved in negotiating transition.

What then the prospects of a democratic South Africa? Certainly, we can rid ourselves of the hangings and much of the substance of white minority domination. But if we are to negotiate a democratic outcome it would at least be necessary to:

SOUTH AFRICA has a chance to create a successful and prosperous multi-party democracy. But it can also fall into tyranny, poverty and despair.

TOWARDS THE FUTURE SA 304A

What sort of values should imbue a future South Africa? How can we achieve them? It is a time of choice. The Sunday Times has asked 12 leading thinkers here and abroad to open the debate. Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert introduces the series by discussing the problems of transition. Next week it is the turn of Oxford's R W Johnson



Overdue

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What then the prospects of a democratic South Africa? Certainly, we can rid ourselves of the hangings and much of the substance of white minority domination. But if we are to negotiate a democratic outcome it would at least be necessary to:

● Create opportunities for multi-party participation in government during transition as well as participation in state transformation.

● Include civil society in the process of negotiated transformation and enable it to contribute to the growth of a democratic culture.

If this could be achieved with a modest degree of success, perhaps some kind of transitional stability could be achieved which would make sustainable economic growth possible. Because, without such growth, all the problems of transition that have been identified will simply be compounded. The demands for social spending during and after negotiated transition are going to be enormous.

If these demands can somehow be democratically articulated in such a manner that it does not threaten stability and the prospects of growth, then attempting to negotiate democracy would not become an exercise in futility. It certainly would be futile to impose a beautiful liberal demo-

cratic constitution on a state and civil society that is still fundamentally undemocratic in its orientation.

It would be ironic for South Africa if all that is achieved after transition is the exchange of white minority domination for non-racial domination.

Some members of government as well as its opponents, claim that a fully democratic constitution for South Africa could be agreed on by 1991. This may be so but it certainly will not have been implemented by then. The successful implementation of such a constitution would presuppose that at least some of the problems that have been identified would have been successfully addressed by the regime and its opponents.

The acceptance of a multi-party conference as a vehicle to explore some of these problems is a hopeful sign at the start of 1991. Depending on the success of it deliberations, there is no reason why, at the beginning of 1992, we may find ourselves well into a demonstration period of share management and responsibility between the government and its opponents.

If so, black and white members from different parties and movements could be part of government there could be a number of multi-party commissions of inquiry into new state structure for security, health, education, housing, welfare and land reform. Maybe the problem of violence and stability will have been removed from political contention to such an extent that regional and criminal violence will have been marginalised and contained and foreign investors, given the new international acceptability of South Africa, will be looking with renewed interest at prospects in this country.

This demonstration period of shared responsibility will greatly assist in the seasoning of mind between white and black South Africa on the realities and problems of governing a "new South Africa". It is this seasoning process which will have to prepare civil society, the government and its opponents as well as the South African state for the implication of a fully democratic constitution for South Africa.

Without such a period of demonstration and seasoning it is very difficult to see how negotiations can bring about a democratic transformation in South Africa. Dr Slabbert is co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa

President FW de Klerk's vision of a new South Africa

CP 2000 3/2/91

3044A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk this week painted his vision of a democratic South Africa in a "Manifesto for the New South Africa" which he suggested could serve as a point of departure in the search for a national consensus.

Opening the third session of the ninth Parliament, he asked every leader to support him in subscribing to the vision and ideals contained in the Manifesto.

In his opening speech he also announced that the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would go this year.

The Manifesto declares, among others, that all people in South Africa should participate fully at all levels of government on the basis of universal adult franchise and that the rights of all individuals and minorities, defined on a non-racial basis, "shall be adequately protected in the constitution and in a constitutionally guaranteed and justiciable Bill of Rights".

All discrimination between groups or individuals should be eliminated and discriminatory legislation repealed.

The Manifesto states further: "Violence and intimidation shall not be tolerated as tools to attain political ends -

the State shall be charged with the duty to ensure the maintenance of stability in a peaceful and orderly society."

The application of the State's powers should be limited to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and orderly society, and should be governed by the law.

The peaceful settlement of political and other disputes between groups and individuals should form the foundation of a democratic society, with the protection of, and respect for, life, liberty and property being the first principle.

On an equitable social system, the Manifesto states that:

■ The human dignity of each individual, being a unique creature of God, shall be respected at all times.

■ Freedom of religion and worship should be guaranteed for all.

■ The goal of just and equitable educational systems, accessible to all, shall be

striven for unswervingly.

■ Access for all to affordable shelter was to be a high priority.

On a free and democratic political system, the document states further that:

■ All people should be free in the country of their birth.

■ The government should at all times be based on the consent of the governed.

■ All should be equal before the law, and should enjoy equal rights regardless of race, colour, sex or religion.

■ Freedom of expression, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, should be the right of all.

■ Freedom of movement and association should be guaranteed to all.

On a free and equitable economic system, the Manifesto states that:

■ All people should be free to sell their labour and market their products.

■ The ownership of property should be open to all.

■ Economic growth, with the emphasis on the creation of employment, shall be vigorously promoted.

■ The State's resources should be fairly used for the common good, with special regard to the socio-economic backlogs existing in South Africa.

■ The State and all the members of our society shall accept our responsibility as custodians of our environment and resources.

On freedom and security for all, the document declares: "We commit ourselves to the maintenance of South Africa as a sovereign independent state, secure against foreign interference."

In the preamble, the set of values listed includes that a just and fair new South Africa, free from apartheid, requires a strong South African nation and that a new, negotiated constitution, should be based on the rule of law.

The Manifesto concludes: "We declare that we are determined to apply all our talents and our labours to overcome differences and to find a peaceful way to build a great South African nation and a better future for the generations to come." - Sapa

Parliamentary Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk dealt apartheid one of its final blows with another historic performance at the opening of Parliament this week.

Nationalist parliamentarians are, however, well aware that the mammoth task of dismantling apartheid's bureaucratic nightmare has only just begun.

Apartheid is by no means finally gone, according to Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. It will only die when a new constitution is accepted.

One senior cabinet minister, closely involved with forging the new direction De Klerk has been marking out since his election to National Party leader and State President, commented that De Klerk went to the limit.

He could go no further, however much he tried, the minister said.

He was referring to the most infamous of apartheid measures, the Population Registration Act, which to the surprise of most observers joined the Group Areas Act and Land Act on the legislative scrapheap.

In dealing this blow, De Klerk managed to regain the momentum for change first set when he made his opening speech a year ago on February 2, 1990.

Probably the most significant observation for future developments is that De Klerk has tried to project South Africa into a post-apartheid era, especially with the first part of his speech which refers to nation-building and his commitment to a manifesto for a new South Africa.

According to Viljoen – generally thought to be the mastermind behind negotiations for a new South Africa – it is important to emphasise that De Klerk was trying to orientate public thinking towards a positive and constructive post-apartheid frame of mind rather than a continuation of the negative, dismantling of apartheid approach.

Viljoen contrasted this to the ANC's recent conference, which he said was characterised by a negative anti-apartheid approach.

He also emphasised the manifesto was by no means a final document. It was a kick-off point from which differences could be sorted out – particularly as regards the implementation of common goals and values.

Other interpretations and reactions in Parliamentary lobbies to Dr Clerk's speech

■ One of the most important matters he did not refer to was the return of exiles and the question of remaining political prisoners. Cabinet reaction was that it would probably be dealt with by Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee in the upcoming debates. The question of indemnity is being dealt with by the working group set up by paragraph 2 of the Pretoria Minute. For the State President to have addressed the question would have forced him into details which would have been inappropriate at this stage, it is said.

■ With the interim measure for local government he has acknowledged there must be room for negotiating structures and procedures to enable political organisations outside present structures to participate in negotiations. Effectively, the measures mean that where spontaneous co-operation between management councils has arisen, this co-operation will be formalised and statutory provision made for their future functioning.

■ With the scrapping of the Population Registration Act there will be interim measures to ensure the present Population Register and Electoral Act remain. This is to enable the calling of an election and to ensure Parliament can implement a new constitution after negotiations. Ironically, this in effect means all babies born after the scrapping of the Act will be raceless, while all people of voting age, and some younger people, will remain classified until a new constitution is agreed on.

Only then, it is said, will everybody in South Africa be raceless.

This is probably only one of the ironic signs of just how difficult it is going to be to eliminate the bureaucratic giant left behind by apartheid.

The dismantling of the system which allowed 19 education departments, 15 ministers of education, 13 ministers of health and 14 ministers of agriculture has begun and a process has been launched which will eventually lead to the demise of the 10 homelands and three own-affairs administrations.

This also includes 10 development corporations, 10 agricultural corporations and a myriad other fragmented components.

De Klerk has accepted the principle that rationalisation can start even before a new constitution is accepted.

Far — but not far enough, says Mandela

THE ANC has praised President F W de Klerk for saying all apartheid legislation would be repealed, but urged him to scrap security legislation that prohibited free political expression.

On Saturday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela commended De Klerk and said the ANC welcomed "his belated acceptance of the principle that all people in our country are one nation".

The ANC leader expressed satisfaction with what he described as the narrowing of views between the National Party and the ANC.

Despite this, the organisation still had some deep reservations about De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC also noted the "remarkable absence" of reference to security legislation — described by Mandela as "the most obstinate obstacles to free political activity".

"These omissions suggest a reluctance on the government's part to relinquish the inordinate powers it yields in terms of these laws," he said.

Mandela urged De Klerk to address the homelands issue and to adopt measures to ensure that all the people of SA, including those in the TBVC states, participated in determining its future. — Sapa.

Govt seeks early repeal of race laws

CAPE TOWN — Government departments are scouring the statute books to find all clauses referring to race classification after President F W de Klerk's announcement that the repeal of the Population Registration Act this year will remove the last vestiges of apartheid in legislation.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday his department was working flat out to draw up legislation to repeal the Act and have it tabled early in this session of Parliament.

He said at least two Bills would be tabled soon: the repeal of the Population Registration Act, without the interim measures required to prop up the tricameral constitution, and another general Bill removing racial clauses in all other Acts of Parliament.

"We have to decide whether we draw up a general Act that can bring about the necessary changes to all the Acts or whether the different departments need different Bills to make the statute book devoid of all racially discriminatory legislation," he said.

Louw said his department still needed to investigate those stipulations required to keep the tricameral constitution operational and allow for

by-elections.

"I can assure you we are not going to just redraft the Population Registration Act in some other form."

On Friday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said there were a number of clauses in the constitution that referred directly to the Act and these needed to be retained.

"We will still have apartheid on the books as long as the tricameral constitution exists," he said.

He said everything promulgated under the Act would remain until a new constitution was enacted.

Births

People classified under the Act would retain that classification and, for example, children going to school next year would still be registered by their racial classification.

All new births registered after the repeal of the Act would, however, be "race-classification-free".

On Friday, De Klerk set government's agenda for the year by committing the administration to:

- Repealing the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act;
- A multiparty conference which, through negotiation, would give constitutional

content to the adoption of the President's manifesto for a new SA which promised justice, full political rights and freedom to all. This includes a universal franchise; government based on the consent of the governed; equality before the law; a justiciable bill of rights; and freedom of expression, religion, movement and association;

□ Legislation for local government that will enable communities to negotiate nonracial joint structures on a "one municipality, one taxbase" basis;

□ Some form of social contract; and

□ Redressing the historical inequalities of apartheid through economic restructuring, growth and negotiation.

The programme of economic restructuring, "in line with the political and socio-economic exigencies, is firmly on course", he said.

Depending on the interim measures introduced, De Klerk has met the five conditions stipulated in the US's Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act. The release of political prisoners and the return of exiles is due to be completed by April 30.

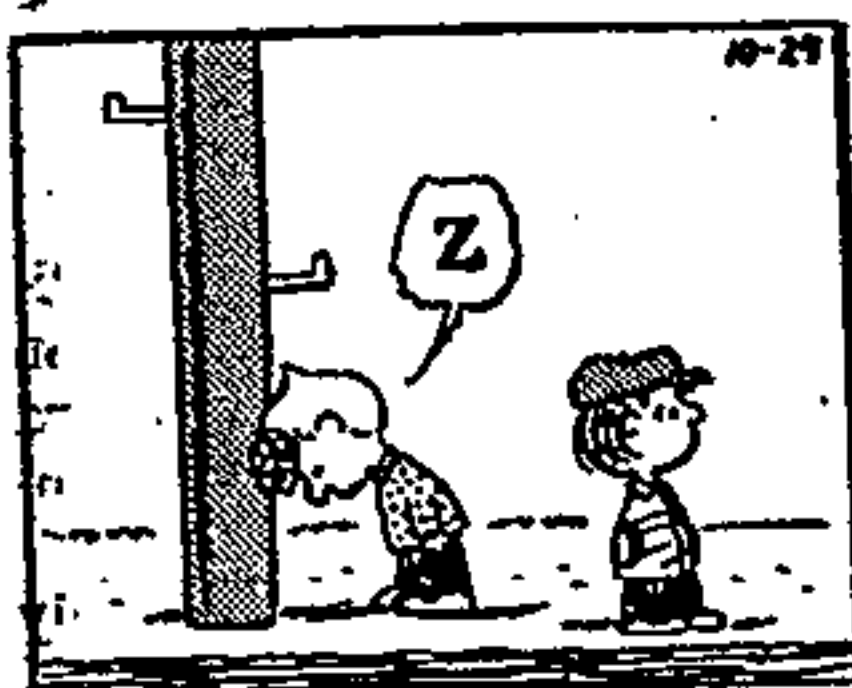
As a cover for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, government is planning to introduce a City and Town Environment Act which is designed to maintain standards not based on race.

It leaves the decision of setting standards to either the city councils or a lower borough level.

On the economic front government plans further budget cuts and capital expenditure cuts as well as restructuring parastatals, with the concomitant selling off of shares, and continuing privatisation.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



IN 1950, government started a little list, by the end of last year it was 31-million names long. Whether we like it or not, we are all on it.

We're classified by race: white, coloured and black in the law's order of precedence. A coloured person is defined as "not a white person or a black", and each coloured and black person is further classified according to "ethnic or other group".

It's called the population register and was the basis of all subsequent apartheid measures. Once you had defined who belonged to which race group, you could specify with legal exactitude whether they could vote, marry, own property, live in certain areas, do particular jobs, be in cities, sit on benches, eat in restaurants, sleep in hotels or relax on beaches.

The Population Registration Act is not just another apartheid measure, or even one of the cornerstones of apartheid. It is the cornerstone, for without it there can be no laws based on race; no statutory privilege, no statutory second-class citizens.

Its repeal will not free us from discrimination, from unequal spending or even from racism. It will not resolve ethnic differences or the problems of negotiations. Removing it raises a new set of issues, not least the continued operation of the race-based tricameral Parliament.

But, as much as the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC last year, its demise will usher in the new SA.

The Population Registration Act is apartheid, in deciding to scrap it President F W de Klerk has shown the same political maturity he evidenced last year when he unbanned not only the liberation movements, but the SA Communist Party as well. He did what was necessary, avoiding the temptation for half measures.

Without apartheid's cornerstone, the edifice will crumble

19/Dec 14/2/91

MICHAEL ACOTT

As De Klerk set the communists free last year to survive as they might in a changed world, this year he went beyond discriminatory measures to the source of legislative discrimination: pull out the keystone and the edifice must crumble.

Race classification was going to go with the advent of a new government. Abolishing it now does more than advance that decision by a year or two; it seizes the initiative during the transition and starts an immediate process of managing SA on a non-racial basis.

A desire to be free of American sanctions, which requires the repeal of the Population Registration Act, no doubt helped, but there is also an inexorable logic in Friday's decision. De Klerk says he looked at what had to be done and what needed to be abolished. That approach could only lead straight to the Population Registration Act, where statutory apartheid begins and without which it must end.

To the objection that "we can't scrap it yet" De Klerk has replied "why not?"

Petty apartheid has all but disappeared, and government is committed to scrapping the Group Areas Act, which prescribes where urban whites, coloureds and Asians may live and therefore where blacks can't. Grand apartheid is crumbling and the pre-apartheid Land Acts, which set aside 13% of SA's land area for rural blacks and are the basis of the homelands, are also going.

But, when people are no longer defined by race, neither the Group Areas Act nor the Land Acts matter. As a government member once described the families of migrant labourers, they would become useless appendages.

De Klerk has promised to implement some sort of interim measure to "ensure community rights" following the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, and another to keep the tricameral Parliament going when it

is no longer underpinned by the Population Registration Act.

Communities will soon sort themselves out on the basis of supply and demand, class, affordability and voluntary association. Those who will seek protection will not be the rich of any race, but communities like the coloured people of Cape Town's Bo-Kaap which developers are already eyeing.

Parliament is a different matter, and is the reason De Klerk originally stated that the Population Registration Act would fall away only once the present constitution was replaced by a new negotiated one.

The basis of the 1984 constitution is a tricameral legislature with parliamentary chambers for those classified white, coloured and Indian. Blacks have no place; "the control and administration of black affairs shall vest in the State President".

The Population Registration Act is not mentioned. Membership of a particular House is prescribed not by

race but by whether you can vote in an election for that House; those who can vote are white, coloured and Indian SA citizens. The definition of what constitutes a white, coloured or Indian is understood but unstated.

When those unmentioned classifications fall away, a host of problems arise. The basis of the tricameral system is the discriminatory system of "own affairs". By constitutional apartheid, whites, coloureds and Indians have an exclusive say over matters deemed essential to the maintenance of their identity and the furtherance of their "way of life, culture, traditions and customs".

De Klerk said government was looking at problems concerned with the "fragmentation of administration" in local government, education, housing, health and agriculture. These just happen to be all the departments controlled not by the central Cabinet but run on an "own affairs" basis by the white, coloured and Indian administrations.

The system might be propped up temporarily, but changes to the system are clearly coming when De Klerk talks of a need for "fundamental rationalisation".

There are other loose ends. For the duration of this Parliament, unless seats are to be left vacant when MPs die or resign, there will have to be by-elections; voters' rolls are based on the Population Registration Act. De Klerk has promised to test white opinion on any new negotiated constitution; a white person is defined by a law about to be repealed. These problems will probably be overcome by a combination of fudge and ingenuity. The population register still exists and it will no doubt be used for these specific purposes.

But the register won't be added to, when the Population Registration Act goes, the list has closed.

FW gives fresh impetus to the quiet revolution

6/20/91

KEVIN DAVIE

THE observer of SA's great political drama can be forgiven his preoccupation — often laced with frustration at their slow progress — with the deliberations between government and the ANC.

But these deliberations have in the past year obscured a greater change, a revolution, in government itself. This revolution is creating a completely new economic order, irrespective of the main negotiations.

The new order is seen in the economic reforms President F W de Klerk unveiled on Friday. They include the areas of land, housing, local government, development and industrial policy.

The changes promise to improve the lives of millions of blacks. They stem from the realisation that a post-apartheid SA cannot discriminate against any of its citizens, and that apartheid resulted in major problems that require redress.

This reform is also underpinned by the need to stimulate the economy. But growth cannot come about where laws forbid access to rural and urban land by blacks, where there are problems of financing land and home purchase by the poor, where local development cannot be funded because of the collapse of black local authorities, and where there is wasteful expenditure within the existing government and devel-

opment bureaucracies.

This is what De Klerk addressed on Friday. He opened the way for new development by freeing up rural and urban land, by encouraging new schemes for land and home finance, by stimulating the urbanisation process, by putting local authority structures in place to overcome present bottlenecks, by promising a fresh look at social spending within government, and by signalling new industrial policy intended to create jobs through export-led growth.

De Klerk said that the goal was to restructure the economy, ultimately to eliminate existing disparities. He stressed that the private sector had the major role to play, and that the state's role should be reduced to a minimum.

The scrapping of the Land Acts later this session will open the way for blacks to buy farm land in areas that until now have been reserved for whites.

This in itself is unlikely to cause a black influx because, according to Development Bank chief executive Simon Brand, other barriers to entry may still have to be dealt with.

These include legislation (the Subdivision of Land Act) that sets as the minimum size of farms an area too large for the small-scale farmer, and Land Bank financing policy, which

also discriminates against the small farmer.

Brand, in an interview on Friday, suggested that programmes used in the past to encourage people to settle on the land may have to be introduced to stimulate this process.

On urban reform, De Klerk said the Group Areas Act would go, that government would give high priority to providing affordable shelter for all, and it was taking an urgent look at innovative financing methods for the provision of land and housing.

He also said the recent allocation of R600m by the Independent Development Trust (IDT) to allow 750 000 poor people to secure land was "of great significance".

Government is known to be considering a new housing policy to provide a one-off subsidy of a recommended R8 000 to all first-time buyers. The well-off would use this as a down payment on a house; poorer people would buy a plot of serviced land.

The intention is for the IDT to provide funds (for the poor) in the interim, says Brand; later this will be government's responsibility. Local government reforms un-

veiled by De Klerk are also very important.

There has been no shortage of development finance (the Urban Foundation, for instance, has R3,5bn for low-cost housing) but little has been achieved because of problems on the ground.

Progressive black groups have refused to serve on discredited and non-functioning black local councils until their demand for "one city, one tax base" is met.

De Klerk said on Friday that legislation would come before Parliament this session to establish joint structures for black and white local authorities. He said these structures would have legal sanction, meaning they could negotiate loans with development agencies and government authorities.

The Development Bank has acted as a facilitator for such a forum, the Metropolitan Chamber, which includes Johannesburg, Sandton, Diepsmeadow, Soweto and Dobsonville. The Soweto People's Delegation (SPD) is also represented.

Brand says he hopes the civic associations are included in the new joint local authority legislation.

"This wasn't dealt with in the President's remarks. We have argued all along for their inclusion."

The growing influx of blacks to the urban areas will be associated with

an increase in the size of the informal sector, but major moves are also contained in Friday's package to stimulate the formal industrial sector.

In the first case, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) will be expected to free up some of its mature investments, which total several billions, and provide more risk capital for new industrial development.

A second thrust this session, as signalled by De Klerk, will be to enhance the competitive ability of exporters. Recommendations to this effect are contained in a report on protectionism by the IDC, scheduled for release by government within the next few weeks.

The report, business sources say, calls for a thorough review of protectionist policy to restructure SA industry on a more competitive, export-orientated basis.

In brief, exporters who benefit and add value can expect the highest levels of protection from foreign competition. Exporters of raw products are likely to have their protection phased out.

De Klerk's Friday package adds up to a major restructuring of the present order, even if formal negotiations drag on for years. He has unleashed forces that will radically reshape SA.

BOOKS

Solidarity bid to change Parliament

Sowetan 4/2/91

304A

THE Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates is to push for far-reaching changes to parliamentary rules to allow extra-parliamentary leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela to address Parliament.

It also wants major changes to the civil service to provide more job opportunities for blacks.

Party leader Dr JN Reddy said yesterday that amendments to rules of Parliament would be sought as it was inconceivable that there was a situation where the deputy president of the ANC made a major political statement on the parade in Cape Town, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi from a hotel in Durban and the State

President from the rostrum of parliament.

"We will accordingly move for the removal of constraints that prevent major political statements from adversarial platforms which in effect allow major political role-players to talk past one another.

"There must be opportunities for South African political leaders

to talk publicly to one another in the intervening phase, from the same platform, should they so desire," he said.

Turning to civil service, Reddy said that all political change could be negated by an "unwilling and racially protected civil service which, in our case, remains a legacy of the old apartheid order". - Sapa.

Repeal security laws'

The Black Sash on Friday welcomed President FW de Klerk's intention to repeal the Land and Group Areas Acts.

The group said it was necessary, however, that compensation be made to the millions of people whose lives had been destroyed through the implementation of these Acts over many decades.

Sowetan 4/2/91
"We note with great regret that Mr de Klerk made no mention of security laws, particularly the Internal Security Act," Black Sash said in a statement. *HS 304A*

"Removal of laws which allow for such evil practices as detention without trial would have been a real indication of a commitment to a South Africa where a Bill of Rights would prevail." - Sapa

Big step - Buthelezi

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk had facilitated progress towards getting negotiations off the ground, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Friday. *Sowetan 4/7/91*

The scrapping of apartheid legislation and moves towards the establishment of a single education system were a significant step forward, he said.

"There can be no turning back now by the Government."

Buthelezi endorsed De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly, saying negotiating parties must accept their role would be to negotiate a new constitution which would be legislated into existence once it had been tested.

Buthelezi welcomed moves to look at the "atrocious divides" between white and other local authorities, but said these should develop from the negotiating process and not simply from consultation. - *Sapa*.

Fw sets the stage

4/2/91. Sowetan 4/2/91

30411

stage

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

lobby, its effects have yet to be felt on the streets of South Africa's townships.

The ANC in its comment on the speech on Saturday said that there was no need to thank or be grateful to De Klerk for the repeal of the acts.

"There was never any need for the enactment of legislation like the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and a host of other laws which we consider to form the pillars of apart-

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday has set the stage for a drama that will develop into the new South Africa envisaged by its people.

De Klerk said the basis of the new South Africa should be justice and the great majority of its people desired a just state.

However, while the speech has made a grand impression with foreign governments and almost destroyed the sanctions



Marching in unity ... Representatives of various political organisations march to Moroka Police Station. They are from left: Ahmed Kathrada (ANC), Barbara Hogan (ANC), Eugene Motata (Pasc), Carter Seleke (PAC), Elias Motsaedi (ANC-SACP) and an unidentified activist.

Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE

SH SUPER) EXTRA) IN IN BUTTER GLYC CHASE) SHIELD)

New SA on the cards

From Page 1

heid," the ANC's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said.

It is still the minority which is making the decisions, he said.

Meanwhile from abroad the messages of support for the De Klerk Government have poured in.

Among the staunchest supporters of sanctions, the Australian and Canadian governments announced that they would seriously review sanctions. Britain and America have similarly added their voice.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd said: "Mr De Klerk had shown once again his commitment to end apartheid and transform South Africa into a genuinely non-racial society."

From the European community came applause and the assurance that trade in iron and steel as well as Krugerrands could take off again once the laws have actually been scrapped.

South Africa's bureaucratic morass is being cleaned up, too.

The 19 education departments, 15 ministers of education, 13 ministers of health and 14 ministers of agriculture will be dismantled during this parliamentary session.

This process of rationalising will possibly include the homelands and the "own affairs" administrations.

De Klerk said on Friday that Government was "looking at present with a view to interim arrangements, at the problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially in respect of education, housing, health and agriculture."

"In this context there is a serious need for fundamental rationalisation, linked to the effective protection of standards and the rights of individuals and communities," De Klerk said.

To Page 2

Last pillars of apartheid to go

304A
Soweto 4/2/91

STATE President FW de Klerk declared at the opening of Parliament on Friday that he would remove all racially discriminatory laws in South Africa this year.

The President said he would scrap the Group Areas Act, the Development of Black Communities Act of 1984, the Land Acts and the racially discriminatory parts of the Population Registration Act.

However, it is important to remember that his intentions must still be put to the test of debate in Parliament.

The Acts will not be removed before Parliament agrees that they should be.

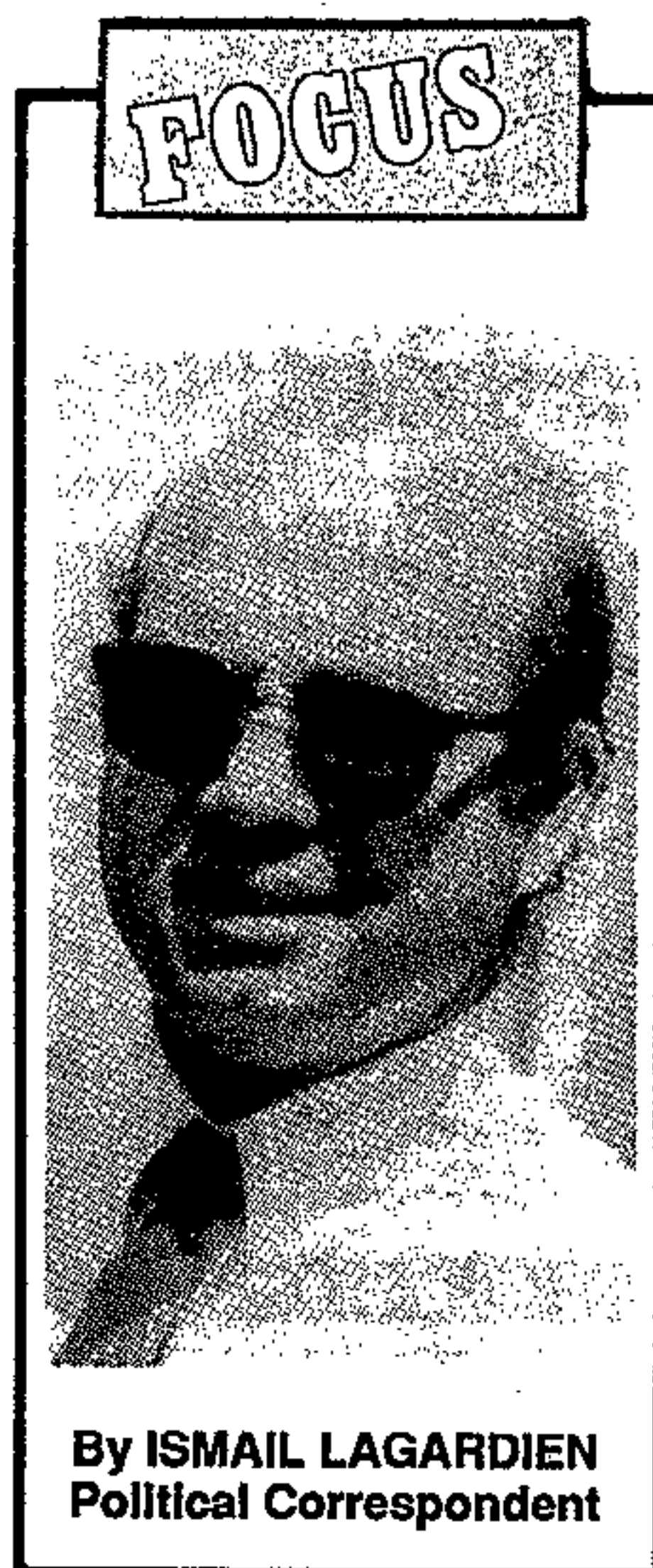
This should happen within the next three to four months. For the moment, however, the Acts are still in place.

Because De Klerk's National Party enjoys a majority in Parliament it is certain that the Acts will be removed, even if in the teeth of angry opposition from Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, all of whose members walked out of Parliament in protest when De Klerk announced his intentions on Friday.

But what does it all mean to the man on the street?

Group Areas Act

When this Act is finally scrapped it will mean in theory that anybody in South Africa may buy or rent a property wherever



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

they wish to and wherever they can afford it.

In theory a man who today lives in Soweto will be able to buy or rent a property on Houghton Ridge - or anywhere else in what used to be "white" South Africa.

The same will be true for whites who were previously prevented from buying or renting houses in "black" areas.

The difficulty for most blacks in all of this will be the cost of properties in "white" South Africa. Most houses and flats in white areas are priced much higher than properties in black areas.

Also De Klerk gave notice that in the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, standards would have to be maintained.

Although it is not clear yet what precisely the President meant by this, it is possible that local option will be brought to bear which will mean that individual suburbs, local authorities or communities will be able to decide for themselves whether people of another race should be allowed to live among them.

The President also used the term "one municipality one tax base".

This means that if they want it, the communities of Soweto and Johannesburg could be merged into one and be run by the same authorities.

The Land Acts

While the Group Areas Act was mainly used to create black or white suburbs, the Land Acts prohibited blacks from owning land, whether residential or agricultural, in the 87 percent of the country which did not include the bantustans.

The scrapping of the Land Acts will mean that a black who can afford it will soon be able to buy a farm wherever he can afford it.

He will be able to farm it, leave it to his children, sell it for the best price he can get, or even apply to have it rezoned for industrial land so that he might build a factory there.

Full ownership of land of this sort has been something which up to now has been restricted mainly to whites.

The Population Registration Act

From the day that this Act disappears no child born in the country will be classified according to its race.

This Act, in an important sense, was the fountain from which all of apartheid flowed. A person's race, as determined by this Act, decided where that person could live, go to school or even who he or she could marry.

The end of the Act will mean, for the first time in many years, that all people born in South Africa will simply be South Africans.

De Klerk, however, made the point on Friday that because the Population Registration Act was the basis of the present constitution it could not be removed overnight.

This could only happen when the country has a new constitution - something which still has to be negotiated between all parties.

In the meantime "temporary measures" - which De Klerk did not spell out - will take the place of the Population Registration Act.

		SUBS	TEAM	ORDER	GROUP
		TOTAL	DATE:	GROUP OR AREA ORDER FORM	

ATLANTIS BUYERS CO-OPERATIVE

De Klerk speech fails to excite

Sowetan 4/2/91

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's reformist opening address to Parliament was met with little enthusiasm from the main extra-parliamentary groups.

The initial reaction was that nothing has changed.

The groups noted that the main obstacles to negotiations - the release of political prisoners, the unconditional return of exiles, the repeal of security legislation and the termination of all political trials - received no mention in De Klerk's speech.

The ANC has given the Government until April 30 to resolve these issues before reconsidering its participation in the peace process.

Other groups focused merely on De Klerk's frank rejection of a constituent assembly, a demand highlighted

statement that the Government, in rejecting the call for a constituent assembly, was determined to maintain complete control of the transition process, thus excluding "the democratic participation of the people".

Said the PAC: "Apartheid is being reformed not abolished. We have made no progress and will have to shoulder on until our demands become irresistible."

The Azanian People's Organisation said that the power relations in South African society had not changed in any way.

"That is why Azapo rejected De Klerk's 'talks about talks'..." said an Azapo spokesman.

Acts

LHR, however, welcomed the intended scrapping of the Land and Group Areas Acts, but said that the proposal to repeal the Population Registration Act was "couched" in vague terms.

The Government needs to clarify what it means by "temporary transitional measures," LHR said.

The PAC said in a



Marchers move towards the Union Buildings to demand a constituent assembly.

ANC praises FW but asks for more

Sowetan 4/2/91

THE ANC on Saturday lavished praise on State President FW de Klerk for announcing the coming repeal of all apartheid legislation, but went on to urge him to scrap repressive security legislation.

In its formal response to De Klerk's landmark announcements in Parliament on Friday, the ANC said the speech abided by its call for the end of apartheid.

"We therefore commend Mr FW de Klerk for his announcements yesterday that all apartheid legislation will be

abolished in the coming months.

"We also welcome his belated acceptance of the principle that all people in our country are one nation," said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the organisation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

In further praise, Mandela described De Klerk's manifesto as a fundamental departure from an apartheid framework. "It therefore deserves recognition."

The ANC leader expressed satisfaction with

what he described as the narrowing of view between the Nation Party and the ANC.

Despite this, the organisation still has some deep reservations about De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Mandela also commented on what he called the "remarkable absence" of reference to security legislation in De Klerk's speech. He described such legislation as "the most obvious obstacles to free political activity". - *Sowetan*

It rejected with contempt De Klerk's remarks that mass action was unacceptable. - *Sowetan*

3844

4/2/91
Cape Times, Monday,

Parliamentary politics faces new challenges

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT faces a week of lively debates and heated clashes following President F W de Klerk's momentous opening address on Friday, which broke the mould on traditional South African politics.

Mr De Klerk's landmark announcements on the imminent scrapping of the legal pillars of apartheid has forced a shake-up within all parties in Parliament — including the ruling NP.

The growing uncertainty and open-endedness of the new politics will force parties both inside and outside Parliament to look afresh at their current strategies and roles.

The four-day, all-party state of the nation debate starting today, and Friday's racially-segregated, no-confidence debate in the three chambers of Parliament, will provide an ideal platform for these growing tensions and shifting priorities.

This week's debates are expected to be dominated by bitter clashes between the CP and the NP.

Angry CP MPs, who stormed out of Parliament on Friday, have promised to resort to increasingly militant tactics in defence of white rule.

For its part, the NP will try to keep the CP off balance by exploiting reports of an impending split in the CP between the intransigent old guard and

the more pragmatic elements.

CP officials, however, have flatly rejected suggestions that the party is about to split.

They could counter by pointing to growing tensions within the NP over the role of the Broederbond in setting the NP agenda and growing nervousness among rank-and-file NP members and whites in general about the nature and pace of change under Mr De Klerk.

With Mr De Klerk continuing to poach key aspects of DP policy, the party faces a fresh challenge to its relevance and cohesion.

The DP is expected to concentrate on debates in the obvious weak spots in the government armour — the hit-

squads, maladministration and corruption and school apartheid.

Most MPs in the Coloured and Indian Houses are expected to move even closer to the NP during the state of the nation debate.

But clashes are expected on Friday when opposition parties and independent MPs in the House of Representatives debate their lack of confidence in LP leader and Ministers' Council chairman Mr Allan Hendrickse.

In the House of Delegates, a lively debate is expected on the call by Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy for the scrapping of the Indian Ministers' Council — a move which has already been rejected by the government.

CHIT TERS 4/2/91 (304A)

The race is on to repeal apartheid's keystone act

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT departments are scouring the statute books to find all clauses referring to race classification after President F W de Klerk's announcement that the repeal of the Population Registration Act this year will remove the last vestiges of apartheid.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw said yesterday his department was working flat-out to draw up legislation to repeal the act and to have it tabled early this parliamentary session.

He said at least two bills would be tabled soon: The repeal of the Population Registration Act and another general bill removing racial clauses in all other acts.

"We have to decide whether we draw up a general act that can bring about the necessary changes to all the acts, or whether departments need different bills to make the statute book devoid of all racially discriminatory legislation," he said.

Mr Louw said his department still needed to investigate those stipulations required to keep the tricameral constitution operational and allow for by-elections.

On Friday Constitutional Develop-

ment Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said there were a number of clauses in the constitution which referred directly to the Population Registration Act and these needed to be retained.

He said everything promulgated under the act would remain until a new constitution was enacted.

People classified under the act would retain that classification and, for example, children going to school next year would still be registered by their racial classification.

All new births registered after the repeal of the act would, however, be "race-classification-free".

On Friday Mr De Klerk set the government's agenda for the year by committing the administration to:

- Repealing the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act;

- A multi-party conference which, through negotiation, would give constitutional content to the adoption of the president's manifesto for a new South Africa which promised justice, full political rights and freedom to all.

- Legislation providing for a "one municipality, one tax base" form of local government;

- Some form of social contract, and

- Redressing the historical inequalities of apartheid through economic restructuring, growth and negotiation.

Disagreement in DP over MPs joining ANC/PAC protest

Political Staff

304A

Relations between the liberal and progressive camps in the Democratic Party were strained at the weekend after six MPs on Friday joined the combined ANC/PAC

Star 4/2/91
protest march outside Parliament.

Some party sources suggested there was not so much a row as a disagreement. Others said the fact that the protest march was launched specifically to back de-

mands for a constituent assembly — which is expressly not DP policy — and for the abolition of the present Parliament, made it controversial.

Claremont MP Jan van Eck — who was invited by the ANC to join

the march — remained with the protesters.

Five other MPs joined the demonstration: Dave Dalling; Jannie Momberg; Jasper Walsh; Geoff Engel; and Pierre Cronje.

CP denies split over role in negotiations

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has denied reports in Rapport yesterday about a "smouldering" split among its members over CP participation in constitutional negotiations.

Speaking from Cape Town, CP chief whip Frank le Roux instead called on all right-wing organisations to support the CP in its struggle "against the doomed path taken by the Government".

"Unified determination" had characterised a three-day-long CP caucus meeting last week in preparation for the par-

liamentary session, Mr le Roux said. Reports about a pending split were "devoid of all truth". (304A)

Rapport said yesterday: "The Conservative Party is in danger of splitting on whether or not to participate in constitutional negotiations — in spite of the show of solidarity when the CP MPs walked out during President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

"The smouldering discord could still emerge during the no-confidence debate ..." — Sapa.

Talks take shape on all-party conference

BILLY PADDOCK

304A

CAPE TOWN — Exploratory talks on a multiparty conference will begin soon to seek consensus on relevant issues among the key likely participants.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday there was agreement that the conference should consist of representatives of all political parties and organisations enjoying proven support.

For this purpose the leaders of groups most likely to participate had to reach understanding on: criteria for qualifying; guidelines for assessing proven support; methods to persuade unwilling parties to participate; the host calling the first meeting and the logistics of the conference.

Once preliminary understanding had been reached, preparations for the conference would be made, which would lead finally to the negotiation forum.

Viljoen said the conference agenda would include: *6/2/91*

- The composition and functioning of the negotiating forum, including who would be represented and how representatives would be designated;
- Seeking agreement on the main principles for a new constitution; and
- Broadening political involvement during the transition period of negotiations.

He said several important issues had to be addressed in the transition period, such as "unrealistic, inflated expectations among the unsophisticated masses; pressures arising from historical socio-economic

□ To Page 2

All-party talks *6/2/91*

304A

□ From Page 1

conomic backlogs and imbalances; the need to maintain stability and order and the need to address public grievances".

Government would insist participants commit themselves to a peaceful process and abandon violence and intimidation.

Therefore it was imperative that the armed action working group urgently conclude its work. Uncertainty as to what constituted a related activity of armed action had to be resolved.

President F W de Klerk had rejected the

ANC's demand for a constituent assembly, because elections on a simple majority basis would result in putting the "outcome, the goalposts, at the starting point".

Responding to the call by J N Reddy, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, to scrap the Ministers' Councils and form a super Cabinet, Viljoen said this was not acceptable. Government would rather have a coherent constitution to replace the tricameral constitution.

● See Page 6

Sports ban to go?

Mr. Tais 4/2/91 3044

SOUTH AFRICA has already started to reap the benefits of President F W de Klerk's announcement on Friday that the last vestiges of apartheid are to be scrapped this year.

There is now a real chance of South Africa participating in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics. Some Commonwealth nations signalled at the weekend their intention to end the 1977 Commonwealth Gleneagles Agreement which bars sports ties with the Republic — provided, of course, that the promised reforms take place.

Following earlier calls for sanctions to be formally lifted by the US and the European Community (EC), further signs yesterday of South Africa's return to the international community were:

- Commonwealth sources said that a South African delegation, including government representatives, would be welcome to attend the Commonwealth heads of govern-

ment meeting in Harare in October should the reform process stay on track. This meeting is expected to decide to lift sanctions — including the Gleneagles Agreement.

● Australian Prime Minister Mr. Bob Hawke said his country would call at the meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in London next week for a phased lifting of economic and other sanctions to start immediately, and

● Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals said that South Africa could expect "more normal" relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a result of political reforms announced on Friday.

"Once South Africa can count on IMF credits in times of balance of payments problems, its creditworthiness in general will improve. Our access to foreign sources of finance will be greater once it is certain that we can fall back on the IMF," he said. South Africa's chief executive Mr. W. M. Hofes said yesterday that the number of recent business visitors from the US, Europe, Scandinavia and the Far East had been "overwhelming". Many were looking at

£1.5 billions for SA industry

South African industry stands to get a multi-billion rand boost from the proposed restructuring of the Industrial Development Corporation, announced by President F W de Klerk in his speech in Parliament on Friday.

The restructuring is expected to involve the sale of IDC's existing holdings to release funds for industrial development.

● Full report — Page 9

trade possibilities in anticipation of apartheid's demise.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that Commonwealth foreign ministers meeting next week are expected to give sympathetic attention to British Prime Minister Mr. John Major's request to reward Mr. De Klerk's dramatic reforms by ending the Gleneagles Agreement as soon as possible.

It is generally agreed in world sport that the end of the Gleneagles Agreement will signal the end of South Africa's sports isolation.

As this now could be scrapped before the end of the year the optimism that South Africa will take part in the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona is justifiably high.

High level African sports officials last night said there was real hope that Gleneagles could be scrapped at the Commonwealth summit in Harare in October.

One internationally-respected official said: "If President De Klerk's undertakings are implemented and we get the right signals from (the black majority) in South Africa, there will be no reason to keep the Gleneagles Agreement. We could be seeing some very quick movement in sport if things go as well as they look."

It was confirmed that the possibility of ending the agreement had already been in formally discussed when leaders of the Commonwealth's African National Olympic Committees met in Nairobi last week.

The meeting was attended by Mr. Sam Ramsamy, who was appointed chairman of the co-ordinating committee on SA sport when he visited the Republic earlier last month.

Mr. Ramsamy, who was unavailable for comment yesterday, is now expected to have talks with the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

An IOC delegation will visit South Africa in April. Its report, which could recommend ending Olympic sports isolation, will be presented to the IOC executive in June.

IOC president Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch is reported to be delighted by Mr. De Klerk's speech but was reluctant to comment at the weekend because he did not want to influence his delegation's South African visit.

● EC foreign ministers meet in Brussels today to consider the lifting of the 1986 EC ban on the import of South African iron, steel and Krugerrands — worth about R1.5 billion a year. — Own Correspondents and Sapa-Reuters-AP

Separate voters roll will remain

Star 4/2/91 304A

The abolition of the population register according to racial classification does not mean the scrapping of the three racially separate voters rolls, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

In an SABC television interview, he said that while population registration along racial lines had been abolished for all newly born South Africans, the existing voters rolls would not be affected.

"Elections can still take place on separate voting rolls according to race, and the existing classifications on the voting rolls will still be maintained.

"Voting rights will have to be introduced in the new constitution, which will have to be negotiated. In the new con-

stitution, equal political rights will be made possible."

He denied that the abolition of the Population Registration Act, a move announced by President de Klerk on Friday, had merely been a gesture.

"On the contrary, the entire racial classification department will disappear for new citizens," he said.

"However, as an interim measure, we must maintain the existing classification system on the three separate voters rolls so that we can hold elections for the three parliamentary systems."

Dr Viljoen repeated the National Party's policy that it rejected an interim government and a constituent assembly, which are demanded by the ANC. — Sapa.

Division grows in DP ranks over constituent assembly

CAPE TOWN — Division is growing in the DP over the thorny issue of a constituent assembly.

Some DP MPs who took part in the ANC/PAC march on Parliament on Friday indicated there was growing support within the party for the idea of an elected constituent assembly to decide on a new constitution.

DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday

Political Staff

reiterated the party's rejection of the appointment of a constituent assembly following an early non-racial poll.

Speaking during the debate on the President's speech, he said this would open the way to total domination by a majority before citizens' rights could be ensured.

However, the DP agreed with the ANC that the constitution should be legitimated. (304A)

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said during the debate that the establishment of a constituent assembly would render proposed negotiations meaningless.

"It would amount to putting the goalposts at the starting point."

ICS

CP accuses NP of betraying voters

3044A

B/Dan 5/2/91

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and his party had abdicated their responsibility to NP voters and were no longer on the path of democracy, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday in the debate on the President's speech.

He said government had deviated from the NP election manifesto and had "forgotten its mandate, promise and duty".

The NP manifesto reads: "The NP believes in and promotes separate municipal administrations for different groups. It forms an important cornerstone of authority/say over own affairs and the promotion of own community life for each population group."

Treurnicht said because government wanted to eliminate all forms of separatism, it must disappear.

Own schools

The administration "governs the people who put it in office and then conducts a coup on its own people," he said.

He said the manifesto also stated that it was NP policy that each group must have its own living area with its own schools, homes for the aged and own political and constitutional proposals at local level.

He said government had announced the repeal of the Group Areas Act without "even an honest and open mandate". He said this showed "arrogant contempt" for voters.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in reply government was committed to its promise to the white electorate that it would conduct a referendum on a new constitution before implementing it.

Meyer said the CP was practising double

standards with its participation in parliamentary politics and its support for extra-parliamentary groups.

DP leader Zach de Beer said during the debate De Klerk had never indicated he was aware of the crisis of credibility surrounding the security forces.

"He never mentioned the Harms report, or the Goldstone report, or the judgment in the (Lothar) Neethling case, or the report of the International Commission of Jurists. "All the reports I have mentioned here identified elements in our security establishment which have acted dishonestly, incompetently, brutally, illegally or all of these," De Beer said.

The Harms Commission which investigated alleged police hit squads could not get at the facts because police covered up their misdeeds and government was ineffective in identifying and punishing the culprits, he said.

"If there is to be trust and credibility then the wrongdoers within the force must be ruthlessly exposed and justly punished."

In the Sebokeng shooting 281 people were shot — 127 of them in the back. De Beer said Mr Justice Goldstone found no adequate justification for shooting at all.

He said Mr Justice Harms found senior police officers gave false evidence before him and there the matter rested.

He said he wanted to know from government this week how it planned to restore confidence in SA's police force.

Meyer, during the debate, said all political parties should take part in a multiparty conference on a future constitution even if, at this stage, blacks could not take part in the parliamentary process, Sapa reports.

Old warmth returns to relations with SA

8 Feb 1991

G'day again, Australia

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa today signalled a swift turnaround in relations with Australia.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said South Africa no longer desired a reduction in Australia's diplomatic presence in this country.

In an interview, Mr Botha pointed to positive comments emerging from Canberra since President de Klerk's announcement on Friday that all apartheid legislation was to be scrapped.

"Australia was at the forefront of efforts to isolate South Africa, particularly in the Commonwealth," he said. "Just as Australia has been a leader in sanctions, it will be in the lead to react positively now that President de Klerk has made these announcements."

Mr Botha's comments mark a sudden warming in relations that were chilly at best only months ago.

Late last year, Mr Botha announced the closure of a consulate and withdrawal of diplomatic staff — "dictated by budgetary constraints" — from Canberra. This would leave an ambassador and only two diplomats.

An official letter notifying the Australian government of this reminded it also of



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An official letter notifying the Australian government of this reminded it also of the international practice of reciprocity, suggesting a commensurate scaling down of its diplomatic presence in Pretoria by April.

Mr Botha said he had reviewed relations with the Australian ambassador, Colin McDonald, in the December holidays.

"In the light of the constructive and positive reaction from the Australian government I believe we should not bother about the present staff complement of the Australian mission."

Mr Botha described the Australian and Canadian responses to recent developments in South Africa as the most significant.

Both governments have in recent years been hostile.

The Star reported yesterday that Australian Premier Bob Hawke had called for a phased lifting of economic and sporting sanctions.

Momentum

Reacting to the European Community's announcement that it would end its sanctions when legislation scrapping the Group Areas Act, Land Acts and Population Registration Act was tabled, he said it was not clear at exactly what juncture the EC would do so — when the Bills were tabled, or when they became law.

"That is not so important," he said. "This is a clear indication that we are now in the post-sanctions era and we need not push."

"The momentum of the President's initiatives have now reached a stage where sanctions are not only crumbling, but disappearing."

On the sanctions still embedded in United States law, he said: "We're not pushing ... we need not. The momentum is there worldwide. Let it take its course. I know what the outcome will be. Let's leave it there."

Mr Botha said remnants of the "anti-apartheid industry" were still active but had become insolvent worldwide. "Let it die smoothly and quietly," he added.

By SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE

PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S speech at the opening of Parliament was a remarkable one by anybody's standards. With his historic speech on February 2 1990 he grabbed the political initiative and succeeded in putting all other political parties — including the ANC — under tremendous pressure.

If the purpose of Friday's speech was to retain the initiative and to intensify the pressure on other parties, he has undoubtedly succeeded in excellent style. And if the purpose of this strategy was to force other parties to make mistakes, the strategy works: they do make rather serious mistakes.

Mr De Klerk's adversaries should acknowledge that he is a master when playing the perception game. He succeeds in using every big occasion — especially when the local and international limelight focuses on him — to create the perception that he is doing enormously important things.

Although this perception is to a certain extent valid, it must be remembered that the dramatic things he has done to date are mainly connected with the dismantling of the formal and legal structures of apartheid. In sharp contrast to the prevailing perception, relatively little has been done about the dismantling of the informal and social structures of apartheid. In even sharper contrast to the prevailing perception, nothing has yet been done about the much-needed restitution to compensate for the harm done by apartheid and about the erection of democratic structures to replace the apartheid structures.

Vague and evasive

Mr De Klerk should realise that intrinsic dangers are involved in playing of the perception game in such grandiose style. When he is faced with the tasks of dismantling social apartheid, implementing restitution programmes and institutionalising democratic structures, he will have to do the real thing. Then the perception game will be out of place. He therefore runs the risk of running out of (perception) steam.

Though the scrapping of the legal cornerstones of apartheid is of momentous importance, the new legislation will create a rather strange situation in that the Population Registration Act will be scrapped, while population registration will remain for everybody but babies born after a certain date — let it be May 31 1991!

Despite all the awkwardness, there are still high hopes that the government has done enough to enable the Bush Administration and Congress to recall the sanctions legislation of October 1986. Given the poor state of the economy, we desperately need to normalise our international economic relations.

A troublesome aspect of Mr De Klerk's speech was his vague and evasive tone when he spoke about the road ahead. His 'Manifesto for the new South Africa' is high-sounding and full of lofty phrases but its relevance to the desperately poor people of Khayelitsha is suspect. A confession of guilt by the NP for the misdeeds of apartheid and a strong commitment to restitution would have been much more valuable and credible. Without such a confession and a commitment, Mr De Klerk can forget about his "nation-building" programme.

Poor economy

Although nothing is wrong with creating an optimistic scenario Mr De Klerk clearly went overboard when he claimed "we shall be able to enter the new century as one of the

De Klerk depicts, but has to deliver

CAR TIPS 5/2/91

304A



DE KLERK: Creates the perception of doing important things.

most successful and dynamic nations of the world", if a new nation can be built on the basic values and ideals of the manifesto.

Anyone acquainted with the sorry state of the economy, the terrible legacies of apartheid and the structural inequalities should know that even if a high and sustained economic growth rate could be attained we would need at least two decades to address the most serious economic problems successfully. Unfortunately the prospect of attaining the needed high growth rate looks rather slim. Let us therefore beware of naive optimism or another round of De Klerk euphoria. It could boomerang in a destructive way.

Mr De Klerk was equally vague and evasive when talking about constitutional matters. He clearly played his cards concerning "political power" close to his chest. He again rejected the request for a constituent assembly and reiterated the government's opinion that the negotiation of a new constitution should be the responsibility of the representatives of all political parties which enjoy proven support.

Does this imply that a party with 5% (unproven) support will enjoy the same bargaining power in negotiations as a party with 50% (unproven) support?

This approach is unacceptable. A method to determine which political parties do have proven support and what the magnitude of that support is must be acknowledged as a necessary

condition for a peaceful and legitimate negotiation process. It would be far better to create ballot-box opportunities for parties to determine the magnitude of their support instead of leaving them to fight about it in the streets and townships.

Reality of poverty

When talking about the security situation, Mr De Klerk made mention of the sharp contrast between "the high level of political and criminal lawlessness in the country" and the positive picture which he was able to sketch in his speech about other matters. While it may be easy for Mr De Klerk to sketch a positive picture of other matters as part of his perception game, the socio-economic reality of millions of blacks is everything but positive. The widespread poverty that exists parallel to visible "pockets of affluence" — and the relatedness of both to apartheid — should be taken into account when judging the high level of lawlessness. The lawlessness is indeed unacceptable but the sharp inequalities in income and power must also be denounced as equally unacceptable.

Instead of talking about the security situation against the background of the very unfortunate — and still unchanged — socio-economic and political circumstances, Mr De Klerk claimed "our security forces are doing an excellent job". He also stated they did not deserve the vilification they received from many quarters.

This attempt towards a whitewash opens a hornets' nest of questions. What about the contradictions between the Harms Report and the Kriegler verdict? What about Lubowski? What about the CCB? What about the rule that justice should be done and seen to be done?

Mr De Klerk should do something dramatic and visible about the very negative perceptions haunting the security forces. These not only undermine the credibility of his government but also its newly-accepted task as "nation-builder".

□ Professor Terreblanche teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch.

SA's confidence boosted

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ARGUS 5/2/91 (306A) (201 512 60)

The Argus Foreign Service and Political Staff

CONFIDENCE in South Africa's speedy return to the international community has been boosted by the European foreign ministers' pledge to lift sanctions and a deluge of praise for President De Klerk's latest reform moves from around the world.

In prompt reaction to President De Klerk's promise to abolish the Land, Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, European Community ministers meeting in Brussels yesterday agreed to scrap sanctions as soon as legislation to repeal the Acts is tabled in parliament.

The EC's trade bans include imports of iron, coal, steel and Krugerrands.

The government today hailed the EC decision as a major breakthrough.

While an opposition leader warned that the decision would not necessarily address one of the country's biggest problems — lack of overseas investment — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said the move was "a clear indication that we are now in the post-sanctions era and we need not push any further". World reaction to Mr De Klerk's initiatives had been favourable and positive.

To him the most significant response was from Australia and Canada.

"Australia was at the forefront of efforts to isolate South Africa, especially in the Commonwealth. I welcome Prime Minister Bob Hawke's statement. Just as Australia had been been a leader in the campaign for sanctions it will now be in the lead to react positively."

But Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said that while the decision was reason for gratitude and relief it had not exactly come as a surprise.

"We should remind ourselves that trade sanctions have been of relatively little importance."

'Damaged economy'

"What has severely damaged our economy is the refusal of world financial institutions to lend and invest here. We can only hope that this, too, will now change."

● The African National Congress had not given up hope that the EC would retain sanctions, said Mr Ahmed Kathrada, deputy head of the movement's department of information and publicity.

"It will be very unfortunate if sanctions are lifted because Mr De Klerk has not given answers on the position of political prisoners, exiles and political trials."

"He has also rejected our calls for a constituent assembly. This is a crucial time because these things have not changed. We will continue to try to dissuade these people from lifting sanctions."

● The removal of apartheid remained a precondition for any discussions with the government, said Pan Africanist Congress spokesman Mr Barney Desai.

Financial rand rises

By TOM HOOD
Business Editor

INCREASING foreign investor confidence after President De Klerk's speech to parliament last week has boosted the financial rand.

The foreign investment currency, which rallied to 30,5 US cents immediately after Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday, rose further to 31 cents. The finrand was worth only 28,5c in mid-December.

Meanwhile, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange reacted positively to the president's speech, although the higher finrand kept a lid on share prices — foreigners are encouraged to sell shares when the finrand rises.

The JSE industrial share index rose 37 points on Friday and another 14 to 2 933 yesterday.

Retailers Pick 'n Pay and Wooltru were among shares to make impressive gains. Analysts said undertakings to uplift the black community would raise their incomes and spending.

booster

'Hold the line'

"And that discussion will be on a constituent assembly. Our view is that sanctions must remain in place until we have a constituent assembly. Any move to lift sanctions is premature."

● The South African Communist Party urged the EC not to "take any precipitate actions against sanctions".

"We demand that they hold the line," said SACP spokesman Mr Essop Pahad.

The repeal of the laws in question "is only the government's stated intention, but they are still there".

It would be premature to call for the partial lifting of sanctions while these laws and the obstacles to negotiations had not been removed.

● The central Witwatersrand region of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) rejected President De Klerk's reforms and called for the maintenance of sanctions and the cultural boycott.

The region's executive committee announced that its congress at the weekend had resolved to "stand firm on the cultural boycott and the isolation of South Africa by the international community".

364A

PARLIAMENT



POLITICS

'It's a coup' — Treurnicht

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

MOST of the parties in parliament were looking ahead on the first day of the debate on the President's speech — with only the Conservative Party clinging to the past.

While the others spoke about the building of a new nation in a post-apartheid era, the CP complained about the destruction of the self-determination of groups, especially the whites.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht sketched the growing bitterness and desperation of the right wing with his accusations that the government was no longer on the democratic road, that it had performed a "coup" against its own people.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said an important aspect of Mr De Klerk's opening speech was the emphasis he had placed on what still had to be done.

New nation

He wanted to ensure that South Africa did not get stuck in the negative and destructive anti-apartheid phase.

The spotlight was being put on the positive and constructive work that had to be done — the building of a new South Africa and a new South African nation.

The National Party had come to realise that a statutory system which had been meant to ensure fair self-determination to all communities had run aground on the demands for justice, equal treatment for all and practical feasibility and affordability.

The National Party itself was putting right what had been shown to be wrong.

The continued existence and identity of the whites or the Afrikaners did not depend on an ab-



Dr Viljoen



Dr Treurnicht

solute, hermetically separated existence.

There could on the other hand not be euphoria about the creation of a new South Africa because it remained a fact that the nation was composed of a variety of ethnic groups and communities.

This reality would have to be kept in mind, but there were positive factors which bound together the South African nation.

Communities and residential areas would increasingly be characterised by people with the same values and ideals and with the same life styles.

Both Mr Viljoen and his deputy Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, dealt with the prospects for multi-party exploratory talks.

They said the agenda for such a conference, which Mr De Klerk expected could start soon, would include:

- The composition and functioning of the negotiating forum;
- Seeking agreement on the main principles on which the new constitution should be based; and

● Broadening the basis of political involvement during the transitional period of negotiations.

Participating parties, including those not presently involved in government structures could make inputs and influence legislative and executive decision-making while the negotiations on a new constitution were proceeding.

Mr Meyer said the CP had been bewildered by the pace of change because it realised that it could not turn back the clock.

The logistics of a multiparty conference including representation of parties with proven support would have to be worked out.

There should be a formula for conflict resolution instead of simple majoritarianism with features such as a Bill of Rights, the decentralisation of power, a system of checks and balances and a strong judiciary.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk was stimulating a spirit of resistance. As a result of ANC and foreign pressures he was no longer on a democratic road.

What was happening now was the final chapter of abdication. It would mean the end of white and other communities.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said that the values and principles Mr De Klerk had dealt with were ones the DP had always subscribed to.

While the president had concentrated on positive aspects it was necessary to sound a warning about various other situations. There were conditions of poverty, starvation, illiteracy, lack of housing and serious violence in the townships.

There was a crisis of credibility around the security forces. A clean-up was needed here.

The economic situation remained extremely worrying. Crime was increasing all the time.

Multiparty conference

still a way off

There were a number of things to be attended to before a multiparty conference on a future constitution could be organised, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's speech, Mr Meyer said criteria for participation and procedure for the conference had to be worked out.

All political parties had to participate in the proposed multiparty conference even if, at this stage, blacks could not take part in the parliamentary process.

Referendums had to be held to establish who would be take part in the negotiating process, as contact had to be made with the people.

Questions of chairmanship and the participation of mediators had to be tackled, as did the problem of consensus.

Mr Meyer said working groups had to be established to draw up guidelines. — Sapa.

Community 'not ruled by race' ^{20/11}

Political Staff *Yw 5/2/91*

A community's culture and language did not have to be protected by race or colour exclusivity, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen told Parliament yesterday.

Lifting the veil on what the Government means in its insistence on protecting "own community life", he said group identity did not de-

mand statutory separation of residential areas.

"The National Party is convinced that neither the continued existence nor the identity of whites or the Afrikaner is dependent on an absolute, hermetically sealed segregation," he said.

The concept of own community life had to be freed from the racial exclusivity of the past, he said. Communities and residential areas would be increasingly hall-

marked by people subscribing to the same values and ideas, and the same living standards and lifestyle.

Dr Viljoen said nation-building could be promoted by building political unity across ethnic borders.

It would heighten tension and conflict in the country if political divisions coincided with ethnic divisions. It would definitely complicate the task of nation-building.

'What about Harms, Goldstone?'

Political Staff

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer was gagged in Parliament yesterday while speaking on the failed court action of police forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling.

Acting Speaker Dr Helgard van Rensburg ruled that the matter was *sub judice* on the grounds that an application for leave to appeal would be heard in April.

Dr de Beer said he had abided by the ruling under protest.

He was criticising the Government for the "crisis of credibility" surrounding the country's security forces. President de Klerk had not mentioned, in his speech on Friday, that he was aware of that crisis.

He had not mentioned the Harms Report, the Goldstone Report, judgment in the Neethling case, or the report of the International Commission of Jurists. They had all identified elements of the security establishment which had acted dishonestly, incompetently, brutally or ille-

gally.

The Harms Commission had been unable to get at facts — police covered their own misdeeds and the Government was "quite ineffective" in identifying and punishing culprits.

"No one expects all the members of any police force to behave well all the time, but if there is to be trust and credibility, the wrongdoers within the force must be ruthlessly exposed and justly punished.

"And that is what, in general, does not happen here," Dr de Beer said.

8/24 91
AWB to stage Pretoria march

Tomorrow's joint AWB/HNP protest march in Pretoria against the pending repeal of the Group Areas Act has been approved by the city council, but the chief magistrate has not yet given permission. About 2,000 supporters are expected to take part in the march. (304A)

Parliament

1991



It's a coup against voters – CP leader

8/11/91
President de Klerk was carrying out a coup against the very people who had elected his Government to power, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the State President's address, he also said Mr de Klerk had put the political heads of everyone in Parliament on the platter of the outside world to buy off sanctions.

The President and his party were no longer following the path of democracy.

Manifesto

The NP's election manifesto had said the party believed in own living areas, own schools, own old age homes and separate municipal management bodies for different groups.

"But because this is a form of apartheid and the Government wants to destroy all forms of separateness, it has to disappear.

"In other words, the Government is forgetting its mandate, its promises and its mission. It is negating the people who placed it in power and carrying out a coup against its own people."

Comment from all quarters in SA indicated that Mr de Klerk's announcements on Friday had stimulated a widening spirit of resistance.

The Government was not playing games, but neither was the CP.

"What we say is that there is no other party here (other than the CP) that can show

304A
how the variety of nations is to be accommodated in the new South Africa, how self-determination can be meaningfully applied, and how we will have a guarantee against surrender to Third World, terrorist and communist forces."

What the Government was doing now, under ANC and foreign pressure, was opposite to self-determination.

"It wants to build a nation out of all the peoples and communities. We say: this is not a nation. It is a stew of peoples with explosives."

Sanctions had not been lifted and the cold war against SA continued, but Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha was still prepared to allow foreign armed forces to use SA harbours and air force bases.

Trampled

President de Klerk had got President George Bush to begin to believe that his reforms were irreversible.

But it was only when the outside world had trampled, blackmailed and humbled SA under ANC domination that these proponents of a new world-order would accept that the reforms of the new South Africa were irreversible, Dr Treurnicht said.

Majority rule was an American heresy.

"There is no honour for any government in being threatened by great-powers or terrorist organisations into concession after concession, until it has sold out the people who put it into power." — Sapa.

A leading judge warns against 'mere majority-will'

'Save democracy from intolerant masses'

SKW 6/2/91

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DEMOCRACY should be defended and protected against itself, and it is only schools and universities which can prevent mere majority-will.

That is the view of South African Law Commission vice-chairman Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, expressed at the 1991 opening ceremony of the University of the Orange Free State last week.

Mr Justice Olivier said that mere majority-will, the unformed and intolerant mass and passing political ideology, should be prevented from destroying democracy as a culture.

It was essential for their survival that South Africans should not yield to the temptation of despair.

Democracy was much more than a system of government. It was a culture based on the idea of legal equality for all citizens.

"It is a power that has its roots in man's inherent aspiration for right and justice. When I plead for democracy and place a high and even non-negotiable premium on it, then I am not referring to that worn-out form of unshaded majority government which unjustly masquerades as democracy", said the judge.

In his view, in a true democracy there was never a permanent majority and a permanent minority. Democracy was thus a political free-market system.

"Democracy can never merely

be associated with the will of the masses, the lowest common factor on intellectual or moral level. The task of democracy is to take from the mass the best intellect, the best insights and the highest standards. True democracy is culture, not the lack of it."

Mr Justice Olivier said citizens had to be educated to strive for excellence. For that to happen there had to be tolerance for all viewpoints, but also critical and rational consideration of all opinions and logical and consequential decision-making.

Governments had to be educated to accept their own transience as a fact of life, and to respect the independence of the university as

a servant of reason, science and inquiring thought.

"Only if the university fearlessly fulfils its essential role can the State be saved," said the judge.

That role meant the investigation of the relevant principles on which the State and civilisation rested so that the best decisions could be made; the constant welcoming of other viewpoints and principles, but also the critical analysis of all data, rational deduction and decision-making.

This had to be done in conjunction with emphasis on the permanence of reason and the temporariness of dogma, opportunism and absolutism, said Mr Justice Olivier. — Sapa. □

Govt outlines next step on reform road

By Shaun Johnson

304A

The next step in the negotiation process is the establishment of an effective "steering committee" to get a multiparty conference under way, the Government believes.

Addressing yesterday's joint session of Parliament, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said "preliminary understanding should be sought" on key practical arrangements "at least among the leaders of the most important likely participants (in a multiparty conference)".

This "committee" of leaders would have to agree on:

- Criteria for qualifying as a political party or organisation (and therefore being accredited as delegates to the conference).
- Guidelines for assessing "proven support".
- Methods to persuade unwilling parties to take part.
- The inviting authority or host calling the first meeting.
- The logistics of the conference itself.

Once the conference was assembled, said Dr Viljoen, it would consider such preliminary agreements and decide to ratify or amend them.

Unfold

Dr Viljoen's speech, the flesh on the bones of President de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday, gave the clearest indication yet of how the Government sees the negotiating process unfolding parallel to this session's proceedings in Parliament.

"There are, therefore, really three steps," he said.

"First, preliminary understandings ... secondly, the multiparty conference ... and thirdly, the negotiation forum (itself)."

It was possible that such a negotiating forum could, according to both Government and ANC sources, evolve into a

constitution-drafting body in its own right.

Dr Viljoen did not name those groups he considered the "most likely" participants in both the steering committee and the multiparty conference, but it is certain he had in mind at least the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Regarding those parties which had not as yet come forward to join in negotiations, Dr Viljoen said the Government was still "seriously concerned to achieve the participation of all important role players ... including the PAC and Azapo".

He mocked Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht by referring to a "steady trickle of CP representatives approaching members of the Government about aspects of participation in the process".

"It is a wrong perception that the Government is talking only to the ANC. Our declared intention of an open agenda means that the CP, like every other party, will be fully entitled to put its own proposals on the table and on the agenda."

While implying that the crucial next step in the negotiations process was achievable in the near future, Dr Viljoen had some stern words of warning for the ANC.

"It is imperative," he said, "that the working group on paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute should urgently conclude its consideration of the full implications of the ANC's undertaking to suspend armed actions and related activities and of all outstanding questions arising from this decision."

Dr Viljoen added: "It could well be asked whether successful negotiation and successful mass action are both possible at the same time."

"The Government accepted the right to peaceful protest and Nelson Mandela is therefore at fault in creating the impression that the Government is indiscriminately rejecting all mass action, thereby depriving the ANC of a legitimate political instrument. This is not true."

FW's 'mixed stew' leaves bad taste

STATE President FW de Klerk was committed to rob whites of power, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Parliament yesterday.

(304A)
He said De Klerk's "foolish effort to build a nation of mixed races" would be an explosive stew of nations (*volkebredie*).

De Klerk, he said, was also paving the way for the homelands to return to the Republic of South Africa. *Sowetan 5/2/91*

And the "ANC/terrorists" were already usurping homeland governments while it was

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

preparing "an alternative government in waiting".

Treurnicht was reacting to De Klerk's speech on Friday when he announced that the Group Areas Act, The Land Act and the Population Registration Act would be repealed within months.

● To Page 2

'Mixed stew' slammed

● From Page 1

Referring to a speech by De Klerk in America where he said blacks would form a majority in government, Treurnicht said the President was "foolish" and undemocratic. *Sowetan 5/2/91*

"This is the subjection of a nation (*volk*) ... to black domination. It is the destruction of the self-determination of the *volk*." (304A)

"We are all being sacrificed to America and the rest of the world so that sanctions can be lifted," Treurnicht said.

Whites to foot bill for new SA ^{304A} govt

8/0am 6/2/91

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Straight-talking Cabinet Ministers have started warning white South Africans of the price they will have to pay for a new more equitable SA.

Subsidisation by wealthy ratepayers of poorer communities in mixed local authorities, bigger classrooms with fewer teachers for white children and growing slums were just a few of the harsh realities of a new dispensation, Cabinet Ministers said yesterday.

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel issued a blunt warning that in a new system of local government based on "one city, one tax base", the white electorate would be the subsidisers of social upliftment in areas where white local authorities joined forces with black local authorities.

"We'll have to accept that certain geographical areas form a unity. It is a problem that there are not too many advantages for the white electorate in a one city, one tax base system. But, the alternative is apartheid and separate local authorities and we have already said it will not work," Kriel told a media conference yesterday.

Informal housing settlements would

continue to grow around metropolitan areas, changing the face of cities in the years ahead.

But government would provide some financial assistance if the rates and taxes collected by a new local authority were not sufficient to address historic social backlogs, he said.

In a separate briefing on education, new National Education Minister Louis Pienaar said that in the future, white children's classrooms would be bigger, resulting in a decline in the ratio of teachers to white children.

In its efforts to remove historic disparities from education, government envisaged a change in the ratio of teachers from the existing one teacher to 17 students in white schools and 1:40 in black schools to 1:30 in all future non-racial schools, Pienaar said.

Recent increases in spending on black education had narrowed the gap between the funding of white and black education from a ratio 5:1 in 1986 to 3.8:1, he said.

□ To Page 2

Whites ^{8/0am 6/2/91}

Pienaar said government was initiating a negotiation forum with black and white teachers' federations and the SA Democratic Teachers' Union to investigate the legitimacy of the existing system and the transition to a new non-racial system.

The forum would study issues such as funding, teachers' salaries, the education syllabus and restructuring the system.

His department had decided to initiate the negotiation forum because the transition to a new education system could not

be effected unilaterally or "only from above", Pienaar said.

"Once this has been done, we hope negotiations for a new education system will run parallel to constitutional negotiations," he said.

Meanwhile, results of investigations by working groups into the renewal of the education system would be submitted to government this month and the conclusions would be dealt with in the March education budget, Pienaar said.

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□ From Page 1

'New Deal' plan needed to beat recession DP

BILLY PADDOCK

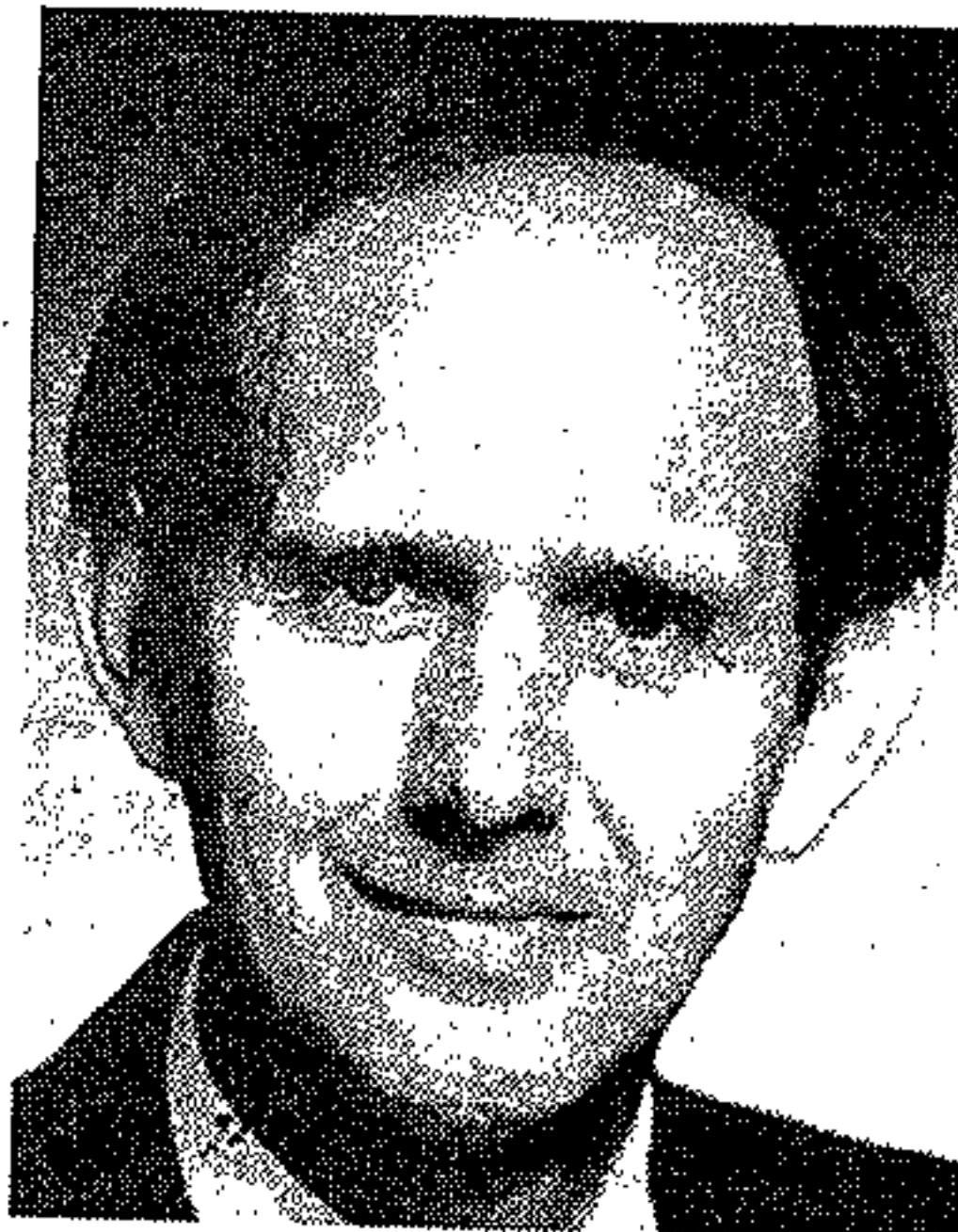
CAPE TOWN — SA was facing an economic crisis of major proportions and a massive "New Deal" programme was needed urgently to break out of the debilitating economic recession in which the country was trapped, DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said during yesterday's debate on the President's address.

He said the "New Deal" programme should address the problems of shortages of work, housing and classrooms and should be initiated by the state.

He appealed to all South Africans, irrespective of past motivations, to call for the lifting of sanctions and encourage "massive, appropriate, new foreign investment".

The population was growing by at least 2,5% each year, yet economic growth had been minimal for a decade and had been negative over the past year.

This had resulted in extreme poverty, massive unemployment, widespread malnutrition and other social



● ANDREW

problems such as crime, he said.

A social market economy was needed to achieve productivity, efficiency and to give incentives for optimal economic growth.

The DP subscribed to this because it respected the principles of private ownership and initiative, and rewarded risk-takers and entrepreneurs. It also recognised the state's important

role in the development, upliftment and provision of services to all.

He said the lack of social investments would exclude as many people as effectively as discriminatory legislation had done and special steps needed to be taken to compensate, especially the poor, for past neglect.

Other points in the "New Deal" programme included:

- ☐ Building programmes should be labour intensive and provide on-site training;
- ☐ The private sector should be involved as far as possible in building, training and financing;
- ☐ Local materials should be used so that foreign reserves were not adversely effected;
- ☐ The projects should be financed in a non-inflationary manner;
- ☐ An appropriate mix of conventional housing, shelter housing and site-and-service should be adopted, with private property ownership made available wherever possible;
- ☐ Local communities had to be consulted;
- ☐ The effects had to be visible on the ground within months; and
- ☐ The scale had to be very large.

Major and Hawke target sports sanctions

ANC: Can FW deliver?

Spw 6/2/91

304A

HARARE — President de Klerk's announcements on eradicating apartheid were a measure of his seriousness to effect change in South Africa, but whether he would deliver the goods was another matter, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said last night.

The declaration was important, he told journalists after flying to Harare for this week's Frontline states' summit and an Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee meeting.

However, he said, two crucial issues in South Africa were that the black majority had no vote and no representation in government.

Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk's announcements were received with mixed feelings depending on people's social and economic classification. He said for whites, the impending repeal of the Group Areas, Population Registra-

tion and Land Acts caused a lot of excitement, but to the black majority, which did not have any meaningful income, this did not present any significant and immediate advantage.

"They do not have the resources to take advantage of this," he said. In London yesterday, Prime Minister John Major told Parliament that Britain and Australia supported easing sports sanctions against South Africa after the deci-

sion to repeal key apartheid laws. Describing President de Klerk's action as "a massive move forward", Mr Major said he and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke had agreed in a telephone call earlier in the day that the time was ripe for relaxing sanctions imposed under the 1977 Commonwealth Gleneagles agreement.

"He and I both very strongly agree that the time has come to begin lifting the Commonwealth measures, in particular the sports sanctions, particularly where the sports are integrated in South Africa."

Government sources said some of the sanctions could be lifted before the Commonwealth summit in Harare in October.

Mr Major, a sports fan, said he had discussed the issue with Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku and US President George Bush.

The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid said it opposed relaxing sanctions, believing they were the only effective way to maintain pressure to end "the system".

Chairman Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria welcomed President de Klerk's statement, but added the trial of Winnie Mandela could not have come at a worse time. — Sapa-Reuter, Special Correspondent.

Sowetan 6/2/91

Good shot, says Bush

WASHINGTON

United States President George Bush spoke on the phone with South African President F W de Klerk on Monday and praised his efforts towards repealing the remaining apartheid laws, the White House said. (3-04A) 

A statement from White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Bush commended De Klerk for a speech last week in which he announced plans to scrap segregation of housing and land ownership and abandon the classification of people by race.

"President Bush noted that these are historic measures," the statement said.

The United States maintains economic sanctions against South Africa for its apartheid policies. - Sapa-Reuter.

Right join forces for Pretoria march

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Herstigte Nasionale Party are planning a joint march in Pretoria later today to protest against the government's planned repeal of the Group Areas Act.

The chief magistrate of Pretoria, Mr Willem Burger, has granted permis-

CMH-TintS 6/2/91
sion for the march.

The city council has stipulated that not more than 2 000 people may participate and measures must be taken to ensure that the march will be "peaceful and orderly".

It also stipulated that no speeches may be made before or during the march. — Sapa

Programme for jobs and housing needed - Andrew

Nov 6/2/91
South Africa needed a massive emergency "new deal" programme to address the shortages of jobs, housing and classrooms, the DP spokesman on finance, Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on President de Klerk's address, he said killing off constitutional sacred cows in negotiations was helpful, but would not provide food for the starving.

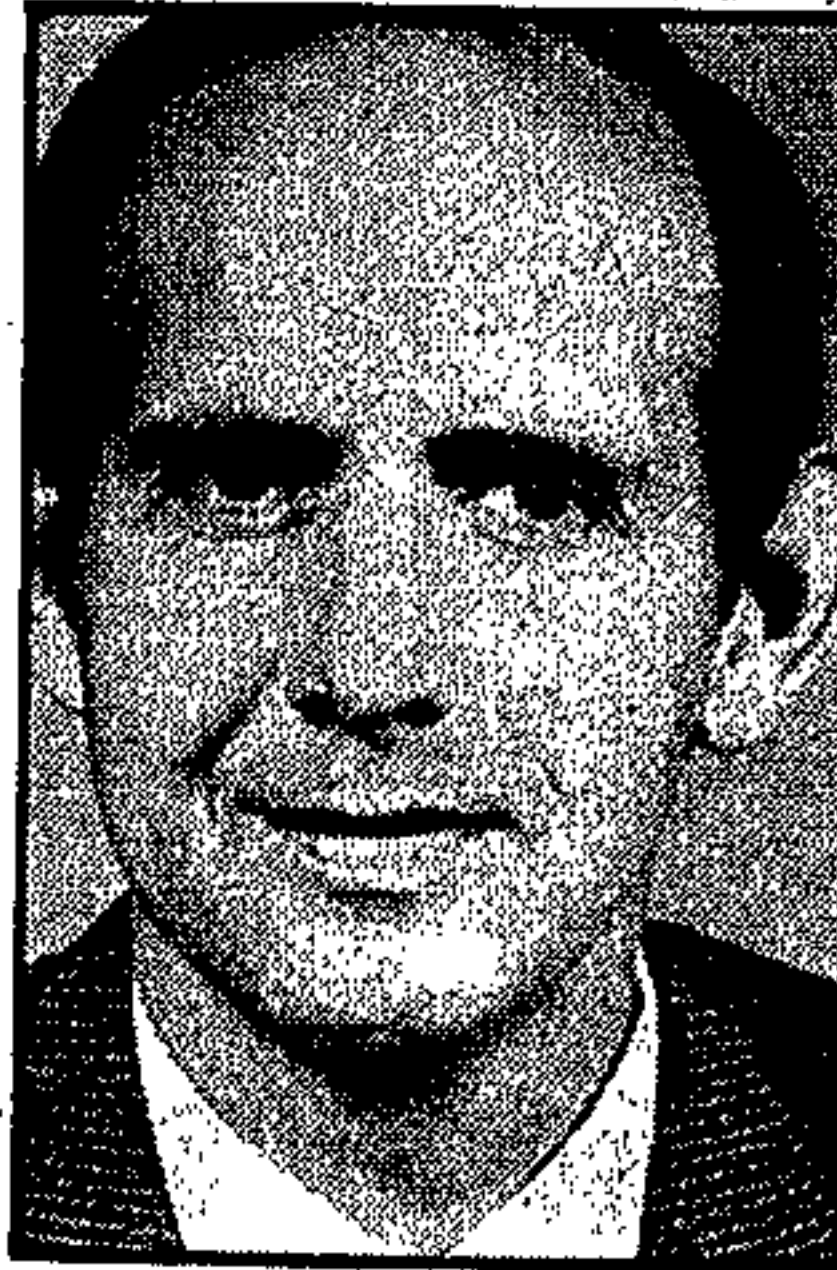
A "new deal" programme was essential if the country was to break out of the debilitating and destabilising economic recession in which it was trapped.

Private sector

The programme should be initiated by the State and the private sector should be involved as far as possible with building projects, training and financing.

Its building programmes should be labour-intensive and provide on-site training.

Local materials should be used so that foreign reserves were not adversely affected, and the projects should be financed in a non-inflationary manner.



Ken Andrew . . . urgent progress on the ground needed in South Africa.

An appropriate mix of conventional housing, shelter housing and site and service should be adopted, with private ownership made available where possible.

Local communities should be consulted and involved, and the effects should be visible on the ground within months.

The scale of the "new deal" should be large. — Sapa.

SOUTH AFRICA'S current institutional impasse does not result from unwillingness to compromise at the leadership level. Nor are acceptable compromise formulas in short supply.

The leaders, particularly in the ANC, face difficulties selling solutions, negotiated in secret, to a suspicious constituency that wants to have a say in all decisions. Grassroots activists insist on democratic mandates and thereby their own participation. Autocratic behaviour was the major criticism of the ANC leadership at its December consultative conference.

If every issue of constitutional negotiations were to be referred back to an often disorganised, amorphous and ill-informed constituency, little progress would be possible. Mandela rightly insisted on continuing confidential discussions with the government. However, if a politicised constituency ultimately disagrees with negotiated compromises or, worse, rejects its previously acclaimed leaders as undemocratic, the negotiated solutions are not worth the paper on which they are written.

Since the necessary legitimacy of constitution makers is unlikely to be derived from elections for a constitutional assembly (because of government objections that it would give away power before negotiations had begun) how can the impasse be broken? The ANC proposal of a constitutional conference is unlikely to achieve the breakthrough because it will be boycotted by Inkatha, the PAC and the Right wing as an ANC propaganda exercise. At this moment of the pre-negotiation process, it would seem that a modified Canadian political innovation would be worth considering for South Africa.

South Africans are rightly suspicious of foreign solutions to their unique problems. There is widespread consensus among all parties that

South Africa's constitutional forum along similar lines to Canada?

CAF 7-
6/2/91
304A

By HERIBERT ADAM

a leading analyst of South African affairs attached to Simon Fraser University in Vancouver



MULRONEY: Instituted a constitutional commission in Canada.



VAN ZYL SLABBERT: Commissioner for a month?

the new constitution should be home-made without foreign mediation or interference. This sentiment, however, should not prevent constitution makers from looking at how other nations tackled similar constitutional impasses of deeply divided societies.

Canada currently wavers at the brink of dissolution after the failure of a compromise formula that would have declared Quebec a "distinct society". Support for Quebec separatism in this province has reached unprecedented heights (67%), while Anglo-Canada could not care less and the federal government's support is at a record low.

In this predicament the Mulroney government has appointed a 12-person constitutional commission, "The Citizen's Forum on the Future of Canada", to hold public hearings across the country. The forum has been received with widespread scepticism as a clever public relations exercise. However, the forum wants to solicit the views of ordinary people, not only professional experts, and the dynamics of these debates are opened.

Small discussion groups will ultimately involve a million citizens. With lots of media attention, the arguments of a national debate are multiplied. Through a toll-free phone number everyone can invite himself or herself and request a kit of relevant information material. After a few months of country-wide consultations, the commission will issue a public re-

port about its findings. Obviously, the commission does not make decisions but functions as a clearing house for divergent opinions. Suppose South Africa were to start a similar exercise which would not preempt a constitutional conference or assembly — but prepare for it? What would be the obstacles and advantages?

Who should serve on such a constitutional forum could be contentious from the outset. All major parties could be invited to delegate two trusted representatives. Alternatively, people with high national standing and credibility across party lines, such as Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Oscar Dhlomo, Albie Sachs, Wynand Malan and Enos Mabusu, could be persuaded to serve as paid commissioners for a month. They could be supplemented by union and business representatives, church leaders, legal academics, judges, writers and journalists and other persons with special expertise, but not high-profile party leaders themselves.

Every day the commission would hold well-publicised open hearings in all major townships and rural areas, in churches and schools, in stadiums and hotels. Each evening, the SABC would broadcast the day's highlights and the newspapers would have permanent correspondents accredited to the commission. The country would become temporarily involved in a massive joint exercise in political education about voting systems and federalism, nationalisa-

tion and privatisation, minority rights and individual freedoms.

Speakers should be able to address the commission in the language of their choice, including African languages, as simultaneous translation services would be available. The commissioners' primary task would be to listen, not to lecture, and to ensure that all opinions receive a fair hearing. Participants should receive the constitutional blueprints of all parties beforehand, including the constitution of Namibia. The commissioners, like a bench of judges, should pose additional questions and correct misinformation or hate propaganda but refrain from expressing their own views.

While obviously no consensus would emerge at the end, all participants would be better informed about opposing perspectives. Would the constitutional roadshow amount to mere democratic window dressing in as far as its results will be ignored by the real powers-to-be? Political elites across the political spectrum could hardly afford to cast the articulated sentiments aside.

Above all, they would benefit from the input of ordinary citizens on whose votes they will have to depend. Leaders could adjust their programmes to the merging new reality and build the necessary compromise on greater trust and a higher level of mass information.

The essence of democracy — participation in shaping the political institutions rather than merely ratifying decisions by others — would be realised as far as possible.

Regardless of the final forms of negotiations, all its participants will have an easier task if they can rely on a constituency that has been widely consulted and comprehensively informed rather than left with distrust and feeling of being manipulated behind closed doors.

A South African constitutional commission that initiates and guides a national debate beyond the slogans of polarised organisations could be an important step towards reconciliation.

Deals must be met – Kriel

CAPE TOWN — When "so-called leaders" could not deliver the goods after an agreement, there was little use in negotiating with them, Planning and Development Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

"We have a problem when we reach agreements with civic associations or the ANC in that we find it is easy for them to tell people not to pay but it's not so easy to tell them to pay.

"When so-called leaders can't deliver the goods on an agreement, there is little use in nego-

tiating with them."

The situation could not continue. A principle had to be established that people should pay for services and houses, he said at a press briefing.

"We are not going to go the socialist way or else we will become a banana republic."

Mr Kriel said there was no moral basis for organisations to say local government should be destroyed.

"These structures are just as legal as the central Government," he said. — Sapa.

Sapa 6/2/91

304A

'FW's initiative should start broader movement'

Hopefully the nation building initiative launched last week by the President would serve as the start of a broader political movement, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the State President's Vote, Dr de Villiers said he earnestly hoped many leaders, political parties and individuals would unreservedly associate themselves with the values encompassed in Mr de Klerk's manifesto.

"I look forward to a massive mobilisation, in the best sense of the word, of people from a wide spectrum in our country, and from all population groups, which will prove that the values we have articulated will bind us together more powerfully than the forces which divide us."

Dr de Villiers said the National Party had had to go through the remorse of discovering where it had erred and putting the situation right.

Therein lay the NP's humility, but also its immense strength.

"We have experienced our



National Party has undergone a rebirth . . . says Minister Dawie de Villiers.

purification. It did not make us weaker. It did not turn us into traitors. On the contrary this party underwent a liberation, a rebirth, such as no other party in the history of South Africa has experienced."

The NP did not change course because it was politically opportunistic, but out of solid, firm conviction, he said.
— Sapa.

Paragraph 3' proving uphill battle

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

discuss the practical implications of the ANC's suspension of armed actions as well as "related activities".

Sources said this second meeting this year of the so-called Paragraph Three working group in Pretoria had been "tough".

This seems to indicate a setback after earlier indications that the two sides were poised to find a way around their disagreements.

Both sides, however, agreed to refer the matter to their principals, indicating that they had failed once again to make progress.

In November last year the working group suspended its activities and referred its differences to Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

The Government's main demand now seems to be that cadres of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

should hand in their weapons.

It is also demanding an end to the training and recruiting of MK cadres and an end to certain mass-action campaigns which the Government believes lead to widescale intimidation and violence.

The Government has decided that "worst-case" political offenders will not be released, nor exiles allowed to return, until the problems of the Paragraph Three group have been solved.

Nevertheless, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a press briefing in Cape Town yesterday that he believed the Government would meet the April 30 target date for releasing prisoners and granting exiles indemnity against arrest.

All these disagreements were "obstacles to negotiations" and the next stage of negotiations could not begin until they had been resolved, he said.

Negotiations between the Government and the ANC remain bogged down after an apparently unsuccessful meeting yesterday of the crucial joint ANC-Government working group.

The meeting was arranged to

Parliament

1991



CP 'is ready to fight for its land'

5/26/91.
The Conservative Party was ready to fight for its land, Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said yesterday.

Referring to the repeal of the Land Acts and Group Areas Act, Mr Mentz said the Zulus were not being asked to give up their land, but the Afrikaners were.

The reaction to the repeal of the Acts would make the recent demonstration in Pretoria look like a Sunday-school picnic.

"The Conservative Party is ready to fight," he said.

They would not give up, and the State President and the world had been warned to take note of the CP's standpoint.

The Internal Security Act was being flouted daily and South Africa needed laws to guard the State's safety if chaos were to be prevented.

"Where is the proof of the

State President's undertaking that terrorism will be fought?"

The soaring crime rate was a further indication of the collapse of law and order.

"We should be talking about restoring law and order, because there isn't any."

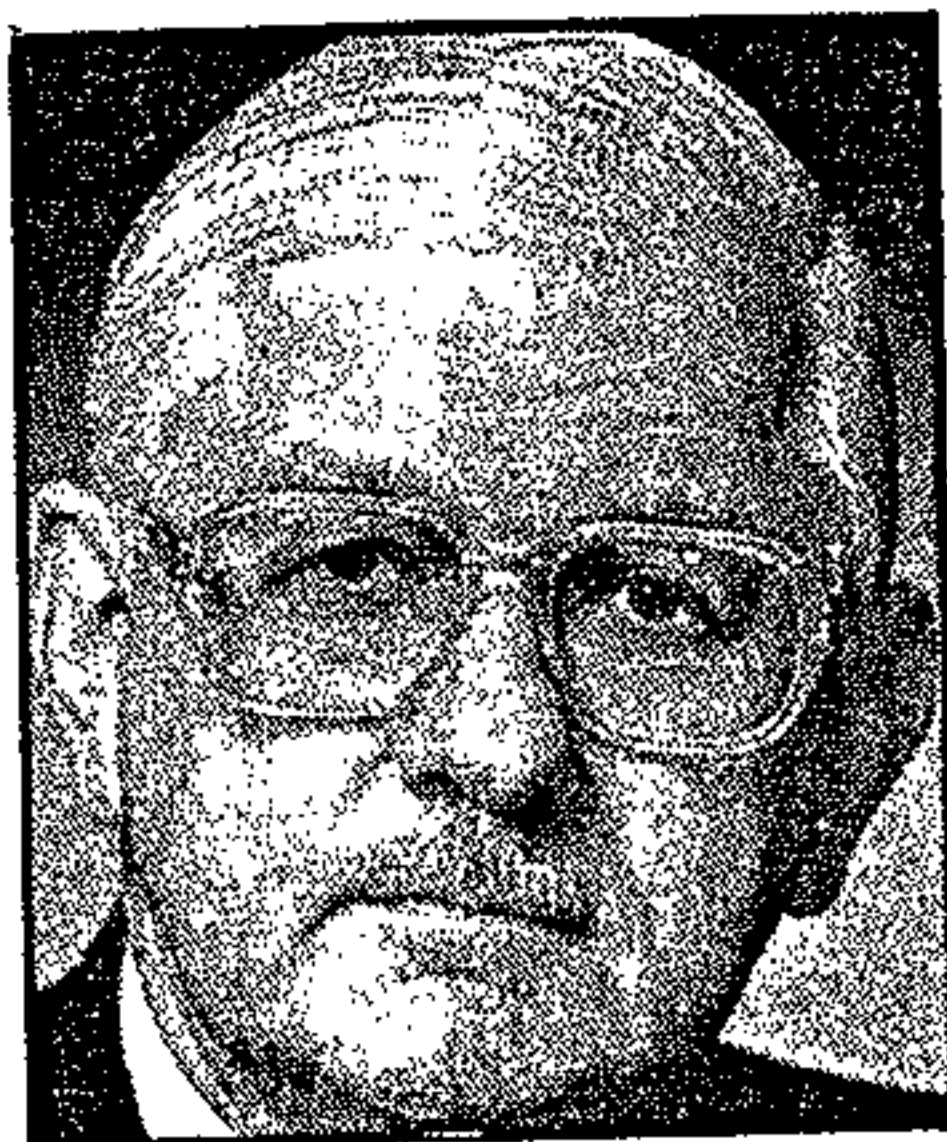
Mr de Klerk's speech had heralded the advent of anarchy in South Africa and the Government did not know what system would emerge from the negotiating table.

"It could be communism."

Mr Mentz wanted to know who the enemy would be in a new South Africa.

"Is it us? Will we be the new enemies?"

Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) said his party believed the Government's education models were merely a transitional phase to a single education system for all. — Sapa.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen . . . trying to promote democracy.

8 Jan 6/2/91
Peace ad campaign launched

Political Correspondent 304A

The Government has launched a multi-language advertising campaign — to promote peace and create a climate for negotiations — that will cost R4 million in its first two phases.

The first phase — “Let’s put peace first” — began last night with a TV spot.

The theme will be pursued in advertisements on radio and in the press, on T-shirts, on posters and billboards and through promotional projects.

The campaign’s logo is a

rainbow-coloured dove against a map of Africa with the slogan “The New South Africa”.

The campaign is being conducted in Xhosa, Zulu, North and South Sotho, Tswana, Afrikaans and English.

It is being run by Dr Gerrit Viljoen’s Department of Constitutional Development.

Dr Viljoen said at a press conference yesterday although the Government had freed the political process, the disconcertingly high level of violence was making it difficult for people to exercise political rights.

For the AAM . . . with SA's compliments

LONDON — The SA embassy appears to have made a bid to thaw relations with the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

It sent the organisation a copy of President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech — with a compliments slip in English and Afrikaans. 6/10/91 6/2/91

A motorbike delivery man dropped off the speech at the AAM's office in Mandela Street, Camden, on Friday.

The AAM, meanwhile, had organised an anti-government demonstration outside

KIN BENTLEY

South Africa House in Trafalgar Square. AAM spokesman Karen Talbot said this was the first time the embassy had provided a speech in this way, although it sometimes sent over the odd brochure.

She joked that a second bike should have been sent — because she believed there were glaring omissions from the speech.

While the AAM welcomed much of what De Klerk said, he had not announced acceptance of a constituent assembly.

UN chief hails F W's courage

Sowefen 6/2/91

3041

NEW YORK - The United Nations' secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, yesterday hailed the historic announcements made by South African State President F W de Klerk when he opened Parliament on Friday.

Describing the announcements as "constructive initiatives", Perez de Cuellar expressed the hope that there would be a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

The UN chief, who had been too preoccupied by the Gulf crisis to pay much attention to recent events in South Africa, was upbeat in his response to the State Pres-

ident's address.

In a statement issued by his spokesman, he said, De Klerk's address "advances further the process of removing statutory apartheid from the country's institutional framework."

Perez de Cuellar hoped that "these constructive initiatives will be accompanied by measures giving substantive effect to the removal of the main pillars of apartheid and by the resolution of a number of outstanding issues required for the commencement of negotiations."

He said he was heartened to see that these and other initiatives by South African leaders - an allusion to black leaders, including African Na-



PEREZ DE CUELLAR

tional Congress deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela - were providing impetus for the process of eradicating apartheid and "the establishment of a non-racial and democratic society in the country, as envisaged by the United Nations."

South Africa's seve-

rest critics in the UN, including leading black African delegates, seemed to need more time to digest the president's remarks before reacting. At least, they resisted past inclinations to dismiss such statements almost immediately as "merely cosmetic."

Response

Perez de Cuellar's favourable response could make it difficult for others to find fault with De Klerk's initiative, Western delegates said.

Despite Mandela's assertion that sanctions must still remain in place, several Western delegates said privately that the time was approaching when these could no longer be justified.

State in bid to disarm MK

THE Government is to propose jointly administered points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice - members of Umkhonto inside South Africa should surface or face further action by the security forces.

These proposals were expected to be made yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle. 304A (19)

The group deadlocked when the parties could not agree on the recruitment and training of Umkhonto members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year. - Sowetan Correspondent. (19)

Liberation groups left out in the cold

IN moving ahead with its own "post-apartheid" agenda, the Government has left liberation groups out in the cold.

While the ANC, PAC and Azapo are out demonstrating, the Government is speedily removing remaining discriminatory legislation.

It is also deciding the format, time and place for a negotiating forum as well as the basic approach to a settlement.

State President FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday authenticated his pledge to shift away from apartheid and towards a just system.

Determined

He seems determined to do so before establishing the format and size of a negotiating forum.

In an indication of how the Government sees itself, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen said on Monday that the Government has become "the most effective anti-apartheid front".

He said that while others were

FOCUS



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

still trapped in fighting apartheid, the Government is busy looking at a post-apartheid phase.

De Klerk's speech did in fact signal fundamental social and economic restructuring in the near future.

The political rebuilding, it seems, is the only thing being left to the negotiating forum.

The speech addressed the question of economic restructuring in the public service. Education, housing, health and agriculture are the main areas where economic restructuring will take place, according to the speech.

Viljoen said that a statutory system aimed at ensuring self-determination for all must be built on justice, equality, practicality and affordability.

He lamented the cry of "One Settler One Bullet," which he said comes from "one sick circle" while the rest of the country strives for peace and reconciliation.

The Government is preparing to meet soon with major extra-parliamentary groupings for exploratory talks, but did not give a specific date, Viljoen said.

He also re-extended the invitation to the PAC and Azapo to enter into the talks.

Serious

"I would like to give the assurance that the Government is seriously concerned to achieve the participation of all important role players," he said.

However, he noted that the Government remains adamantly opposed to a constituent assembly.

Quoting Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Viljoen said a con-

stituent assembly would leapfrog the whole negotiating process.

"By so doing the concept of negotiation would be rendered meaningless and without effect" as after the resulting constitution the "simple majority decides", he said.

Meanwhile from across the borders, accolades and promises of re-admission to the global economy are arriving for De Klerk.

The European Community has indicated that it will lift sanctions as soon as legislation scrapping the Group Areas, Land and Population Registration acts are tabled.

From Brussels it was reported yesterday that South Africa is being considered in the long-term membership to the African Caribbean and Pacific group of developing countries.

Reports about South Africa's re-admission to world sports are also circulating. South Africa could be re-admitted to the Olympics within months.

And all of this is happening before there is a black or non-racial government in power.

ANC faces demand for MK to lay down its arms

Sanefam 6/2/91

304A

THE Government hopes to convince the ANC to jointly administer a disarmament of the liberation group's military wing.

If the ANC declines, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country are likely to face further action by security forces.

The Government's proposal was on the agenda of a meeting in Pretoria yesterday of a joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the suspension of the armed struggle.

The group struck a serious deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

The deadlock was overcome after these issues were discussed by President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The working group was to have completed its report by September 15 in accordance with the Pretoria Minute.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday in Parliament that the Government insisted that all parties involved in negotiations should be committed to peace.

"In this regard it is imperative that the working group on Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute should urgently conclude its consideration of the full implications of the ANC's undertaking to

suspend armed actions and related activities and of all outstanding questions arising from this decision," he said.

The working group met last month, the first time since November.

Viljoen said the Government is hoping that both parties will formulate proposals for dealing with the suspension of the armed struggle.

He also maintained that the Government distinguishes between mass action such as political rallies and mass action such as boycotts and stayaways.

"The State President has clearly distinguished between, on the one hand, peaceful mass action forming part of recognised

democratic processes and, on the other hand, unacceptable forms of mass action.

"Mr Mandela is therefore completely at fault in creating the impression that the government is indiscriminately rejecting all mass action, thereby depriving the ANC of a legitimate political instrument. This is not true," he said.

The ANC argues that Umkhonto we Sizwe is a legal organisation and as such is entitled to continue its activities.

In November, the Government unilaterally linked the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to the satisfactory resolution of the "armed action" issue.

- Sowetan Correspondent

Conscription to remain during transitional phase

CAPE TOWN — Conscription would be retained during SA's transitional phase, but under a new constitution the SADF could be manned in a different way, Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach said yesterday. He told reporters it would be unfair to expect only part of the population to be subject to conscription under a new constitution.

The SADF had no intention of absorbing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), although it had to be borne in mind that the defence force of the future would be examined by the government of the day.

The SADF was a national force which served to protect all South Africans, including the ANC and the AVB; MK was subservient to one organisation — the ANC.

To make more money available to the Treasury, the SADF was examining ways of cutting back.

"We will keep our muscle, but where there is fat to be removed, we will remove it."

On the Gulf war, he said any arms deals done with Iraq had been concluded "well before" UN resolutions permitted armed action by the allies.

It should be borne in mind that the Iraqis were also armed with, among others, British and US aircraft.

No arms deals arising from the Gulf war had been concluded.

SA supported the allied cause as it did not agree with the way Iraq had annexed Kuwait, and it would "of course give the allies all information required" on arms supplied to Iraq by SA. — Sapa.

POLITICS

Reforms spark fresh business interest in SA

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Thirty-five major business delegations from around the world would be visiting SA in the coming weeks in the wake of President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives, Trade and Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr said yesterday.

He said the initiatives of the past year had resulted in heightened interest in SA from Europe and the US.

Addressing a media briefing, Durr said US government agencies would put moral pressure on US companies to invest in a



● DURR

new SA.

A few US investors who disinvested in the 1980s were reassessing their positions and wanted to come back. Several major banks

were looking at investment opportunities, he said.

Trade with the US and Middle East would grow markedly when sanctions ended, Durr said. The US remained a very important market representing 9% of SA's trade. But Europe and Asia would remain the dominant targets.

Some would come for purely economic reasons while others might be encouraged to do so by government agencies.

In the past year SA exports had grown in volume and government was focusing more energy on manufacturing export goods, Durr said.

"In the future we see ourselves as a global player.

We are a very open economy with 70% of our economic activity being import/export as opposed to the UK's 40%.

"But we need bigger plants lasting longer to be competitive," Durr said.

He said SA had some fine companies which were well trained and prepared for the opening, especially of Europe.

SA's raw materials and the beneficiation of these would increase the country's competitiveness. Government's restructuring, especially of Eskom, had sought to keep costs down for the next decade.

This was vital for the manufacturing sector and helped beneficiation.

Quietly, Schwarz takes his leave

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

After 17 years of powerful oratory in Parliament, veteran MP Harry Schwarz yesterday took his leave of the institution he loves so much in a cracked and barely audible voice.

A bad bout of laryngitis reduced Mr Schwarz's familiar strong and sometimes strident voice to an erratic whisper as he delivered an emotional plea to South Africans to "look after my country while I am gone".

The whole of the joint

chamber of Parliament was hushed as MPs strained to hear the Yeoville MP's farewell speech.

Mr Schwarz leaves later this month to become SA's next ambassador in Washington.

President de Klerk, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and other senior Ministers seemed to have come into the house specially to hear him, as they left as soon as he had finished.

Mr Schwarz said he had fought against apartheid from the day he first spoke in Parliament on August 7 1974.

He was leaving happy that the laws he fought against were now going to be repealed.

He heaped praise on Mr de Klerk for his courageous reforms and said that never since Jan Smuts had a leader been subjected to such personal attack.

"The measure of these attacks is also a measure of your greatness. Ignore them. History will judge that what you have done made South Africa a better place."

Several MPs got up to shake his hand as Mr Schwarz returned to his seat.

Look after my country while I am gone

8/24 7/291

HARRY SCHWARZ MP

304A

THREE themes will dominate future political debate in SA: methods of change, the vote, and economic expectations. The conflict between expectation and resource is a major, if not the most serious, threat.

Some believe the franchise will miraculously produce wellbeing overnight. The perpetuation of the fallacy that the vote alone brings wealth, could hang like an albatross around the rulers of a new SA.

Wealth, income, skills and opportunity gaps are now blamed on apartheid. But once negotiations produce a new constitution with a universal franchise, this means of apportioning fault will — if the instant remedy promise continues to be propagated — no longer be available. A new government will, to an unreasonable extent, be expected to "deliver the goods".

If it cannot, it may either be outbid by other politicians who will promise with equal lack of ability and resources to deliver, or there may be recourse to an authoritarianism to ensure political power, or there may be recourse to economically disastrous methods leading to hyperinflation and so to the total destruction of our currency and with it the very fabric of our economy and social structure.

Real efforts must be made now to avoid this disaster. These efforts cannot come from government alone, though it obviously is the leading player.

Others include the democratic countries which have taken a stand against apartheid, the business sector, the individual South African who

has until now enjoyed a privileged position, and the rank and file South African who is striving to find his rightful place in society.

Government must look further at the basis of appropriation of funds. Every item of expenditure must be examined and its degree of priority determined.

The business sector must work out its plans for the future. Is there any point in being pessimistic and delaying new job creation projects? We are here to stay. There is vast opportunity, not only in the export market, but in satisfying the demands of a large potential reservoir of consumers who will create vast demand, depending only on their ability to find gainful economic activity.

My appeal to potential investors and creators of employment is to cast off the shadow of pessimism, plan now, invest now and build now.

To South Africans who "have", as against those who "have not", I make an appeal: pay an insurance premium now to safeguard your future. A willingness to make rela-

tively small sacrifices today may well avoid having to suffer major deprivation in the future. This applies particularly to the continuous demands and lobbying in respect of state expenditure and tax concessions, where self interest — as opposed to broad national interest — is too frequently the motivating force.

There is, however, another section of our people who need to do some rethinking. There is talk of redistribution, of demands to get a bigger share of the economic cake. But are many of the actions which occur not reducing the size of the cake?

So as not to be misunderstood, let me state I am in favour of the right to free speech and assembly, and of the right to peaceful protest where necessary and appropriate.

But is the wealth of our land not being reduced every time there is a slayaway, an unnecessary industrial action, a house is burnt down, a school is destroyed, even though it may not be up to the standard desired or required, and each day an institution of learning is boycotted,

and an opportunity to acquire knowledge is lost?

Those who want to redistribute wealth should bear in mind that destroying any portion of existing wealth means less for everyone, including themselves.

Apartheid is now almost a ghost of the past. Certainly it has left people disadvantaged. And the franchise is not yet available to all.

But there are to be negotiations which will deal with these issues. If government were now to introduce a new constitution, including a universal franchise, it would be a breach of the undertaking that this is to be the product of negotiation.

Is this not the time when we should show confidence, start new ventures, make sacrifices, and stop destroying portions of our country's wealth and act to not only save, but to strengthen, the economy?

This brings me to the role of the countries which have opposed apartheid, including those which have imposed sanctions upon us. The international reaction to the President's

opening address to Parliament has been encouraging and there is talk of easing sanctions. But is it enough?

We have heard tough words condemning apartheid. But how about some equally tough language condemning communism as an option for our future, and condemnation of other equally unacceptable concepts which Western nations would not like to see in their own country? What about some encouraging words about the need to protect basic rights?

Apartheid was and is objectionable, but strong language on true democracy, on ensuring stability, would not be out of place.

Sanctions have damaged the economy. The country has survived, and people have adapted and used their ingenuity to continue trade, obtain essentials and find new markets. But the restrictions on new loans, particularly, have restricted our growth rate and impaired job creation. Some responsibility for the high unemployment rate must rest on their shoulders.

Has the time therefore not come for those from abroad who caused some of the damage to help us repair it? There is no shortage of projects in SA to assist the underprivileged, not by handouts, but by activities to enable people to work and keep themselves. Loans which our record shows we will repay.

In doing this they will also be giving democracy a chance in SA.

□ This is an edited extract of ambassador-designate Schwarz's farewell speech to Parliament yesterday.

Jan 7 1991

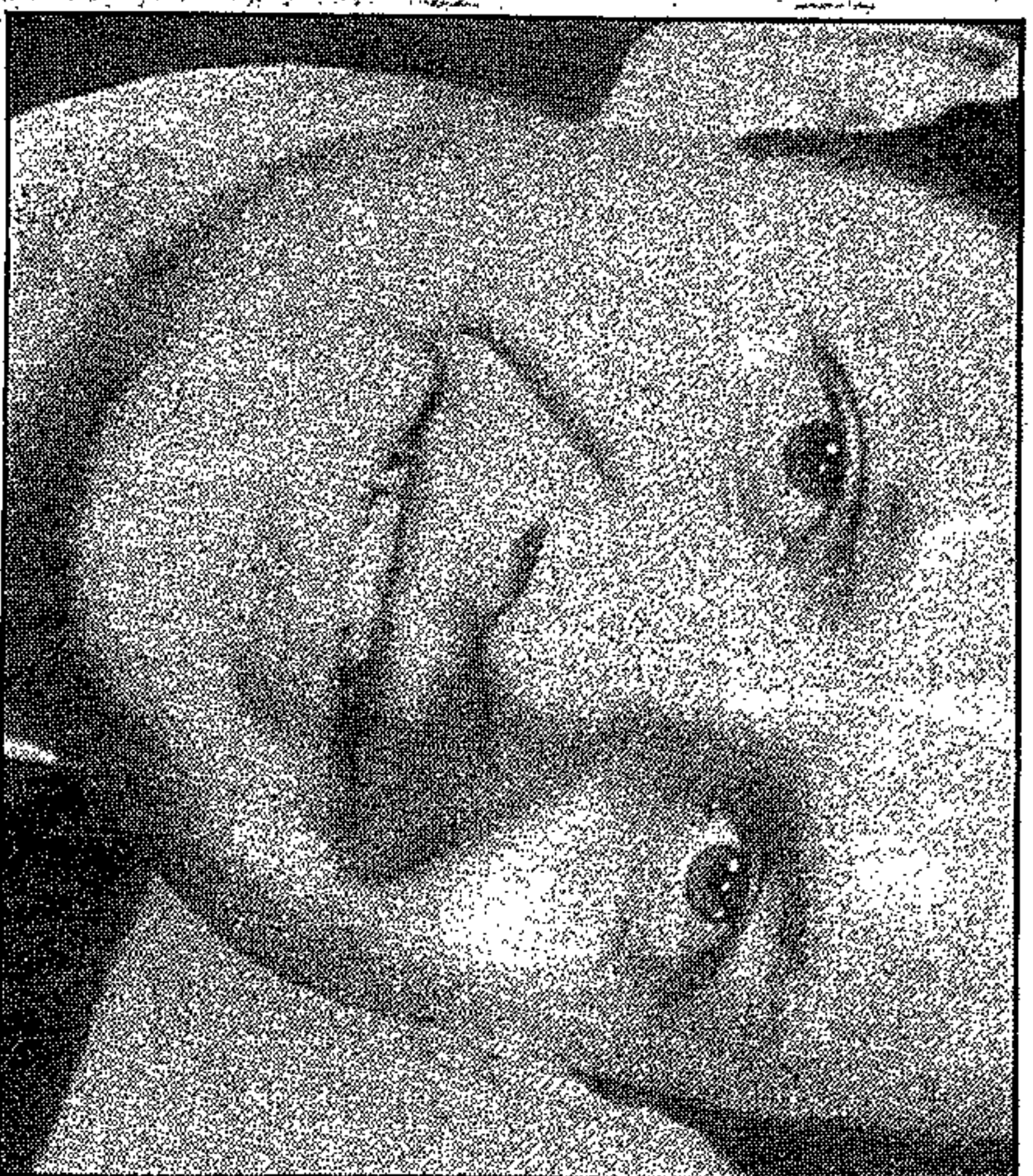
POLITICS/PARLIAMENT

'Do not underestimate Right'

Political Staff

(30419)

Star 3/21/91



Dr Pieter Mulder . . aspirations must be accommodated.

Conservative Party MP Dr Pieter Mulder warned at a press briefing in Cape Town yesterday that there would be no peace in South Africa unless the aspirations of "my people" were accommodated.

Waging war was not favoured by the CP as an option to assert the aspirations of the Afrikaner, but he warned the Government against underestimating the "seriousness of taking people's freedom away".

It was a fact that the Afrikaners had invented and perfected guerilla warfare and that most South Africans had been trained in bush war.

"This is a fact, not a threat. It is an explosive factor," he said. While the CP did not favour

war as an option, the possibility of a war in future could not be discounted.

Already it was becoming increasingly difficult for the CP to calm extremist sentiments.

"The more President de Klerk says there will not be another white election, the harder it is for me to say to people: 'Wait, vote.' There is pressure on us to leave the democratic option. But I won't say 'Start shooting'. There are still other options."

Partition

Dr Mulder added: "The right wing still listen to the CP. We can control them, but the Government must leave us room to do that."

Power-sharing was unacceptable. The experience of checks and balances elsewhere in Africa had "not proved successful"

and, given the realities of South Africa, it was not likely to succeed in this country.

For this reason, the CP's central demand remained the right to self-determination through partition.

The CP was not opposed to negotiation in principle but, while the point of departure for talks excluded the notion of self-determination, "I cannot see that I can gain anything by participating".

The CP would continue to fight on the parliamentary front, aiming ultimately at winning the referendum the Government had promised.

Dr Mulder would not be drawn on other strategic options, such as possibly refusing to pay taxes or mounting mass stayaways. The CP had a strategy and would keep it to itself, he said.

Prepare to use force, right-wing leaders say

By Julianne du Toit

Blacks on their way home from work in Pretoria edged along the pavement, well away from an AWB and Herstigte Nasionale Party march through the city last night.

The march was preceded by a meeting at the City Hall, during which three prominent right-wing leaders rejected negotiations and called for violent resistance to reform.

Only about a hundred supporters joined the "Wenkommando" in its march up Paul Kruger Street, but the City Hall was filled with about 1 000 people who had come to listen to HNP leader Jaap Marais, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and Commandant-General Servaas de Wet.

Some of the khaki-clad supporters were armed with batons and pistols.

During the meeting, commando leader Commandant de Wet urged supporters to join and "fight like the farmers" and to stop sitting on the fence.

Mr TerreBlanche echoed this sentiment and urged people to struggle against the Government and its policies.

Mr Marais issued his strongest call yet for right-wing unity, vowing that the HNP would fully support Conservative Party candidates if they resigned their seats in Parliament to force a general election.

He added that rightwingers should be prepared to resort to violence rather than "capitulate" at the negotiating table.

Mr Marais said he expected President de Klerk to announce a general election in the first half of this year. This would be the catalyst for right-wing parties to form a united front against President de Klerk's "renegade government".

If Afrikaners wanted their own homeland, they would have to be prepared to "shoot it free" and defend it with force.

The march and meeting were uneventful except for an AWB supporter who ran behind a press photographer trying to kick him and take the photographer's film away. The photographer escaped unscathed.

FW's aims criticised in Zimbabwe

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — President de Klerk had disappointed observers by failing to get to grips with the question of the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners and South Africa's security laws, President Robert Mugabe said here last night.

The Zimbabwean leader told a dinner for visiting African heads of government that Mr de Klerk's moves to end apartheid were commendable. But he seemed less interested in progress towards democracy than in attempting to satisfy the external requirements for the lifting of sanctions.

In a way he had achieved this goal, but he should know that foreign investors would want to see a stable, settled society in South Africa.

In a statement released in Harare last night, the Soviet Union said an immediate repeal of racist laws in South Africa would be an important step along the way of democratic transformation of South African society.

Suzman pleads against sanctions

GENEVA — Former Democratic Party MP Helen Suzman yesterday asked the United Nations Human Rights Commission to respond positively to South Africa's latest steps to abolish apartheid.

"I ask this not as a reward for the promised repeal of laws that should never have been passed in the first instance, but because the new South Africa depends on economic growth which sanctions are presently restricting," Mrs Suzman said in a letter to the UN's main rights watchdog.

Mrs Suzman said she also hoped the European Community would soon implement its announced intention to ease sanctions after President de Klerk's promise on Friday to dismantle apartheid laws. —
Reuter.

Time to change the attitude - Ramano

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Sowetan 21/2/91

A FUNDAMENTAL shift in attitude was needed if South Africa was to defuse the tensions between different groups, Mr Mashudu Ramano, said this week.

Ramano, executive director of the Association of Black Accountants of South Africa, was speaking on black business involvement in education and training at a conference held in East Sussex, England.

The conference, under the theme "Nationalisa-

tion, Implications and the Alternatives," was convened by the UK-based Newick Park Initiative, a group of senior South African Christian public figures who look into issues that need to be addressed for a peaceful transition to African majority rule in South Africa.

The conference was attended by senior members of the ANC's constitutional drafting committees and leading international personalities.

Why CP man is wrong about ANC

3064A

Gowela 7/2/91

CONSERVATIVE Party MP Mr Corne Mulder put his foot in his mouth when he said his party would never sit down and talk to the African National Congress.

Speaking on *Agenda*, an SABC-TV programme, Mulder said the CP had nothing against negotiating with black organisations. He said the party had held discussions with the Inkatha Freedom Party but would "never" sit down and talk to the ANC.

Boycott

However, events in the northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt a few weeks ago prove him incorrect.

When the CP-controlled town was faced with a massive consumer boycott, senior CP members, including the town's mayor, Mr Louis Holtzhausen, called the ANC into a meeting.

Several meetings were held with the

By MATHATHA TSEDU

ANC-aligned Consumer Boycott Committee.

The CP had always been accusing the National Party and President F W de Klerk, in particular, of treason for talking to the ANC.

When asked about the apparent policy shift, Holtzhausen said at the time: "We are trying to save our town here and this has nothing to do with CP policy. We have talked to those people and we will still do so and there is no contradiction", he said.

The consumer boycott lasted just over a month having been largely boosted by the assault on black children by alleged AWB members. With the boycott, however, also went CP innocents on speaking to the ANC. And so Mulder was not exactly telling the whole truth when he said the CP has not and will never sit with the ANC.

Seminar forges unity

(304A)
Sowetan
7/2/91

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE ongoing debate on South Africa's political future this week saw 25 organisations of different ideologies come together for the first time.

The Five Freedom Forum-sponsored workshop on "interaction for a culture of democracy" ended on a high note in Johannesburg, with the groups agreeing on sharing resources and creating a climate for reconciliation and tolerance.

Political parties included Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party. Human rights groups saw Lawyers for Human Rights, Jews for Social Justice, Civics Associations of Southern Transvaal and Black Sash coming together.

Change

Traditionally disparate groups such as Women for South Africa, Kontak and Women for Peace exchanged dialogue.

The South African Council of Churches was also represented.

In his keynote address former editor-in-chief of *The Star*, Mr. Harvey Tyson said: "The theme of this conference is one which is more important than the rivalries of all the political parties and factions in our country."

He said South Africans needed to change their spheres from confrontation to constructive co-operation.

State and ANC talks hit snags

Sowetan 7/2/91

304A

Sowetan Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and the ANC remain bogged down after an apparently unsuccessful meeting yesterday of the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the ANC's suspension of armed actions.

Sources said this second meeting this year of the so-called "paragraph three" working group had been "tough".

This seems to indicate a setback after earlier indications that the two sides were poised to find a way around their disagreements.

The Government's main demand now seems to be that cadres of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe should hand in their weapons.

It is also demanding an end to the training and

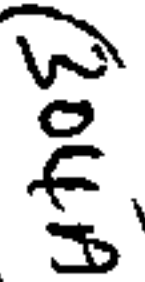
recruiting of MK cadres and an end to certain mass action campaigns which it believes lead to intimidation and violence.

The Government has decided that "worst-case" political offenders will not be released nor exiles allowed to return, until the problems of the "paragraph three" group have been solved.

Nonetheless, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a Press briefing in Cape Town yesterday that he believed the Government would meet the April 30 target date for releasing prisoners and granting indemnity against arrest to exiles.

All these disagreements are "obstacles to negotiations" and the next stage of negotiations cannot begin until they have been resolved.

Real change is in the pocket

The government's latest reforms may be well received initially, but if blacks are not given early access to the real economic wealth, they will dismiss the reforms as fraudulent, argues **ANTHONY HEARD:**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has, with immense fanfare, announced a new, apartheid-free South Africa. Briefly, the Gulf war is eclipsed by De Klerk's war on apartheid.

But social and economic justice are not around the corner.

Even without apartheid, there will be two nations — one well-off by world standards, the other poor; the former white, the latter black. And whites make up only 15 percent of the population. This is a recipe for revolution.

The repeal of the last "pillars of apartheid", currently being debated in parliament, will leave things for the masses on the ground not much different in material terms.

Over the past year the perception of

the Nationalist government; the reality of change still has to catch up.

Ask any worker whether he or she is better off now than a year ago. Ask any township resident.

Opening parliament last Friday, De Klerk sounded the death-knell of the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and, effectively, of some of apartheid's Heimsian idiocies such as "own affairs" for racial groups.

He went further. He promised to repeal the Population Registration Act. Without it, apartheid cannot function. There cannot be statutory apartheid without racial classification.

But the usual catch was there. Because the current constitution is race-based, De Klerk will maintain temporary classification (for example, for by-elections). That will apply until a new constitution is negotiated.

De Klerk's arguments for clinging to temporary arrangements are not convincing. If he is earnest about wishing to achieve a new constitution without delay, he could suspend by-elections and thus make temporary classification unnecessary.

The people are getting impatient, as witnessed by the mood on the Grand Parade as De Klerk spoke. In Oliver Cromwell's words, they could demand of this "new parliament" in the name of



FW de Klerk

God, go!

De Klerk's cautious manoeuvring looks like a sop to the walkabout right-wing. In fact, the style and pace of the war against apartheid are leisurely. For years we have, officially, been "moving away from discrimination" — as Pik Botha and Plet Koornhof, two past optimists, could confirm.

I was present in a parliamentary press gallery when most of the obnoxious apartheid measures were passed by this government. Then the government would not hesitate to go into urgent, steamroller night-sessions complete

with the use of the guillotine to debate, to get its way — and quickly.

De Klerk would have demonstrated his sincerity had he kept parliamentary business busy over the weekend and right into this week, non-stop, repealing the laws which have all but ruined this country.

For such parliamentary inconvenience, they are well-enough rewarded. Officials should have done their homework months ago.

Moreover, if blacks are not given early access to real economic wealth, they will conclude that De Klerk's democratisation process is a fraud.

Here is how economic deprivation works out. The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 reserved 87 percent of land to whites. Those Acts are to go. But there is no way many blacks, poor to start with and further deprived of segregation, can afford to buy "white" land on a significant scale without massive aid from the government or elsewhere. That means a massive compensation for apartheid's effects.

Even though major help is on the cards for purchase of houses — and probably land — by poorer-off blacks, a further problem presents itself.

A Father Christmas handout which is traced, even indirectly, to white-run coffers — state or business — is fraudulent

with complications in the black community. In the first place, it smacks of paternalism. It would be different if aid came in the form of compensation from a black majority government elected mainly by the people who benefit. That would be their due.

There are likely to be arguments over who gets what aid, and why, in the sprawling black areas. There will be a danger of corruption in the actual allocation of funds, and red-tape nightmares in an already hideously complicated township world.

A key problem facing De Klerk, therefore is: How can three-quarters of the population who are poor be economically endowed in time to avert increased social unrest. It is a problem for the ANC, too, for instability can disrupt the march to a new order.

Even when international sanctions are lifted, economic recovery is likely to be slow, and South Africans can still face the grinding reality of white privilege and black poverty.

Until that is addressed — and the only way is by democratic allocation of national resources after free elections by a government accountable to all the people — the country will teeter on the brink of disruption.

(Anthony Heard is a former editor of the Cape Times)

HE new buzzword in what could be the last white-dominated parliament is "separate communities", based on the argument that "majoritarian rule" — as Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen has named it — is the only route to democracy.

The community issue was first raised on the eve of President de Klerk's opening of parliament by the Solidarity Party which argued that a Bill of Rights would not give sufficient protection to minorities — not as races, but as cultural groups: they want, for instance, an entrenched right for their children to be taught Hindi and other Indian languages at school. The government has switched from demanding "group rights" and is proposing the safeguarding of different communities with "shared values and life styles".

The government also employs this argument to explain its opposition to the constituent assembly which the African National Congress wants to be the body to draw up a post-apartheid constitution. The election campaign for such an assembly would, according to Viljoen, lead to every party taking cast-iron positions to win votes — and the constitution would be more or less dictated by the majority party, thus excluding other parties and groups from making meaningful contributions.

"Democracy doesn't consist of majorities alone," according to Viljoen. But Foreign Minister Pik Botha is certain that the National Party can be the majority party because it already has "vast support" from Africans, coloureds and Indians. But, he assured a media briefing, the true Nats would not be swamped by these recruited communities.

The Conservative Party was lambasted in the joint chamber by Energy Minister Dawie de Villiers for refusing to have anything to do with the reforms, whatever the bait of community protection. De Villiers said the realities of South Africa were experienced and understood "in different and even contrasting ways" even within the white community: the country in which he lived "and the South Africa inhabited by the Conservative Party are two totally different worlds".

De Villiers made his own contribution to the communities debate, declaring that people could only "find each other on the basis of common values, standards and norms, a political dispensation where minorities and majorities are not determined on the basis of race and colour, but by virtue of common values".

Minority rights, he said, would be

Now communities - not races - are to develop separately

W/Mon 8/2-14/2/91

While race classification and group areas are going, government thinking now seems to revolve around the protection and separation of communities.

By ARTHUR MAIMANE



Gerrit Viljoen ... majoritarian rule not the only route to democracy

protected "and the abuse of power by the majority (would be) prevented through non-racial, but nonetheless powerful and incontrovertible constitutional democratic measures".

The unanswered question, so far, is who these minorities are — or will be in the non-racial future. The National and Solidarity parties insist that "commu-

nity rights" — as the president termed it last Friday — is not an ideal that's simply another name for "group rights" or plain, old-fashioned apartheid. These communities would not be classified by race (repeal of the Population Registration Act will get rid of that) but they would define themselves by their shared values.

As De Klerk told parliament, "certain human needs may continue to be met in a community context — without coercion, without discrimination and without apartheid". Another unanswered question is whether the final Bill of Human Rights — the government and ANC have their separate models, which are said not to differ too much — will outlaw discrimination by any community that insists its values are quite different from those of other groups.

The Labour Party, though, rejects what's otherwise termed "the protection of norms and standards" after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. The party leader, Allan Hendrickse, said at a media briefing that the government was pushing this line to mollify voters it could lose to the Conservatives. People looking for such protection, he said, "are the same people giving a poor reflection of these norms and standards" — as the CP did when it walked out of parliament last Friday.

He didn't wish to live among these people because he had little respect for their values and lifestyle, Hendrickse said.

The Nationalists and Solidarity also sound similar on their proposals for "broadening input into government" during the negotiations for a post-apartheid South Africa. Solidarity wants the present cabinet dissolved and replaced by one that represents all parties that are prepared to negotiate the new constitution — a "super cabinet" including Africans, even though they still do not have a vote.

When he opened parliament last Friday, De Klerk put it differently, declaring that "consideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements on the various legislative and executive levels to give the leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions".

Pik Botha insists that there was "no need to persuade the National Party to change" and introduce the current reforms which have made "the prospects better than ever before" for a consensus on the non-racial new constitution. The party, he says, had known for years that apartheid was doomed and this was "not realised overnight". But, he claims, their plans to reform the country were slowed down by international sanctions that had reduced economic growth, increased unemployment — and contributed to the soaring crime rate.

A warning that white communities may not welcome "shared values" came out of a statement to parliament by National Education Minister Louis Picnaar: whites would have to make sacrifices and the size of classes in white schools may have to be doubled.

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister of Overseas Development and Foreign Office Minister responsible for sub-Saharan Africa, will visit SA for high-level political discussions next week.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Chalker would visit Mozambique and SA from tomorrow until Wednesday "to review British aid programmes and discuss political developments".

She would first go to Mozambique for discussions with the government there and to visit British aid projects.

In SA she would "meet members of the SA government and leaders of opposition parties". She would also visit UK-sponsored black aid projects in Cape Town and

Lynda Chalker for key talks in SA

Johannesburg.

Her visit could also be used to do the groundwork for a possible visit by Prime Minister John Major to SA later this year.

UK expenditure on aid programmes in SA last year was about R40m, with a further R20m attributed as the British share of EC aid. A further R50m over the next four years has been pledged.

The British Overseas Development Administration says this will "allow for further expansion of our assistance to the education sector . . . and for new urban and rural development projects".

304A

16/12/1981

'Experience needed'

A GROUP of South African student leaders have suggested that "liberation movements" be included in the Government before the promulgation of a new constitution. *Spoken 8/2/91 notice 8/2/91*

Leaders of the National Students Federation made this suggestion after spending five days in Namibia and speaking to leaders, including President Sam Nujoma.

The students recommended that South African "liberation movements" be included in government to give them the necessary experience.

Govt accused of 'moving goalposts'

Star 8/2/91 304A

The Government was continually moving the goalposts and working towards serving under the ANC, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the joint debate on the State President's address at the opening of Parliament, Dr Hartzenberg said the standing committee on constitutional affairs was prepared to entertain any possible system, but not partition.

"The National Party and the ANC have the same goals.

"ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has said that the ANC is a government-in-waiting and the State President has said he would be prepared to serve under Mr Mandela."

The President was now carrying out recommendations made by the United States in 1989 calling for a policy of nation-building and a conference of all parties including both First and Third World elements, Dr Hartzenberg said.

"All the facilitators are working to get the CP to the negotiating table to ensure that the majority of the First World element is there."

The elimination of discrimination by making 13 nations in South Africa into one was not going to work.

Dr Hartzenberg said the goalposts were being constantly moved, and from an acceptance of constitutional negotiations "there must now be an interim government and a constituent assembly". — Sapa.

WHITE OPPOSITION *FM 8/2/91*

LITTLE MUTINIES (304A)

After last Friday's unprecedented walkout by CP members during President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament, the scene was set for an early showdown between government and CP spokesmen. But there also appear to be tensions within the two main white opposition parties.

As the *FM* went to press, the DP caucus seemed set for an open confrontation between moderate liberal members and those who took part in Friday's ANC-led march to Cape Town city hall.

It looked like a repeat of last year's DP conference when there were serious clashes over the question of dual membership. The row affected old friendships, notably between stalwart members Dave Dalling and Harry Schwarz (who has since been appointed ambassador in Washington).

Last year, after De Klerk's February 2 speech, the *FM* reported that a left-wing faction in the DP was considering joining forces with the ANC. The report was denied but the possibility looms again.

CURRENT AFFAIRS *FM 8/2/91* (304A)

Keys points out that the majority of DP supporters in the Free State are black — more than 1 200, with only 200 white members. Several branches in Durban have strong Indian memberships. ■

Durban and Maritzburg are seen as prime recruitment areas.

Though the DP officially began recruiting black members in 1984, efforts were fairly low key. Party strategists decided to wait until organisations such as the ANC were unbanned before mounting a concerted black recruitment drive.

Natal Midlands regional director Radley Keys says the DP is perfect for people with democratic principles. "What we have noticed is that many people have become disillusioned with politics because they equate it with violence. Many of them have become apolitical."

Keys says the DP is not poaching members from other political organisations; it is offering a home to people who do not feel comfortable in Inkatha, the ANC or the PAC.

Though black members don't yet have the vote, they could become deeply involved in negotiations, monitoring and other party activities.

"I also don't believe there will be another white election," says Keys.

Some DP organisers are known at grass-roots level after their monitoring activities. Keys himself has been very involved in keeping track of the fighting between Inkatha and the ANC in the Midlands. "I think we have shown our commitment in the field. Monitoring violence has never been the most comfortable endeavour."

Continue →

PARTY POLITICS

BACK TO LIFE

The Democratic Party is reviving its drive for black members. It feels thousands of people are disillusioned with the politics of violence.

FIM 8/2/91

(304A)

FIM 8/2/91

(304A)

In a sequel to the DP congress, it became known that Dalling's wife, Zelda, had joined the ANC. Last Friday she was one of the marchers, accompanied for a short distance by her husband. Other DP members who walked with the ANC were Jan van Eck (Claremont), Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Jasper Walsh (Pinelands), Geoff Engel (Bezuidenhout), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Peter Gastrow (Durban Central.)

A leading DP executive member says that there is much concern in the caucus about MPs marching under banners calling for the scrapping of the "racist tricameral parliament" and the election of a constituent assembly. "This was hypocritical... they are opposing exactly the system they are benefiting from," he adds.

Momberg, appearing on TV's *Agenda* programme, defended the action. Though the PFP opposed the introduction of the tricameral system in 1984, he said, it nevertheless participated.

So far DP leader Zach de Beer has dismissed the incident as a non-issue. Thursday's caucus meeting could bring the differences in to the open.

In the CP camp things also look unsettled. Fanie Jacobs (Losberg) dismisses rumours about a possible split between those who favour taking part in negotiations — Koos van der Merwe has been mentioned as one — and hardliners like deputy CP leader Ferdi

Hartzenberg.

Jacobs says the rumours are a familiar tactic by the Nat-supporting press, started to divert attention from the concern aroused by De Klerk's speech in conservative Nat circles. But other rightwingers like Jaap Marais have warned of a looming split and it is hard to see how moderates in the party — like the late Connie Mulder's sons, Pieter and Corne — can continue to associate themselves with the militant rightwingers.

Jacobs was one of the leaders of the walk-out last Friday. He admits that he, CP chief whip Frank le Roux and Stilfontein MP Pieter Groenewald had been called in by acting Speaker Helgard van Rensburg after their interruptions during De Klerk's speech. "He asked us to co-operate during debates," says Jacobs.

But Jacobs promises that Friday's episode was just the beginning for the Nats. "We are going to hit them during debates and we are going to be very active on the extra-parliamentary front," he says. ■

Patrick Laurence reflects on the emerging concord between the ANC and PAC

Ready for long-distance race

8 Jan 1991

3047

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk clearly outpaced his opponents in extra-parliamentary organisations over the past week, leaving them seemingly flat-footed as he dashed ahead to the acclaim of Western leaders.

But it was clear as the week ended that a long and arduous race lay ahead, in which the present front runner was not assured of victory.

Mr de Klerk, who was praised last month by an American professor, Samuel Huntington, for his ability to surprise his foes on the Left and Right with sudden "blitzkrieg" moves, was first off the mark when he opened Parliament on February 1.

His rivals in the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, anticipating that Mr de Klerk would use the occasion to win support here and abroad for his reformist administration, tried to distract attention from his performance by organising mass protest marches.

But Mr de Klerk won the day by including the Population Registration Act — the legislative cornerstone of apartheid — in the list of laws destined for the dustbin. Referring to the impending

abrogation of the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, President de Klerk declared with oratorical flair: "The repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era."

The Conservative Party, which walked out of Parliament in disgust, complained that Mr de Klerk had no mandate for the radical changes he had placed on the agenda. Corné Mulder of the CP accused Mr de Klerk of deceiving the voters.

Professor Huntington, however, would have applauded. As he told The Star, blitzkrieg tactics have to be deployed in combination with "Fabian strategy" for reform to be implemented successfully in complex societies.

"Fabian strategy" necessitates concealing the extent of the reform programme from the broad public to avoid raising its levels of alarm, or expectations, too much.

The idea is not to be too frank about the reform schedule but to move rapidly and decisively when a decision to press ahead on any issue is taken.

Mr de Klerk raced ahead after his blitzkrieg announcement, leaving his CP foes fulminating and his opponents in the ANC and the

PAC gasping for breath. But even as the fleet-footed Mr de Klerk surged forward, ANC and PAC leaders, preparing for a long race, put their long-standing enmity behind them, joined hands and set out in pursuit.

On the very day that Mr de Klerk pronounced that the statute book would be devoid of racially discriminatory legislation "within months," ANC and PAC leaders were marching together.

In Cape Town ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and PAC president Clarence Makwetu linked hands in Pretoria South African Communist Party general secretary and senior ANC executive member, Joe Slovo, and PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke, led a protest march through the streets of Pretoria, at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium, ANC matriarch Albertina Sisulu smiled in unison with the PAC's secretary general Benny Alexander.

Three days later the emerging solidarity between the ANC and PAC was given further emphasis at two separate events.

The first was the trial at the Rand Supreme Court of Winnie Mandela, wife of the ANC deputy president, on charges of kidnapping and assault. One of her de-

fence advocates is Mr Moseneke, the same man who walked through Pretoria with Mr Slovo.

The second event was the meeting that night between high-powered ANC and PAC delegations, the first formal meeting at national level between the two organisations for 30 years. The delegations were led by Nelson Mandela and Mr Makwetu.

After the talks Mr Mandela told journalists progress had been made towards closer co-operation between the two organisations on the major issues facing South Africa. Mr Makwetu, in keeping with the PAC's more radical image, spoke about the imperative need for the two organisations to "confront the common enemy".

A joint statement disclosed that further moves were in the offing to consolidate ties between the two organisations, including establishment of a permanent liaison committee, a meeting between their national executive committees and future combined actions.

Apart from their mutual dislike of apartheid, in whatever form, ANC and the PAC policies converged on one central point: their demand that the task of drafting a

new nonracial constitution for South Africa should be assigned to a constituent assembly, a notion which Mr de Klerk once again rejected in his speech to Parliament.

The ANC-PAC rapprochement meant the campaign for a constituent assembly was poised to escalate even while Mr de Klerk was reflecting it. The campaign would push the ANC and its new ally to the fore again and, possibly, carry them past Mr de Klerk.

The February 4 meeting between ANC and PAC delegations took place exactly a week after the signing of an accord in Durban between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Durban accord was concerned mainly with finding ways of ending the fighting between ANC supporters and Inkatha loyalists. But it left open the possibility of wider co-operation between the two organisations.

The PAC had earlier acted as a pathfinder to that possible wider unity through its slogan "peace among Africans" and by accepting Inkatha envoys at its functions instead of turning them away.

In his address to ANC and Inkatha delegates at the Durban talks, Inkatha president Mangos-

uthu Buthezi spelt out his opposition to the idea of handing over responsibility for drafting a new constitution to a constituent assembly.

His thinking converged closely with Mr de Klerk's. The way forward should be chartered by round-table discussions between existing parties, Chief Buthezi contended.

But at a news conference afterwards Chief Buthezi added an important and largely unreported corollary. "We in the Inkatha Freedom Party are open to argument that we are wrong," he said.

It presented a challenge to Mr Mandela, who, soon after his release from jail a year ago, set himself the task of winning over Mr de Klerk's potential allies in the black community.

Mr Mandela's considerable prestige and his undoubted prowess as a politician raised the prospect of a powerful propulsion in the direction of a constituent assembly by a tripartite alliance between the ANC, the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The surge could carry the tripartite alliance past President de Klerk in a manner reminiscent of Aesop's fable of the tortoise and the hare. □

NEGOTIATIONS ~~SECRET~~ THE FINAL CARDS

304A

In the eyes of most Western governments, President F W de Klerk has removed all the remaining obstacles to the lifting of sanctions. This makes the ANC vulnerable, because it had insisted on retaining sanctions as a prime negotiating tool. Senior ANC members have confided to the FM that the organisation is going to have to revise strategies and tactics in the light of De Klerk's moves. ~~FM 8/2/91~~

To some extent the ANC strengthened De Klerk's hand by refusing even to discuss a strategy document on sanctions presented at its mid-December conference. This proposed a linkage between the removal of sanctions and the scrapping of laws as well as discriminatory practices. But hardliners forced the leadership to maintain an absolute position on sanctions; this has now been undermined and there is nothing to replace it.

The European Community is expected to remove sanctions when the Land and Group Areas Acts have been repealed. But it seems that the US will adopt a more cautious line.

The ANC is strengthening its hand elsewhere. Talks with the Pan Africanist Congress this week and with Inkatha last week show the ANC building up a "patriotic front" of progressive groupings to go forward to the negotiating process and to participate in an all-party congress, primarily representing black aspirations.

Meanwhile, according to ANC political education officer Raymond Suttner, the ANC is keeping an open mind on negotia-

Continue p

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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tions. There also appears to be flexibility on the issue of a constituent assembly. Says Suttner: "The most practical way to a negotiated settlement is through a constituent assembly, but it might not be the only one."

De Klerk's "proposal to find ways to integrate leaders of the negotiating parties into policy formulation" has aroused some interest. Suttner says it would "be prepared to govern the country with the NP, among others, for a limited period in an interim government, not as junior partners of this government; the question of co-option must be excluded. It would need to be a government of equal powers of all parties and consensus; equal authority and equal responsibility."

As sanctions crumble, the tendency in ANC ranks will be to focus increasingly on mass action as a main way of expressing disenchantment with government and exerting pressure. But there is also an awareness in the ANC leadership that mass action has been ignored by government in the past and is not likely to influence it now. There is also a perception that with high unemployment and a struggling economy, now is not the time for extra days or hours off work.

While ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela commended De Klerk for Friday's announcements, there was no jubilation in the ranks of the extra-parliamentary organisations. The consensus is that while apart-

heid will go from the statute books, its effects will endure.

Mandela said that the NEC "noted with satisfaction the narrowing of the distance between the positions now being adopted by the NP and the historic policies of the ANC and its allies as adumbrated in the Freedom Charter and more recently in the ANC's draft Bill of Rights." Indeed, there are elements in De Klerk's manifesto which could have been lifted straight from a speech by Mandela himself.

The central issue in SA politics is no longer apartheid, but how to get the country on track to democracy and reasonable prosperity.

The greatest defect in De Klerk's speech, in the eyes of extra-parliamentary groupings, was in the area of security legislation. The failure to scrap the Internal Security Act and other security legislation, or free political prisoners, or put an end to political trials and detentions, or speed up the return of exiles — all these have been consistent stalling points in the negotiation process. It could also prove a block for some governments; the scrapping of SA security legislation has been called for by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, the US Congress and some of the remaining sanctions bloc nations.

The reassuring aspect is that the amending or scrapping of the security laws, so

resented by the ANC, is a matter of tactics for government, not an issue of principle.

Charlene Smith

FM 8/2/91

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REFORM AND THE ANC

304A

PROMISING THE EARTH

FM 8/2/91

The abolition of apartheid leaves, of course, the economic and social legacy of the system. For this reason alone it was not to be expected that the ANC would respond with rapture to F W de Klerk's announcements last week.

In his response to De Klerk, Nelson Mandela argued that "we are not called upon to thank the government for the repeal of laws and reviewing policies which are considered a crime against humanity." No, but since the road has now been cleared for negotiations which will give blacks the vote and a crucial role in public expenditure, it seems intellectually lacklustre to give history lessons to people who have shown they have learnt from history.

There is discernible resentment in the response — probably attributable to the fact that De Klerk has once more gained the high moral ground and, therefore, in a sense, remains in control of reform.

To counteract the effect of this, Mandela stresses the victim status of blacks.

However, the world has too many victims at the moment. If the ANC's intention is to make the case for reparations and affirmative action, the best place to argue this would be parliament — not to demand them now under the threat of continued sanctions, mass action and nationalisation. That way there would be a better chance of democracy than leaving the process to the mood of the people.

The violence of that mood is all too apparent — to give it leeway would be not only for De Klerk to lose control, but all serious participants in the constitutional negotiations as well.

Yet for every reform which is enacted, the ANC shivers with suspicion. Mandela continues to call on foreign nations to boycott us because "real change" has not yet occurred. In walking out of parliament, the Conservatives demonstrated just how real the change has been for them — though it is equally true that many black schoolchildren still cannot find a place at a desk. The *FM* has suggested a few things that ought to be done about that (*Leaders* January 25).

Only if you believe that reform must mean the overnight betterment of the life prospects of millions, can you believe that reform is a trick. Mandela's body language radiates suspicion and uncertainty, but there is a good reason why this instantaneous betterment cannot simply occur.

It is that resources are and always will be finite and, therefore, while reform is irreversible, its effects will take time. The million-odd schoolchildren who have lost out since 1976 may all wish to read and write, have a job, drive a big car and live in mansions. Unfortunately, they are at best likely to be dependent on charity or kind-

hearted magistrates for survival in the next few decades. For the ANC this is unsayable, but it is risking its own credibility if it continues to fuel unrealistic expectations.

That is why Mandela's argument that the per capita inequalities in black and white education can be resolved in "months" through exponential hikes in spending, is as dangerous as it is absurd.

Last year, the Human Sciences Research Council estimated that if educational expenditure were equalised, it would cost R37bn for 1990/1991 — more than treble current total annual expenditure. Apart from the fact that the money is not available — because of contraction in the economy due in part to sanctions — it could not physically be spent in "months" to raise schools, create transport systems for disadvantaged pupils, train teachers and produce and distribute textbooks. Inflation would become uncontrollable.

The racial gap in education is inequitable and must continue to be narrowed. And there are many other areas in which injustices must be remedied.

As the ANC approaches closer to a participatory role in central government, it needs to fine-tune its arguments on the reallocation of expenditure, not merely reiterate the "nothing has changed" chord. It isn't doing so — and appears to want redress by fiat, meaning reparations and affirmative action so that conditions change swiftly.

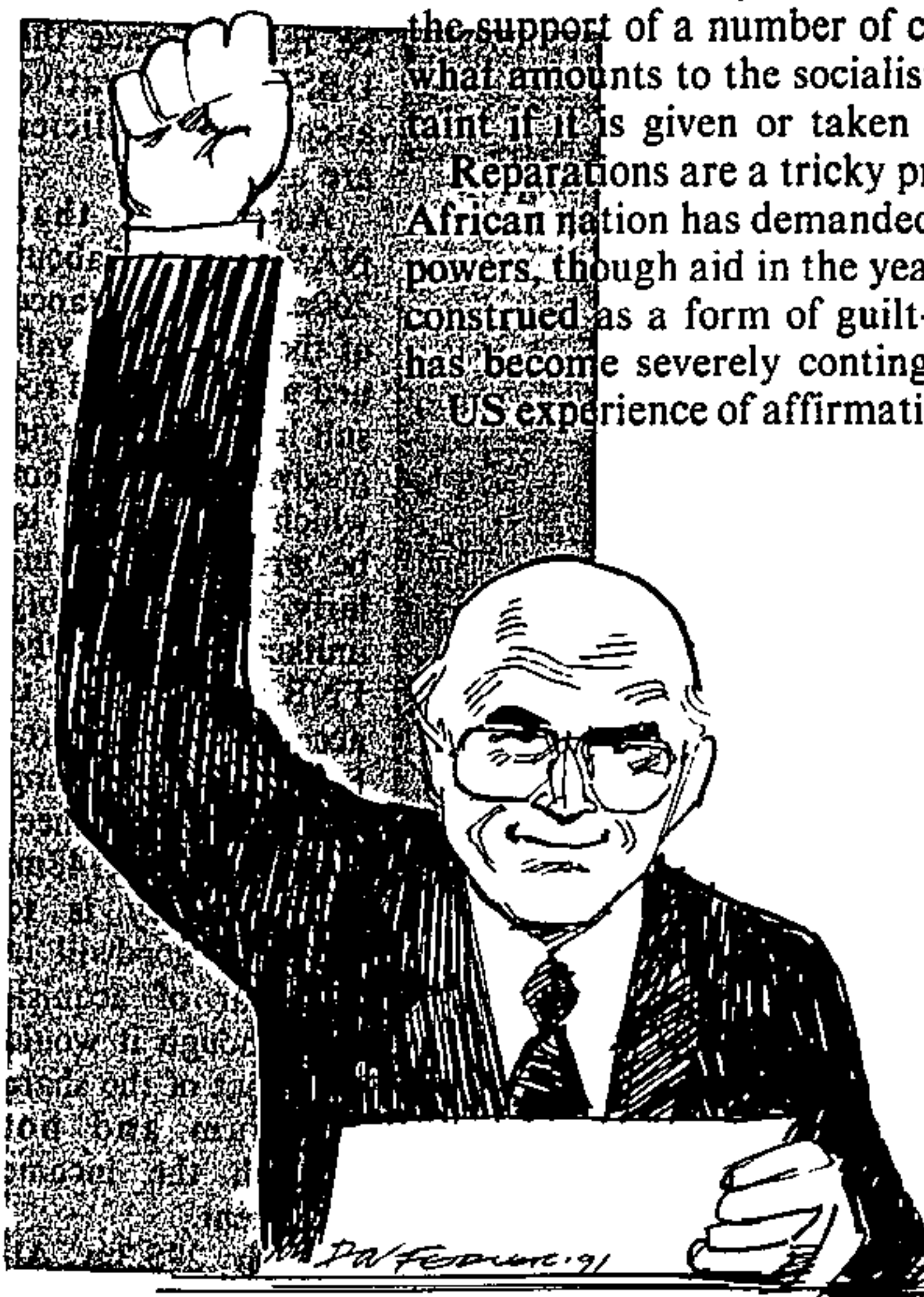
There is no doubt, in fact, that a great deal of the ANC's forward thinking has become concentrated on these issues, rather than on, say, the electoral process. In this they have the support of a number of churches, who have long argued what amounts to the socialist case that wealth only loses its taint if it is given or taken away.

Reparations are a tricky problem in international law. No African nation has demanded them from the former colonial powers, though aid in the years after independence might be construed as a form of guilt-salving. In the event, such aid has become severely contingent on accountability.

US experience of affirmative action has not been happy. It

leads to quotas, resentments and a cycle of failure and it depends on one or other definition of racial grouping. There can't be affirmative action for blacks in a legally non-racial SA, or conscription for whites.

Why isn't the ANC telling its followers these things? It can no more deliver the kingdom of the earth than government — yet it continues to generate emotionalism and unrealistic expectations as if there were no tomorrow.



Apartheid: On death row but not yet dead

By GAVIN EVANS

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK has condemned apartheid to the gallows — but it will be a couple more years before the sentence is carried out.

This, according to constitutional experts, is the implication of the government's decision to scrap the Population Registration Act during the current session of parliament and to provide for "temporary transitional measures" until a new constitution is enacted.

What Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and other government spokesmen have indicated is that once the Act is scrapped only newborn babies and immigrants will no longer have their names on the population register. Everyone else will still be racially defined for the time being.

Natal University constitutional law senior lecturer Bede Harris explains the existing register will remain in effect, "but the machinery for putting new names on it will be abolished".

Harris notes that section 52 of the constitution refers to whites, coloureds and Indians, while section 100 defines these in terms of the population register. Even after the Act is repealed (perhaps together with references in other legislation), the constitution will continue to exist, as will its black, coloured and Indian houses of parliament.

Without this the government would be unable to govern and there would be administrative chaos.

But this means that some of the mainstays of grand apartheid will be here for as long as it takes to negotiate and enact a new constitution — which could take another two to four years.

To take a few examples:

- Even after the Group Areas Act is scrapped, black, Indian and coloured Yeovillites will not be able to vote in the forthcoming Yeoville by-election, because elections fall directly under the separate houses of parliament

- Afrikaans-speaking coloured children who live in Gardens in Cape Town will not be able to attend Hoërskool Jan van Riebeck because that school has not opted to go open, and schools fall under the separate education departments

- White pensioners will get more money each month than coloured and Indian pensioners, who in turn, will get more than black pensioners be-

cause pensions fall under "own affairs"

- Black orphans and foster children will continue to get less state money than whites because state grants for children in foster care fall under the separate welfare departments

- Residents of the three "independent" and seven "non-independent" homelands will still have their affairs governed by these apartheid structures unless their status changes.

Wits University constitutional expert Professor John Dugard says his initial expectation is that a law will be passed providing that race classification will be of no legal effect as from, say, June 1.

"All De Klerk will then have to do is to introduce legislation which provides that as the constitution is based on the Population Registration Act, these provisions will only remain in force for the purposes of the constitution which gives powers to deal with own affairs such as education."

If this is the case then there could well be several other areas, not directly defined by the constitution, which will become open to legal challenge in terms of the requirement in administrative law that delegated powers are not exercised unreasonably.

- Black and white prisoners are, according to Harris, segregated at the discretion of the Prisons Department and not in terms of the constitution.

A black person sentenced to an overcrowded black prison may be able to challenge this on the basis that the delegated power was exercised with discriminatory effect.

- Military conscription currently applies only to whites in terms of an exception in the Defence Act which refers to the definitions of the Population Registration Act. A white conscript could challenge this in terms of administrative law on the basis that the SADF was exercising its delegated powers unreasonably.

- The SAP still has four racially separate police colleges. A black police recruit from Pretoria sent to train at the black college at Hammanskraal rather than the white college in Pretoria may be able to contest this.

In this sense, constitutional lawyers suggest, the power of the courts effectively to make law will increase. In several crucial areas they could be the forums for deciding whether apartheid is allowed to live or die.



Gerrit Viljoen

It's Sir Robin, (ever discreet) the facilitator

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London

BRITAIN is delaying the departure of ambassador Sir Robin Renwick from South Africa to enable him to play an informal facilitator's role in the country's negotiations for a new constitution. W/Mail 8/2-14/2/71

Political informants stressed any such activity by the envoy has not been requested by President FW de Klerk's government.

Both British and South African political authorities have acknowledged that Renwick during the recent turbulent years has exercised a discreet and constructive influence through the contacts he has developed and maintained with most elements in South Africa's political life.

Some members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons have been talking openly of the likelihood of British governmental support for a post-apartheid South Africa's return to the Commonwealth.

The 11-member committee visited the Republic last November-December. Its report is expected to dwell on ways in which Britain's past associations with, and influence in, countries of the region can be restored and strengthened.

Renwick's designation as Britain's next ambassador to Washington was announced late last year. British politicians seem agreed that he carried out his tasks with skill at times when the anti-sanctions policy of the former prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, had become a matter of major international controversy.

One of his actions that has never before been disclosed related to the provision of security precautions for African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela after he emerged from jail a year ago. As a British political informant told the story Mandela, after his release, turned down an offer of security protection made by the South African authorities. For Mandela, it seemed, the concept of emerging from jail to be guarded by the security forces was unacceptable because it would seem that he would remain a governmental hostage.

Renwick, apparently on his own initiative, funded the construction of a security wall, complete with high-tech detection devices, around Mandela's home in Soweto.

CP patches differences to fight FW

Weekly Mail Reporter (3049)
SPECULATION that the Conservative Party is about to split is, to put it mildly, somewhat premature.

There are indeed tensions in the party's parliamentary caucus about policy, strategy, style and age, but they paled into insignificance this week as the CP portrayed a determined and enthusiastic face in parliament.

Everyone in the party is convinced the government's policies are leading South Africa into disaster — into "a stew of people with explosives", as party leader Andries Treurnicht put it — and that the CP's policies of racial separation are the only solution.

And all members remain convinced that the CP represents the majority of whites. If the government can be forced into a white election, CP MPs believe they will become the government of the new South Africa.

The dream — or illusion — of power and victory, as well as of rallying white resistance to President FW de Klerk's reforms, has pushed the caucus tensions into the background.

The major thrust of this strategy is to argue that the government does not have a mandate — from whites, of course — for their policies.

De Klerk, Treurnicht argued this

W/Mail 8/2-14/2/91.

week, was carrying out a coup against the very people who had elected his government to power. The NP manifesto in the 1989 election had stated the party believed in "own" (effectively, white) living areas, own schools, own old age homes and separate municipalities for different race groups.

"The government is forgetting its mandate, its promises and its mission. It is negating the people who placed it in power," Treurnicht said.

But although this thrust of CP tactics may make a point, that is all it is. The fact is that as negotiations get off the ground, and as the central thrust of South African politics moves away from all-white politics and parliament, the rightwing is being marginalised.

If another white election is not held and the CP dream of power is shattered, the rightwing will have been put in its place as a tiny, if vociferous, minority. The possibility of that happening, and what the CP should do in the circumstances, is one of the issues causing tension in the caucus.

However, perhaps the major problem is one of age and style, and the implications of this for leadership.

Quite simply, the CP establishment is aging. Many of the old guard in the CP have been in politics for a long

time and their active political careers are drawing to an end. Treurnicht turns 70 this month and although the official line is that he would never desert his party and *volk* at this stage, it is an age when retirement is a consideration.

Indeed, he is generally subdued both in parliament and at public meetings. This has reinforced the impression that Treurnicht is losing interest in the pressures of being a party leader.

A new generation of younger right-wingers, symbolically represented by the Mulder brothers, Pieter and Corné, is emerging.

So, although it is not the immediate issue, a new CP is emerging and its shape and direction is where the tension is emerging. Not that age is the only consideration: one of the younger CP MPs, Schalk Pienaar from Potgietersrus, is a hardliner.

Does the CP move in the direction of the Pienaars or does it move towards the Mulder/Koos van der Merwe camp? If it is to the latter, a more pragmatic approach to negotiations and dialogue with extra-parliamentary groups is likely to emerge. But if it is to the former, the strategy will probably be to fight to the finish to prevent majority rule.

REFORM

FIM 8/2/91

CLEARING THE DECKS

3049

In a single, dramatic stride last Friday President F W de Klerk carried the NP beyond apartheid and cleared the way for unfettered constitutional negotiations with the ANC and other political groups.

By mid-year all statutory discrimination except the Constitution itself should be scrapped. Government will then have met a major demand of its critics down the years: it will have unilaterally dismantled apartheid, rather than negotiated its end — which was how many ministers in the P W Botha era believed reform should take place.

In terms of De Klerk's announcements, changes by the second half of the year should include:

□ The deracialisation of the ownership and occupation of houses, flats and land, both residential and agricultural;

□ An end to the classification of people in terms of race. Though existing classifications will remain, they will have little effect because all racial references in existing laws should be scrapped; and

□ A new measure to allow existing municipalities to merge on a nonracial basis, have common voters' rolls and use common tax bases to finance services and capital works.

An obvious anomaly will be education, which remains racially based in terms of the Constitution. White parents will continue to have full control over whether or not to open white schools to black children. The future of conscription, which discriminates against whites, is unclear.

De Klerk realises that international recognition of reform and acceptance of his sincerity by local black leaders depends on removing all apartheid as quickly as possible. He believes he has sufficient backing among whites to be able to dismiss the rightwing onslaught expected in the wake of his latest announcements.

His speech on Friday also reflected a new urgency to get negotiations off the ground. Though obstacles to fully fledged constitutional talks with the ANC still exist, senior ministers believe they can be overcome fairly easily through further *pre-negotiation* talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen says that if all parties co-operate there's no reason why the ANC's deadline of April 30 for removing remaining obstacles can't be met.

He denies that government is dragging its feet on issues such as the return of exiles. In most cases, ANC complaints have been based on a misunderstanding of the agreement on exiles.

Viljoen says government remains opposed to the election of a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution, because a ma-

jority would then dictate the outcome of the negotiations instead of giving all groups an equal say.

However, he says government has noted flexibility in the views of pro-constituent assembly groups and will "certainly look carefully at all views."

Government still regards a multi-party conference as the most suitable forum for negotiating a new constitution and believes it should convene as soon as possible. The conference is also the instrument through which extra-parliamentary leaders could be given legislative and executive powers on policy matters as an interim measure.

With the scrapping of the Land Acts, Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act only "political apartheid" will remain in the sense that blacks will not have



De Klerk ... vital to keep ahead

a vote at central government level, says Viljoen. That will be the position until a new constitution is agreed and implemented.

But wide-ranging social and economic reform at local level will be possible sooner. Apart from scrapping residential segregation, De Klerk has opened the way for the voluntary creation of nonracial municipalities in an effort to ease the crisis in black local government and release more money for upgrading "black" areas.

Planning, Provincial Affairs & Housing Minister Hernus Kriel concedes that there's little incentive for wealthy "white" municipalities to join up voluntarily with impoverished black local authorities, but says government will provide financial aid to help wipe out backlogs.

De Klerk told parliament last week that government was prepared to assist reformist municipalities.

Laws to make co-operation possible between racially segregated local authorities will be tabled in parliament this year. This means that by the end of the year negotiations between, for example, Johannesburg and Soweto, or Cape Town and Lingeletu for the formation of single municipality with

a common tax base and voters rolls could be under way.

Apart from additional financial aid from government, new municipalities could also have access to existing regional services levies and possibly other new local taxes as well.

In essence, SA is entering the post-apartheid era far sooner and more quickly than most people expected. ■

A walkover for FW and his all-stars

THIS week, the Government went into what Dr van Zyl Slabbert might call the "Last Grey Parliament", on what the Americans would call "a roll".

This was a National Party team brimming with confidence, rather like Liverpool after being told they have drawn Grimsby Town in the FA Cup. The Conservative side was never in with a chance.

Top goalscorer FW "Dazzling" de Klerk kept up the form of last season, forcing opposing skipper AP "Treurige" Treurnicht to resort to persistent, if desultory, fouls. De Klerk's three cheer-leading troupes, led by Zach "Who's Fooling Who" de Beer, Allan "Hoor Hoor" Hendrickse and JN "Ever" Reddy, were transported with delight as the first round got under way.

Finest hour

Referee Helgaard "Hath No Fury" van Rensburg seldom had the whistle out of his mouth.

Also on form was "Dazzling's" forward line, comprising ageless veterans Gerrit "Flinkdink" Viljoen and Pik "Potjiekos" Botha. Dr Viljoen made a valiant effort at sticking to the sporting motif of the session, describing the ANC's insistence on a constituent assembly as being like "putting the goalposts at

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



the start of the race". For all his other attributes, commentators noted, the Minister cannot be described as being metaphor-friendly.

Potjiekos Pik's finest moment came when he read out a lengthy testimonial to the National Party squad from Mr Edson Arantes do Nascimento, otherwise known as Pele. Well, known to some. It was marvellous that "this famous football player" had taken the trouble to write, enthused "Potjiekos", "and I say from my side that he is welcome to visit South Africa. What a wonderful day it would be if this famous sportsman could attend the first international soccer match between South Africa and Brazil".

The Conservative Party benches

were thoroughly nonplussed by all of this, evidently not knowing who on earth Pik was going on about. By way of stark contrast, the men from the House of Representatives responded with an impromptu Mexican Wave. This, one assumes, is what the CP means when it talks about irreconcilable cultural differences.

There was a distinct air of unreality about proceedings in Parliament this week. For once the President had delivered his speech, the game was, in fact, all over bar the shouting. The National Party's reform measures will go through the House as surely as day follows night.

Then the real politics in this country will get under way outside Parliament. There will be a great deal of sound and fury in the Chamber and it may go on for several months, but we know the outcome already. Ministers are much more interesting to talk to about their dealings with the ANC than they are on the subject of *broeder-tuis* with the CP, so far has the

wheel of South African history turned.

So what did happen outside the antiseptic anterooms of our chambers of State this week? Well, Stellenbosch University banned initiation ceremonies. Mr. Mncedisi Jason Sishuba became the first genuine New South African, receiving formal indemnity in the Government Gazette. Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial faltered onwards.

It was revealed that Colonel Bob Denard was not, after all, in Zaïre planning mayhem, but still in Pretoria sipping G'n T, courtesy of the South African taxpayer.

Record year

SABC-TV viewers saw their first news bulletin this year without a single mention of the Gulf War, and hotel chains banned escorts carrying credit card machines from visiting clients. The Government announced a R4 million "Put Peace First" campaign, 31 Mamelodi school principals were expelled by their pupils, and it was revealed that 1990 was a record year for unrest incidents.

Otherwise all was fairly normal, by our standards. In other words, as a Labour Party MP remarked this week: "The situation is *vrot* with danger."



Moveable feast of

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If all the year were playing holidays, to sport would be as tedious as to work. — Shakespeare, King Henry IV, Part 1.

Centuries after the Bard wrote these words, South African political and cultural leaders are still debating the question: How many holidays should we have without wreaking havoc with productivity, and what should we call these holidays?

One school of thought is to allow every religious, cultural or ethnic group celebrate its own holidays while those not affected go to work as normal.

However, this would seriously disrupt the economy — bosses would never have a full complement of staff and would never know when anyone is going to pitch up for work.

There are other arguments in support of the idea that everyone should get a day off for everyone else's traditional holidays.

Up to the present day, for instance, everyone — non-Christians included — has had to take the day off for traditional Christmas holidays (and probably did so without compunction). So why shouldn't everyone get the chance to take off on other religious holidays?

Besides, the more clever ones among us would probably be able to fob ourselves off as Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Afrikaners, Jews, communists or whatever the occasion demands — and end up never going to work at all.

So we'll have to have a fixed number of public holidays when all the people will be allowed to stay home. These holidays will have to take into account every political, religious, ethnic and cultural group in the country — so let's see what we end up with.

We may as well start with the existing ones — there are 11 of them, and with the exception of New Year's Day and Workers' Day, they are all Christian or Afrikaner cultural holidays.

Christians and Afrikaners have as much of a right to public holidays as anyone else, so we'll retain them. One of them, Founders' Day (April 6) falls on a Saturday — and as a holiday is worth nothing if it's not a holiday, we'll shift it a day back and give the people the Friday off.

Jewish holidays

The Christians having been looked after, we'll have to cater for other religions. Traditional Jewish holidays are Purim (February 28), First Day of the Passover (March 30) — but that is a Saturday, the preceding Friday has already been taken care of, so the holiday will fall on Thursday, March 28), Yom Ha-Atzmauth (April 19), First Day of Pentecost (May 19, a Sunday, so we'll shift it to the Monday), the two days of Rosh Hashanah (September 9 and 10), Yom Kippur (September 18) and Channukah, which takes care of the first week of December.

Next up are the Muslim holidays: Lailatul Mi'raaj (February 11), Lailatul Bara'ah (March 1), First Ramadan (March 18), Lailatul Qadr (April 12), Eid-ul-Fitr (April 16), Youmi Arafah (June 22, a Saturday, so that will shift to the Friday), First Muharram

(July 13 — which will likewise shift to the preceding Friday), Tenth Muharram (July 22) and Moulud'un-Nabi (September 20).

Not to be forgotten are the Hindus, the other major religious group. They get Makar Sankranti (January 14), Maha Shivratri (February 12), Ramayan (starts on March 12 and gobbles up the rest of the week), Gita Week (takes care of August 26 to August 30), Sri Krishna Janmashthami (September 1 — a Sunday, which will make the Monday a holiday), Saraswati Pooja (October 16) and Dipawali (November 5 and 6).

Next in line would be the political parties. The Nationalists have already had their turn (Kruger Day, Day of the Vow, etc.) And the Conservative Party would probably be happy with those, but the far-right fringe, in the form of the Boerestaat Party, have recently come up with their own list of public holidays.

And if it would preserve the peace, why not give it to them? Spioenkop Day will be on February 24, a Sunday which will of course be commemorated with a holiday on the Monday. Then there's Majuba Day (February 27), Sannaspos Day (March 31, another Sunday, but the Monday is already occupied by Family Day so

we'll have to give them the Tuesday), Concentration Camp Day (June 15, a Saturday which will be commemorated on the preceding Friday), Dalmanutha Day (August 31, but that will have to wait until September 3), Bakenlaagte Day (September 30), the Battle of Kapaai Day (November 10, which will move to Monday, November 11) and Magersfontein Day (December 11).

The Pan-Africanist Congress has let us know that it wants March 21 (Sharpeville Day) and April 6, (PAC Founding Day, which we'll commemorate on Monday April 8). It also wants June 16 (Soweto Day), to which most in the liberation movements would agree but which will shift to Monday June 17, and May 1 (Workers' Day, already taken care of). And then there's also Steve Biko Day on September 12.

ANC claims

The ANC might want January 8 (the organisation's birthday), February 2 (unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, which will shift to Friday, February 1), February 11 (Mr Mandela's release, to be heralded two days later, as Lailatul Mi'raaj and Maha Shivratri fall on February 11 and 12), the return of Mr Oliver Tambo (December 12) and Albert

Luthuli Day (July 21).

Then there's MK Hero Day — December 16, already reserved, make it December 17).

The South African Communist Party may want November 7 — anniversary of the Russian Revolution — Lenin's birthday — Stalin's birthday (December 21) will shift to Monday, December 22, and Mao Tse Tung's birthday (December 26 — which clashes with Day and will therefore shift to Monday, December 27). And let's not forget the birthday of the man who shot Karl Marx (May 5).

There will also have to be a Constitution Day, date still to be decided, and a Constitution Day to celebrate the new constitution.

That more or less takes care of the politics. But there are a lot of other days which have been commemorated for some reason or other.

Namibia, for instance, has a Rights Day, which may not be the best idea for this troubled country. Namibia's is on December 1, might as well celebrate on day as our neighbour.

While on the subject of public holidays, we'll have to take care of the national days of

While the debate about a new constitution has centered mainly on economic and political issues, the first government of the New South Africa will face another thorny problem: traditional public holidays. ROBERT BRAND investigates.

SPECTRUM



e feast of holidays

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There will also have to be a Liberation Day, date still to be finalised, and a Constitution Day to commemorate the new constitution.

That more or less takes care of politics. But there are a number of other days which have to be commemorated for some reason or another.

Namibia, for instance, has a Human Rights Day, which may not be a bad idea for this troubled country of ours. Namibia's is on December 10, and we might as well celebrate on the same day as our neighbour.

While on the subject of good neighbourliness, we'll have to commemorate the national days of our recent

ly and not-so-recently liberated neighbours. Besides, many nationals of the present-day Frontline states live and work in South Africa and would also be entitled to their public holidays.

Namibia's Independence Day is on March 21, but that's also Sharpeville Day, so it should be celebrated on March 22. Zimbabwe Day is on April 18, followed by Mozambique's Independence Day on June 25, Swaziland's on September 6, and Lesotho's on October 4.

Botswana presents a small problem, because its Independence Day is on September 30, which is Bakenlaagte Day. It can't move to October 1, which is All Saints Day, so it will have to shift to October 2.

Nationalities

If we cater for these nationalities, we'll have to be even-handed and do the same for all other nationalities living or working in this country. But we have 186 working days left, so there's plenty to play with.

There are 152 independent countries in the world. Take away South Africa and those already mentioned and we're left with 144. Now there may conceivably be at least one citizen of each of those in South Africa. And we'll have to look after their cultural interests and give them each a public holiday.

That leaves us with 39 working days — and a lot of voices clamouring that we've forgotten about this day or that day.

What about St Patrick's Day (March 18) and St George's Day (April 23), May Day (first Monday in May) and Spring Day (first Friday in Octo-

ber). Those in the Last Outpost will cry foul if we don't include the Queen's Birthday (April 21) and Commonwealth Day (March 11) while the When-we's will shout "UDI" (November 11).

Pretorians can justly ask: "What about the founding day of the capital city?" (November 16), while their cousins in Bananaland might just draw their attention to October 6 when the Blue Bulls met their Nemesis.

Many other countries have a Culture Day and a Sport Day, and what's good enough for Japan is good enough for us. And if the Brits can have a Bank Holiday, why not us?

Then there's Whit Monday (May 20) and World War 2 Armistice Day on May 8 (after all, a lot of South Africans fought in that war). And what about celebrating Australia Day (January 25) to commiserate with all those unhappy souls who packed for Perth and have to make do with only 10 public holidays?

And surely, the factory bosses would cry, if there's a Workers' Day then we're entitled to a Bosses' Day. This would open the way for a Day of the Unemployed, who should not be left out simply because they're neither workers nor bosses.

This brings us down to 21 working days — and with hundreds of demands for further public holidays, we'll need at least a Day of National Reconciliation to preserve the peace.

So we're left with 20 working days. We'd have to ignore any further demands for public holidays — after all, we have to draw the line somewhere. The average South African gets 20 days' leave a year — and, as we mentioned before, a holiday is worth nothing if it's not a holiday.

'White' fears will be addressed by Bill of Rights'

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela says he is certain South Africa's problems can be solved through compromise and that white fears about the future will be addressed.

Speaking to the local and international press in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Mandela stressed, however, that any compromise would not include the non-negotiable question of one person, one vote, "the basis of democracy all over the world".

Mr Mandela, who called the press conference to answer questions on his first year outside prison, said South African whites had "genuine fears" about one person, one vote, which they believed would lead to black domination.

Rights

These fears, Mr Mandela said, could be addressed not by rejecting universal franchise, but by the adoption of a justiciable Bill of Rights.

"We regard their (whites') fears as genuine and we would like whites to stay on (in South Africa). They are our brothers and sisters — there is nothing we want more than to live peacefully with them."

The ANC leader said he was satisfied with progress made last year in talks with the Government, but warned that the peace process could be derailed.

"I sincerely hope that the moment will not arrive for us (the ANC) to say we have tried all avenues to resolve our problems by peaceful means and we have to take other routes," he said.

Responding to questions on his "special relationship" with President de Klerk, Mr Mandela said that although the President had made mistakes and had at times not done what he should have done, he remained a man of integrity.

KAIZER NYATSUMBA Political Staff

He added, however, that the ANC's policies would not be determined by his relationship with Mr de Klerk, but by "the reality of the situation" — that blacks remained voteless and politically and economically disadvantaged.

He expressed disappointment at Mr de Klerk's failure to address the question of security legislation and the future of homelands in his speech in Parliament last week.

This had led to "harsh criticism" from those who argued that his speech was aimed at en-

● Stoutly defended the appointment of his wife, Winnie, as head of the ANC's social welfare department, saying those who were opposed to her appointment were in the minority.

● Denied Government allegations that the ANC was dragging its feet on negotiations, pointing out that the whole peace process was the ANC's initiative.

In another development, the ANC's department of arts and culture yesterday insisted that the cultural boycott against South Africa was "firmly in place".

Mass action

The organisation said at a press conference in Johannesburg that it intended to make the cultural boycott "more effective" by linking it with the ANC's campaign for mass action in 1991.

However, the ANC said "democratic cultural structures" would give priority to interaction and exchange to those international groups and individuals who had supported the organisation over the years. Those who met the criteria for coming to South Africa would therefore be "considered".

● See PAGE 6.

couraging the international community to lift sanctions, rather than solving South Africa's problems.

Mr Mandela also:

● Reaffirmed the ANC's support for international sanctions against South Africa, saying mass action aimed at foreign investment would be "the order of the day" if the European Community and other countries went ahead in lifting sanctions without consulting the ANC.

Said Mr Mandela: "Once our people feel that they have no friends in the international community they will be very difficult for us to control — so angry are they."

● Conceded he had "taken a superficial view of the situation" when he made his back-to-school call to pupils shortly after his release last year before consulting educationists and pupils.

● Said those whose expectations of him were too great, believing his release would lead to an easy solution for the country's problems, were "living in a fool's paradise", because he was also human.

● Defended people's right to criticise him, saying every public figure had to expect criticism.

Mandela: We'll find a

Solution

8/12/91

306/7

IT WAS the week in which South Africa came in from the diplomatic cold.

The thaw began hesitantly early last year when President F W de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress and freed ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. But it was Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament nine days ago that brought the flood.

Dozens of messages from all over the world constituted a clear signal that a new day was dawning for South Africa after more than three decades of increasing isolation in almost every field.

By mid-week the messages had become a deluge of goodwill, with telephone calls, telegrams, official diplomatic communications from over 20 countries — all containing strong messages of support, congratulations and encouragement for President De Klerk.

Seven days after the speech,

EVELYN HOLTHAUSEN assesses international reaction to President F W de Klerk's latest reform moves

messages of congratulation via diplomatic channels had been received from Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Paraguay, Portugal, Norway, the Republic of China, Spain, the Soviet Union, Sweden, Switzerland, Britain and the US.

Yesterday the Danish government, once among the most virulent in its condemnation of South Africa and the country's harshest critic in the 12-nation European Community, decided to start easing sanctions.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said his country could start by lifting its ban on

sporting, cultural and business contacts with the country.

He added that Denmark would discuss with fellow Scandinavian governments the lifting of other sanctions, such as the ban on investment.

However, this would take place only after the South African government took legislative steps to repeal apartheid laws.

President De Klerk's speech has also provoked an American, African and southern and central European rethink on sanctions.

It has raised hopes of renewed sporting links — even Olympic participation — and signalled the imminent end of the cultural boycott.

Among the first messages was a personal telephone call from US President George Bush, in which he congratulated Mr De Klerk on his "courage". US Secretary of State James Baker also telephoned Mr De Klerk.

Good morning,

By late on Friday the US, Australia, France and Canada had sent formal messages of encouragement.

From 10 Downing Street, the South African embassy in London received a statement saying British Prime Minister John Major "wholeheartedly" welcomed Mr De Klerk's announcements.

By Saturday Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke had called for a phased lifting of sanctions and announced he had appealed for a special meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa to consider Mr De Klerk's "milestone" speech.

Canada had also responded with

a message from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, saying it was a "courageous and visionary" speech, leading towards democracy.

South Africa's foreign embassies, meanwhile, reported a mass of positive reports in newspaper editorials around the world — some demanding the immediate lifting of all sanctions.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe welcomed the planned reforms and said President De Klerk's actions were "commendable".

Klerk's speech.

3047

The British government reacted formally through Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who welcomed the speech and said Mr De Klerk and once again shown his commitment to end apartheid.

A French foreign ministry spokesman in Paris said the speech was "welcome news".

In Brussels, the European Commission issued a statement saying Mr De Klerk's pledge to scrap apartheid would allow the easing of sanctions.

It confirmed that once legislation scrapping the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration

Act and the Land Acts had been tabled, sanctions would be lifted. Japan is also said to be taking the first steps to re-establish trade links with South Africa.

Trans-Natal Coal Corporation managing director Mike Salamon said: "We have been told by our agents that restrictions which imposed a cash limit on Japanese purchases from this country no longer apply."

One of the messages received by Mr De Klerk was from Brazilian soccer legend, Pele.

He congratulated the President for breaking down racial barriers.

Mr De Klerk has acknowledged the message "with appreciation".

Nine days after the historic speech, it seems as if South Africa has entered a new phase in its turbulent history.

South Africa

President's sanctions victory 'backfired'

STATE President FW de Klerk's international triumph against sanctions has backfired badly by rekindling the internal conflict between the government and the ANC, possibly creating a grave new impasse.

Threats by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that the movement would launch massive economic disruption to deter any businessman from investing in South Africa is seen as a reversal of the progress symbolised by De Klerk's opening address to Parliament on February 1.

One direct result has been renewed efforts at a Johannesburg meeting on Monday to unite the ANC and PAC. A joint committee was established to put into effect Mandela's call at the ANC-Inkatha summit the previous week for a united conference of movements in conflict with the government. It is now likely the ANC will seek the broadest possible front to co-operate in mass action.

The ANC's mass action threat was an almost predictable reaction to President De Klerk once more seizing the initiative and removing the last major bargaining chips from ANC hands. This was a view expressed by three leading Cape academics and political analysts who have intimate links with the organisation.

Stellenbosch University economist Prof Sampie Terreblanche, and executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, both regretted the apparent lack of prior horse-trading between Mandela and De Klerk to ensure there were no losers after his landmark announcements.

Both felt the two leaders were now painted into corners with little room for manoeuvre. Head of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, Prof Herman Giliomee, took a less pessimistic view, but agreed that Mandela's harsh words were "surprising".

Terreblanche, a known critic of the government, described Mandela's threat as "extremely harsh, coming from him. The sort of language one expects from Chris Hani ..."

He felt it was not fair of the government to have placed so much pressure on the ANC, which was in a vulnerable position after having undertaken to suspend the armed struggle with internal unrest being the only hand left to play after sanctions were lifted.

"De Klerk should have known you can't have a winner and a loser," said Boraine. "He should know that the minute sanctions go, Mandela is the loser."

Terreblanche found it strange there had been no bargaining, perhaps offering the ANC some form of election to establish the extent of support the participants in the talks had.

"There are dangers inherent in De Klerk's fine political footwork. He is still operating in terms of his constituency and has not yet shown

himself to be the national leader with the interests of 38 million people at heart," said Terreblanche.

De Klerk had not demonstrated by his speech that he grasped the full dimensions of South Africa's problem as created by apartheid — that massive upliftment has to come about "irrespective of whether we can generate economic growth".

Giliomee said that unless it was possible to regain the ANC's involvement it was back to square one.

It was necessary for De Klerk to announce the repeal of the last apartheid laws in order to keep the ANC negotiating. Now the ANC would have to run harder to catch up in gaining the higher moral ground.

"Now De Klerk comes out looking good and Mandela comes out fighting. I don't see how it can be resolved, because they're both backed into corners." — Sapa

Democracy, the patriotic way

TOWARDS THE FUTURE SA

Stewed 10/11/91
304A

IRRVATIVITY all South African parties now accept that a future constitution must be based on universal suffrage, regular elections, multi-party competition, an independent judiciary, a justifiable bill of rights and so on. If on earth, then can there be a problem about the future prospects for democracy?

All parties are full of those who are prisoners of their own rhetoric
The most secure of prison bars of all is the rhetoric of the

these men has had to face a single leadership, a democratic leadership. Politics has far too often, been reduced to the incantation of ritual formulae. All the parties are full of people who are prisoners of their own rhetoric — the most secure prison bars of all. This allows a political identification at 20 paces. As soon as you hear someone talk about "group rights" or "the oppressor", you know which camp they're in.

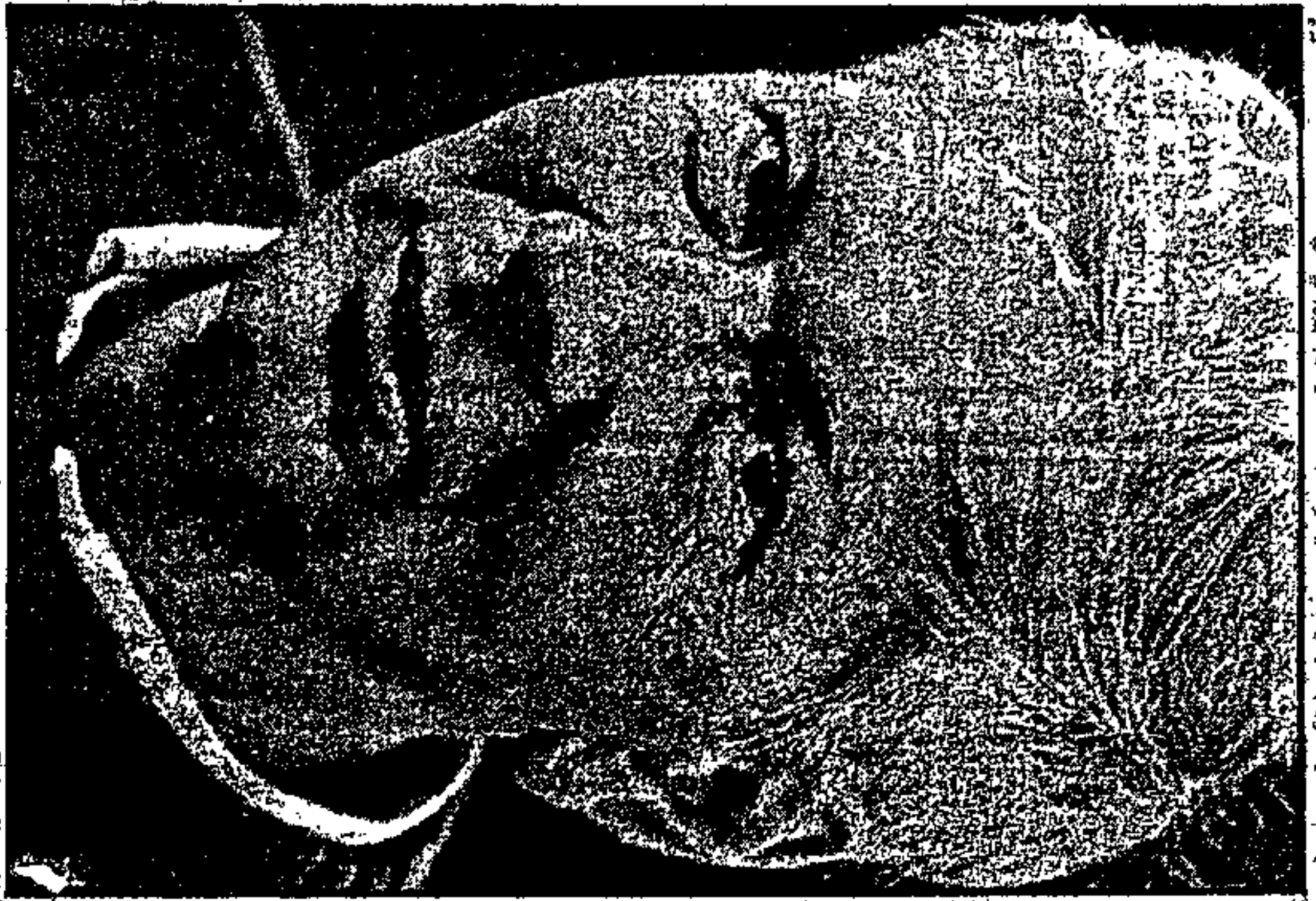
People have also internalised a very tight classification system: they will not rest until they have you satisfactorily pigeon-holed. I have experienced this to my own cost. I am a democrat, committed all my life to majority rule, but I am an independent, belonging to no party. I encounter grave suspicion in every camp: no one really believes in the possibility of even the desirability of genuine political independence, everyone is sure you have a "secret agenda". If you were seen talking to X, that means you must have some sympathy for him — for the true loyalist would not be seen dead in X's company. And so on. True democracy will only exist in South Africa when it is widely accepted that you can find human beings in every political party, that your neighbour's politics are his own business, and that anyone can talk to everyone.

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert lauded the Sunday Times's Towards the Future South Africa series with a warning that negotiating the conditions of the political transition is just as important as the eventual product of those negotiations. This week, Oxford's R W Johnson argues that the creation of a common patriotism is the central challenge

No keep the whites, there has to be power-sharing and a sense that expertise is valued in its own right, regardless of colour
will look something like the Kwa-Natal incident: this was, after all, the only other time South Africa was all races sat down to work out a democratic constitution. In a sense, one can almost take the future of the constitutional

have almost unanimously turned their backs on democracy. Almost all the African leaders who want human rights in South Africa would not dream of allowing them at home. This is not fertile soil. Everywhere we have seen ambitious nationalist elites transact their countries while their people starve. If we're to avoid this, we have to be practical. The key things about a future South Africa are what has to be done. More just, there has to be a fairer distribution of income and wealth.

More peaceful, and not just the peace of the grave or the ghetto or the armoured suburb — peace with civil rights and social confidence. A country that works the banks, railways and airlines have electricity, the sewage, and the garbage collection. It is immediately apparent that the last condition is the most crucial of all. If South Africa becomes a giant Zambian where nothing much outside the presidential golf courses works, then the country will collapse into anarchy/war/dictatorship and it won't matter what the constitution says. The two things could cause a collapse: the systematic promotion of unqualified people into key posts and/or a large-scale white and Asian emigration. For altogether had historical reasons, most highly qualified and skilled manpower is still white or Asian. Forty percent of whites have the right to a foreign passport and most Asians could, at a crunch, go elsewhere too. If they all left, the country would collapse. That, rather than military strength, constitutes the main bargaining leverage of the whites and Asians. Any other country in Africa would give its eye teeth for the pool of technical, administrative and entrepreneurial expertise represented by South Africa's whites and Asians. Anyone with the country's



that this rule off any colonial/cultural system: there has to be a "magic moment" type of transition to keep the whites, there has to be power-sharing, and a sense that expertise is valued in its own right, regardless of colour. If a power-sharing deal is reached, will the key black elites campaign for the constitution that enshrines it?

The curse of Verwoerd lies heavy upon the country; decades of Bantu education have done their dreadful work
and throw blame to seek the moral high ground the better to discomfort their enemies, and refuse to take responsibility. South Africa comes last in a line that the government concedes tomorrow to the ANC's demand for an interim government. To make a reality of such "interim power", the major black movements would have to provide not just a few faces in the Cabinet but a pool of talented thousands strong to man bureaucratic, financial and administrative posts in the various ministries, the state banks, the parastatal corporations, and so on.

Everywhere we have seen ambitious nationalist elites ransack their countries while their people starve
This gap between demand and reality is extremely dangerous. It diverts all possible funding towards black education. But it is not enough to educate future generations of black South Africans and effectively write off as hopeless most of those who have already been through a bad edu-

ation system: there has to be a large-scale provision for adult and continuing education as well. One must, too, take seriously the World Bank's warning that African countries have been prone to opt for universal education to a low level when what the most lack is highly skilled manpower in elite positions. But the greatest need of all is simply to foster a common South African patriotism. All political groups are too prone to posture

anarchy/war/dictatorship and it won't matter what the constitution says. The two things could cause a collapse: the systematic promotion of unqualified people into key posts and/or a large-scale white and Asian emigration. For altogether had historical reasons, most highly qualified and skilled manpower is still white or Asian. Forty percent of whites have the right to a foreign passport and most Asians could, at a crunch, go elsewhere too. If they all left, the country would collapse. That, rather than military strength, constitutes the main bargaining leverage of the whites and Asians. Any other country in Africa would give its eye teeth for the pool of technical, administrative and entrepreneurial expertise represented by South Africa's whites and Asians. Anyone with the country's

□ Professor R W Johnson, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and author of the book Can South Africa Survive?

By MIKE ROBERTSON

PARLIAMENT rang this week with the familiar rhetoric of South African politics — from all the wrong people.

Nationalist MP Ray Radue (King William's Town) declaimed: "What a travesty of justice, what a breach of moral ethics that blacks were not only excluded from the political scene in 1910, but that they were barred from legally acquiring land in 87 percent of South Africa from 1913."

"It is small wonder that this deprivation led to frustration, and frustration to anger, and anger to violence."

The Democratic Party's Harry Schwarz, now ambassador-designate to Washington, said in his farewell speech:

"I wonder if the outside world realises the significance of a party, which was the party of apartheid, having now become the party of non-discrimination."

"Normally, when governments change they are overthrown. Here one has a government which has adopted a completely new approach."

Such comments encapsulate the profound change in the legislature.

Liberal

Party leaders having finally put into effect measures to remove the pillars of apartheid, NP members are falling over themselves to, first, lambast the injustice brought about by the NP's former policy, and second, to occupy the ground of liberals whose views they, for years, rejected with contempt. For other parties, the shift has caused severe problems of identity.

Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) stands where he has always stood. He remarked in the debate that to hear President F.W. de Klerk propounding a concept of building a nation around a set of liberal democratic values based on justice was "like manna from heaven for an old-time Progressive like myself."

Neither Mr Eglin nor Mr Schwarz, though they may delight in the NP support for liberal values, is likely to join the NP. They see a different role for themselves.

Mr Eglin, welcoming Mr De Klerk to the ranks of the "democratic nation builders", warned: "We in the DP, who embraced these values all along are going to continue to defend them and we are going to

All the right rhetoric from the wrong people

continue to fight to promote them."

But for the DP the future looks difficult. The party is first and foremost an anti-apartheid organisation. Now that apartheid is on its way out, the tensions between liberals, socialists and those devoid of any philosophy are reaching breaking point.

DP leader Zach de Beer is widely acknowledged to be a reasonable man, but is regarded equally widely as essentially weak.

Tensions

The Conservative Party does not suffer a weak leader but it, too, is riven with tensions. Suggestions that it might split as a result of differences between those who favour participating in negotiations to advocate a white homeland and those who want a return to grand apartheid are premature, but that the tensions exist is undoubted.

The Nationalists, of course, probed assiduously to widen the cracks.

At the end of the first week in Parliament, the Nats have overlooked only one thing. As Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said, they have yet to apologise for the suffering they inflicted before their change of heart.

304A

“The right to peaceful protest must be guaranteed. But when political action so frequently leads to coercion such as often happens in consumer and rent boycotts, we have a responsibility to point out that certain strategies have a tendency to lead to abuses and violence.

"In the same way that you point out that if you give the police powers to detain without trial it is going to lead to torture and deaths in deten-

"If your research leads you to the conclusion that some strategies lead to violence, it has to be related out. It

to violence it has to be pointed out. It is now becoming apparent that increasing numbers of people in the ANC camp are aware of that.

"Mandela has talked of undisciplined youths. But you can't blame coercion on a few unruly individuals any more than you can blame deaths in detention on a few policemen who

"We would like to see apartheid replaced by a liberal multiparty de-

democracy with regular elections, secret ballots, guarantees of civil liberties and a bill of rights. It's nailing

our colours to the mast of that kind of society.

"Eugene TerreBlanche has a much right to have his views expressed as does Mandela.
"If you ask: do we favour one kind of society as opposed to another kind — yes, very definitely.

"We abandoned our research programme in looking at strategies to speed up the disintegration of apartheid a year ago and we have focused much more on the future.

"We are now doing research aimed at identifying and warning against

tendencies that may lead this society into something worse than the system that has gone before."

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Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

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BILLY PA

were voluntary and would provide legal councils that would

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He said the legal limitations could take some years. He said the legal present bound

Discussions on changing South Africa held in Harare

Sowetan 11/2/91
HARARE - The PAC and the Consultative Business Movement of South Africa began a two day meeting on Saturday to discuss their views on changes in South Africa.

Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reports that leader of the CBM delegation Mr Simon Brand said his

delegation was concerned about the process of economic change in South Africa, which it hoped would take place in a constructive manner.

He said Saturday's meeting with PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu had centred on the PAC's position on the constitutional negotiation process in South Africa.

This meeting, he said, was one of many meetings being planned by the movement in an effort to understand the position of all parties involved in the negotiation process.

"We believe that these meetings will help pave the way for the processes that are going on in South Africa," he said. - Sapa

Business, PAC call for democracy

HARARE. — Three-day talks between the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) of South Africa ended yesterday with both sides agreeing that a democratic political order was needed as soon as possible in South Africa, according to the national news agency, Ziana.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu headed the PAC delegation which met members of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), including its chief Dr Simon Brand.

A statement issued after the meeting said mechanisms to achieve a democratic order were debated, with the PAC stressing its position with regard to the urgent need for a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote — one of the major demands of the African National Congress (ANC).

"Both delegations stressed the urgent need for the democratisation of our country and the creation of a non-racial constitution," the statement said.

The CBM contended that in pur-

suing this goal, a balance should be struck between the roles of the state and the market.

"The PAC said the need for growth must be coupled with mechanisms for redistribution of wealth," the statement said.

"Delegates also stressed the need for both the normalisation of the political process and its democratisation on the basis of one person, one vote elections," it said.

The PAC emphasised that this should include the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unhindered return of all exiles.

It was also stressed that a successful political transition would be threatened unless it was underpinned by a solid socio-economic and developmental foundation, the statement said.

"It was recognised that the country's economic future would remain bleak unless all our people combined efforts to achieve maximum economic growth through the involvement and participation of all potentially productive resources." — Sapa

Major looking forward to meeting FW, says Chalker

CAPE TOWN — British Prime Minister John Major was looking forward to meeting President F W de Klerk, UK Foreign Office Minister responsible for Africa and Overseas Development Aid Lynda Chalker said yesterday.

Talking to the media just prior to meeting De Klerk, she said she welcomed the President's speech at the opening of Parliament.

"I was in Namibia at the time and the speech was met with a great deal of enthusiasm by the delegates at the SADC conference," she said.

Understanding

Asked whether relations between her government and SA would change with the departure of former prime minister Margaret Thatcher, she said relations had always been warm.

She added: "I am looking at deepening relations and increasing understanding which is already on a firm footing through Mrs Thatcher's period and Sir Geoffrey Howe and Douglas Hurd".

She said Major was "looking forward to his contact with the State President and continuing to work not only with SA but southern Africa for peace, stability, progress and prosperity — because these are things that matter".

BILLY PADDOCK

De Klerk said he would be discussing SA's position in southern Africa and Africa. He would also brief Chalker on developments in SA and discuss SA's relations with Britain.

Chalker said she would be meeting "the whole spectrum" of political groups and organisations including the ANC and PAC during her three-day stay.

She had been working hard at giving help, particularly in the field of education and community projects, and more money was being made available for projects both in the Cape Province and Johannesburg.

This year Britain would give scholarships to 1 200 disadvantaged South Africans to enable them to follow tertiary courses at universities and technical colleges in SA and Britain.

A R2.5m donation would be made to the private teacher training college opened near Pretoria by Promat Colleges this month.

Chalker said Britain would assist a further 60 black students at UCT this year, bringing the total number funded to 151, as well as students at technicians.

Sapa reports Chalker arrived in Cape Town late on Sunday night after a tour of African states which took her to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Namibia and Mozambique.

Vlok invites Coetzee back

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has issued a public invitation to renegade police captain Dirk Coetzee to return to SA and give evidence against policemen he has linked to death squad activities.

Vlok's invitation, made in a speech to the Cape Town Press Club, follows Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's request for Coetzee to return to SA voluntarily or face extradition. *B 10am 12/4/91*

Coetsee reiterated in a statement last week that Coetzee would be guaranteed a fair trial on any charges against him if he returned voluntarily.

A spokesman from the Justice Department said yesterday Coetzee had not applied for indemnity, nor had negotiations for his extradition been implemented.

On crime, Vlok said the SAP's law enforcement "dared" not be based on colour and anyone breaking the law would be dealt with regardless of race or creed.

He said the SAP did not belong to any political party.

People of all political convictions had demanded that something be done about the high crime rate. Friday night's Operation Thunderbolt was part of a well-planned and consistent strategy which would be repeated.

The three Tourist Protection Units had achieved great success in giving Johannesburg's tourists better protection, he said.

And, taken to task by a female guest for referring to police as men, Vlok said the next commissioner of police "could well be a woman".

Vlok said about 8 000 members of the 70 000-strong force were women and nothing prohibited a woman from becoming police commissioner. — Sapa.

Legislators set to cost R38m

PRETORIA — SA's 308 legislators are expected to cost taxpayers more than R38m in the new financial year. *B 10am 12/2/91*

Sources base this on the assumption that MPs will get the same 12% increase public servants expect.

Salaries and allowances for the MPs will amount to almost R27m for this financial year.

GERALD REILLY

The 32 Cabinet ministers — 18 in the House of Assembly, four own affairs ministers and five each in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates — will earn about R6m.

The administration of Parliament was expected to amount to about R35m this financial year.

IN THE US and elsewhere, the conventional wisdom has been that President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would somehow between them forge the grand compromise of a "new SA". This was always an extremely simplistic view, based in large measure on the great man theory of history. Simplicity, however, is not the reason the view is starting to fade from currency.

Increasingly, if as yet on a not entirely acknowledged basis, the chief human agent of change in SA (as opposed to the economic, social and geopolitical ones) is considered to be De Klerk himself and the new generation of National Party leadership that surrounds him. Mandela and the ANC are receding in the eyes of the international audience from the role of protagonists into that of a reactive, rather whiny chorus.

The world now sees De Klerk as SA's one visionary leader

SIMON BARBER in Washington

8 Dec 1991

(364A)

De Klerk, of course, starts with an enormous advantage. Having refused to understand how other forces have been gnawing away at apartheid for decades, and having cast the Afrikaner elite as a set of bloody-minded Masada artists willing to hang on until the last bullet was spent, the world set itself up to be stunned by De Klerk's performance since taking office.

Any act, even that of the world's most famous ex-political prisoner, would have a tough time competing for attention with De Klerk, especially since the prisoner's release only added to De Klerk's own fame. As in the parable of the prodigal son, it has been the prodigal who has achieved the plaudits for coming home, not the good and loyal son who was kept from straying by several miles of water in Table Bay.

De Klerk's announcement that he means to have removed apartheid from the statute books by the end of this year, if not earlier, is viewed as a historic step forward not solely on its own (considerable) merits, but because it was unexpected. By con-

trast, his opposition's continued carrying — however justified some of it may be — is thoroughly ungrprising because so predictable.

There is more to De Klerk's international standing than the ability to astound afforded him by 20 years of seemingly dead-end NP rule. What also, and far more legitimately as-tonishes, is that unlike so many other heads of government he is unequivocally leading. As Chester Crocker, the former assistant secretary of state for Africa, put it last week, "he is telling his countrymen that there is a way out of this wilderness", and then taking them down it.

Mandela suffers devastatingly in comparison. The one aspect of his latest Press conference that made all the international headlines was his warning that if the EC and others lifted sanctions, "you can expect that mass action in this country is going to be the order of the day." The situation is going to be so unstable in this country that no wise businessman is going to want to invest in this country.

This did not appear to be a direct threat that the ANC would order its followers onto the streets if sanctions were lifted, so much as a pow-

erless observation. "Once our people discover that they have no friends in the international community, it would be very difficult to control them."

"Difficult to control them"? This was like the old NP arguing that it could not undertake even the most limited reform because the white electorate would never stand for it. De Klerk has thrown such arguments out of the window, in favour of leading. It is Mandela who now says his movement is the captive of its own constituency: it must continue calling for the impoverishment of its countrymen and the pre-emptive looting of their economic futures for fear they might protest.

think they can lead SA is by prevailing on the world to continue undermining their country's growth and development, they are proposing to lead straight back into the wilderness.

This is not a proposal the international community will heed. Taking note of what Crocker calls De Klerk's "proud assertion of membership in the world of successful democratic societies", the successful democracies are unlikely to take either Mandela or the ANC very seriously in this matter, especially since their recent statement on the Gulf casts doubt on whether they seek membership of the club.

Except in the US, whose policy is driven by a stark hatred of white people that mercifully does not obtain in SA, sanctions are yesterday's story. The IMF and World Bank are returning and with them international capital. Because of De Klerk and because of SA's importance to the rest of the continent, the country will rejoin the community of nations. It is a pity to think that this will happen despite the ANC rather than as a result of its own statesmanship.

It is a pity because those whom the ANC claims to represent truly do

deserve a leading role in shaping the immediate and long-term future of their country. They have existed in what grammarians call the passive mood for too long — having things done to them and for them instead of being able to shape their own destinies and take pride therein.

Hitherto, unfortunately, De Klerk and his government have been making almost all the running while the ANC and most other opposition groups have done little more than react, sometimes bawling, sometimes acquiescing, spouting all the while tired old declarations rooted in a bygone political era and resorting to excuses — not enough money, not enough time, too much violence, detainees still detained, exiles still exiled — in the place of vision and boldness.

Some of these excuses may be fair. Past repression has made it difficult for the opposition to cope with the complexities of negotiation, as opposed to liberation, politics, though present intolerance has not helped either. The government has been less than swift in its handling of the political prisoner and exile issues, though matters are hardly expedited when some in the ANC continue to insist that suspension of the "armed struggle" does not include the disarming of MK cadres or the cessation of recruitment or infiltration.

Whatever the merits of the ANC's complaints, however, overseas they are increasingly less compelling as the De Klerk apartheid-unravelling machine continues to surge forward and it takes more than a year and countless dead for Mandela even to meet Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Indeed, in the rest of the world, the leadership and competence questions are starting to loom quite large.

What that means, and I daresay as De Klerk himself has long appreciated, is that foreign powers will not complain if the final political and economic deal, while scrupulously just, is more than somewhat unilateral in its creation.

(304A) ~~ESP~~
ANC, Govt

Jan 12/2/91
**meet to iron
out problems**

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC are scheduled to meet in Cape Town today to discuss hitches in the activities of their joint working group on the armed struggle and related activities.

Neither group was prepared to say yesterday whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk would attend the crucial meeting to iron out differences on matters related to the indemnity of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are the principals to which matters were referred last week after an apparent breakdown in the activities of the working group on Tuesday.

ANC publicity and information head Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC delegation would comprise its members on the joint working group, established in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Dr Jordan expected Government representatives to the working group to be present at the meeting as well.

He said at this stage it was not certain that Mr Mandela would attend the meeting.

In reply to whether Mr de Klerk would be present, he said: "We are meeting the Government."

The meeting could be vital in getting the tasks of the working group back on track.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, April 30 has been set as the deadline for the completion of the task of the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The ANC warned in December that it might reconsider its participation in the negotiation process if this was not met.

Government must start bringing in 'outsiders' before new constitution

Cape Times 12/2/91 (3049)

TO HEAR a State President of SA propounding the concept of building a nation around a set of liberal democratic values based on justice was like manna from Heaven for an old time Progressive like myself.

This aspect of the State President's speech on February 1 came close to making the rejection and the frustration which some of us have had to endure for propounding this very concept, fade into irrelevance.

It is good that the remaining apartheid laws are to be scrapped.

It is good that negotiations on a new constitution are about to commence.

It is good that the State President has embraced these values.

Yet things do not guarantee that these values will prevail in a new South Africa.

While there is reason for high hope, there are no guarantees about the future. There is no guarantee that there will be a truly democratic government in the new South Africa.

There is no guarantee that the rule of law will prevail.

There is a challenge

There is no guarantee that there will be respect for the rights or the freedom or the dignity of individual South Africans.

There is no guarantee that we will have an economic system that will enable us to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment and housing and education and social services.

There is no guarantee that there will be peace.

But there is a challenge. And I trust that there will be a will, not merely to defend these values, but to promote them until they become the basis of government and of nationhood in our new South Africa.

South Africa is caught up in two interlocking processes. One that receives the limelight is the process of negotiation. The other, that carries the heat and the burden of the day, is the process of transition.

One involves deciding where we want to get to. The other involves actually getting there.

Because of the importance of the transition process, I am concerned that the government's handling of it is falling far short of what is required at this time.

One involves deciding where we want to get to. The other involves actually getting there.

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Emotional gap

Thus far the process of socio-economic reform is, simply, too slow to have a impact on the lives of the ordinary people. The campaign to capture hearts and minds for a new SA has not filtered through.

A sense of a yawning emotional gap is developing between the few at the top who are talking to one another and the masses of the people who are not.

So far the government has failed in the vital



COLIN EGLIN MP said in Parliament last week that while there were high hopes for the future, there was no guarantee that democratic values would prevail in the "new" South Africa. To heighten the chances of such values forming the basis of government, he urged that "outsiders be made insiders" in the crucial transition process. This is an excerpt from his speech.

task of gaining the public's confidence in the security forces as an important and effective peace keeping agency.

The government has rejected the idea of an "interim government".

Greater legitimacy

To the extent that the concept of interim government may mean severing the thread of legal continuity that runs through constitutional government we understand the government's point of view entirely.

But, if we are going to use the transition phase, in which we find ourselves contractively, to give the concept of constitutional government greater legitimacy, and to create opportunities for building mutual understanding, trust and confidence at the coal-face of administration and decision-making, then the government should do all in its power to make it possible for those who for various reasons have been "outsiders" to be brought into positions of responsibility and influence inside the process of government.

This process of making "outsiders insiders" should be started before we have a new constitution.

It will require some innovative thinking. It may require the deframing of structures and decision-making procedures.

It could require the setting up of working groups and task forces to tackle specific problems affecting the lives of our people.

It could be addressed in part by bringing people with special skills — and I think here of some of the returning exiles — into the civil administration, especially in such fields as security, education, community welfare and urban development.

It could be met in part by imaginative appointments to statutory boards and councils.

But, above all, the restructuring of the decision-making process should start to take place at community level — for it is in the communities around our country that the foundations for the new South Africa will be laid.

Excluded

The government says that the tricameral system must remain intact until a new constitution is agreed upon.

Yet can we hope to start the process of nation-building as long as the majority of our citizens are effectively excluded from the process of government in our country?

Parliament must ask itself how long it can continue to legislate without any input whatever from the majority of the people of our country.



rd."

INVESTMENT CONFERENCE



Finance Minister Barend du Plessis makes a point.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA
(11/12)

Barend envisages power-sharing system

THERE would be no political take-over in SA, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

Instead, he envisaged a system of power sharing.

He warned unless poverty in the townships was addressed urgently, no future government would be able to govern effectively.

"The responsibility of resolving this problem rests squarely on the shoulders of every leader in the country."

Du Plessis said it was fair to say violence in the townships could not be blamed on poverty on the one hand, while on the other hand there was support for sanctions.

"You can't have your cake and eat it. These utterances need to be reconsidered," he said.

Pointing out that political interaction in SA was unique in the world, Du Plessis said a large number of players had suddenly been thrown into a political arena, consisting of some immature structures, to

solve the country's problems.

"Ultimately I believe human chemistry will play a big role, and I believe, too, that all the leaders are sincere. (304A)

"But the point of departure which all must realise, is that socio-politically we

have one of the most difficult countries in the world. We must expect to go through hard times."

He did not believe a one-party state would emerge in the new SA, but saw instead a number of political alliances being formed. — Sapa.

Violence 'may lead to retribalisation'

B10 am 13/2/91

30417

TOWNSHIP violence poses the danger of a "retribalisation" of blacks, says Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies.

Writing in the institute's bulletin, the executive and editorial director of the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism in London, Prof W F Gutteridge, argues similarly that Afrikaner tribalism has to subordinate itself to a new SA nationalism.

"SA's historical legacy is one of centuries of inter-tribal rivalry and violence. The present situation poses the danger that those in the towns, who had appeared to be detribalised, will be retribalised," Gutteridge argues.

However, both President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — the former by acknowledging a common SA nationalism, the latter by his non-racial approach — were undermining the tribal legacy.

Tribal divisions, however, were re-emerging in the guise of ideological conflict which had displaced territorial conflict. This had translated itself into violent conflict in an urban setting.

A related tribal problem was the legacy left by a long period of favouring whites — particularly Afrikaners.

"The legacy of a period of successful

PATRICK BULGER

"Afrikaner socialism" now stands in the way of the general acceptance of the concept of power sharing, partly because it has understandably encouraged among blacks belief in the "winner takes all" approach to politics," Gutteridge said.

White fears had to be addressed — both by a long period of erosion of these fears and by inspired leadership on all sides.

Against this background, getting negotiations going was more complicated than merely meeting artificial preconditions, he said.

"The parties involved need first to recognise their own fears and perceptions of threat and then ensure that the others involved understand them.

"Frankness and a willingness at least to discuss the unthinkable are the essential prerequisites for a settlement."

The first requirement for a settlement was a demonstrably workable constitutional proposal that could underpin economic growth.

Gutteridge did not foresee a permanent solution before 1994.

To initially expect more than to create an arena for non-violent political debate would, given the historical circumstances, be expecting too much.

Plea to maintain sanctions

CANBERRA — SA delegates to the seventh assembly of the World Council of Churches yesterday appealed to the international community not to phase out or lift economic sanctions against SA prematurely. B10 am 13/2/91

They said sanctions should not be lifted until the government moved decisively towards the abolition of apartheid, reports Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana.

Addressing a morning plenary session here, Institute of Contextual Studies director the Rev Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, and SACC deputy secretary-general Brigalia Bam said indications by some Commonwealth and EC countries that they were ready partially to lift sanctions against SA, in return for the reforms it had carried out, would remove the "only most effective instrument for change in our country".

Yesterday was the first day the SA situation was tabled since the assembly began. During this assembly it had been overshadowed by WCC delegates' preoccupation with the Gulf war between US-led allies and Iraq.

The assembly, which groups together more than 311 world churches representing about 350-million people, has been discussing political, economic and spiritual problems facing the world with a view to finding lasting solutions based on the ecumenical unity of nations.

Bam said the reforms so far announced by President F W de Klerk "scratched the surface of the core of apartheid" and those that he had promised were only declarations of intent, which would not be useful unless the government followed them up with practical measures that ensured the transfer of economic power, education and skills to the majority.

If sanctions were lifted prematurely, "the government will be under no obligation to abolish the system", she said.

Mkhathshwa said SA reform propaganda had impressed the world, yet there was little change on the ground, because the wide gap between the rich and the poor remained and would continue unless radical reforms were undertaken. — Sapa.

FW and Mandela thrash out an agreement

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday thrashed out an agreement on what constitutes related activities to armed action in 12 hours of crisis talks.

In a joint statement the two principals said: "The problems experienced by the working group dealing with paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute were resolved and agreement was reached with regard to the most pertinent points." But they agreed there was a need for further consultation within the working group. (304)

De Klerk and Mandela said once the Cabinet and the ANC national executive committee approved the agreement a full

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BILLY PADDOCK

text would be made public.

The agreement appears to pave the way for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to proceed at a much faster pace since government had linked this to resolution of discussion in the armed action working group.

The two parties differed on what constituted a related activity of armed action, which the ANC had pledged to suspend during the summit leading to the Pretoria Minute's draughting.

Government claimed the recruitment of cadres for military training outside the

country and the retention of arms caches constituted related activities to armed action. The ANC denied this and said they had not abandoned armed action.

In September the working group charged with resolving the conflict drew up an interim report on what they had agreed to and referred the major obstacles to their principals to thrash out.

A sub-committee for final agreement reported back on February 5, but ANC representatives apparently wanted to renege on the September agreement.

It was then decided to refer the issue back to De Klerk and Mandela for resolution.

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Success at Govt, ANC meeting

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a major breakthrough, the ANC and the Government yesterday resolved major differences over the ANC's armed struggle which have held up negotiations for seven months.

Agreement was reached at a secret venue in Cape Town after a marathon 11-hour meeting between delegations led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

The agreement will be released once approved by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). The Cabinet is expected to ratify the agreement today and the NEC before the end of the week.

Informed sources said the way had now largely been cleared for the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles by the April 30 target date.

This had, in turn, raised hopes for an early launch of the proposed multiparty conference to discuss the next phase of negotiations.

Yesterday's emergency meeting was called to try to resolve major disagreements in the so-called Paragraph Three joint ANC/Government working group.

The group has been meeting since the Pretoria summit of August 6 last year to try to agree on the meaning of the ANC's commitment in the Pretoria Minute to suspend "armed actions".

The ANC insisted this meant only that it should suspend actual armed attacks and the infiltration of men and arms.

The Government demanded a wider definition which also included an end to the recruitment and training of ANC cadres, the surrender of weapons inside the country and an end to mass action.

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Mandela is confident of reaching agreement

Soweto 13/2/91
ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said he was optimistic his organisation and the Government would be able to resolve the questions of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Speaking on SABC's late night current affairs programme, "Agenda" on Monday night, he said though the ANC and the Government had started "talks-about-talks" from different positions, remarkable progress had been made and agreements had been reached at the end of their previous two summit meetings.

"And that is why I am very optimistic that even on the question of a constituent assembly and an interim government, we will be able to reach agreement.

Problems

"There have been some problems which have cropped up, and some of them are so serious that they can even displace the peace process...I consider them to be very grave mistakes, but on both sides (the ANC and the Government) there are men and women who require peace, and that gives us confidence."

On the question of continued political intolerance and violence among supporters of the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the Pan Africanist Congress, despite recent peace initiatives, Mandela said it would be unrealistic to expect that a single meeting between the ANC and the IFP would resolve the question of violence.

"We require to do much more ground work," he said.

Clashes

"Until a machinery has been set up and that machinery begins to work efficiently, you must expect that there will continue to be clashes."

He reminded that a "joint-machinery" had been set-up with Inkatha providing for joint tours of strife-torn areas by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and himself, while a joint ANC/PAC-liasion committee was being established to address problems of political intolerance.

Mandela said the ANC had proposed that a so-called patriotic front meeting, a congress of the "oppressed" people, take place prior to a multi-party conference, in order for such organisations to pool their resources.

Conflict

"We want to eliminate all conflict and differences of view in order to arrive at a peaceful resolution of our affairs," he said.

He stressed that IFP would be included in such a patriotic front, but added: "We may phase it, because we will first want an agreement with people we have worked a little bit closer with than Inkatha."

He said the ANC would persuade other organisations in the proposed front to accept Inkatha in their midst.

Concerning the recent peace meeting between ANC/IFP leaders, Mandela said it had been essential for the ANC not to "come out weak" from any meeting with Inkatha. - Sapa

No quick fix after apartheid is scrapped

HOLLIS Rula sees no reason to celebrate the imminent repeal of apartheid laws. He will still live in a one-room shack on the sand flats outside Cape Town, with no voice in his own future.

"You can scrap apartheid on paper, but when will it be scrapped here?" he asked, gesturing at the maze of shacks under flat-topped Table Mountain.

In the comfortable city on the other side of the mountain, President FW de Klerk announced on February 1 that South Africa's remaining apartheid laws will be repealed within months.

In black townships like Khayelitsha, it will

take generations to erase apartheid's legacy.

Even if the last segregation laws are abolished this year, blacks will not have the vote immediately or be represented in the national government.

Election

De Klerk is not required to call an election until 1994, the target he has set for negotiating a new constitution that will give voting rights to the black majority.

"There's much talk of change, but we still don't have the vote, and that is what our people demand," said Walter Sisulu, a leader of the African National Congress, the leading black opposi-

tion group.

Apartheid, which segregated the races by law, built inequities and inefficiencies into almost every facet of life. From schools to housing to health care, South African institutions will have to be restructured to end white domination and erase black poverty based on economic apartheid.

Black townships are far from the downtown areas of major cities. Commuting can take hours and a huge part of black earnings.

Rula, a 33-year-old delivery man, spends R25 a week from his R125 wages, on bus and taxi fares.

The Government deliberately built inferior

schools for blacks. Now the country is in a recession and desperately short of the skilled workers its diversified economy needs.

"I want to learn computers because it is a computer world," Rula said.

Reading

He reads as much as possible - several magazines were open on his bed - but has no high school diploma.

The limited educational opportunities available are beyond his means.

Under De Klerk's reforms, about 200 white schools in major cities began in January to accept a few black students.

Ten times that number still are segregated and will remain so unless white parents at the schools vote for integration.

Outside liberal neighborhoods in large cities, there is little chance of that.

De Klerk says his Government will not im-

pose integration or affirmative action programmes, such as those in the United States.

Voluntary association and market forces will determine the pace of integration in all fields, the government says. Blacks say this will, in effect, give whites veto power over integration and continue to limit black opportunities.

For many blacks, the most immediate concern is improving their own facilities. Many students are turned away from black schools because classes already have 60 or more students.

Children

"I don't really want my kids to go to white schools," said Nelson Mgeke of Khayelitsha, who has six children. "I want them to have good schools here."

Housing is critically short in black areas, and for years Government housing policy included sending bulldozers to flat-topped shacks erected illegally on vacant land.

The Government has begun supplying water taps, bathrooms and other services in shantytowns, but concedes the squatter

problem will get worse. About 7 million of the country's 30 million blacks live in shacks.

It is common for 10 or more people to live in four-room houses. Such overcrowding and poverty, breed crime, violence and political instability that could threaten De Klerk's reform effort.

Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, a moderate anti-apartheid group in the mixed-race chamber of parliament, says the Government owes reparations to blacks who were forcibly removed from their land.

During a forced removal near the southern city of Port Elizabeth in 1972, his family lost a plot of land on which their home, a school and a church stood.

The family received R76 000 worth of compensation, but the buildings were torn down and it now would cost about R45 000 just to buy the vacant plot.

Hendrickse, a minister in the United Congregational Church, says he is determined to rebuild the church on its original foundation. - Sapa-AP.

Conservative Party fights Labour Bill

DESPITE an onslaught from the Conservative Party, a Bill amending the Labour Relations Act is being discussed today in Parliament.

The Conservative Party has called the Bill a "capitulation to Cosatu" which puts a gun to the Government's head.

However, most other Members of Parliament have expressed support for the Bill, according to Mr Peter Gastrow, the Democratic Party's spokesman on Labour.

Historic

It is scheduled for discussion at an usual meeting of the Joint Standing Committee on Education and Manpower. It will subsequently be put to a vote by Parliament as a whole.

The Bill, the first to emanate from an agreement between the Congress of South African Trade Unions/National Council of Trade Unions and the South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, is seen as historic.

The Bill calls for the Labour Relations Act of 1956 to be

FOCUS



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

amended. It also seeks the following:

- * To return to the definition of "unfair labour practice" used before a 1988 amendment;

- * To extend the provisions of the Labour Relations Act to

certain off-shore operations within South Africa's oceanic borders;

- * To allow State organisations to be registered as a union;

- * To restrict the granting of interdicts or other court orders during strikes and lock-outs;

- * To mandate that such interdicts and court orders, when warranted, be granted only after 48 hours notice by the applicants unless employees have been warned of a labour action 10 days in advance, in which case five days notice by the applicants would be required;

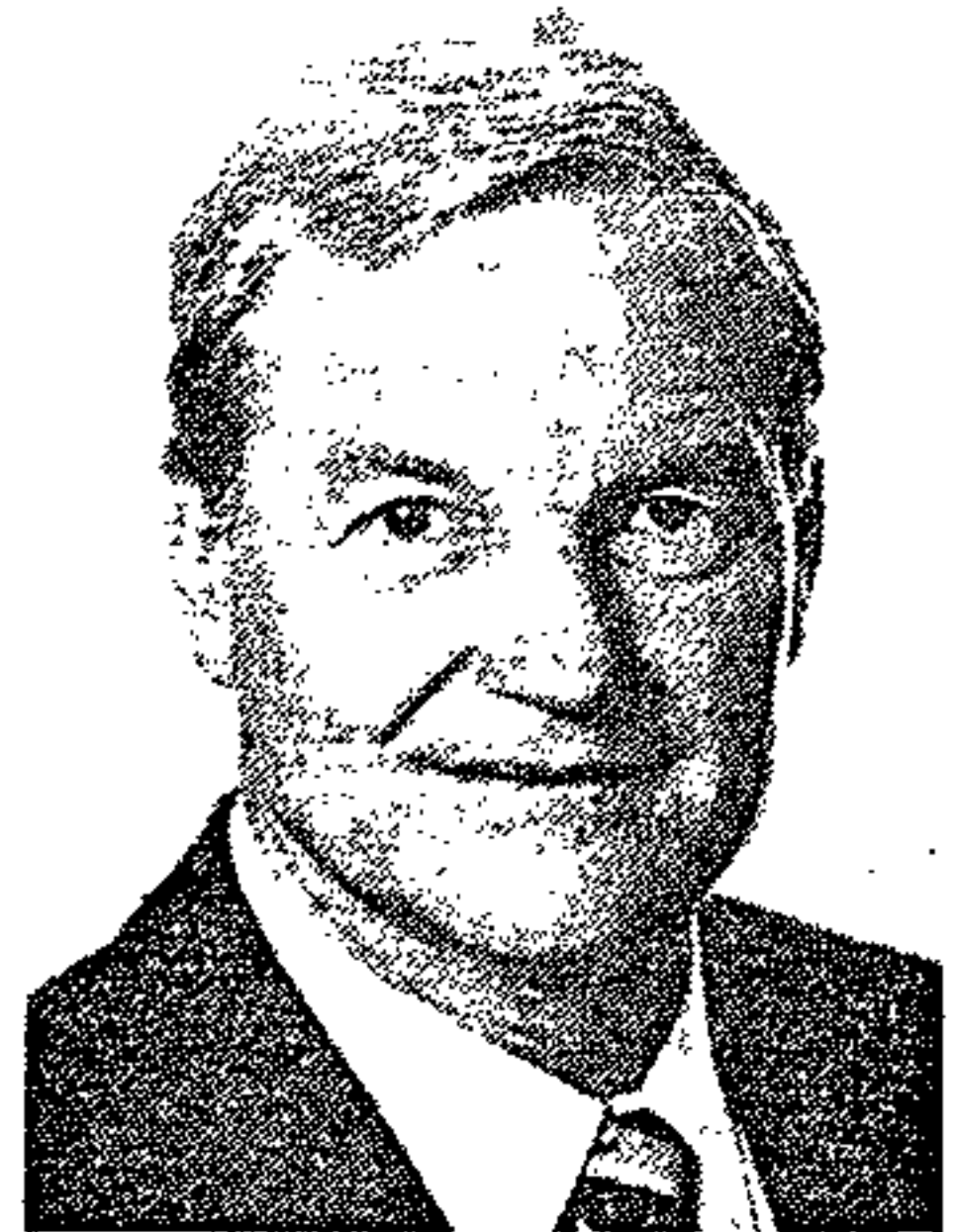
- * To dispense with bureaucratic formalities currently required to refer a dispute to an industrial council and apply for the formation of a conciliation board;

- * To extend the period in which such actions can be taken from 90 to 180 days;

- * To eliminate the requirement of a deadlock for such actions to be taken;

- * To make routine the formation of a conciliation board when an industrial council is not performing adequately;

- * To facilitate representatives of unregistered trade unions or employers' organisations sitting



A report ordered by Minister of Manpower Eil Louw influenced a proposed labour Bill.

on conciliation boards so that to do so they only need present a certificate of compliance with the Act;

- * To allow parties in a labour dispute to seek recourse from the Industrial Court within 90 days if an industrial council or conciliation board is making no headway;

- * To give the Industrial Court the right to determine alleged unfair labour practices;

The Bill is expected to become law within days, ending more than three years of controversy.

The CP has proposed amending the Bill, but the feeling close to Parliament is that it will go through as tabled.

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Breakthrough at crisis talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC last night achieved a breakthrough for peace, after crisis talks on ending the armed struggle and related activities such as mass action and Umkhonto we Sizwe mobilisation.

A joint statement issued by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela after a marathon all-day negotiation session at Westbrooke, confirmed that the two sides had finally managed to break the deadlock on the

government's chief obstacle to full-scale negotiations for a new constitution.

Once the government has completed its side of the bargain by releasing political prisoners and allowing the return of exiles, formal horse-trading for a new dispensation can begin in earnest.

The dramatic late-night statement confirmed that problems experienced by the joint ANC-government working group on activities related to the armed struggle had now been resolved.

It added that agreement had been

reached on "the most pertinent points" the working group had been attempting to resolve — the question of how to deal with ongoing MK activity inside South Africa and the thorny issue of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign.

The terse statement added: "It was agreed that there was a need for ongoing consultation within the working group (on armed action)."

"The cabinet and the National Executive Committee of the ANC will consider the document containing the agreement

and when approved, a full text will be released immediately."

The top-level crisis meeting was secretly arranged after efforts by the regular ANC-government working group appeared to falter after months of limited progress.

Yesterday's scheduled working group meeting was postponed until next week and in its place heavyweights on both the government and the ANC side were brought in to try and end the impasse.

The deadlock-breaking ANC delegation included Mr Mandela, MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, foreign affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, information director Mr Pallo Jordan and security chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

The government team included Mr De Klerk, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional

To page 2

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From page 1

Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Initially, both the government and the ANC declined to confirm that the meeting was in progress but after the Cape Times informed the State President's office that it had a picture of almost the entire ANC delegation, a statement was issued shortly afterwards confirming that talks led by the two leaders were in progress.

The originally clandestine summit was called to help defuse the apparently intractable problem of how armed action and related activities — prohibited in terms of paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute — ought to be defined.

The issue has been given added urgency since Mr Mandela's threat last week to use



TALKS . . . The ANC's Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hanani, left, and head of their international department, Mr Thabo Mbeki, arrive in the city on Wednesday night. *Cape Times 13/2/91* Picture: BENNY GOOL

mass mobilisation to make foreign investment unattractive in South Africa if the European Community went ahead with its commitment to lift sanctions once the government repealed the legal cornerstones of apartheid.

The ANC, which has declared 1991 the "year

of mass action", insisted that it has the right to resort to mass mobilisation tactics until such time as blacks had the vote and a new constitution had been negotiated.

The government maintains that many of the ANC's mass mobilisation initiatives go beyond the

acknowledged right of peaceful protest and often result in intimidation and violence.

Details of the agreement are expected to be released within the next week.

● Exiles meeting leaves both sides 'satisfied' — Page 5

No political takeover in South Africa, vows Barend

There would be no political takeover in South Africa, Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at an investment conference at the Carlton Hotel, Mr du Plessis said he envisaged a system of power sharing.

He warned that unless poverty in the townships was addressed urgently, no future government would be able to govern effectively.

"The responsibility of resolv-

ing this problem rests squarely on the shoulders of every leader in the country."

He said it was fair comment to say that violence in the townships could not be blamed on poverty on the one hand, while on the other hand there was the support for economic sanctions.

"You can't have your cake and eat it. These utterances need to be reconsidered."

Pointing out that political interaction in South Africa was

unique in the world, Mr du Plessis said a large number of players had suddenly been thrown into a political arena, consisting of some immature structures, to solve the country's problems.

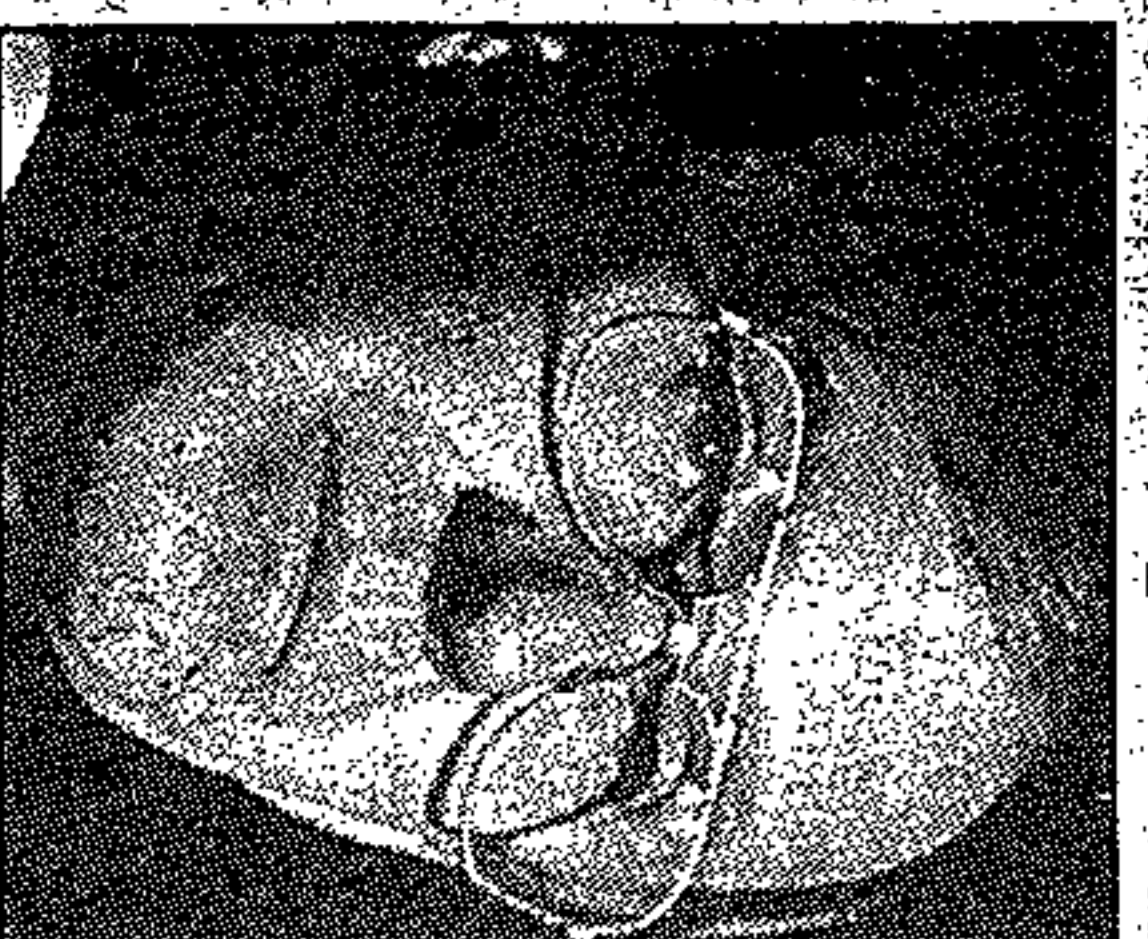
"Ultimately I believe, human chemistry will play a big role, and I believe, too, that all the leaders are sincere."

But the point of departure, which all must realise, is that socio-politically we have one of the most difficult countries in the world. We must expect to go

through hard times."

Mr du Plessis said he did not believe a one-party state would emerge in the new South Africa, but saw instead a number of political alliances being formed.

If the National Party wanted to survive intact in its present form, it should remain exclusive. But if it wanted to continue governing, it would have to open membership to all racial groups, Mr du Plessis added. — Sapa.



Barend du Plessis

Shaun Johnson reports from Cape Town on the DP response to Nationalist sweet-talk

They'd sooner go waltzing with the hyenas

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LIKE a debutante politely resisting the advances of an unwanted but mesmeric suitor, the Democratic Party this week wriggled its way through the opening stages of the parliamentary session.

The DP was repeatedly sweet-talked, gently chided and then praised paternalistically by the National Party. DP members ended up using most of their speaking time in the no-confidence debate responding to these various advances and attempting to make a case for the party's continuing relevance. It was a curious and discomfiting position for an opposition party, attack gave way, unavoidably, to defence.

The Government's underlying message was clear: DP policy did not differ substantially from its own, and even if it did the NP would not be much bothered. Inasmuch as the NP thought about the DP at all, it thought the party leadership should purge itself of liberal "leftist" elements and then "come on board" with the NP in the negotiation process.

President de Klerk and Mineral Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers introduced the "kill them with kindness" tactic in the early stages of the debate. The DP was "welcome to align itself next to us", said President de Klerk.

There were some people within the DP who "did not share (leader Dr Zach de Beer's) basic policies and beliefs" — this was a swipe at the seven DP members who joined the ANC march on Parliament on February 1 — but otherwise "the DP supports everything we do ... They just want us to go faster and do more".

This had indeed been the unifying theme in speech after DP speech, warmly welcoming President de Klerk's proposed reforms for the 1991 session.

In the debate the President's exploratory sortie against the DP's self respect was followed up by NP MP Andre Fourie.

"I want to place on record that we are indeed grateful to the Leader of the DP for expressing support for the Government's manifesto (for a New South Afri-

ca)", he said, "and I want to appeal to (DP members) to cut their alliance with the rigid left and come into the moderate centre of South African politics."

And so it went on — until the DP, unable to stand being thus patronised any longer, set about enunciating what it saw as the remaining crucial differences between itself and the NP.

Dr de Beer had noted early in the week that "the broad principles the NP has now adopted are the same that we have always stood for", but said the DP could not wholeheartedly back the Government against the Conservative Party's no-confidence motion because of several key areas of concern about Government policy. He wanted clarity from the NP on the matters of restoring trust in the police force, and commitment to proportional representation, federalism and the freeing of the judiciary.

DP MP Dave Dalling took up the theme: it was all very well to make declaratory policy statements, he said, but "after so many

years of apartheid, after so many years of enforced racial oppression and discrimination, the Government will be judged by its deeds rather than by its words ... It is clear the Government's words lag far behind its deeds".

This set the stage for the DP's Robin Carlisle, to whom fell the task of spelling out comprehensively why his caucus believed there was still a need for a DP separate from the NP.

"An invitation to come on board or come alongside (the NP), as was delivered by the State President, invites a respectful reply as to why we cannot do that," he said. "Let us bring a whiff of the realities of South Africa into this Chamber ... What this party asks the NP is the following: what are they going to do about the realities of apartheid? I do not mean the laws — in that regard we are impressed — but in the end the laws are symbolic in the current South Africa ...

"What are they going to do about the realities of many hundreds of thousands of alienated

and indeed brutalised young blacks? ... These realities come from the smashed families and smashed communities of the past 40 years. It has been 40 years of horrendous human engineering, six million people ripped violently from their homes, and often their land and property in effect stolen from them ..."

Before the DP would consider responding positively to the NP's advances, said Mr Carlisle, "they have to make progress with reconciliation, upliftment, and they have to start working on white voters".

"When they say and prove that they stand for a true, non-racial, liberal democracy ... When they say they stand for a productive and just economic system, for a style of politics that promotes stability and peaceful progress in all spheres, and rejects all forms of violence, intimidation, coercion and corruption, then they can send us a message.

"Until they can say that, with their hands on their hearts, this country will need the DP."

This DP case for its own existence is revealing: it is clear that there is little of real substance still distinguishing it from the stance of the "new" NP. But there remains fundamental and abiding mistrust nurtured over decades of NP rule. Simply put, the liberals of the DP just cannot believe that the reformist NP has developed a principled commitment to their values — therefore a liberal "watchdog" retains, for the moment, a role.

The importance of this personal political element should not be underestimated. Mr Carlisle's response to Mr Fourie was perhaps the most heartfelt of all the stated DP reasons for keeping the NP at arms length.

"We have heard soft and seductive noises ... towards us," he said. "This is very impressive and interesting stuff. However, then comes the Honourable Member for Turfontein (Mr Fourie) ... I have to tell that honourable member that most of us on this side would sooner waltz with a hyena than share a bench with him." □

Ethnicity must go in new plan, says Dhlomo

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THEO RAWANA

SA WOULD have to shun any constitutional plan that used ethnicity as a building block, former Inkatha general secretary and Institute for Multiparty Democracy chairman Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday. (204A)

Addressing a forum in Johannesburg hosted by Tribute Magazine, Dhlomo said this would have to be so until the wounds inflicted by apartheid, using ethnicity as a pretext, had started to heal.

"Few, if any, black South Africans are yet ready to accept the constitutional notion that ethnicity and apartheid are not two sides of the same coin," he said.

He said: "The NP took a human anthropological reality — ethnicity — and perverted it into a political ideology that sought to differentiate between, and discriminate against, people on the grounds of their ethnic origin.

"As if to underscore the inherent dishonesty of the political system it had devised, the NP strangely treated all whites as a single 'white ethnic group' regardless of whether they were Afrikaners, English, Germans, French, Portuguese, Italians, Jews and Greeks," Dhlomo said.

He said it was clear that apartheid, "justified by an abuse of ethnicity for political purposes" had had a profound effect on the question of ethnicity in SA.

Proposals expected to hasten end of apartheid bureaucracy

CAPE TOWN — The dismantling of apartheid's bureaucratic structures will progress further today when Cabinet ministers and senior officials meet to make recommendations to Cabinet.

The meeting follows the report of the committee of inquiry, headed by former auditor-general Joop de Loer, into the myriad of development agencies in SA.

It also follows the commitment made by President F W de Klerk to the rationalisation of government departments.

When he opened Parliament he said government was looking at interim arrangements to deal with problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially regarding education, housing, health and agriculture.

There was a serious need for fundamental rationalisation but with effective protection of standards and the rights of individuals and communities, De Klerk added.

Today's meeting, to be chaired by Administration and Economic Co-ordina-

Political Staff

tion Minister Wim de Villiers, will involve Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing Minister Hernus Kriel, Agriculture and Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers, Regional Development Minister Amie Venter and other senior officials.

Their rationalisation proposals are expected to be forwarded to the Cabinet soon and an April 1 deadline has been set for the proposals' implementation.

The Cabinet also has to decide whether to release the De Loer report, which, it is understood, has attacked the duplication of government structures and wasted costs, mainly in development work and housing.

This process is likely to lead to the dismantling of the bureaucratic jungle which has resulted in 19 education departments, 15 education ministers, 13 health ministers and 14 agriculture ministers.

It will lead to the gradual demise of 10 homeland and three "own affairs" administrations.

The Mandela and De Klerk act works again

B/Dan 14/2/91

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BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town

TUESDAY's breakthrough in negotiations between government and the ANC on the terms of suspending armed struggle represents another milestone on the inevitably bumpy road to peace.

The work of the armed action working group also provides a useful illustration of how negotiations tend to get bogged down but, more optimistically, how a way out can usually be found.

The so-called armed action working group was set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute to clarify the ANC's suspension of armed action and, most critically, "related activities". The minute also set out procedures for the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

The working group set out its agenda in an interim report on September 15.

It included matters like the presence of arms caches inside the country, the recruitment of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members for training outside SA, the status of trained cadres in the country, and mass action.

While agreement had been reached on the release of prisoners and the return of exiles, the process

ran into difficulties late last year when government started linking progress on releasing prisoners and indemnifying exiles to resolution of the "related activities" question.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee made the linkage official when he announced the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, scheduled to be completed by April 30 in terms of the agreement in the Pretoria Minute, could not proceed until the armed action working group had resolved its problems.

The ANC in turn said government was reneging on its commitment by dragging its feet on prisoners and exiles.

It said government's interpretation of "related activities" would be tantamount to the ANC abandoning, rather than merely suspending, armed struggle.

Government claimed the recruitment of cadres for military training outside the country and the retention of arms caches and certain forms of mass action were activities covered by the disputed definition.

The working group deadlocked on these issues and referred them to the principals — President F W de Klerk

and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. After several meetings between the two, the working group met and progress seemed to have been made. A two-man sub-committee made up of state constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and ANC security chief Jacob Zuma was appointed last month to pave the way for final agreement.

The two, sources say, made substantial progress. They reached agreement on compromise scenarios such as: cadres inside the country would hand in weapons at specified gathering points; there would be no infiltration of men or material; there would be no armed action against government.

In this scenario, the SAP would be entitled to arrest and prosecute offenders of these terms.

The two reported back last Tuesday, February 5. At that meeting, government sources say, ANC information director Pallo Jordan (at-

tending a working group meeting for the first time) and MK chief of staff Chris Hani sought substantially to redefine the terms of the group's work in a way which would imply a "renewing" of the September accord.

Government sources said they were shocked by the turnaround and "whereas the discussions used to be amiable they now turned openly aggressive and at one stage we had to call a halt to the meeting to cool temperatures".

ANC leaders also complained that police were arresting members who had not applied for nor been granted indemnity. "There was an apparent belief that because they were members of MK or the ANC they automatically could not be touched," one government source said.

However, Mandela told a media conference last Friday he had been forced to intervene more than once with senior police officers to get innocent or indemnified members — including, on one occasion, his own security guard — freed after they had been arrested by over-enthusiastic policemen.

International affairs head Thabo Mbeki and Zuma, who usually led the

talks and kept them on track, reportedly remained silent almost throughout the meeting.

Sources said Jordan and Hani appeared to come to the meeting with an entirely new brief. This is what led to the crisis meeting on Tuesday between Mandela and De Klerk.

It was left to the two to pull their respective teams in line and keep the negotiations on track.

The compromise reached between the two now paves the way for a major breakthrough to a multiparty conference.

It is understood the deal, to be announced once the Cabinet and the ANC NEC have approved it, includes ANC undertakings not to carry out armed attacks; infiltration of men and weapons would cease immediately, as would recruitment of cadres for military training; and that mass action would be conducted peacefully — although this has issue has not been finalised.

Government, in turn, will undertake to speed up procedures for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and to review security legislation.

LETTERS

SA, Russia may strengthen ties after meetings

8/10 am 14/12/91

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PATRICK BULGER

STRONGER ties between SA and Russia could result from a series of private meetings in the past few days between a visiting Russian group and SA businessmen and politicians.

The Russian delegation is headed by director-general of the Moscow-based International Projects Centre (IPC) Yuri Dubovitsky. His colleagues are IPC international director Alexander Romanov and director for international economic relations Andrew Zhdanov.

The IPC is a non-government, multipurpose organisation dealing with commercial and non-profit projects. Although reluctant to discuss details, the delegation said its visit was broadly based and took into account the possible setting up of political, cultural, economic and trade ties.

"We feel there are great opportunities in SA in many spheres," Dubovitsky said yesterday.

The Russians were in Cape Town last week, and had a long meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha. They also met Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer and senior officials of the Department of Trade and Industry.

In Johannesburg, they have met the SA Chamber of Business, Safto, and several businessmen, including Anglo American officials.

"We have been investigating the possibility of establishing relations in any sphere with SA, and feel that the prospects are good," said Dubovitsky. They had made many contacts, and these would be carried further on their return to Moscow.

Changes

Asked about the emphasis on Russia rather than the Soviet Union, Romanov said the federation was not under the same constraints as the Soviet government when it came to sanctions against SA. "The Russian government has never voted for sanctions," he said.

The Russians said great changes were taking place in Russia and SA, and closer relations between them were inevitable.

It seemed sensible to establish these as soon as possible.



Russians in town... taking in the sights of central Johannesburg yesterday were, from left: Andrey Zhdanov, Yuri Dubovitsky and Alexander Romanov. They are on a 10-day visit to SA.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

State should act, says CP

Sowetan 14/2/91 (304A)

THE State President owed it to South Africa to take immediate action to rectify the State's "scandalous" R30 billion obligation to cover pension fund shortages.

Conservative Party spokesman on finance Dr WJ Botha said in a statement yesterday there was something very wrong with the Government's handling of South Africa's money matters.

The proposed investigation of the shortfall should be completed as soon as possible and the findings published.

The Government spent R1 billion in the last Budget in an attempt to

eliminate the shortfall. At that pace it would take more than 30 years to sort out the problem.

In other first world countries a government would have had to resign over such a scandal and at the very least the Minister of Finance would have been fired, he said. - Sapa.

Commonwealth leaders gather on Saturday. Mike Siluma reports

Sceptics to meet SA supporters

SA 14/9/91

30/1/91

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's reform initiatives, having been endorsed by the European Community, will come under further international scrutiny when Commonwealth leaders meet in London on Saturday. But this time Pretoria can expect far fewer accolades.

The meeting, called especially to discuss South Africa, will be attended by members of the Commonwealth's Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, including foreign Ministers of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Last week EC foreign Ministers, meeting in Brussels, promised to lift the ban on imports of iron, steel, coal and Kruggerands as soon as President de Klerk carries out his pledge to abolish the Group Areas, the Land and the Population Registration Acts. The EC decision is the result of

pressure, mainly in Europe, for the relaxation of anti-apartheid sanctions in the light of changes brought about by Mr de Klerk.

But in sharp contrast, South Africa's closest neighbours in the Frontline states have taken a more sceptical view of events.

After a heated two-day meeting in Harare the heads of state decided that maintaining sanctions would help Mr de Klerk withstand right-wing pressure and fulfill his promise to scrap remaining apartheid laws.

Their position — generally expected to be adopted by the OAU — will influence discussion within the Commonwealth, of which at least three Frontline states are members.

It is likely to put the African states on a collision course with Commonwealth members such as Britain and Australia, who are de-

termined to persuade the 50-nation group to relax pressure on Pretoria.

British Prime Minister John Major (having successfully fought for a relaxation of EC sanctions in December) has already indicated his desire to see the Commonwealth follow suit.

Shortly after Mr de Klerk's speech on February 1, Mr Major urged the Commonwealth secretary-general, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, to review the question of sanctions with a view to dropping them as soon as possible.

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke is heading a drive to readmit SA to international sport.

Starting with its expulsion of South Africa in 1961, the Commonwealth has been at the forefront of the international campaign to isolate SA. Commonwealth sanctions have

included, in addition to the 1977 Gleneagles ban on sporting contacts, the prohibition of arms and oil exports, as well as the importation of South African agricultural products and Kruggerands.

In 1986 the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was charged with initiating dialogue towards the establishment of a democratic government in South Africa.

The EPG concluded after its visit to South Africa that conditions for dialogue did not exist. It called for the intensification of sanctions — a position backed by the last Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in 1989.

Saturday's meeting will have to decide if the De Klerk government has done enough for the Commonwealth to throw its weight behind those pushing for the relaxation of pressure on Pretoria. — The Star Bureau. □

US Ambassador William Swing looks at developments in SA

Time for a new social

See 14491

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Contracy

MOST of the current public debate in South Africa focuses on a new constitution. Important as the constitutional negotiations are to a new future, there are two other areas which will — in my view — significantly determine whether democracy can be built in South Africa, given the valuable years apartheid has squandered.

These are: the issue of the shape of a future economy; and whether or not a democratic ethos can be created to support a new social contract.

Given the economic recession, any optimism, of course, is not unqualified.

Although apartheid may be withering away, its heritage will unfortunately be felt for a long time to come: five percent of South Africans (nearly all white) own 88 percent of the total wealth; seven million South Africans live in sub-standard housing; function-

al illiteracy among blacks tops 60 percent; up to six million South Africans of all races are unemployed or underemployed.

While these statistics document an absence of justice in this country's economy, they also illustrate a lack of growth.

The stagnation in South Africa's economy results from a history of structural problems, including an absence of skilled labour; high tax rates to pay for apartheid's overhead costs; a concentration of economic power in large conglomerates and the Government; an over-reliance on a protectionist trade policy; and financial sanctions.

In sum, the root cause of South Africa's low economic growth has been the creation of artificial structures to maintain apartheid and the failure to incorporate up to 80 percent of the population fully into the economy.

The challenge now is how to encourage both equity and growth in South Africa's economy. Fortunately,

there appears to be a new flexibility among the participants in the economic debate, so that discussion is moving away from the "capitalisation versus nationalisation" confrontation and is beginning to focus on the exercise of economic power by the Government, private sector and labour in the post-apartheid economy.

Government, business and the political opposition are finally talking to each other about the needs of a post-apartheid society and the resources available to meet those needs, without the ideological baggage of the past.

This discussion is of crucial importance because a successful future economic policy requires maintaining a balance between commitment and resources.

It is becoming obvious that the primary economic resources for the new South Africa will have to come from within, for a while at least.

South Africa will no doubt bene-

fit from a post-apartheid dividend, as it eliminates repetitive social systems, reduces spending on defence and security and saves the costs of circumventing sanctions.

The opportunities will be there. The huge pent-up demand for housing, education and hospitals, for example, offers enormous potential for private and public enterprise in the country — with one important condition: the future prosperity of South Africa will come not from the exploitation of black labour, but from the fulfilment of black needs.

There will inevitably be costs, some say as high as \$15 billion, in new investment in social needs each year for the foreseeable future. Inflation is likely to increase during a post-apartheid period, foreign debt will be built up and standards of living for some will decline. Many ask the question: "Can South Africa afford to make these investments in a new economic order?"

The more penetrating question is perhaps: "Can South Africa afford not to?"

Peaceful negotiations require stability and one thing South Africa certainly cannot afford is to allow political violence to overwhelm the culture of dialogue.

Each year the United States honours the memory of one of its most celebrated citizens, Dr Martin Luther King, Jr, with a national holiday. Dr King argued that political violence "is both impractical and immoral".

"It is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all ... immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue."

The culture of dialogue, the culture of tolerance, must be established and maintained above all in South Africa, for only when differences of political opinion are al-

lowed, only when it is accepted that people of goodwill may disagree, can a society prosper.

Dr King believed it crucial to know the other's point of view, for then "if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition".

One way of encouraging the culture of dialogue is by supporting broadly inclusive negotiations which incorporate all elements of the political spectrum in South Africa.

We Americans thus urge all those still outside the negotiating process to join in. Whatever their proposals for South Africa's future, we encourage them to seek their objectives through the process of dialogue and political change, so South Africa might "profit from the wisdom of the brothers".

● This is a shortened version of an article published in the South African magazine, *Tribute*. □

UK Minister encouraged by her consultations in SA

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

British Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker yesterday concluded her three-day visit to South Africa and said she was greatly encouraged by recent political developments in the country.

Addressing a press conference at the British Consulate in Johannesburg, Mrs Chalker said she was leaving South Africa a lot more hopeful about the country's future than she had ever been after her previous two visits.

"I really am encouraged in a way that I have never been before because the Government, the ANC and other organisations and parties

are determined to make progress," she said.

Mrs Chalker said that after a meeting with President de Klerk and the Cabinet she had "absolutely no doubt that they are really serious" about ending apartheid.

She had extended an invitation from John Major to Mr de Klerk and Nelson Mandela to each visit 10 Downing Street as soon as it was convenient for them.

Mrs Chalker visited numerous British-aided projects in this country and improved her government's financial commitment to them.

This includes another R1 million a year for three years for rural development projects.

The new assistance is designed to help Opera-

tion Hunger support small-scale black farms and expand support for self-help projects in rural areas.

Britain has provided R150 000 a year for the past three years for self-help projects in rural areas of the eastern Cape and Natal.

It has also contributed R320 000 for emergency relief for people made homeless by the violence in Natal and on the East Rand.

On Tuesday, Mrs Chalker announced that R93 000 would be given to the self-help campaign Disabled People South Africa, an organisation which helps to give black disabled the skills and confidence to cope with their disability.

What the Nats are saying

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power, subject to two important qualifications.

THE protection of minorities must be interwoven into the entire structure of the constitution, and not be restricted to a specific chapter of the document, says Dr Tertius Delpont, deputy minister of Constitutional Development.

He was responding to a question on the National Party's reasons for not favouring the Westminster system of government.

"There are other systems which bring minorities into parliament. The Westminster system excludes minorities—a 49 percent minority can be left without representation in parliament."

Interviewed on issues surrounding the negotiation process and the National Party's attitude to a new constitution, Delpont says he sees "no timetable at present".

Constituent Assembly

Delpont says the government rejects the ANC call for a constituent assembly as it will preempt real negotiations. Any party that enters an election for a constituent assembly must surely state what its policy is, both on negotiations and on the final outcome of the constitution.

"They will obtain a mandate on this basis and will not, therefore, be free to arrive at any form of compromise in the negotiation process."

Constituent assembly elections would thus be detrimental to that process. Delpont sees no problem with the government playing "both referee and player" in the negotiation process.

What is the National Party, the other "main actor" on the South African political stage, really saying about the country's constitutional future?

A definite "no" is a constituent assembly. A definite "yes" is the maximum devolution of power, according to the NP's Tertius Delpont, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development. He was interviewed by Rory Riordan:

"Our position in South Africa is quite different from the sort of situation that calls for an interim government. The NP is a legitimate government which has shown its willingness to embark on reform—a position virtually the entire world accepts."

"These factors add up to a situation that is completely different from one of a government refusing to reform or one of a government putting obstacles in the way of the reform process."

Delpont says the concept of a unitary or federal state in a new South Africa is "unhelpful".

"Even in a unitary state one can devolve power to second-tier government or even to third-tier government. Depending on the extent of the devolution, a unitary state will, correctly, become a federal state."

"I'm not going to argue about whether we should rather have a unitary or a federal state—what I say, rather, is that we must have a maximum devolution of

power, subject to two important qualifications. "Firstly, one must not devolve power that cannot be adequately exercised for want of skilled manpower at the lower level; and secondly, devolution must be accompanied by acceptable levels of funding of lower level government," says Delpont.

He agrees to a bill of rights, an independent judiciary and the end of racial discrimination. He is also in favour of proportional representation, but qualifies it.

"There are many possible models—national, regional and local. Regional and local could be more workable in South Africa, I think."

On the possible scenario of a future coalition government, Delpont says: "Coalition is a sophisticated form of government, the radical opposition of majority domination."

"I prefer a system of enforced coalition to one of majority domination."

Constitutional Court

The extent to which a constitutional court will be needed, in his view, will depend on how the constitution, the laws and the statutes are framed.

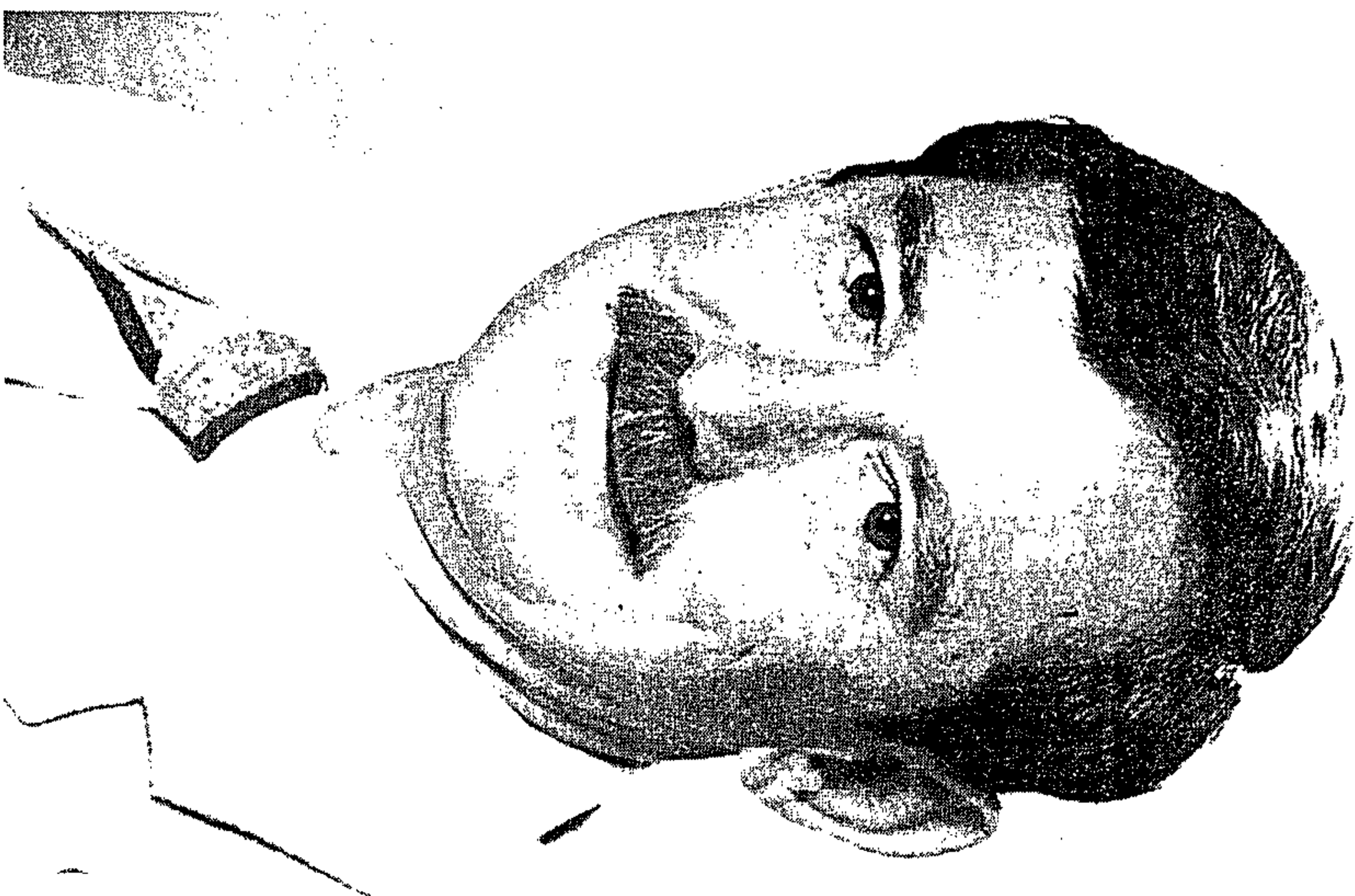
"In America, where they have a code of laws, the courts can play a very dynamic role in interpreting the constitution. But we have a history of writing statutes in the minutest detail, which makes such interpretation much less possible, less valuable."

"Whether we need a constitutional court or not will depend on how we plan to write our laws."

What would the NP do if, under a new constitution, the ANC won the election and proposed joint government?

"The president has already answered that, when he said he would be willing to serve under Nelson Mandela."

—Adapted from Monitor



Tertius Delpont, deputy minister of Constitutional Affairs

ANC warns government on obstacles to talks

THE ANC this week delivered a blunt message to the government at their Cape Town talks: No All Party Conference (APC) until there is a "meaningful compliance" with the removal of the obstacles to negotiations. ^{50 MK - 26/2/91}

ANC sources said while most of the discussion focused on the functioning of "Working Group 3", established in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute to look at the activities of the movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), a broad range of issues were raised.

The ANC's delegation included deputy president Nelson Mandela, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, foreign affairs

spokesperson Thabo Mbeki, the head of information and publicity, Pello Jor-
dan, security chief Jacob Zuma and ANC Western Cape executive member, ad-
vocate Dullah Omar. ^{304 H}

The government's delegation was headed by president FW de Klerk and included Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Gerrit Viljoen.

Agreement was reached at the talks on "most of the pertinent points", according to a statement by both parties.

Sources said the government apparently expressed its dissatisfaction about the activities of MK which it claimed continued to mobilise and train cadres.

It also felt that the ANC's programme of mass action was not in compliance with the "spirit and letter" of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

A source said while certain matters were resolved and undertakings given by both sides, the ANC conveyed it "loud and clear" that it would not participate in the proposed APC if the government failed to remove the obstacles to negotiations.

"The general expectation that the ANC will participate in the APC, no matter what, is totally wrong."

"The scrapping of security legislation like the Internal Security Act will no doubt be the next major issue which will make or break this peace process," an ANC source said.

Dying apartheid's doyen to be honoured

PRETORIA — While apartheid crumbles, Pretoria is to get a new monument to the policy's leading architect.

The city council has agreed that a monument to former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd should be erected as part of a new R214m city centre development.

A council spokesman insisted yesterday the monument would be in recognition of Verwoerd's part in leading SA towards becoming a republic, and not for his role in designing "grand apartheid".

The monument will be erected on part of a three-stage development bounded by

GERALD REILLY

Church, Vermeulen, Van der Walt and Prinsloo streets.

Just a stone's throw from the intended site is the huge bust of Verwoerd's predecessor, Hans Strijdom.

Private sector organisations which will be responsible for financing two of the project's three stages want to call the area Sammy Marks Square after the friend and confidante of President Paul Kruger.

A council spokesman said last night the

city's place names committee would decide what to call the square in which the monument would be situated.

City planning director Fritz Kraehmer said the Hendrik Verwoerd Trust would make the final decision on whether to erect a statue or some other form of monument. The trust would also pay for it.

Sapa reports Kraehmer said the council would look ridiculous if it refused to have the square named after Verwoerd.

"If we are to denigrate previous politicians, we'll have to pull down buildings, bridges and hospitals," Kraehmer said.

US will make no promises on action to recognise SA reforms

WASHINGTON — The US administration is making no promises on which sanctions it will seek congressional approval to lift once Pretoria has met the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's remaining conditions, a senior official indicated yesterday.

He said the decision was a "political" one, suggesting that much would depend on how President George Bush read the domestic political climate when the time came.

Other officials said the administration was extremely nervous of signalling its intentions before it had fully consulted Congress.

They hoped that the final release of political prisoners and the promised repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts would, when implemented, create an entirely new atmosphere here.

Until then, however, it was too ear-

SIMON BARBER

ly to predict what course the Bush administration would take.

They specifically denied a wire service report that the administration planned to seek an end to the bans on SA agricultural products and landing rights.

Neither would it ask for a waiver to enable US companies in SA to make new investments there, once political prisoners were free.

Consensus

They said this was just one idea of many being tossed around in the administration.

The repeal of the two Acts and the release of prisoners would mean that the SA government had met all the CAAA's conditions, thus enabling the president to lift all the Act's sanctions plus the Rangel double taxation

amendment by executive order.

However, the senior official left it unclear whether Bush would actually do this.

He suggested that there was "an emerging consensus" that sanctions repeal, whatever form it finally took, would be packaged as an effort to "promote growth" to help address housing, education and other economic priorities.

He said that even now, SA was entitled to request an IMF loan so long as it met the conditions laid out in the so-called Gramm amendment which obliges the US representative at the fund to oppose such a loan unless it is specifically designed to ease the economic constraints created by apartheid.

He added that it would be "politically easier" to support such a loan once the terms of the CAAA had been fulfilled.

No Winnie trial, no talks - AWB

IF witnesses in the Winnie Mandela court case did not testify, it would mean law and order had failed under the force of the ANC, said AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche last night.

He was addressing about 1 800 cheering supporters in the Alberton town hall.

If trial did not go ahead, Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok should tell the organisation "no, more talks", said Mr Terre'Blanche. Terre'Blanche dwelt for some time on how the

ANC had postponed the court case with Mrs Mandela's trips overseas.

A group of supporters greeted his challenge to the security police.

"Come and get me, you buggers. I know you want me, but I'm innocent. I've done nothing illegal."

He also demanded amnesty for all whites in jail.

During the address, he once more called for a "mighty, united white action front to fight the anti-Christ in the name of God" and said the day the government capitulated to the ANC was the

day the AWB turned to violence.

Commandant-General Servaas de Wet, leader of the AWB commando, issued several pleas for people to join the commando or give money.

"We don't need fence-sitters, traitors or cowards."

"We have one choice: fight or die. And it is our last chance."

After the meeting, AWB officials rattled red buckets for change at the exits.

Sowetan Correspondent

THE NEXT MOVE 304A

Having again secured the moral high ground with his opening of parliament speech, President F W de Klerk is planning a new reformist thrust to put government above party ideology. He wants to draw a clear distinction between government and the NP in the pending constitutional talks.

The plan centres on the restructuring of executive function and the creation of a high-powered Nat negotiating team.

With apartheid no longer the basis of Nat policy, government is set to become a "neutral" function aimed solely at the day-to-day running of the country and, if necessary, the implementation of interim measures agreed to by negotiators at multi-lateral talks.

De Klerk apparently doesn't want government itself to be represented at the proposed multi-party talks, but rather the NP as one of a number of participants with equal status.

The idea is to place government above the negotiating process and provide an incentive for extra-parliamentary leaders to participate in and share responsibility for legislative and executive functions during the negotiation phase.

Senior Nats believe a multi-party confer-



Du Plessis ... could follow in Pik's shoes

ence will be convened before the end of the year and are already speculating on Cabinet changes to accommodate De Klerk's plans.

Precise details of what De Klerk has in mind are unknown, but informed speculation among parliamentarians and government officials is painting a picture in which:

- A number of senior ministers will be creamed off to form the nucleus of the NP's negotiating team; and
- Competent technocrats will be brought into Cabinet from outside party politics to streamline and manage ideology-free State departments.

The most likely ministerial candidates for the NP team are Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Education & Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe. These men would resign from Cabinet (but not parliament, to avoid by-elections) and devote all their efforts to negotiations.

Foreign Affairs could be given to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. His replacement could be parliamentary finance committee chairman Francois Jacobsz.

Viljoen's Constitutional Development post could go to his deputy Roelf Meyer, who is regarded as the fastest rising star in the NP and is widely tipped as a future leader of the party. The Justice Ministry could be given to Coetsee's deputy, Danie Schutte, and Van der Merwe's deputy Piet Marais could get his post.

It is also being speculated that the Speaker, Louis le Grange, who is recovering from a heart by-pass operation and subsequent complications, will step down. He could then remain an MP to avoid a by-election in the marginal Potchefstroom seat, or retire and almost certainly concede the seat to the CP.

Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, a former Chairman of Committees — in effect the deputy Speaker — could then be appointed Speaker. An amiable man, Vlok is considered in some quarters to be soft on the SA Police and incapable of restoring credibility to the force.

It is suggested that Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs & National Housing, could take Vlok's place. Kriel has a reputation for toughness. Kriel's post could

go to his deputy Tertius Delpont, another of the rising Nat stars and a driving force behind moves to reform local government.

There is also speculation that Water Affairs & Forestry Minister Gert Kotze will retire and be replaced by Own-Affairs Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk. Administration & Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers, who was brought into Cabinet as a technocrat 18 months ago, could also retire.

A more immediate move will be the replacement of Trade & Industry & Tourism Minister Kent Durr. He leaves this month to become Ambassador in London. His deputy, Theo Alant, is a favourite for the post. Amie Venter was initially seen as a possible successor to Durr, but he was subsequently promoted to Regional Development Minister and is unlikely to move again — unless the two portfolios are merged.

There is also speculation that more outsiders may be brought into the Cabinet. An offer of the Trade & Industry portfolio to DP leader Zach de Beer was mentioned as a definite possibility by one senior Nat. The chance of any credible black leader accepting a Cabinet post at this stage appears remote.

De Klerk's focus will be on negotiations and the composition and functioning of the Nat negotiating team will be crucial. He will want a Cabinet capable of running the country in a manner that creates a climate conducive to successful talks and many of the younger men in line for posts should at least be able to do that.

The exception may be Finance: would it be wise to remove Barend du Plessis at this stage?

But no deal on weapons

PETER FABRICIUS
and PAT DEVEREAUX

THE Government has agreed to allow home the bulk of ANC exiles, in exchange for an ANC undertaking to abandon the training of military cadres inside the country and to stop "war talk".

This is the essence of the agreement reached between the ANC and the Government this week and released yesterday.

The two sides did not agree on the thorny issue of what to do about ANC arms inside the country.

The ANC has clearly not agreed to hand in its arms — and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has made it absolutely clear that police will continue to arrest ANC cadres for illegal possession of arms.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee indicated at a press conference that the Government had agreed to speed up the process of releasing prisoners and indemnifying exiles.

But the Government's major quid pro quo for concessions by the ANC on the armed struggle, was an agreement on unqualified indemnity for exiles who had received military training — but had not put it into practice recently.

He said that he was liaising with the ANC to find a formula for granting indemnity to exiles who had received military training "but who for a considerable time have not been militarily involved".

This could benefit about 80 percent of the ANC's estimated 40 000 exiles.

Target

Mr Coetsee said that as a result of the agreement the target date of April 30 for the release of all political prisoners and return of exiles was still attainable — provided the Government got the necessary co-operation from the ANC.

He said he thought the Government would get this co-operation.

It was possible that further categories of political offenders could be released and indemnified.

In a statement Mr Coetsee said that in view of the progress made this week towards finalising the ANC's agreement to suspend armed actions and related activities, it was now possible to proceed with the release of political prisoners and indemnification of exiles "in a phased manner" as agreed in the Pretoria Minute.

He pointed out that:

- That 262 "security" prisoners had already been released administratively since February 1 last year.

● TO PAGE 2.

Accord

● FROM PAGE 1.

- A further 760 applications for release from prison were now in an advanced stage.

- Some might be released because they fell clearly within the guidelines for political offences.

- The State President had confirmed yesterday that he had granted a special remission of sentence to seven such prisoners on Robben Island who would be released within the next few days.

- 2 092 exiles had already received indemnity for leaving the country unlawfully.

- In addition tens of thousands of people who had merely belonged to previously unlawful organisations, qualified for unconditional indemnity.

- Although it had been rumoured that large numbers of people required indemnity, only 3 500 applications had been received.

- The indemnity and release provisions were available not only to the ANC but also to other organisations and individuals — depending on their "involvement with the negotiation process" and with seeking peaceful solutions.

Mr Coetsee said that a committee chaired by the Department of Home Affairs was co-ordinating efforts to smooth the return of exiles and would provide the ANC's exile committee with a welfare number so it could raise public funds for re-settling exiles.

He said the Govern-

suspend all attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices and the suspension of all acts of infiltration of men and material."

He could not say whether this move had cleared the air for full scale negotiations. "But each step gets us closer," said Dr Jordan.

The ANC has also undertaken not to create any new underground military structures and to cease all military training of combatants inside South Africa, he said.

But he added that MK training would continue outside the country "in order to transform an army made up of guerrillas into a more conventional army".

Dr Jordan said that the army in a future democracy would draw its personnel from all quarters.

Asked what would become of Umkhonto We-Sizwe cadres, he said the ANC believed that a phased process would be initiated in order to enable ANC cadres to resume their normal lives and to facilitate and legalise control over arms.

"Our understanding is that the security forces will now cease to ferret out underground people in keeping with the spirit of the agreement," said Dr Jordan. But he declined to comment on how this would affect the ANC's "red pimpernel", Ronnie Kasrils.

On the question of footdragging with respect to agreements already reached, he said according to the Human Rights Commission there were up to 3 226 political prisoners but the Government has

Govt, ANC agree on 'war talk' and exiles

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ment was still holding discussions with the United Nations High Commission of Refugees about a possible role for it in the return of the exiles.

"I think we are making progress towards negotiation and removing excuses for people not to obey the law.

"We are moving towards a situation where the obstacles to negotiation are being removed one by one.

"We need a total and complete submission to the law."

No further armed actions by the African National Congress and its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe will take place, said the ANC at a Johannesburg press conference last night.

In a statement released simultaneously with the Government's, the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan, said: "The ANC has agreed to

only released 10 percent of those — most of whom had completed most of their sentences.

Asked what the ANC had gained in this round of talks he said: "On its part the Government has accepted that the use of force to gain greater leverage over the transition process is illegitimate and that it shall henceforth respect the right of all South Africans to peacefully assemble to express their views, their grievances and their political or social aspirations, through various forms of mass action."

He added: "In recognition of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, the Government has undertaken to instruct its security services and counter-insurgency units, in keeping with the spirit of this agreement, to desist from harassment of ANC members and supporters and members of Umkhonto weSizwe."

Let's vote and vote again on reforms

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Star 16/2/91

ANOTHER secret meeting in Cape Town this week between FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

As usual, ahead of the meeting came reports of a serious rift between the Government and the ANC. Crisis hung in the air.

While the meeting was taking place, officials were their normal tight-lipped selves.

As usual, once it was over, there followed an announcement that everything was back on track.

The two leaders continue their intricate minuet.

But hold on for a moment. I would like to know where and when and how this political dance is going to end.

Mr de Klerk has, it is true, a broad-based mandate for reform. But broad-based is what it is, and very lacking in specifics.

Worlds apart

Does Mr de Klerk understand the same thing by the word "reform" as Mr Mandela? They certainly appear to be worlds apart on other matters, like the economy, so it is reasonable to assume that the reform programme of the one man may be very different from that of the other.

More to the point, do you and Mr de Klerk agree on what he means by reform? You do, he says, if you voted for his party at the last election.

Well, reform is a nice word.

It makes you feel warm inside, so

Notebook

CHRIS GIBBONS



of course you voted for that nice Mr de Klerk.

But you still don't know what he means by it.

At least Mr de Klerk has a mandate of sorts. He has been to the polls carrying his reform banner.

Which is more than can be said for Mr Mandela.

Not that he had much opportunity, locked up on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor for all those years.

But is Nelson Mandela the universal leader of the black community that his supporters claim him to be? His policies have never been tested at the polls.

Sooner or later they will be. As will those of Mr de Klerk. There will be an election held under an intense international spotlight.

People who have never voted in their lives will do so for the first time.

The pressure will be intense. Intimidation will be rife. Voters will certainly reflect ethnic divisions.

And we will be stuck with whatever the outcome, however imperfect.

To avoid this one-off, winner-take-all situation, let me offer the following suggestion.

Go to the polls now. And go again and again and again.

Introduce to South Africa right away the concept of the referendum.

Should mass action be in the Pretoria Minute? Vote on it. Define mass action? No, rather put the concept to the vote.

Vote on each and every little proposal. Let individual parties have access to the voting mechanism to test support for their own policies.

Do you support nationalisation or deregulation? Vote on it.

Clear mandates

In this way, those who take part in the negotiation process will have very clear mandates. The non-voting part of South Africa will come to know the mechanisms of democracy.

The intimidators will certainly influence the first pool and the second. But the one after that and the one after that?

By holding a whole series of referenda, we will also shape for ourselves, bit by bit, a new constitution, rather than hoping that de Klerk and Mandela chance to get it right.

We will avoid, too, the finality of a constituent assembly or single ballot based on one, highly complex set of proposals.

You don't like this idea?

Let's put it to the vote.



TERTIUS DELPORT



ROELF MEYER



DANIE SCHUTTE



LEON WESSELS



'Deputies' ride bes

They're the Government's slightly secret weapons.

With the negotiations process about to get under way in earnest, President de Klerk has put in place a team of strongly reformist Deputy Ministers — dubbed the National Party's "Bright Youngish Things" by one opposition MP — to provide authoritative backup for their principals, the high-profile "negotiators" in Government ranks.

They form a second "inner circle", not well known to the public but highly influential in national politics nevertheless.

The NP has thereby attempted to instal a layer of talent just below Cabinet level, able to operate with some authority in the wider negotiations process, and within the NP itself. It is an open secret that the party's backbenches are not brimming with talent, which makes the role of the Deputy Ministers doubly important.

Five in inner circle help carry forward flag

A team of at least five relatively young deputies, some appointed only very recently, stands out as this historic session of Parliament gets under way in Cape Town. They are likely to become well-known names as the negotiations process unfolds.

The five are Tertius Delpoit and Roelf Meyer in Constitutional Affairs, Danie Schutte in Justice, Leon Wessels in Foreign Affairs and Johan Scheepers in Law and Order.

They come out of a strikingly similar mould. All are Afrikaans-speakers, qualified lawyers (most having practised as advocates), who served their political apprenticeships in student politics before being elected to Parliament. They then rose through the party ranks via appointments to key standing committees — most notably that on Constitutional Development, the intellectual cauldron within which much of the thinking behind

South Africa's startling political changes has taken place.

● Mr Delpoit, at 52 the oldest of the five, is playing an increasingly important role in debates in the Chamber. Born in Humansdorp in the eastern Cape, he studied at Stellenbosch — he was vice president of the then-influential Afrikaanse Studentebond — and went on to achieve a professorship in Law at the University of Port Elizabeth. He entered Parliament in 1987 as the member for Sundays River.

After the 1989 general election he was appointed to the committees on Justice and Constitutional Development, as well as to the chairmanship of the committee on Foreign Affairs and Development Aid. On May 8 1990 he became Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs and on November 14 had Constitutional Affairs added to his portfolio, thus falling under Min-

ister Gerrit Viljoen.

● Mr Meyer (44), one of the better-known "second tier" Ministers, was born in Port Elizabeth and studied at the University of the Orange Free State. He practised law in the late 1970s, before being elected to Parliament as member for Johannesburg West in 1979. He was soon appointed to influential standing committees, including Constitutional Development, and served as an NP Whip.

In 1986 he undertook the first of a series of deputy ministerships: Law and Order, Constitutional Development and Planning (1988), Constitutional Development and National Education (1989) and Constitutional Development exclusively in March

last year. A close confidant of Mr Viljoen, the Government's "chief negotiator" and strategist, he has developed markedly in terms of his own confidence and authority. He can now be regarded as a lynchpin of the Government's extended team dealing with negotiations.

● Mr Schutte (42) is Pretoria-born and completed his LL.B at the University of Stellenbosch. He practised as an advocate in Maritzburg, and was elected NP MP for Maritzburg North in 1977. His rise to the deputy ministry of Justice under Minister Kobie Coetsee was slower than that of some of his colleagues — he was appointed in September 1988 — but he had previously played an important role on the standing committee on Justice.

● Mr Scheepers (43) hails from Bedford four in the Transvaal and studied at Unisa and the University of Pretoria.

Star 16/2/91
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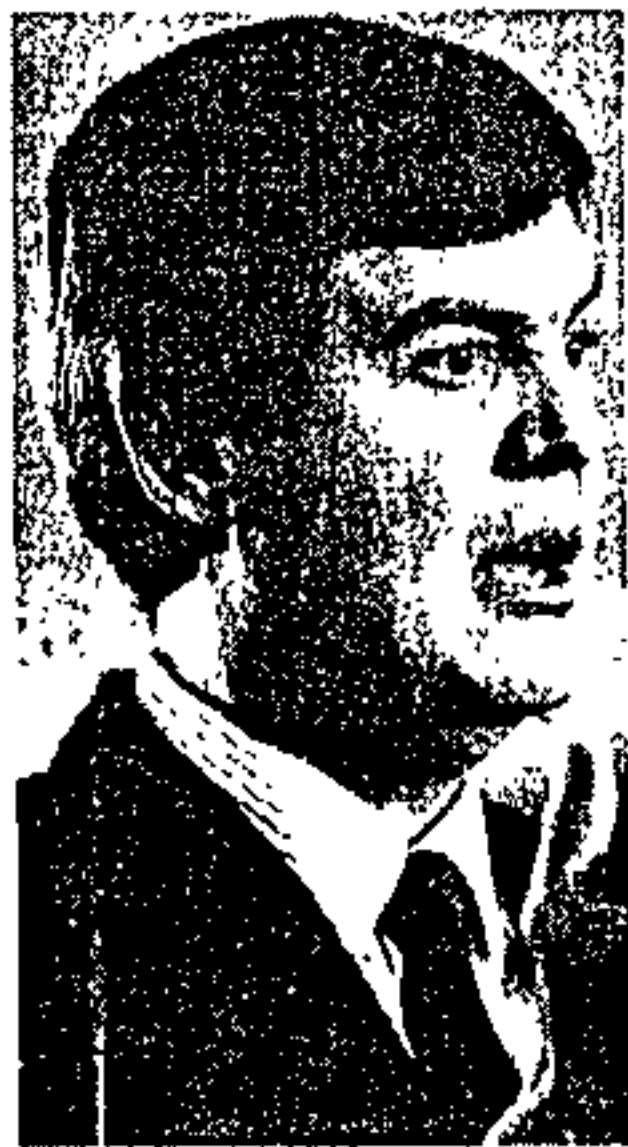
SPECTRUM



ROELF MEYER



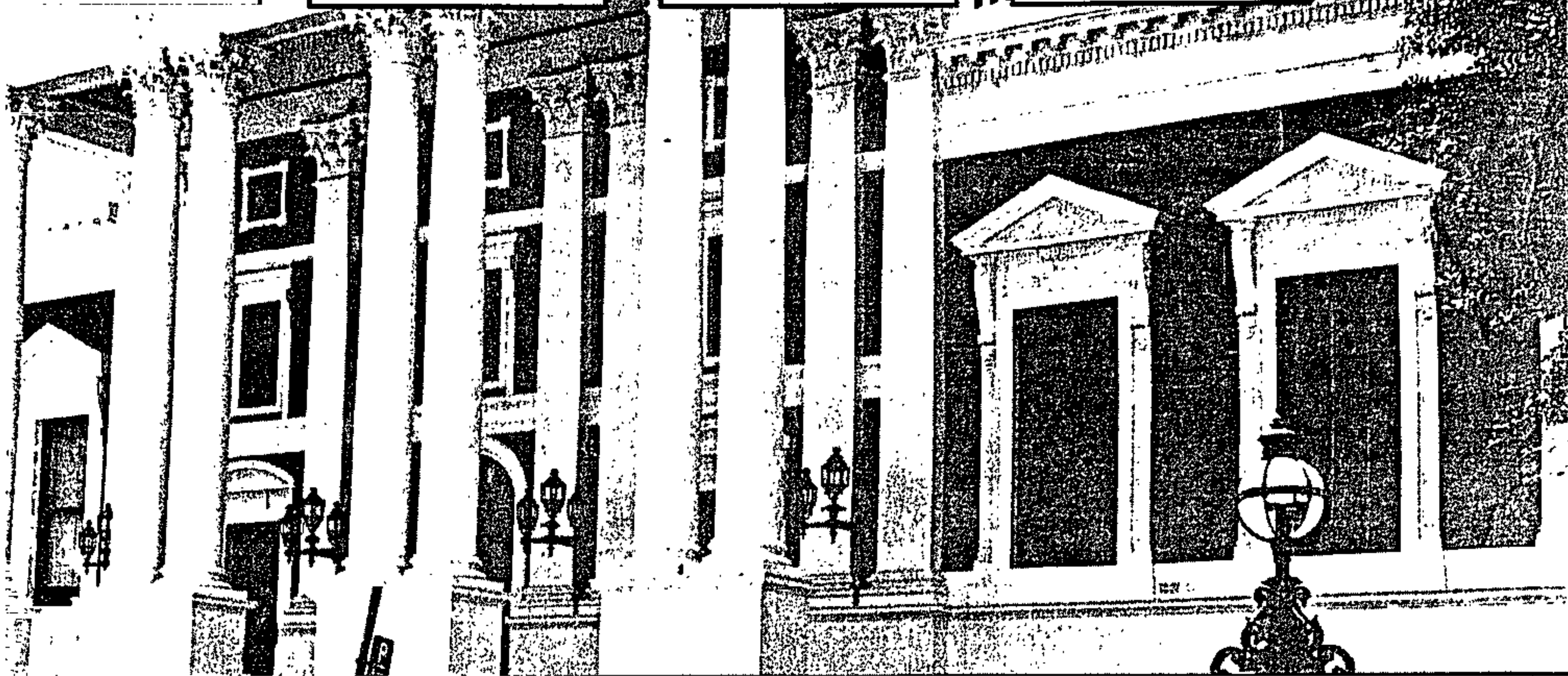
DANIE SCHUTTE



LEON WESSELS



JOHAN SCHEEPERS



s' ride beside FW

circle help carry forward flag of reform

Star 16/2/91
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ister Gerrit Viljoen.

Africa's startling political has taken place.

Delpont, at 52 the oldest of the is playing an increasingly important role in debates in the Chamber. Born in Humansdorp in the east-Cape, he studied at Stellenbosch. He was vice president of the then-Afrikaanse Studentebond. He went on to achieve a professional qualification in Law at the University of Port Elizabeth. He entered Parliament in 1987 as the member for Sunningdale.

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Mr Scheepers (43) hails from Balfour in the Transvaal and studied at Unisa and the University of Pretoria.

He served as a magistrate and subsequently an attorney in Windhoek and Vryburg. He entered politics as member of the Cape Provincial Council for Vryburg in 1981. After later being admitted to the Bar as an advocate, Scheepers became NP MP for Vryburg on October 30 1985.

He served on several parliamentary standing committees and study groups, before being appointed Deputy Minister of Law and Order serving under Minister Adriaan Vlok. An unprepossessing public speaker, he is said to be an effective communicator in smaller forums.

Mr Wessels (45) was born in Kroonstad in the Free State and studied law at the University of Potchefstroom. He was chairman of the university's Students Council and later president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond. He practised as an advocate, became MPC for Krugers-

dorp in 1974, and graduated to the position of MP three years later.

Mr Wessels occupied senior positions on parliamentary standing committees and NP study groups. He was appointed Deputy Minister of Law and Order in 1988, being shifted to Foreign Affairs in September 1989 under Minister Pik Botha, with whom his unassuming style contrasts effectively.

The situation of the up-and-coming Deputy Ministers contrasts starkly with those of their counterparts in other countries. Because of the watershed phase through which South Africa is passing, the five cannot be aspiring — as one might expect — to eventual accession to the highest office. They are, in fact, participating in the dismantling of the ladder before they have climbed to the top.

This is not to say that the likes of Messrs Delpont, Meyer, Scheepers, Schutte and Wessels will not find a place in the administration of the new South Africa — it is to say that they are unlikely to ever achieve full ministerships.

Agreement brings talks step closer

ARMED ACTION WILL END — ANC

W/E 14/6/85 16/12/91 (384)

MULTIPARTY talks on negotiations on constitutional reform have been brought a significant step nearer by an agreement reached between the government and the African National Congress.

President De Klerk said that the agreement would serve as a stimulus to the negotiation process. Matters which stood in the way of the further unfolding of the process had been resolved.

Dr Pallo Jordan, publicity chief of the ANC, said that a significant step towards the attainment of a democratic system in South Africa had been achieved.

Victory for peace

While the ANC especially has made concessions on violence, government spokesmen played down suggestions that any side had been the victor.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said it was not a question of victory for one side. The agreement had in fact been a victory for peace.

Mr Coetsee said it was not necessary to make concessions

By TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff when there was goodwill and a desire to find solutions and common ground.

Mr Coetsee said progress had been made to remove excuses for all and sundry not to obey the law.

He said the April 30 deadline for the resolution of the issues of violence and the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles was attainable but that it was an ongoing process.

In National Party circles the feeling is that the government can now aim for May for the start of exploratory moves towards negotiations.

In terms of the agreement the government and the ANC have taken bold steps towards resolving obstacles surrounding violence, the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

The two sides have entered a new phase of co-operation, creating an additional liaison forum and committing themselves to follow-up meetings.

The ANC made significant concessions. In return, the government agreed to hasten the

return of exiles and the release of prisoners.

Releasing the agreement reached at talks with the ANC in Cape Town on Monday, President De Klerk said last night this would stimulate negotiations.

"If there is implementation according to the letter and spirit of the agreement, we will be moving rapidly towards the commencement of multi-party negotiations," he said.

In terms of the agreement, the ANC committed itself to ensure that the following would cease:

- Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices.
- Infiltration of men and material.
- Creation of underground structures.
- Statements inciting violence.
- Threats of armed action.
- Training inside South Africa.

The government affirmed the right of Umkhonto we Sizwe to exist as it "is no longer an unlawful organisation".

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — There will be no further armed action by the African National Congress and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC said at a Press conference last night.

In a statement released simultaneously with the government, the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan said: "The ANC had agreed to suspend all attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices and the suspension of all acts of infiltration of men and material."

Training outside country

The ANC has also undertaken not to create any new underground military structures and it will cease all military training of combatants inside South Africa, said Dr Jordan.

But he said MK training would continue outside the country "in order to transform an army made up of guerrillas into a more conventional army".

Asked what would become of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres he said that in keeping with the working group's report of the Pretoria Minute the ANC believed that a phased process would be initiated to enable ANC cadres to resume their normal lives and also facilitate and legalise control over arms.

He said according to the Human Rights Commission there were up to 3226 political prisoners but the government has only released 10 percent of those, most of whom had completed most their sentences.

Concerning political exiles, he said it was the organisation's hope that every political exile would have the right to be in the country if they so desired.

16/2/91

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Weekend

FOCUS
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South Africa is now virtually on the threshold of another historic drama — the country's first negotiations by leaders of all races for a new constitution. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at advice and warnings to the constitution-makers from some leading authorities.

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guidelines on constitution-making yet offered in the present debate have come from Professor Hugh Corder, professor of public law at the University of Cape Town, in a paper *Constitutional Basics* published by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

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JLE Agius
If the aim of negotiations is to draft a constitution for a non-racial democracy in an apartheid-free new South Africa, the players can benefit much from Professor Corder's paper.

For starters, players on all sides of the negotiating table ought to reflect seriously on the mistakes of the past. Here Professor Corder notes that South African constitutional history is a good example of constitutions and constitutional government "doomed from the beginning because of the manner in which they have been drafted and adopted, as well as imposed".

A major shortcoming has been that there were insufficient mechanisms for controlling the legislature (until 1960) and then the executive arm of government (1960s to 1980s).

Thus the majority party in parliament made a mockery of constitutional rights and guarantees with the connivance of the electorate) up to 1960. This was followed by rule by the Cabinet and bureaucracy (including the military and the police) with the same policies since then.

"The recent states of emergency are the most virulent example of constitutional lawlessness on a large scale," says Professor Corder.

THE present constitution which established the tricameral system of parliament in 1984 was marked by "an extremely low level of legitimacy and insignificant polls in the elections for the two smaller houses of parliament."

Professor Corder remarks it also led to resistance on a scale not seen before in South Africa, with the consequent declaration of successive states of emergency from the middle of 1985 onwards.

Like other specialists in various fields, Professor Corder stresses the importance of legitimacy. A constitution must be legitimate — that means it must be approved by and adopted with the support of the vast majority of the people within the organisation or nation concerned. Only then can it last a long time and be seen as lawful and binding.

On this point, leading constitutional law specialist Professor Marinus Wiechers, of the University of South Africa, goes so far as to say a lack of legitimacy in the South African system was at the root of the country's major problems, it led to internal revolt, a rejection of authority,

and foreign condemnation. At the same time the country's "legitimacy illness" enabled political exiles to gain increasing foreign recognition and status for opposing the system.

16/2/89
"WE cannot ever expect justice and a just system if race and colour remain the government's yardstick," Professor Wiechers warned in a book published three years ago, before President De Klerk took over the reins.

Another mistake of the past to be avoided, according to Professor Corder, is that a constitution must not be so complex as to be almost unworkable — as the 1983 RSA Constitution Act has tended to be. A constitution must be practically implementable.

It is important, too, that all persons be made conscious of their own rights, duties and civic responsibilities. Equally important is the need for all people to be aware of the potential restraints on the exercise of power, and of methods by which those restraints can be enforced.

"This ought in time to establish a mood of accountability and self-restraint among those who wield social power in whatever form it appears."

A constitution should, in fact, provide for mechanisms of accountability by ordinary people and organisations if their representatives have gone astray. This is done ultimately through elections every four to five years, but this is not enough. There should also be referenda for the protection of civil freedoms.

PROFESSOR Corder argues that South Africans have all, in different degrees, suffered under successive governments which have not been accountable to the wider population.

One of the most important safeguards in a democratic constitution is effective measures to regulate and control the exercise of power. Here the key instrument can be an entrenched and supreme bill of rights with an independent body, such as the judiciary, to enforce those rights on behalf of the citizens of South Africa.

This underlines the crucial necessity of having a strong and impeccable judicial system that can, in fact, enforce the rights of all and ensure justice for all.

There are many other aspects that will no doubt also be considered by South Africa's new constitution-makers when they get down to business.

However, even when all the declared obstacles to negotiations have been removed, one of the biggest and most formidable undeclared obstacles will remain — the psychological barrier of

fear, distrust and suspicion bred by the apartheid system over the years.

BRITISH analyst Professor W F Gutteridge, of the London-based Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, has warned that some critical psychological obstacles "lie in the way of negotiations and will have to be overcome".

One of these is the legacy of centuries of inter-tribal rivalry and violence; another is white fears, particularly among Afrikaners, of losing their long-established privileges.

"Their associated vested interests in the economy and the bureaucracy, which are not always openly admitted, increase the possibility of their resistance to change. There is no simple way of removing the psychological barriers created by white fears. These can only be overcome by a long process of erosion or by inspired leadership on all sides," says Professor Gutteridge.

In a bulletin distributed by Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, Professor Gutteridge offers this advice to the players in South Africa's constitutional drama: "Frankness and a willingness at least to discuss the unthinkable are the essential prerequisites for a settlement. In the South African context a constitutional proposal which, given good faith, is demonstrably workable, is the first requirement."

AT this point a dark shadow still hanging over the forthcoming negotiations is the spectre of continuing and threatened violence. This is generally regarded by experts as yet another major obstacle that needs to be removed urgently.

When South Africa's constitution-makers of all races prepare to begin their momentous task, they can hardly do better than listen to a voice from the heart of Western democracy and from a country with one of the world's most outstanding records in constitution-making and civil rights — the United States of America.

A message universally valid and well worth considering came from American civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King Jr, as quoted recently by US Ambassador William Swing in a South African publication: "Political violence is both impractical and immoral. It is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all...immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue."

Mr Swing suggests that the culture of dialogue and tolerance must be "established and maintained above all in South Africa."

A perilous path for constitution-makers

12/16 16/12/91

(5047)

As the race continues to meet the deadline for removing the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the political focus is shifting more and more to the hazardous path of constitution-making.

It is not only a path full of pitfalls, but it is made all the more perilous by an enormous legacy of injustice, grievances, racial prejudice, inequalities and economic decline left by four decades of authoritarian apartheid rule.

What can we expect once the players sit down to begin serious constitutional negotiations? Specialists with fingers on the pulse of the unfolding drama have warned we must not expect miracles; nor must we lose sight of dangers as well as opportunities that will emerge.

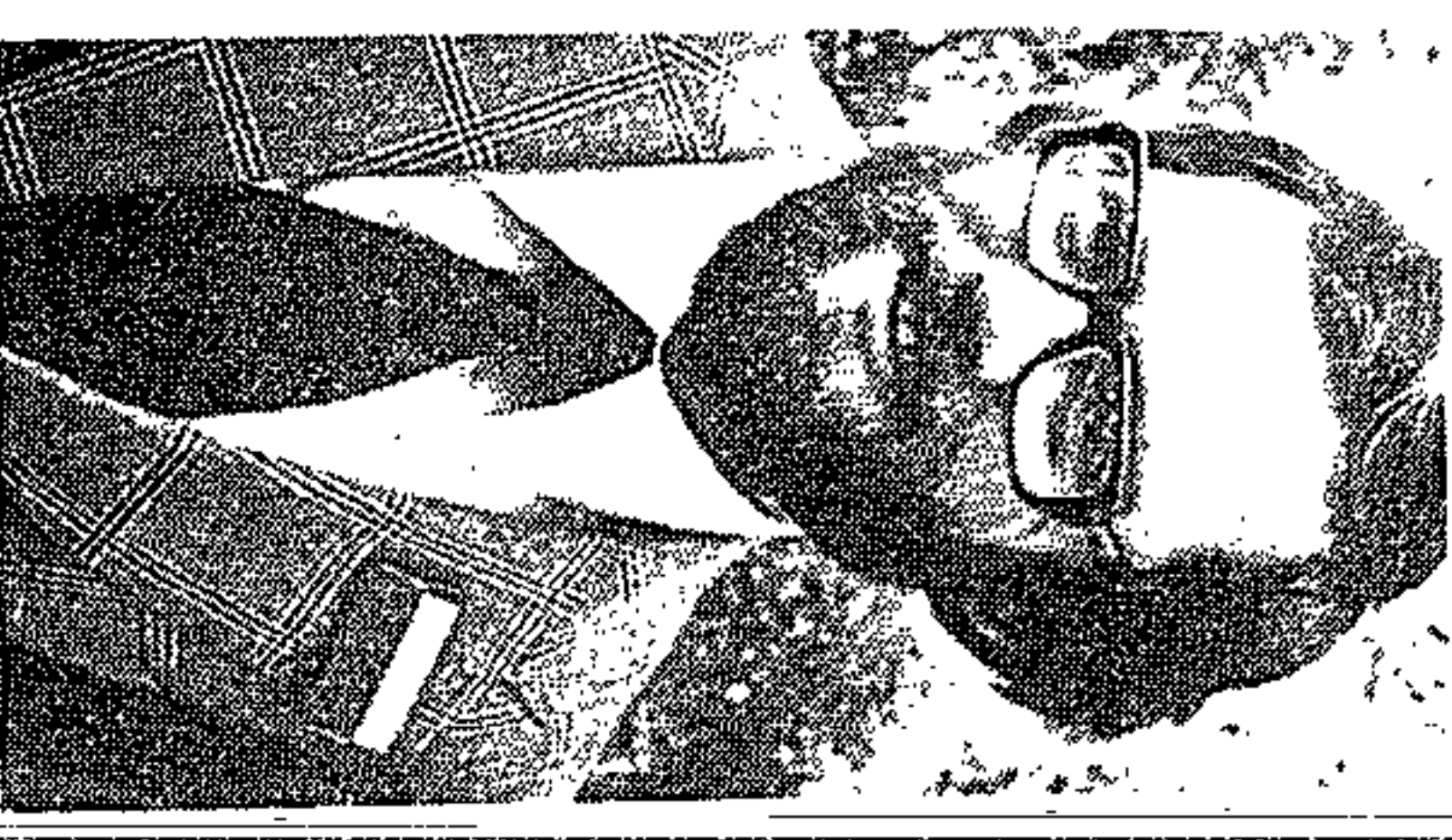
For the benefit of all the players and their supporters, the experts have

spelt out some of the dos and don'ts of constitution-making. In doing so, they have urged all concerned to heed the lessons of the past — and to avoid the grievous mistakes of South Africa's previous constitution-makers and the voters who perpetuated a flawed system.

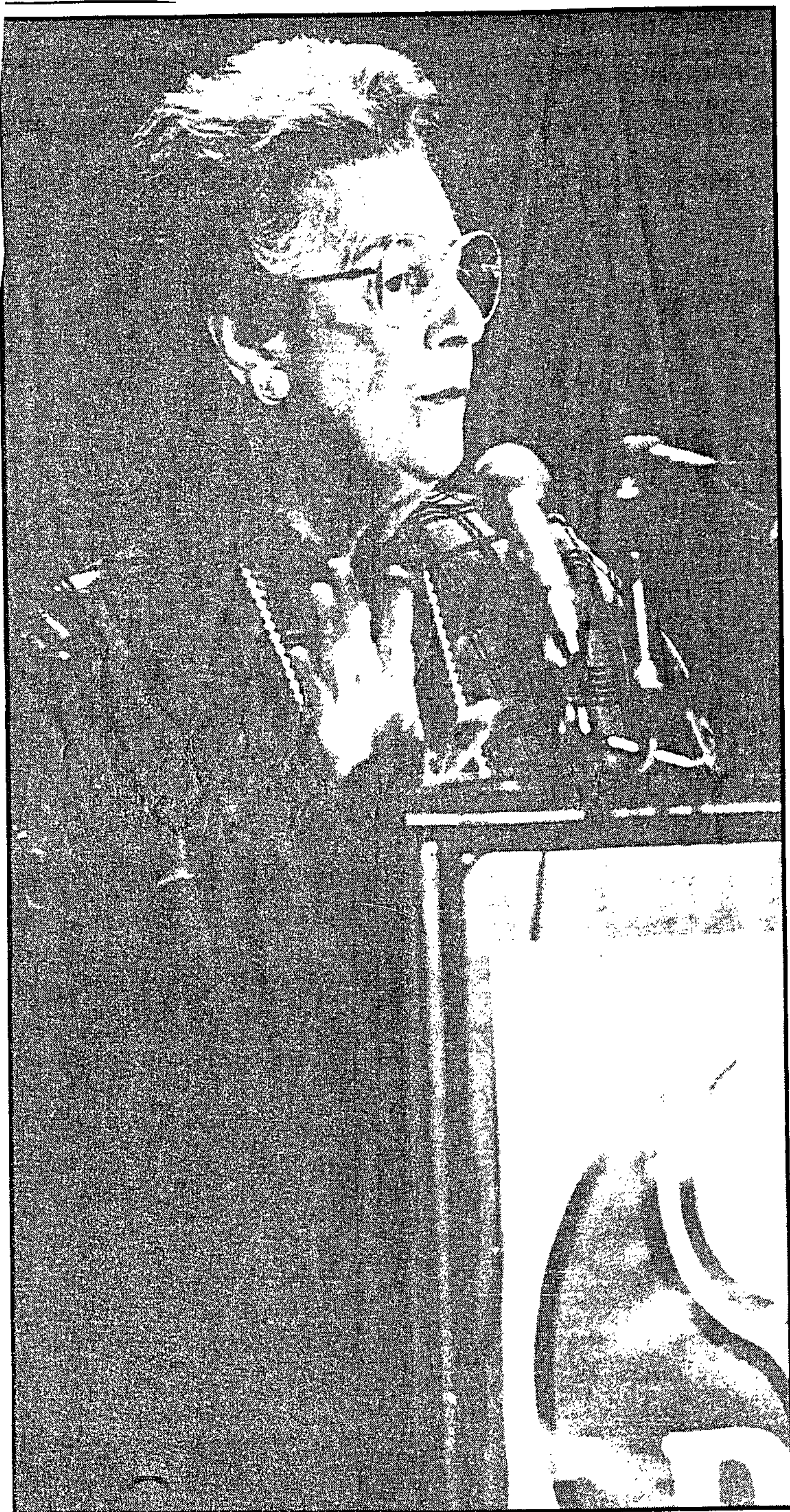


Professor Corder

Political experts warn SA: Heed the lessons of the past



Professor Weichers



Parents' ⁽³⁰⁴⁾ 'ignorance' disappoints veteran MP

Star 16/1/91

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

FORMER Houghton MP, Helen Suzman, sternly reprimanded parents in her old constituency this week when she heard that Houghton Primary School would not be desegregated this year.

"Incredible," she said from Plettenberg Bay, where she is on holiday. "This is a sad blot on the liberal reputation of the Houghton constituency which over all these years without reservation has voted for a policy of non-racialism."

"It saddens me, as the former MP for Houghton, that the present generation of parents are not carrying on the fine tradition which has always existed in the school and in the constituency."

The Government school in the heart of her parliamentary constituency holds warm memories for Mrs Suzman, who tenaciously fought racism during her 36-year career in Parliament.

This is where all her 36 report-back meetings to her loyal constituents were given. If walls had ears, they would echo her repeated warnings, harangues and impatient pleading to scrap segregation.

The school has become, some claim by default, one of the few that has rejected integrated education.

During voting in December, it failed to obtain the required 80 percent poll with a 74 percent vote in favour of opening to all.

However, of the 62 percent of parents who voted, 86 percent voted in favour of desegregation. Under the educational department's rules, this was not good enough.

Commented Mrs Suzman: "I hope that the reason why the required percentage has not been obtained — although the whole voting system is absurd and should be scrapped — is because voters, as so often is the case, did not bother to go to the polls because they thought the result would be a foregone conclusion."

Headmaster Johan Dormehl said this week that voter apathy and ignorance played a vital role in the voting procedure.

The school had already replied for a re-vote in the second half of the year, he said.

"This time", said Mr Dormehl, "we will go out there and get them (parents). They can even vote at home."

LONE FIGHTER: Helen Suzman in her last fight against apartheid in the hall of the Houghton Primary School. This year it could not obtain the required votes to open its doors to all races.

The search for common ground

By Prof WILLIE ESTERHUYSE of the University of Stellenbosch
CPW 17/2/91. (3041)

It is only logical that the "Manifesto for a new South Africa" in which President FW de Klerk painted his vision of a democratic country at the opening of Parliament should coincide with an incisive reform programme.

The manifesto would have had no credibility if the Population Registration Act and other apartheid laws remained holy cows.

With the manifesto the government has committed itself politically, morally and psychologically to a post-apartheid society.

It is in many respects the freedom manifesto of a party which, given its history, has reformed itself and is now positioning itself to play a leading role in the process of building a new nation in a new South Africa.

This does not come out of the blue. According to informed sources people in government have been contemplating this for a considerable period, even before De Klerk took over the party's leadership.

Proposals which were formulated were discussed thoroughly and for a long time. These ideas were also tested among leaders in black communities.

Should one read the manifesto carefully – its style reminds of another manifesto which has played a great role in specific ranks – then it is clear it cannot be considered a programme of principles of the NP. In fact, it is a document which will have to serve as guidelines for the NP's own programme of principles and action.

The manifesto must be perceived as an invitation to the voters of South Africa to identify themselves with a number of basic values, principles and objectives for a new democratic South Africa.

They need not join the NP for this. They are, however, invited to join a new national movement or consensus of principles, values and objectives.

It is not inconceivable that supporters of the ANC could identify with this manifesto. They are also being called upon to support the practical implementation of the manifesto.

It challenges all of us to assist in building a new nation with new loyalties. In a deeply divided society like South Africa, this is a huge and difficult challenge. There are even people of goodwill who think it is an



FW de Klerk ... trying to build a new political culture free from divisive symbols.

impossible challenge.

The real issue is whether we in South Africa can find sufficient effective values we can share collectively.

According to a report on inter-group relations by the Human Sciences Research Council a few years ago, there is a remarkably broad consensus in South Africa about a number of basic values.

The question which confronts us now is how to exploit this consensus.

To put it differently, we must build a totally new political culture – a culture free from all forms of racism and symbols which promote division.

This challenge does not only lie with the political

leadership. Leaders within the ranks of the private sector, the churches, education, the media and other sectors within our society must ask themselves how they are going to assist the development of such a new culture.

They will have to reach out to leaders in other groups and conduct ongoing discussions. The days of advisors on the pavilion are over for ever.

The manifesto has specific implications for the NP. It will undoubtedly have an effect on voter support during elections. In fact, the manifesto gives credibility to the NP's decision to follow a non-racial political route by opening up its membership to all.

It is unlikely the NP leadership will use the manifesto to canvass members for the party among other population groups.

Apart from the fact that such a step was not its intention with the manifesto, it could cause a variety of problems within the present political dispensation. More water will have to flow into the political sea before the NP can launch a strong public membership campaign.

The manifesto will probably cause a broad "movement" of people, institutions and parties to develop.

This is, after all, what mobilisation around basic values, principles and objectives entails. In other words, the development of consensus among the largest possible number of people, institutions and parties on what should be common denominators in the new South Africa.

The struggle with the Conservative Party must be conducted on these issues. In fact, the CP is hostile to and cynical about the possibility of national consensus on basic values and principles.

The CP cannot accept that whites and blacks can agree with each other on basic values.

It must be added that agreement on a relatively national consensus about basic values and principles would be no easy matter.

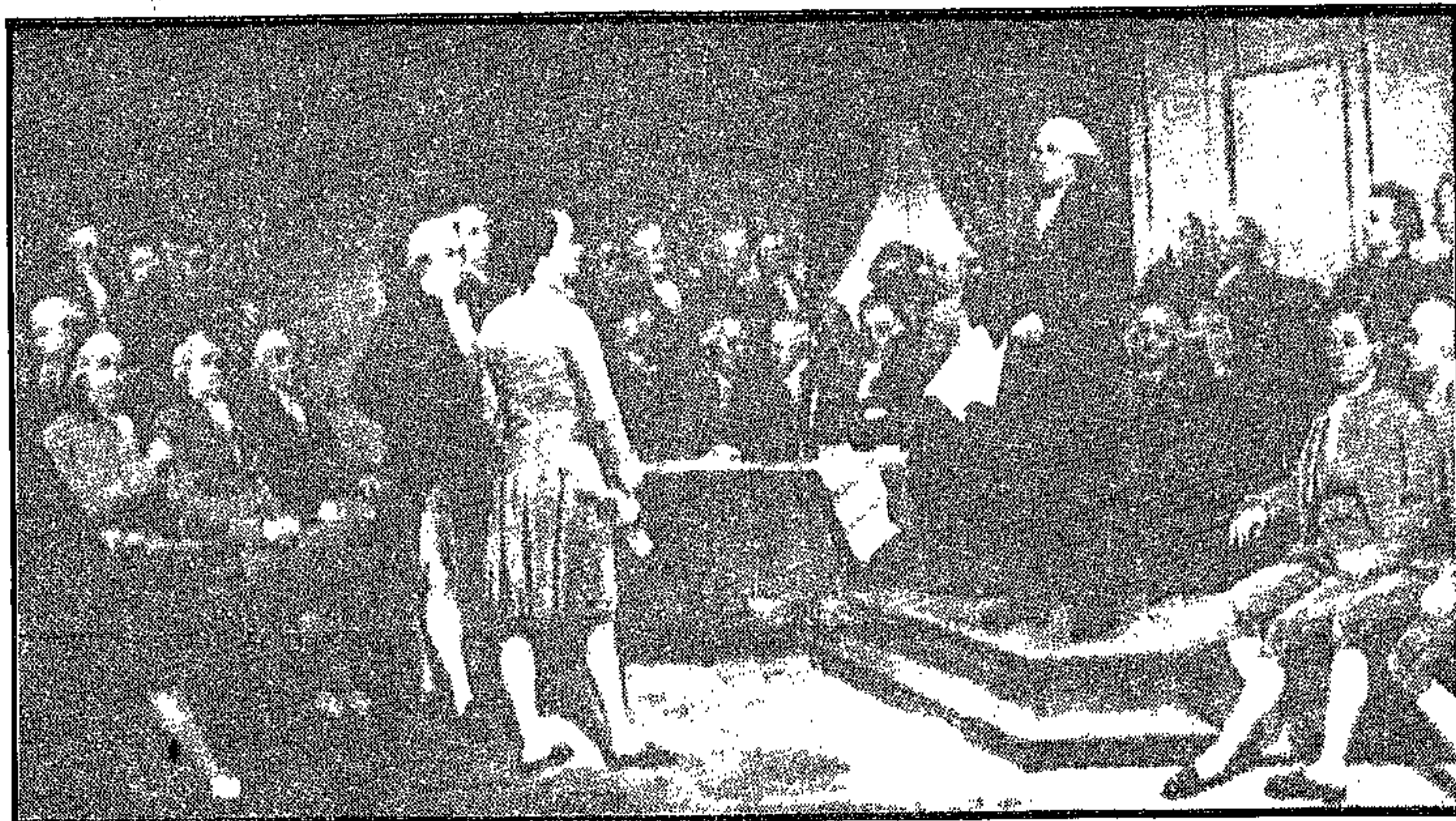
Success cannot be guaranteed in advance. It demands tolerance, which is not well known in South Africa.

It is also a direction which entails risks. However, the risks are not as great as a political direction based on the assumption that consensus is not possible.

Confidence, as Anton Rupert once said, is a risk. Mistrust is a bigger risk.

The secret of success is SECRECY

8/ Times 17/2/91 304A



A painting by Junius Brutus Stearns shows delegates drafting the US constitution in Philadelphia

they are wise, impose a similar strict secrecy requirement on their proceedings.

As in 1787, various plans will be proposed; there will be disagreement, anger, and frustration. Some delegates, as in 1787, will walk out, and some will not return.

In South Africa the ratification procedure will be one of the most important issues confronting the multiparty conference. Some will argue for the election of a constituent assembly to undertake this task.

This would again raise all the difficulties involved in the operation of such an assembly. In addition, opponents of the new constitution might do well in elections for the assembly, and the whole movement down the negotiations road to democracy might be stopped or reversed.

An alternative process of ratification might involve two steps:

first, securing approval of the constitution by the congresses or conferences of the parties participating and, second, submitting the new document to the people of South Africa for approval in a referendum.

Approval by the voters would give the new constitution popular legitimacy, and it surely would be appropriate for South African blacks to cast their first votes in a referendum on a new democratic constitution.

Opinion

At present broad agreement appears to exist on some major elements of a new constitutional system: one person, one vote, proportional representation, a bill of rights and a constitutional court.

Opinion appears to be divided on other major questions: the nature and functions of a second chamber; whether there should

be a presidential, parliamentary, or mixed French-style system; and most importantly, the question of federalism and the devolution of authority to second-tier governments.

A properly designed democratic constitutional system can combine provisions for majority rule and minority rights, while at the same time provide incentives for political parties to make appeals across racial and ethnic lines.

The experience of other countries suggests that some degree of federalism would be appropriate for South Africa: virtually all the democratic countries in the world, except Japan, which are large in territory and/or population have federal systems.

If eight to 10 states were created, they could be represented in the second house of the legislature. Latin American experience suggests that a purely presidential system on the US model may

not be the most desirable system for a developing country like South Africa. It tends to weaken political parties, to create a winner-take-all situation in the executive branch, and to make coalition politics difficult.

A parliamentary system, on the other hand, encourages coalition formation among groups in the legislature. Under a parliamentary system, there would be, in addition to the prime minister, a president or chief of state, who might be elected jointly by the national and provincial legislatures.

These issues, as well as the role of the state in the economy, will be hotly debated. Their very complexity, however, provides a basis for compromise and trade-offs among the parties involved in the negotiations.

The transitions to democracy since 1974 have, with few exceptions, been accompanied by relatively little violence.

From the "revolution of the carnations" that brought democracy to Portugal in 1974 to the "velvet revolution" that brought democracy to Czechoslovakia in 1989, non-violence has been the policy of most opposition movements and of reformers in authoritarian regimes attempting to move their countries towards democracy.

Obstacle

The violence in South Africa since the Soweto uprising in 1976 exceeds that of any other country that has travelled the road to democracy in recent years, except for Nicaragua.

Violence undoubtedly represents the greatest obstacle confronting South Africa as it attempts to move towards democracy.

President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela have identified the road for South Africa to follow. All other parties committed to a democratic South Africa should join them in multiparty negotiations. However, it is possible this process will encounter insurmountable obstacles or be derailed into the ditches on either side.

White defenders of apartheid and radical revolutionaries committed to Marxist-Leninism will try to do this. Neither, however, can offer a viable alternative.

The third road to democracy, through multiparty negotiations, is the only road now open in South Africa; there is no fourth road. Other countries have successfully traversed the negotiations road.

With courageous leadership and a commitment to tolerance and compromise, South Africa should also be able to move down that path and bring a democratic system into being.

Government-ANC deal smooths the road ahead

THE Government and the African National Congress at a secret meeting at DF Malan Airport this week failed to agree on key issues of surrendering arms and demolishing Unkhonto we Sizwe cadres.

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By Mike Robertson
Political Correspondent

However, the two parties removed most obstacles preventing a multi-party conference and the agreement reached was hailed by Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok as a "Victory for peace" and by the ANC as a "significant step on the road to democracy and peace".

Significant progress was achieved by the working group, matters came to a head during a meeting in the first week of this month when Dr Jordan and Mr Meyer angrily clashed over what activities the ANC would have to forgo if its decision to suspend armed action was to have any meaning.

The meeting was hastily convened after a bust-up involving ANC information head Dr Palo Jordan and the deputy Constitutional Development minister, Rolf Meyer, at a working group meeting the previous week.

Despite the special relationship existing between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, no agreement could be reached this week on the ANC surrendering arms, identifying arms caches and demolishing its cadres. Nor was there agreement on ANC plans to set up self-defence units.

Instead, it was agreed to appoint yet another committee to oversee a phased process to hand over or licence ANC weapons in terms of existing legislation.

terms of its decision to suspend armed action and related activities it would forgo:

- All violent attacks;
- Infiltration of men and material;
- The creation of underground structures;
- Statements inciting violence;
- Threats of armed action;
- Training inside South Africa.

The functioning of the committee will be governed by a key clause in the DF Malan agreement in which the ANC agreed it was not above the law of the land.

The ANC has, however, emphasised MK members would continue to undergo training outside South Africa, in places such as Uganda and the Soviet Union, with a view to upgrading MK from a guerrilla force to "something resembling a conventional army".

Justice Minister Kabe Coetsee said he regarded this as the most important breakthrough in the meeting as it was a "commitment to honour the law of the land".

At Friday's ANC meeting, concern was expressed about the leadership's ability to get more militant members to comply with the agreement if the Government did not expedite the

return of exiles and release of prisoners.

For this reason, an ANC NEC member welcomed as "excellent" Mr Coetsee's announcement that exiles who had undergone military training but who had not been involved in military activities recently could soon receive indemnity.

of 3 226 political prisoners had been released.

Mr Coetsee said not even Mr Mandela had put the estimate that high. The most liberal estimate of political prisoners numbers was less than 1 000.

Mr Coetsee said if a suitable formula could be worked out with the ANC, up to 60 percent of exiles could receive indemnity.

He said that since February 1 last year, 262 prisoners had been released. The processing of 760 other applications was in an advanced stage.

Since Mr De Klerk's opening of parliament speech, the Government has come under pressure from both the US and UK to speedily resolve differences over the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

Mr De Klerk, he said, had announced that seven such prisoners would soon be released from Robben Island.

The difference between these prisoners and those previously released was that they were receiving remissions of up to seven years on 10 year sentences.

Those released previously had received remissions of between six months and a year.

DURING the past 15 years some 90 previously undemocratic countries have adopted democratic systems, in which the national leaders are chosen through relatively fair, open, competitive elections in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote.

Half a dozen other countries, including South Africa and the Soviet Union, have not democratised but have opened up their systems, liberalised, and permitted more widespread debate and political activity.

This tidal movement towards democracy, which began in southern Europe in 1974, moved on through Latin America and eastern Asia, and reached eastern Europe in 1989, is probably the most significant political development of the late 20th century.

The transitions towards democracy have taken three forms. In the largest number of cases, about half the total and including Spain, Brazil, Peru and Hungary, reformist leaders have come to power in authoritarian regimes and played the dominant role in shaping the transition to democracy, with opposition groups in a distinctly secondary position.

Reforms

In a few cases, authoritarian regimes have collapsed (as in Argentina and Greece) or been overthrown by massive popular uprisings (as in the Philippines and Romania).

In other cases, reformist leaders have come to power within authoritarian regimes and negotiated transitions to democracy with moderate democratic opposition leaders (as occurred in Poland, Uruguay and South Korea).

South Africa has yet to complete its transition to democracy. It is distinct, however, in that it has, in some measure, tried all three of these paths towards democracy.

The process started in 1979 when the government, under the leadership of P W Botha, introduced the first significant modifications of the apartheid system. The Botha government carried out these reforms unilaterally,

TOWARDS THE FUTURE SA

S/Times 17/2/91.

In the third in our series Towards the Future SA, **Samuel P Huntington**, Director of the John M Olin Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University, examines the constitutional options available to South Africa. He recommends that a multi-party conference behind closed doors should agree on a constitution, which should be ratified by referendum



without involving black, coloured, Asian or white opposition groups.

The government did not push forward with reform, and by the mid-1980s it was clear that President Botha was a liberaliser but not a democratiser. The change process ground to a halt.

The initiation of reform, however, aroused expectations, and the 1983 constitution, in particular, provoked black outrage and demands. In September 1984 uprisings began in the townships, and violence escalated in following years.

The ANC and other groups made no bones about their intention to bring the government down by violence and mass action. The government responded with repression that was at times brutal and, in the end, effective.

By 1989 unilateral reform from above and violent revolution from below had both failed. A

stand-off had been reached. The government could neither suppress nor co-opt the black opposition. The opposition could not overthrow the government.

Happily, at this point F W de Klerk replaced Botha as National Party leader and president. Unlike Botha, De Klerk proved to be a full-scale democratiser and began to move down the third road to democracy, a transition negotiated between government and opposition groups.

In South Africa, as in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay and South Korea, this has involved leaders of the government negotiating new constitutional arrangements with opposition leaders whom they had recently had in prison.

The next step on this road to democracy appears to be a multi-party conference. This device has been used successfully in Poland, Hungary and Uruguay.

These cases suggest that cru-

cial negotiations on the transition and the nature of the new constitutional system are most likely to be successful if they are carried out in secret, among a small number of people representing the principal political groups in society.

Agreement obviously requires compromise on all sides. Inevitably, leaders who negotiate and agree to compromise are attacked by extremists among their followers for "selling out" and sacrificing their interests. Such denunciations are a sign that the makers of democracy are succeeding in their work.

In South Africa the argument has been made that a new constitution should be drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly.

This proposal is deceptively attractive. The experience of other countries suggests constituent assemblies face major difficulties in producing new constitutions.

In Spain the equivalent of a constituent assembly was elected but the major provisions of the new constitution had to be worked out in secret, "behind the curtain" as the Spanish say, among a few party leaders.

Anger

In Brazil a constituent assembly took three years to come up with a constitution which is undoubtedly one of the longest in world history and generally regarded as highly unsatisfactory. Public debates in large assemblies are not an effective way of producing agreement on constitutional essentials.

The multiparty conference that is now being considered in South Africa could resemble the convention that drafted the US constitution in Philadelphia in 1787. Fifty-five delegates attended that meeting, representing 12 of the 13 states.

The delegates to the multiparty conference, if it occurs, will represent political parties, not states, and will be selected, presumably, by party bodies, not state legislatures.

The 1787 delegates deliberated in secrecy for four months. The South African delegates will, if

KEN OWEN

ON SUNDAY



A YEAR after That Speech things are going about as well as anybody has a right to expect, but some danger signals are flashing.

The National Party preaches democracy with the seal of converts, the right wing is plainly demoralised, the ANC is talking to Inkatha, and "the process is on track". But part of the ANC is looking for trouble.

That we have fallen into a new jargon is evidence of progress. The Nationalists, having decided to shed the gobbledygook of apartheid — "separate freedoms", "other coloured", "group rights" — are struggling to recover the lost terminology of democracy: universal rights, one man one vote, proportional representation and so forth.

The ANC, with rather less success, is trying to shed the terminology of revolution — "armed struggle", "people's democracy", "nationalisation of the means of production" — and to come to terms with notions like economic growth, investment, and efficiency.

That both sides have shifted towards the centre (convergence, in the jargon) is evident to everybody. Equally evident, however, is that some factions of the ANC front remain bitterly hostile to compromise. SACP fugitive Ronnie Kasrils,

writing "from underground" in the left-wing Journal Work in Progress complains that negotiations take up the time and energy of the ANC leaders and may "come to collapse either in the form of a struggle".

He wants mass action which, he says, "can transform the political negotiation process into a democratic transfer of power to the people".

Kasrils specifically denies that he sees mass action as an alternative to negotiation. On the contrary, as a leader of the "revolutionary vanguard movement" (jargon for the SACP), he sees negotiation as merely another form of struggle and mass action is intended to enable the ANC to triumph in negotiations.

The aim, for Kasrils, is majoritarian rule, in which 60 percent-plus-one wields total power. The central government, presumably, will be as free as the Soviet government to control the officers, nationalise assets, and override minorities and dissidents, and establish totalitarian socialist rule.

Mass action is the bluejean with which President F. W. de Klerk is to be beaten back whenever he tries to lay down any democratic limitation of power. The result, of course, must be the collapse of negotiations and a return to a test of brute force. The

chance of a peaceful transition would be lost.

Kasrils is not alone. His comrade, wit lecturer Raymond Suttner, has published in the latest issue of the South African Journal on Human Rights an extraordinary attack on a free press, in which he displays a similar majoritarian hostility to dissent.

SOME views, he argues, are "good", others are not, and of the latter he says: "In suppressing them one is not suppressing a freedom, but a threat to that freedom."

Suttner begins by putting on the term "democracy" his own, narrow definition: "Democracy refers, basically, to a state form where the majority rules."

He then proceeds to deny the right of free speech to anybody who may dispute his definition: "Does 'logic' require that the same freedom be extended to opponents of democracy, even if their views foster social divisions, animosity, racism, and threats to democracy? By no means! It is not intolerance to suppress such views."

"The undemocratic suppression of democratic views, to protect apartheid, cannot be equated with the suppression, in the interests of democracy, of pro-apartheid, pro-fascist or warlike sentiments."

There we have it: the basis is laid for the totalitarian post-apartheid state. Had the United States adopted Suttner's views instead of the First Amendment that guarantees free speech, Martin Luther King would

never have been heard, except in *seminars* like the Russian dissidents.

Apart from the quaint echoes of Animal Farm, Suttner (previously famous mainly for his promise that the ANC would not nationalise barber shops) provides exquisite confirmation of John Harrington's famous line:

"Treason doth never prosper: what's the reason? For if it prosper, none dare call it treason."

I do not seem to strike him that he has taken over, unabridged, the National Party's argument for his own long incarceration without trial. Nor does it seem to strike him that he is legitimating violence, IRA-style resistance by minorities in

his "people's democracy", on exactly the same grounds as the ANC's resort to armed struggle.

Suttner and Kasrils, for all I know, may be as gentle as kittens but they are propagating views which must, if they prevail, plunge South Africa into violent conflict.

What is difficult to understand is why they think that, given the power of the state, they will be more successful in suppressing dissidence than the National Party has been or that they will not end up using the same obscene methods which characterize all dictatorships, Stalinist or fascist.

However, it is clear that their views constitute a threat to the negotiation process. The ANC's moderate faction, led by Nelson Mandela, had a narrow escape in December when the consultative congress resolved to engage in mass action, including a campaign around the opening of parliament to highlight the demand for an interim government and constituent assembly.

That vote was carried by a coalition of hard left-wingers, communist trade union leaders, and the violence-prone youth leaders.

However, the hardline victory was not complete. The leadership won a mandate to continue negotiations, and has since agreed to insert an all-

party congress into the process. The way is clear, once exiles have been repatriated and "political" prisoners released, for the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party to begin drawing up a list of participating parties.

Soon afterwards, the all-party congress will start to define the principles on which the new South Africa may be built, among them whether we shall have a free press that lets people speak or a free press that gags them unless they parrot "the will of the people", as determined by the commissars.

IN the wings waits Kasrils, ready to launch "mass action" if Nelson Mandela dares to suggest that freedom is not a matter of suppressing unpopular views, nor liberty a matter of putting people in chains, no democracy a matter of reducing the entire polity to a chorus of praise singers.

And over the entire process hangs the prospect of another bid for dominance at the ANC leadership elections in June when, no doubt, the SACP, the communist unions and the youth will again try to turn negotiations into a series of street battles. On Nelson Mandela, I suspect, can help them at bay.

Multiparty conference around corner - FW

By Julianne du Toit

A multiparty conference could be "closer than most people expect", President de Klerk said in a live TV1 interview last night.

He said most stumbling blocks had been removed, and real negotiations with the ANC and other organisations could soon begin.

On the issue of land, Mr de Klerk said "hundreds, thousands, millions of hectares" of agricultural land had been made available for black property development.

The rights of existing property owners would, however, be respected and protected.

But Mr de Klerk emphasised that the Government would be actively involved in this redistribution — "creating a whole new dynamic structure to broaden property ownership".

Voters on the present roll would be consulted on the reform process in a referendum shortly, as would blacks, he said.

"And if whites reject reform?" asked Agenda interviewer Freek Robinson.

"Then we must just go back to negotiations. But I don't believe they will reject it," Mr de Klerk said.

On education, he confirmed that by the end of this year, all pupils would receive matric

certificates from one examination board.

He said that those who wanted a better education for South Africans should not advocate sanctions or work stoppages unrelated to labour.

"We need a strong economy to pay for the real problem of education."

The single biggest threat to South Africa was intimidation — which undermined the true democratic process.

Blacks especially were the victims of the many subtle forms intimidation took.

On the subject of Professor Carel Boshoff's project of establishing a separate Afrikaner homeland, Mr de Klerk said he did not agree with carving up the country, and did not think the professor's ideas were attainable.

But he was willing to listen to and discuss any point of view from any political organisation, he said.

The State President ducked all Mr Robinson's attempts to pin him down about how right-wing he had appeared before he came to power.

The interviewer shook a sheaf of papers at him with quotes expressing party policy in the '70s, but Mr de Klerk waved them aside, saying the National Party had gradually rejected apartheid structures that did not work.

UN shows spirit of cooperation

Sowetan 18/2/91
NEW YORK - After years of mutual hostility, the South African government and the United Nations Centre against Apartheid now find themselves more or less on the same side.

Officials on both sides said that a degree of understanding and co-

operation that was virtually unthinkable as recently as a year ago was now developing.

Mr Sotirios Mousouris, the assistant secretary-general in charge of the centre, appeared positive about the changes instituted by President FW de Klerk in a recent UN television program. (304A)

Fault

South African officials who have scrutinised the videotape said there was little with which they could find fault.

When a reporter on the interviewing panel observed that Mousouris might soon be out of a job, the assistant secretary-general agreed, adding that it could not be too soon.

Meanwhile, several South African nationals working for the UN have returned home for visits, in some cases after absences of several years. -
Sowetan Correspondent

Suspension of the armed struggle - full agreement

Southern 18/2/91

3044

SECRET

THIS is the text of the agreement reached on the armed struggle by the Government/ANC working group on February 12 and released on Friday:

1. The Working Group was established under paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, which reads as follows:

"In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe will take place. It was agreed that a Working Group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by 15 September 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

2. Having decided it would not have been possible to submit a final report by the 15th September 1990, an interim report was brought out on 13 September 1990.

3. Since then a number

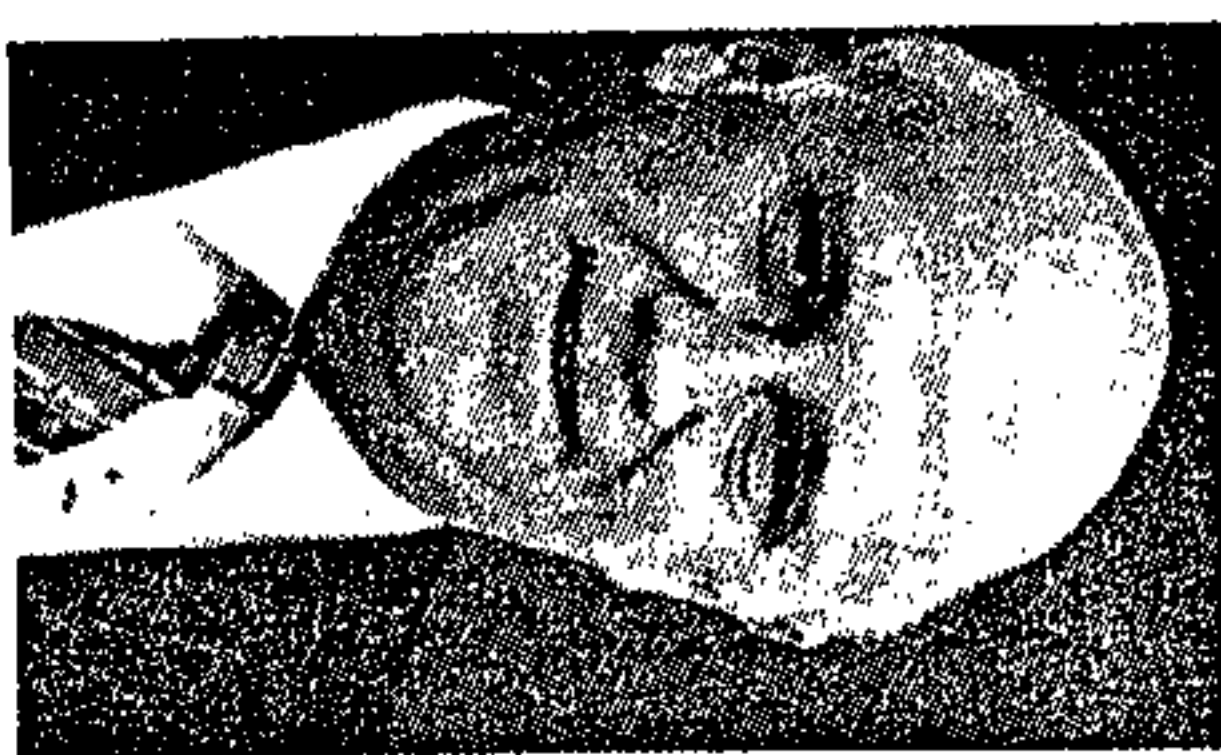
of meetings took place. This report was finalised at a meeting on the 12th of February 1991.

4. With reference to the word "suspending" as used in paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, the Working Group reiterated what was said in paragraph 4 of its Interim Report, namely that suspension occurred as a step in the process of finding peaceful solutions, with the presumption that the process would lead to the situation where there would be no return to armed action.

Attacks

5. (a) Under the terms of suspension of "armed action" and "related activities" by the ANC, with specific reference also to Umkhonto We Sizwe and its organised military groups and armed cadres, it was agreed that the following will not take place:

- (i) Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices.
- (ii) Infiltration of men and material.
- (iii) Creation of underground structures.
- (iv) Statements inciting violence.
- (v) Threats of armed action.
- (vi) Training inside South Africa.
- (b) The Working Group-



DE KLERK



MANDELA

(i) Agreed that the democratic process implies and obliges all political parties and movements to participate in this process peacefully and without resort to the use of force;

(ii) Therefore accepted the principle that in a democratic society no political party or movement should have a private army;

(iii) Noted that the ANC had, in good faith and as a contribution to the process of arriving at a peaceful settlement, announced the suspension of all armed actions and related activities, with the presumption that the process would lead to the situation where there would be no return to armed action;

(iv) Noted that by virtue of the fact that Umkhonto We Sizwe is

no longer an unlawful organisation, membership thereof is not in violation of any of the provisions of paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute and the letter and spirit of the Pretoria Minute as a whole;

(v) Noted the historical fact that the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe had placed arms and cadres within the country;

(vi) Agreed that in the context of paragraph 5 (b), (ii), (iii) and (iv) above, a phased process be initiated in order to enable these cadres of the ANC to resume their normal lives and also facilitate and legalise control over the arms and the process to ensure such legality will immediately be taken further by the Working Group;

(viii) agreed that

where applicable, individual weapons shall be licensed in terms of existing legislation;

(ix) further agreed that the security forces take cognisance of the suspension of armed actions and related activities and that the parties hereto will remain in close liaison with one another according to the procedure prescribed in 6(a) of this document with a view to ensuring prompt and efficient reporting, investigation and redressing, where applicable, of all allegations of unlawful activities or activities contrary to the spirit of this agreement, by the security forces.

(c) The Working Group --

(i) Agreed that the population at large has a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations;

(ii) Further agreed that it is urgent and imperative that violence and intimidation from whatever

quarter accompanying mass action should be eliminated;

(iii) Further agreed that peaceful political activities and stability must be promoted;

(iv) Further agreed that to this end joint efforts should be made to implement the intentions contained in paragraphs 5 of the Groote Schuur and of the Pretoria Minutes to ensure that grievances and conflict creating situations are timeously addressed.

Liaison

6. The Working Group agreed that designated members of the ANC would work with government representatives in a Liaison Committee to implement this agreement, and that the existing nominated SAP and ANC liaison officials appointed in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Groote Schuur Minute shall serve as supporting structures

of the Liaison Committee.

(b) It is agreed that this agreement will be implemented forthwith and its objectives attained as speedily as possible.

(c) It is further agreed that in view of the above, the process of attaining the objectives contained in paragraph 2 of the Pretoria Minute will be realised according to the procedures contained in that Minute.

7. It is understood that nothing in or omitted from this agreement will be construed as invalidating or suspending the provisions of any law applicable in South Africa.

8. It is recommended that this Working Group be continued to supervise the implementation of this agreement relating to paragraph 3 and the activities of the Liaison Committee and to give attention to further matters that may arise from the implementation of this agreement, such as proposed self defence units. - Sapa.

CM 1075 (304A)
February 18 1991 5

Journalists are bad news, say SA whites

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — White South Africans believe journalists, trade union leaders, insurance salesmen and estate agents have the lowest ethical standards, and pharmacists are the most honest.

A Markinor survey of 800 whites in November also found that only 27% of respondents gave MPs and business executives high credibility ratings.

Even lower credibility was delegated to union leaders (8%), journalists (11%), insurance salesmen (13%) and estate agents (17%).

Pharmacists were thought to be ethical and honest by 75%, followed by doctors (74%) and clergymen (71%).

Policemen were fourth, with 54% of those interviewed believing they were ethical.

Markinor director Mr Peter Scott-Wilson said the low credibility rating of journalists and MPs was distressing because so much rested on what they said.

ITICS

TIM COHEN

FORMER conservative student leader and director of the International Freedom Foundation (IFF) Russell Crystal has emerged as the frontrunner to take former "superspy" Craig Williamson's seat in the President's Council, informed sources say.

The NP Transvaal caucus will decide on Friday on a successor to Williamson, who resigned from the

Four contest Williamson's seat

council late last year saying the body had "done its job".

Crystal, former head of the National Student Federation and leader of Wits University's Students Moderate Alliance, is standing against Dr J M van Aswegen, a farmer; A J Snyman, a businessman, and former MP and RAU professor R A Kruger.

Crystal said yesterday he was standing to give himself a forum in which to promote a free market democracy. The debate in SA, had moved from how to dismantle apartheid to what would replace it.

The IFF has frequently opposed ANC policies and campaigned in the US last year during ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's visit.

Mr R F HASWELL: The Mayor of Durban, a member of the NP, knows this. [Interjections.] He supports me on this. [Interjections.] Let us not play party politics. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING: Mr Speaker, I am referring to the contribution of the hon member for Claremont. The hon member will agree that there is, of course, a difference between legality and legitimacy. I immediately want to tell the hon member that one may have certain perceptions with regard to legitimacy. It depends on which side of the political spectrum one looks at closely.

The hon member said that Black local authorities did not have legitimacy. This may be the case from his point of view. Many other people feel that they are associated with legitimacy because they contested elections. It naturally questions the party which that hon member supports at heart, namely the ANC's Civics. What is their mandate? Which election have they contested? [Interjections.]

Mr R M BURROWS: Not one.

*The MINISTER: What election have they held to determine which people they support? [Interjections.]

Mr R M BURROWS: Not a single one.

*The MINISTER: The hon member is now condemning Black local authorities who went through an election, but claims that the Civics must have greater participation, without their having a base of representation. [Interjections.]

I want to speak to the hon member for Pietermaritzburg South about the question of funds. I repeat this very clearly. We accept that not enough money can be generated within such a "one city, one tax base" to eliminate the socioeconomic backlogs. The Government will, however, be prepared to assist, but on one condition, namely that that local authority must generate the full amount that it possibly can by way of taxes paid and services paid for. Then we shall help. But we are no longer going to subsidise people's electricity. [Interjections.]

Debate concluded.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Government: dismantler of apartheid
2. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs: (304A)

Whether the Government, in the light of *inter alia* the statement by a member of the Cabinet that the Government has now also become the dismantler of apartheid, has associated itself with any anti-apartheid organisations or identifies itself with the objectives of such organisations; if so, what steps is the Government taking both abroad and at home to dismantle apartheid?
[Time expired] 19/2/91 B314E.INT

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I cannot congratulate the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition in all the words of the hon member for Kuruman, but I can at least wish him good health for the coming year. [Interjections.]

The simple reply to the question put by the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe is "no".

Actually it was a nonsensical question, because my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development, made it clear that it was unusual for a party that had been the architect of the apartheid policy to also become the demolisher of that policy. He gave an honest elucidation of how we had, through a period and a process of self-criticism, analysis, congresses and open debate on the future of this country—debate among ourselves and having regard to all the facets—decided that that policy was unrealistic and unaffordable. It was morally unfair in its implementation and would in fact lead to the downfall of this country.

It is therefore nonsensical to quote one word from the hon the Minister's remarks in order to link it to a nonsensical question. In addition the hon member ought to know that the anti-apartheid organisations in general are not bent on eliminating apartheid. They are like the CP. They want apartheid to be maintained. They have aims of their own, surely that is well known. [Interjections.] It is known only too well that they have their own hidden agendas; that is why they are finding it so difficult to die now that apartheid is disappearing. They are like ticks on the apartheid animal. Now that they are fleeing from the dying apartheid animal the CP must be careful; the ticks are on their way to them.

[Interjections.] They must have a careful look—they are already sitting on the CP.

The anti-apartheid organisations can only continue to exist if apartheid continues to exist. The disappearance of apartheid will expose their stealthy objectives. These are organisations that stand for nationalisation, they stand for one-party systems, and they stand for Marxism and for State-controlled newspapers. I know them. I know them all over the world. [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER: The anti-apartheid organisations have only one hope, and that is the CP. Their hopes are pinned on the CP, that is why they say that the process of reform in this country is not irreversible. Why do they say that? They are pinning their hopes on the CP. If that party should succeed or come into office, the anti-apartheid organisations will flourish, they will have a new lease on life.

Consequently I want to make it very clear here today that the anti-apartheid organisations and the CP are as thick as thieves. They have a direct interest in the continuation of apartheid. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, apartheid is one of the many names used to describe the policy in terms of which a people attains and preserves freedom in its own fatherland, and in South Africa it was used to liberate the multiplicity of peoples from the yoke imposed upon them by British Imperialism. [Interjections.] The principles and ideals of this policy have many enemies.

New Age, the official publication of the Communists, wrote some time ago:

New moves to smash apartheid.

The word "apartheid" is not translated by the leftist forces, precisely because they wanted to give their own meaning and substance to it, namely that of abhorrence and objectionableness, and to rub this off onto the Afrikaner people. This smear campaign against apartheid was intended to break the political power of the Afrikaners, and to establish not only a Black government in South Africa, but a communist one. [Interjections.] All anti-apartheid organisations and their co-workers walked in the spoor of Communism, or at least moved in their shadow. The communistic ideal of destroying apartheid

has now been taken over by the NP. In an oddly pious way the hon the Minister said:

The anti-apartheid industry is dying.

What an untruth! The anti-apartheid industry is alive and well and working under the cloak of the NP and their fellow-travellers! [Interjections.]

What role did this hon Minister play in the years during which it was his responsibility to represent South Africa in a variety of capacities abroad? What role did this hon Minister play? [Interjections.] The result he ultimately achieved is clear to me today. Today the NP is the anti-apartheid organisation, and therefore the organisation to demolish the Afrikaner people, the Whites of Southern Africa and all peoples in Southern Africa, and not only to strip them of their own existence, but also of their fatherland.

Today this hon Minister is resurrecting the word apartheid in the meaning the communists attached to it. Now I want to tell the hon member very clearly that the CP is not prepared to allow ourselves and our existence as a people, and the multiplicity of peoples in South Africa, to be deceived and misled towards destruction any further.

The NP is prepared to submit to a communist and an ANC government, and the hon the State President and the hon the Minister of Defence said that they were prepared to be part of such a government. [Interjections.]

*Dr D J WORRAL: Mr Speaker, I want to begin by congratulating the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition on his birthday. I think it can truly be said of him that he is actually 70 years young.

I also want to add at once that this has more to do with his lifestyle than his politics. On that basis we want to wish him many happy returns. [Interjections.]

This motion, and I want to agree with the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is actually a nonsensical one. It amazes me that the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe, an old friend of mine and also an academic, can try to justify apartheid.

I have in mind now the young CP members for Randfontein and Schweizer-Reneke and even the hon member for Overvaal. I want to know whether the hon member for Overvaal, during

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

his many travels abroad, ever said the CP's policy was one of apartheid.

Let us forget about apartheid. Apartheid has failed.

It is true that there were tremendously good motives when the Sabra people formulated apartheid. That is true.

It might even have been described by certain of those people—their actions and their motives—as a liberal policy. However it is a policy that led to injustice. It is a policy that proved to be impractical. It is a policy that focussed on the narrow and the small and the self-interested. It lost sight of what men and women shared. It lost the brotherhood of man. [Time expired.]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I fully agree with the hon member for Berea. It is a pity he does not have more time to analyse objectively the history of apartheid.

*The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe cannot seem to understand that all the dangers, by which they now feel so threatened, originated and burgeoned under apartheid. Apartheid did not prevent the influx of Black people to the cities. We know that.

Apartheid did not enable the farmers and the factories to manage without Black labour. All of the CP members who have businesses or who are farmers, are fully economically integrated with Black people. They cannot plough without them, they cannot sow without them, they cannot harvest their crops without them, they take their coffee in bed from Black hands, their children are bathed and brought up by Black people, and when they are away from home, the Black people use their baths and toilets. This is the truth. It is as simple as that. [Interjections.]

But the CP keep on extolling the virtues of apartheid. There were CP members who were with me in the party. . . . [Interjections.]

***THE ACTING SPEAKER:** Order! The hon member for Hercules does not have the floor.

***THE MINISTER:** They know there were threats of sanctions, and sanctions were imposed when we had apartheid. They know it. There is no factor as threatening to the survival of the Whites as apartheid. [Interjections.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

an ANC government. [Interjections.] The hon the State President said it and that hon Minister told the voters the year before last that the ANC, which is intertwined with the SA Communist Party, was turning to violence in order to seize power in South Africa, to establish a one-party dictatorship, to destroy free enterprise and to deprive people of their religious freedom. [Interjections.]

I want to say this to the hon the Minister: Go and tell the outside world that there is a people here in Southern Africa that will not be deceived or misled. [Interjections.] There is a people here that will not die, a people that has fought for its survival for many centuries. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister must tell them, in the language of the hon Cape leader—the Minister—that the greatest power struggle Africa has ever known will start in Southern Africa the moment there is power-sharing between the multiplicity of peoples in one parliamentary system. They must know it is going to come, and those hon members have declared war against the Afrikaners, the Whites and all those peoples in Southern Africa that seek a continued existence. [Interjections.]

***THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:** Mr Speaker, what the hon member Mr H K D van der Merwe really cannot understand is that his arguments have become so comical that no one takes him seriously any more. [Interjections.]

If he wants to further the cause of the Afrikaner, he is doing so in such a comical way that it has no credibility. [Interjections.] It is precisely under the banner of apartheid that the CP carry on all the time about Afrikaners and the Afrikaners language, but today more people are prepared to speak Afrikaners again because, in their perception, it is no longer the language of the oppressor. [Interjections.] They know it.

Under apartheid we were on our way to destroying Afrikaners. [Interjections.] That is what we were doing, and that party will still scuttle Afrikaners. [Interjections.] If the CP comes to power there will no longer be anyone who will want to use Afrikaners for poetry or songs; listen to the way they speak in that language! [Interjections.] Listen to the way they speak and carry on in this House. One will have to use a computer to analyse the gibberish the CP speaks and then ask a linguist and a person who has a feeling for the warmth and attractiveness of a people what they

think of the psychological make-up of people who say such ugly things in such a fine language. [Interjections.]

***MR SP BARNARD:** Mr Speaker, may I ask the hon the Minister a question?

***THE ACTING SPEAKER:** Order! Is the hon the Minister prepared to answer a question?

***THE MINISTER:** Mr Speaker, he is wasting my time. [Interjections.]

***THE ACTING SPEAKER:** Order! The hon member must resume his seat. The hon the Minister may proceed.

***THE MINISTER:** They are undermining the Afrikaner all the time.

The message we have is for the Afrikaners, the English-speaking people, the Portuguese, the Germans, the Greeks, the Italians, the Blacks, the Coloureds and the Asians. It is the message from the hon the State President to build one great society that shares common values, that can enjoy its diversity, that can appreciate its languages, and which can jointly build up a strong nation in which we can also, on merits, offer Afrikaner children a future. [Interjections.]

However, there are people who are too spineless to compete. They want legislation to protect them against equal competition and to entrench them and their White skins in privileged positions. [Interjections.] It is a disgrace, and I look forward to them advancing these arguments during the debate on my Vote. I shall then deal with them further. [Interjections.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

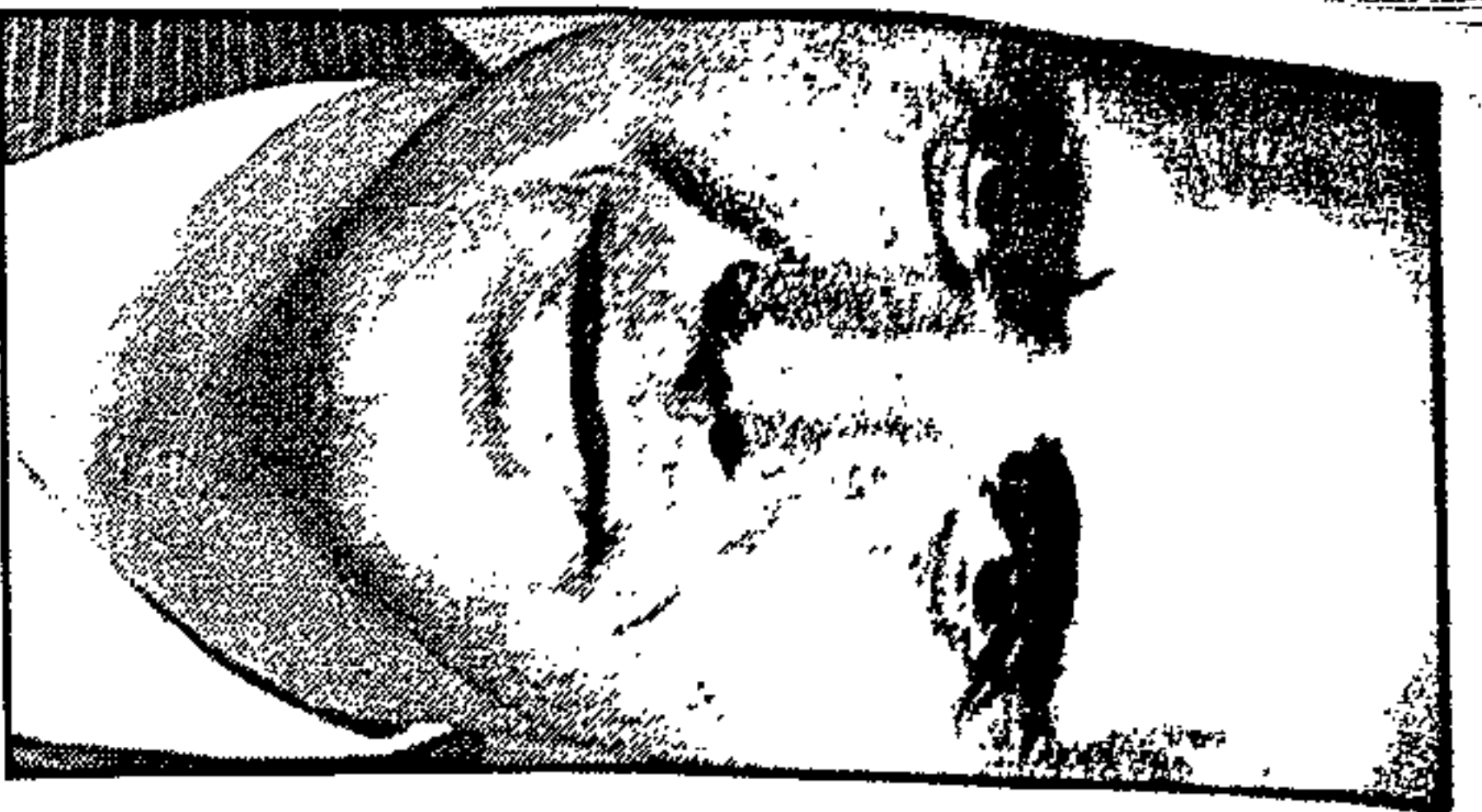
General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 12 February 1991:

Prisoners released

*2. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Correctional Services:†

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



Ken Andrew . . . overspending not a good omen.

DP slates Govt for

ster 1912/71

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has been criticised for overspending this year's Budget by R2,8 billion and failing to cut "bloated" apartheid bureaucracies along with apartheid laws.

Departing from his party's support of the Budget last year, the new Democratic Party finance spokesman, Ken Andrew, tore into Finance Minister Barend du Plessis when he presented his Additional Budget to Parliament yesterday.

Mr du Plessis denied the charge and said the Government had in fact saved

R1 billion in the Budget by cutting unnecessary costs and re-allocating funds.

Mr Andrew said the DP could not support the Additional Budget as the Government had overspent by R2,8 billion, or 4 percent — "the worst performance for three years and not a good omen at a time when pressures to overspend are going to be greater than ever".

Mr du Plessis, in his Budget speech last year, had set himself the goals of greater discipline and control of State spending, Mr Andrew said.

This he had failed to do. Mr du Plessis had also promised that the R2 billion contingency reserves would be used only for real emergencies and would not be exceeded.

"He was wrong on both counts. Besides set-offs against privatisation income of R319 million, the R2 billion contingency reserve has been exceeded by R479 million."

Government spending had exceeded last year's spending by 14,7 percent — an increase in real terms.

"Are the bloated apartheid bureaucracies being scrapped with apartheid itself? I doubt it."

"When influx control was scrapped, what happened to the tens of thousands of officials employed to administer the pass laws?"

"Where they retrenched? I know that some were employed by the Department of Education and Training as sports officers, but what happened to the

rest? South Africans would welcome an assurance from the Minister that the public service shrunk when the pass laws were repealed and that it will shrink when Group Areas and the Population Registration Act go."

Mr du Plessis rejected this criticism and said that in effect only R61 million of the Additional Budget could be described as overspending.

Some R2 billion of it had been foreseen and provided for with contingency reserves during the first three months of the financial year, which brought the potential spending for 1990/91 to R74,932 billion.

These had been used for security services and for black education and housing.

The extra money for socio-economic

spending had been intended to come from privatisation proceeds but as there had been none, R319,4 million had been financed instead from the selling of National Supplies Procurement Fund stockpiles.

The revised total expenditure for the year was estimated at R74,731 billion after an adjustment of R250 million.

This amount was R201 million below the potential expenditure level, the Minister said.

He said that although the contingency reserve had been exceeded by R479,1 million, all but R61 million was due to public debt servicing.

Conservative Party finance spokesman Daan Nolte also said his party would not support the Additional Budget.

overspending

Shaun Johnson reports on the Government's multiparty conference blueprint

Turning figment into reality

8/26/2/91

3044

EVERYONE in Government agrees that the mooted multiparty conference is the key to the future of the negotiations process. Ministers also believe it is imminent. President de Klerk says it will take place sooner than most people expect.

But by the time parliamentarians assembled this month, scant detail had emerged as to how the multiparty conference (MPC) would be put together and what it would do. The MPC remained a figment, and a confusing one at that, of the Government's and the ANC's imagination.

Now, in a little-noticed speech to Parliament, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer has provided the most comprehensive summary yet of the latest Government thinking.

The speech, along with supplementary notes supplied by Mr Meyer to The Star, can be regarded as a blueprint for the crucial coming months, setting out what the Cabinet wants to see done before the multiparty conference, during the MPC's proceedings, and once its business is completed. It is not definitive, but pro-

vides much more definition than has been available before.

Among other things, it shows that the Government wants to assume responsibility for the organisation — if not necessarily the convening — of the MPC.

"It looks like the Government will have to take responsibility for arranging the MPC..." said Mr Meyer. "It will be its responsibility to establish structures for it, to make available the necessary logistics, and to provide the necessary support base and services to those who will participate."

The key concerns enunciated by Mr Meyer, reflecting the chronological order of the negotiations process itself, are that:

- Before the conference three broad issues — the termination of violence, disagreements over the Pretoria Minute, and the effect of the ANC's scheduled congress — must be resolved. The mechanism for this (as was demonstrated by last week's ANC/Government summit), is "discussions on a bilateral level between the Government and the distinct parties". Among other important functions, the establishment of this effective "steering committee" will allow

for "agreement about the composition of the MPC".

- During the conference, debate over the composition of the "real" negotiating body will be of prime importance. "Methods" will also be devised to ensure constant report-backs between delegates and supporters. Further, the chairmanship of the negotiating body will be debated, as well as voting procedures, the structuring of conference committees, and the relationship between the negotiating body and the Government.

- After the conference, there will be much greater agreement on a model for a new South Africa — "characterised by full participation by all, in such a way that it accommodates all communities" — and the real business of drawing up and testing reaction to a new constitution can begin.

On the questions of violence and the controversy surrounding paragraphs two and three of the Pretoria Minute, significant progress has been made since Mr Meyer delivered his speech a fortnight ago — it is codified in the joint Working Group agreement released on Friday. His cryptic ref-

erence to the ANC conference (it is not clear whether Mr Meyer is suggesting that the MPC cannot be held until the ANC gathering is over, or whether they can to some extent overlap) can be regarded as the least substantive of the three "conditions".

This opens the way for the MPC to "play an important role as an instrument to relieve further tension in the negotiations process. It can also decide the nature and form of the real negotiations body."

Bilateral discussions between the Government and putative participants would solve the thorny question of "which parties must be present (at the MPC)", Mr Meyer said, although he conceded that "it is difficult to gauge in the South African political milieu, as black people do not participate in Parliamentary structures".

It had further to be decided how many delegates would take part per party, and on the "nature of decision-making (in the final negotiations) ... There are different options: two-thirds majority decisions, general consensus and variations of consensus. These are

all items we must consider during the multiparty conference".

Although Mr Meyer was unequivocal in his continuing rejection of an election as the means of determining participation, he did make an offer of clear concession to the ANC.

"The demand of contact (*koppeling*) with support groups during the negotiations process is very important," he said. "It is repeatedly stressed in extra-parliamentary ranks that contact must be maintained with the ordinary people."

"Therefore it is important that regarding supporters, report-back opportunities and methods are created and that indeed procedures must be developed for regular contact between those participating in the negotiations process, and their support-bases." Refers to "in the course of the process" could be envisaged.

The MPC would also have to decide on whether "consultants" could play a role in real negotiations, as well as the desirability of breaking up into committees and working groups.

The relationship between the State and the negotiating body

will come up for discussion as well, according to Mr Meyer: the Government sees itself retaining responsibility for the "administration of the country" and the "maintenance of law and order" in the interim period.

All of this, in the Government's view, would ensure that the MPC led to a new political formula that was something quite distinct from "simple majoritarianism".

The unique South African model — "there are no exact examples to follow" — would in all likelihood draw on "inter alia, a bill of rights, the decentralisation of power, the imaginative devolution of authority, constitutional checks and balances, the requirement of consensus on contentious matters, systems which are conducive to consensus, voting or electoral procedures such as proportional representation and a strong independent judiciary".

The ANC has declared itself fully in favour of its own version of a multiparty conference. Now, for the first time, it has an idea of what the Government means by the term — and of the extent to which differences can exist within existing consensus. □

New Cabinet jet a 'snub for have-nots'

By Shaun Johnson

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk was in danger of developing a "fat cat" image following the purchase of a jet costing more than R13 million, Democratic Party MP for Wynberg Robin Carlisle said yesterday.

He was responding to an announcement on Monday by Transport Minister George Bartlett that his department had bought a Falcon 50 aircraft — at a cost of R13,6 million — "for use by the State President, Cabinet Ministers and other dignitaries in order to provide transportation both within and outside of South Africa".

Mr Carlisle said expenditure of this nature was "totally unacceptable at a time when there are urgent demands on State revenue for the most basic necessities — shelter, food, water, sewage and education".

"It sends an uncaring message to the have-nots in South Africa and perpetuates a fat cat image for Government."

Mr Carlisle said the State President had achieved wide popularity because of his approachability, commonsense and simple lifestyle. A private jet had no place alongside any of those attributes.

"This item will now stand in the final figures at the cost of 680 low-cost houses, or 34 million meals for hungry children, or a host of other desperately needed basic requirements."

Mr Carlisle said it was astonishing that provision should be made for the purchase of the jet from Parliament's additional estimates.

"The budget for this vote was R950 000, which has now been exceeded by 1 430 percent."

FW to oppose journalist's action

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk is to oppose the Supreme Court action brought against him by freelance journalist Mr Solomon Tsenoli.

Tsenoli, backed by the Legal Resources Centre, is attempting to have the amended version of the Natal Code of Zulu Law declared invalid.

The Natal Code was amended by De

sowetan 20/2/91
Klerk in August last year when he deleted the paragraph stating it was illegal for "any person" to carry assegais, knobkieries, axes, or other dangerous weapons and replaced it with a paragraph allowing seven exceptions, including being able to prove the weapons were traditional Zulu weapons. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

1304A

CP official and editor subpoenaed

CONSERVATIVE Party national secretary Mr Andries Beyers and *Die Patriot* editor Mr ZB du Toit have been subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, police confirmed.

They will appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on February 21 to reveal their sources of a February 15 report in the CP mouthpiece.

The report alleged that missing key witness in the trial of Winnie

Sowetan 20/2/91
Mandela, Mr Gabriel Mekingwe, was kidnapped by members of the State Intelligence Service.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg confirmed the subpoenas were issued by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, who is in charge of the ongoing Mandela trial in the Rand Supreme Court.

The CP official admitted on Monday he had provided *Die*

Patriot's editor with information, which had led to a report alleging a key missing witness in the Mandela trial was abducted by members of the intelligence service.

Beyers insisted in a statement that the information he had provided had been reliable.

He was, however, not prepared to disclose his sources and said he had informed the SA Police's investigating officer, Brigadier CPJ Serfontein, of such. - *Sapa*.

Schwarz spells out his new role

2012/9/1

By Paula Fray

Sanctions, which had dominated local debates, would not be the predominant issue facing him when he took up his post as ambassador to Washington next month, former Democratic Party MP Harry Schwarz said last night.

Mr Schwarz, who described himself as slightly battle-weary after a number of farewell parties, was speaking to the South African Institute of International Affairs at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said that while sanctions might predominate in local debates and people were preoccupied with them, the issue at stake was whether America would "wash its hands of South Africa" once the country had fulfilled the basic provisions of anti-apartheid legislation.

"The real issue is what actually happens in the relationship between South Africa and the US after apartheid.

"South Africa must remain on the (US) agenda during and after the negotiation phase."

He said it was his belief that sanctions would go.

Outlining his tasks, Mr Schwarz said the obvious thing to do was to normalise all relations between the two countries.

He said he wanted to demonstrate that South Africa was an ally of America and that there were very real risks for both countries if South Africa did not get the kind of constitution that ensured a truly democratic government.

'Don't abolish Afrikaans'

Any attempts to abolish the Afrikaans language would unleash endless reactionary forces from Afrikanerdom, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) chairman D G Steenkamp warned in a fiery speech yesterday.

Throughout their history, Afrikaners had refused to give up their language and cultural identity, Mr Steenkamp said.

However, replying to earlier objections from the AHI's Pretoria branch members, who insisted on retaining the institute's original Afrikaner-only membership clause, Mr Steenkamp

said they had to keep pace with changes within the Afrikaner business community.

He pointed out that the language medium of several of the original Afrikaner companies, founded in the 1930s and 1940s, was no longer Afrikaans. Even the original "Afrikaner's bank" (Volkskas) was no longer owned only by Afrikaners.

"One must accept that the Afrikaans speaker will be totally absorbed in an organisation in which the only language medium is English. This is a fact which cannot be argued away," he said. — Sapa.

Govt apologises for apartheid

'A terrible mistake'

SA 21/2/77 3044



Leon Wessels ... "We failed to listen".

CAPE TOWN — He was sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long about the suffering caused by apartheid, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leon Wessels, said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the Part Appropriation debate, he said apartheid had been a terrible mistake that had blighted the land.

With the benefit of hindsight, "we now know that we hurt our fellow countrymen," he said.

Mr Wessels said he believed there was common ground between most South Africans and the only way to successfully build a joint future was "if we are ... brutally frank and honest about the past".

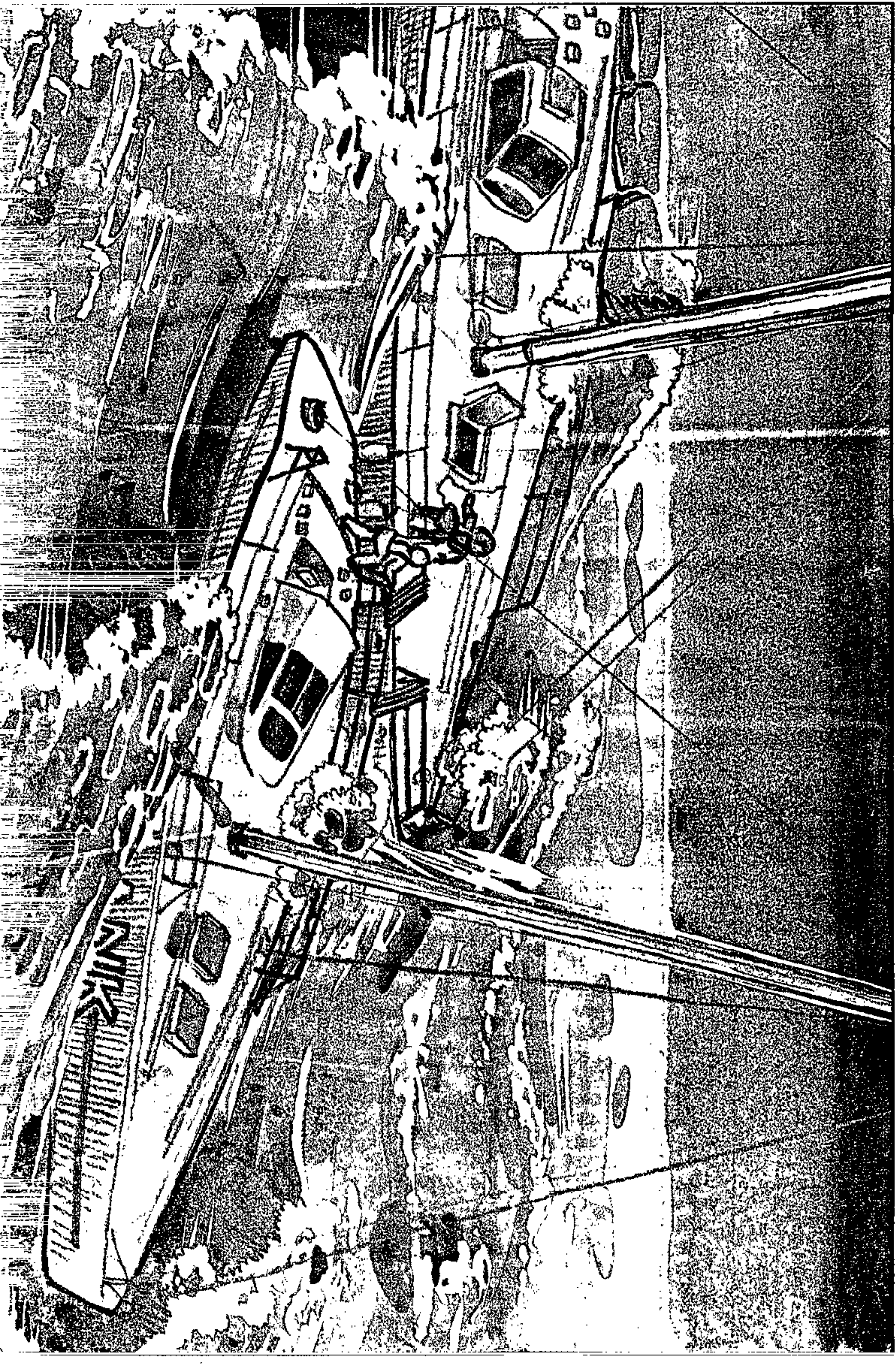
He continued: "We had failed to listen to the laughing and crying of our people. That must never happen again. I am sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long. So indifferent."

Against this background, he said he would like to do battle with ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela.

He was doing so in his absence simply because he was not a Member of Parliament and "hopefully he will be here sooner than later to debate these issues with us".

Failure

Mr Mandela's latest statements on sanctions were out of tune "not because of the effect of sanctions, but because they demonstrate his failure to understand the challenges of our continent".



Failure

Mr Mandela's latest statements on sanctions were out of tune "not because of the effect of sanctions, but because they demonstrate his failure to understand the challenges of our continent".

It was a "terrible mistake" which would contaminate South Africa and Africa, and Mr Mandela's rhetoric on this issue was as outdated and unrealistic as apartheid itself.

Sanctions would go, and the opportunity afforded Mr Mandela to be a player in this field would pass him by.

"Sanctions will fall into disuse and Mr Mandela will simply have reduced his role to that of a spectator," Mr Wessels said.

Africa was faced with human and environmental crises of catastrophic dimensions and the socio-economic needs of the people could not be achieved by discouraging investment.

It was important to know that Europe and North America accepted the reality that South Africa could act as the economic locomotive "to pull southern Africa out of its dilemma and at least act as a catalyst to turn the tide in Africa in a positive direction".

Discontent

"There is ample proof, public and private, that Mr Mandela's verkrampste statements are met with discontent in Africa."

South Africa had to become an "investment-friendly" country and "South Africans will have to speak with one voice if we want to play a meaningful role in building Africa".

"You need outside influences to kickstart the economy. You don't do that by discouraging investments."

Mr Wessels said the old guard of the Conservative Party, led by Andries Treurnicht, was a mirror image of Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party.

Both believed they could overcome the inherent faults of apartheid and communism, which their spiritual fathers — Hendrik Verwoerd and Karl Marx — had not been able to solve.

Mr Wessels said the "new rightists" in the CP wanted to give apartheid a facelift.

"You don't toy with apartheid, simply because there is no such thing as polished or refined apartheid."

"The moment you realise equality is not attainable through segregation, you must go all the way to one, united South Africa with one citizenship," he said. — Sapa.

Commonwealth to train blacks for government

LONDON — The Commonwealth is to launch a comprehensive programme to train blacks to participate at all levels in the administration of a future non-racial, democratic SA.

It is also in the process of formulating proposals to assist post-apartheid SA in the vital area of human resources development.

As an interim measure it will be inviting blacks to participate in a programme of training and work placements, in order to prepare them to "take senior jobs in government".

The Commonwealth programme will be activated "as soon as possible" by secretary general Emeka Anyaoku, and will cover include judicial, economic, legal, police and security services.

A special Expert Group on Human Resources Development for a Post-Apartheid SA was established at the suggestion of the May 1990 meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa (CFMSA).

Its interim report, compiled last November but not made public, was "welcomed" when the CFMSA met again in London last Saturday.

The final report will be presented to October's Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare.

The CFMSA said on Saturday it looked forward to the Commonwealth playing "as significant a role in the human resource development of a post-apartheid SA as it had done in the elimination of apartheid".

In the period leading up to the expert group's first meeting in London last November, a number of research documents were commissioned or prepared by the Fellowships and Training Programme (FTP) of the

KIN BENTLEY

London-based Commonwealth Secretariat.

The research, which has just been published, provides an overview of economic and demographic trends, as well as assessing all aspects of education and human resources development in SA.

Key recommendations from the FTP include the need for a single, non-racial education department and for some form of affirmative action to redress racial inequalities caused by apartheid.

Although focusing on a post-apartheid SA, the summary says there is a need to address education and training needs during the transition period.

Training

The foreign ministers said on Saturday that while the "full elaboration" of a training programme would have to await the final report and further political evolution within SA, there was "an urgent need to take action now if there was to be a smooth transition to the promised non-racial democracy".

The foreign ministers said that much of the training and work placement activity would "need to be offered outside South Africa", subject to criteria laid down by the expert group.

However, "A beginning should also be made to support training and placements within SA in the interests of speed and cost-effectiveness".

They added that "the training and rehabilitation of returning exiles merited particular attention".

DP slates R13,6-m plane for FW and Ministers

THE Democratic Party has slated the purchase of a R13,6 million Falcon 50 aircraft by the Department of Transport for use by the State President and dignitaries.

This was damaging to the image of the State President and perpetuated the image of "a fat cat government", Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said yesterday.

Necessities

"At a time when there are urgent demands on State revenue for the most basic necessities - shelter, food, water, sewage and education - expenditure of this nature is totally unacceptable."

"It sends an uncaring message to the have-nots in South Africa," he said.

The amount could have provided for 680 low-cost houses or 34 million meals for hungry children.

Reply

Carlisle was reacting to a reply the Minister of Transport, Mr George Bartlett, gave to a question during debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill in Parliament on Monday.

Bartlett said the plane would be used by the State President, Cabinet Ministers and other dignitaries in order to provide transport within and outside South Africa.

Sapa

ANC rejects a super-Cabinet

THE African National Congress yesterday rejected the idea of a super-Cabinet.

Deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela threw the idea out in his address to the University of the Witwatersrand's Students Representative Council.

"Membership of some super-Cabinet, while the existing Government remains in place is no substitute for an interim government.

"An all-party congress cannot perform the democratic tasks of a constituent assembly unless it were completely reconstructed," he said.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

On January 31 the Solidarity Party called for the formation of a super-Cabinet.

Mandela said the ANC intended to call a patriotic congress to "seek as broad as possible unity" behind the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

An interim government would best oversee the process of negotiations.

"In this period of transition we believe it is essential that an authority other than the present Government should over-

see the process of negotiations.

"You cannot both be negotiating party and simultaneously, through your power of government, have the means to influence the process and the result," he said.

A former Wits student himself, Mandela paid tribute to assassinated ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni, also a Wits graduate, who died last week when a tape recorder blew in his face.

Another former Wits student, Ruth First, died in similar circumstances in Maputo through "a bomb" he said.

Govt man apologises for apartheid

CAPE TOWN — Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels apologised in Parliament yesterday for apartheid.

"We had failed to listen to the laughing and the crying of our people. That must never happen again."

"I am sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long. So indifferent," Wessels told Parliament during the Part Appropriation Bill debate.

"Apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land. With the bene-



● WESSELS

BILLY PADDOCK

fit of hindsight we now know that we have hurt our fellow countrymen. The only manner to build our joint future is if we are brutally, bluntly frank and honest about the past," he said.

He then launched into battle with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela over his position on the maintenance of sanctions, and said he would have preferred to do battle with Mandela in Parliament because these debates were cheaper and wiser than waging war against each other.

"Hopefully he will be here sooner rather than later to debate these issues with us and to be challenged for the statements he makes," he said.

He said Mandela's latest statements on

□ To Page 2

Apology

sanctions were out of tune because they demonstrated his failure to understand the challenges of Africa.

"His rhetoric on this issue is as outdated and unrealistic as apartheid itself."

He said sanctions would go and the opportunity afforded Mandela to be a player in this field would simply pass him by as sanctions fell into disuse, "and he will simply have reduced his role to that of spectator".

He said sub-Saharan Africa, with a 3% population growth rate, was the only major world region where food production was losing the race against population growth.

Nations exceeding a 1% population growth rate did not get ahead of the backlogs and "in order to achieve a population growth of less than 1% you have to address the socio-economic needs of the people concerned. You don't achieve that by discouraging investment," Wessels told Parliament.

Precedents in Central and Eastern Europe had proved that liberalising the economy and democratising government institutions was simply not enough. "You need outside influences to kickstart the economy, to successfully launch the economy into orbit."

He said there was ample proof, public and private, that Mandela's "verkrampste statements are met with discontent in Africa".

CP leader Andries Treurnicht was merely a mirror image of SACP chief Joe Slovo, and both believed they could overcome the inherent disabilities of their respective spiritual fathers — Hendrik Verwoerd and Karl Marx, he said.

President F W de Klerk's team was not cleverer than its predecessors, nor was it better than any team leader since 1948.

But "we say we have learned the lessons of the past four decades and we are not prepared to repeat the same mistakes", Wessels said.

□ From Page 1

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Leon Wessels became the first government minister to apologise in Parliament for the hurt and pain inflicted over the years by the government's apartheid policies.

President F W de Klerk, appearing on television on Sunday night, refused to apologise on behalf of the government to people of colour for apartheid, saying the history of the National Party was marked by a search for just solutions.

But Mr Wessels, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, told MPs during a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday that the only manner to build a joint future in South Africa successfully was to be "brutally and bluntly" frank about the past.

"Apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land," he

Minister 3047 apologises for pain of apartheid

CAT Tris 21/2/91

told the hushed chamber.

"With the benefit of hindsight we know that we have hurt our fellow countrymen.

"We failed to listen to the laughing and crying of our people — that must never happen again.

"I am sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long, so indifferent," Mr Wessels said.

Turning to Mr Nelson Mandela,

Mr Wessels said the ANC deputy president's latest statements on sanctions demonstrated his failure to understand the challenges facing the economically impoverished African continent.

He said sanctions would go and the opportunity afforded Mr Mandela to be a player in this field would simply pass him by as sanctions fell into disuse "and he will simply have reduced his role to that of spectator".

Sub-Saharan Africa, with a 3% population growth rate, was the only major world region where food production was losing the race against population growth.

Mr Wessels said the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was the mirror image of the the leader of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo. Both believed the inherent flaws of apartheid and communism could be overcome.

7/11/91

Star 21/2/91

'Orania is no substitute for boerestaat' 304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Orania Project could be regarded as a welcome bonus by Afrikaners if it evolved into an independent state, but it would never substitute the Afrikaner homeland wanted by the Boerestaat Party (BSP), according to BSP leader Robert van Tonder.

A *boerestaat*, Mr van Tonder said in a statement, would be the home of the Afrikaner nation, and the 3 million Boers of the Transvaal, the Free State and Vryheid would not leave their fatherland for which 30 000 lives were sacrificed during the Anglo-Boer war.

"The BSP expresses this truth because there is a danger that the Government might approve the desert state (the Orania Project) and then say 'Now you must behave because you have a country'.

"An advantage of the Orania Project could be that, as in Ireland, it could later serve as a basis from which Boer freedom-fighters can safely take actions to regain the Boerestaat."

All-party talks a logical step, says Slabbert

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

8 Feb 21/29
(30411)

Political analyst Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert has come out in open support of a multiparty conference, but has denounced a constituent assembly as a mechanism to draw up a new constitution.

Dr Slabbert, a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), addressed the SA-German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg yesterday. He said the constituent as-

sembly option had worked in Namibia, but three key issues first had to be addressed in South Africa before such a mechanism could be introduced — not to draw up a constitution, but to ratify it.

First, an independent monitoring force had been deployed in Namibia to oversee the first free elections. In South Africa, the main political players all wanted to act as referees, and all thought they knew the rules of the game better than the other players, he said.

Secondly, the thorny issue of stability had been addressed by Untag forces in Namibia. In South Africa, this issue remained unresolved.

Thirdly, Namibia did not have a government which had to give up power. In South Africa, the present regime would not give up power to become a mere participant in the political process.

Dr Slabbert said a constituent assembly could resolve the problem of establishing a legitimate body to draw up a new constitution, but could not address these three key issues.

Therefore, an all-party conference seemed to be a logically and chronologically necessary step to resolve these problems.

Resulting from such a conference could be an interim government.



Not the right medicine . . . a constituent assembly won't resolve key issues, says Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

New SA 'cannot be left to politicians alone'

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

30441
Ska 2/12/91

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made an emphatic plea to ordinary South Africans to become involved in the process of creating a democracy — a task which could not be left to politicians alone.

"We do not see the resolution of our conflict happening without public activity.

"In actions supporting the demand for a free democratic process, an end to violence, and the need for peace, all people of good will will have to play a role in securing this result," he told about 4 000 students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

He delivered the keynote address at the Students' Representative Council's official ceremony to welcome first-year and returning students.

Metal detectors were used to search the large audience.

Decisions

Mr Mandela said that all should contribute towards the process of freedom and reconstruction in a country where all would be enriched by a diversity of views.

The ANC did not have all the answers. It needed specialists to assist the movement in making policy decisions and spell out options in such a way that ordinary citizens would understand them and become involved in

the political debate.

Amid laughter, he said parents might want their children to study and stay out of trouble — meaning political involvement. Yet the privilege of studying at a university was not merely to obtain a degree and secure a good job, but also to play a constructive role during the phase of transition.

"Working for the ANC or Nusas or Sانسco cannot be a substitute for your broader civic duty to use your time here to learn and understand how best to serve your country and its peoples."

Mr Mandela said he wanted to lay to rest the false claims that the ANC had propagated the slogan "liberation before education".



Nelson Mandela . . . pleads for all to contribute to freedom.

Dhlomo to help set 'rules of the game'

Scut 21/2-27/2/91
304A

By Noel Bruyns

HOPES for a smooth transition into the new South Africa will be boosted with the launch of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy in Cape Town on Monday.

The launch of the institute, brainchild of former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, was preceded by a think tank meeting of more than 60 prominent South Africans from across the political spectrum.

Dhlomo said he had held meetings with leading representatives of the ANC, Azapo, Cosatu, the PAC, the SA Communist Party, the Democratic Party, the National Party, the Conservative Party and the National Congress of Trade Unions (Nactu).

The ANC and PAC are among those who have confirmed they will attend the launch.

The mission statement of the institute is "to promote the establishment and maintenance of multiparty democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa".

A primary activity would be to define and propagate the "rules of the game" for a free and fair multiparty democratic system.

According to documentation from Dhlomo, the institute will be politically non aligned, not behave like a political party and will not promote partisan policies.

The institute's head office will be in Johannesburg. Regional offices will be established later.



President's Council has a lot to say: Will FW listen?

W/12/22-28/91

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his cabinet are studying a report by a committee of the President's Council detailing the options they should consider for a non-racial constitution ranging from a unitary state, federalism — and the partition demanded by Afrikaner extremists unwilling to accept majority rule.

The report was commissioned in December 1989, weeks before De Klerk announced the unbanning of liberation movements in February last year. It was released a few days after the latest, and secret, summit meeting between the president and African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee assured the media when the new joint agreement was published a week ago that the summit had been a success without concessions from either side because goodwill existed across the table, and there had been "no winners and no losers". Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok added that the agreement which resolved the obstacles to negotiations was a "victory for peace and stability". And in his accompanying statement De Klerk said, "if there is implementation according to the letter and spirit of the agreement, we will be moving rapidly towards the commencement of multi-party negotiations".

But the agreement is not final and some delicate details still have to be worked out: indemnity for political offences under existing law, the weapons held illegally by Umkhonto weSizwe and the "mere suspension of the armed struggle" which De Klerk insists "must be brought to an end once and for all".

There is no deadline for this process which must precede the multi-party conference that will lead to the actual negotiations by all interested parties, which could now include the Conservatives after Andries Treurnicht's apparent change of mind on the official Opposition's past rejection of any change. To mark his 70th birthday this week, "Dr No" told an interviewer that the CP might, after all, take part in the multi-party conference.

His likely change from an uncompromising position could have been influenced by younger, and more tolerant, Conservative MPs who have been dubbed "the new right" by the Democratic Party; or by the lambasting given the party by Energy Minister Dawie de Villiers during the debate on the presidential speech that announced the imminent repeal of the last pillars of apartheid.

The President's Council has spelt out a range of constitutional options and made recommendations. Now the government has to respond.

By ARTHUR MAIMANE



FW de Klerk: Moving towards multi-party talks

heid legislation — when the CP stormed out of the joint parliamentary session.

De Villiers pointed out that for the Conservatives to get the partition they demand if they fail to maintain apartheid, they would, perforce, have to negotiate their ideal with other parties.

The Constitutional Committee of the President's Council reported in 1982 that a compelling argument for partition was that it was "strongly conducive to individual self-respect" of the ethnic separatists. Its latest report refers to two American academics (Gann and Duignan) who argue that one person one vote will not solve South Africa's ethnic problems: only group rights can, because "ethnic groups that lose political power often lose everything else as well".

Back in the dark days of 1955, when apartheid was still flexing its new-found and expanding muscles, the Tomlinson

Commission stated that "partition is rationalised on historic, ethnical-cultural and security grounds".

The commission argued that an open society could not develop because if whites were to "fulfil their responsibility to Christianise and civilise blacks" it was necessary for them to retain socio-political control indefinitely — another ancient stance to justify white supremacy.

The President's Council Constitutional Committee now reports new insights among leading Afrikaners. Among them is a former MP and member of the Council, J du P Basson, who said in oral evidence that less than one percent of whites would wish to live in an *Afrikanerstaat* — such as the one Professor Karel Boshoff has started at Orania in the northern Cape by giving the town's coloured residents notice to quit.

In its summary on partition the council says it is impossible to impose it in South Africa since not all population groups "currently have a geographic basis" because economic development has led to all groups being "geographically integrated". The council adds that "this political ideal can by no means be separated from the economic reality" of natural resources and a viable infrastructure.

A unitary state, on the other hand, has a "relative simplicity with accompanying cost benefits", but suffers the disadvantage of "domination by the majority, and in a heterogeneous society this may result in large-scale conflict". And, the council adds, the "confrontational style of debate by parliament" could create a climate of conflict that "hampers efforts to achieve consensus".

The council summarises the pros and cons of the unitary state that is the ideal of liberation movements by suggesting a constitution that protects minorities or "a form of proportional representation that ensures the participation of all significant interest groups in parliament and the cabinet."

That should be music in the ears of De Klerk's government, which has in 12 months switched from expecting "group rights" to proposing the protection of communities with "shared values and lifestyles". But De Klerk is not legally bound to follow the recommendations of his own council, which in conclusion "believes that this report and its findings could assist negotiators", to come up with a constitution that "will prove that heterogeneous countries can enjoy peace, freedom and prosperity".

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE first steps towards the "rationalisation" of apartheid's bloated bureaucratic structures are making civil servants jittery.

Whether it is called "rationalisation" or whether it is merely seen as one of the areas of reform in forging a "new South Africa", the civil service has to change drastically.

The public commitment by President FW de Klerk to the "serious need for fundamental rationalisation" and the need for "interim arrangements" for problems arising from the fragmentation of administration — particularly in education, housing, health and agriculture — have spurred the first hesitant, behind-the-doors moves towards reform of the civil service.

About a third of South Africa's economically active whites are in the public sector and whites form 44,8 per cent of the 521 263 civil servants employed by central government.

Last year, it was revealed that the number of people employed by central government and provincial administrations increased by 10 032 to 753 209, while employment in all other sectors, including the remainder of the public sector, declined.

Not only has the public sector played a vital role in ensuring white economic security, but all top posts are held by whites, mostly Afrikaans-speaking males.

Public sector gets wind

up over the trim down

Wendie 22/2-28/2/91

Hans Olivier, senior manager of the Public Servants Association, says civil servants are concerned that their future and accumulated benefits could be threatened by constitutional reform.

Government spokesmen were quick to reassure them that there were "ways and means of rationalising without firing".

And the Minister of Administration and Economic Co-ordination, Dr Wim de Villiers, warned that talk of rationalising departments was "speculative and untimely" and was creating unnecessary uncertainty.

But it is accepted in official circles that the changes will eventually result in the demise of three "own" affairs administrations and the 10 homeland structures. With 19 education departments, 15 ministers of education, 13 ministers of health and 14 ministers of agriculture, the process is not a moment too soon.

Pretoria's "offer" to help Ciskei restructure its government is seen as the first step towards reintegrating the "independent" homeland into South Africa.

ca. De Klerk also said rationalisation could take place at local government level.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Gerrit Viljoen, has said own affairs administrations would only be scrapped once the constitution was changed. The three Ministers' Councils would be kept in place for the time being. He also said De Klerk would not allow the constitution to be fragmented on an ad hoc basis.

But the rationalisation of government bodies in education, housing, health, agriculture and local government will see the end of separate government structures based on race.

The process was begun with the appointment of two committees, under the chairmanship of the former auditor-general, Dr Joop de Loor, to investigate the myriad development agencies and the government's role in the provision of housing.

The De Loor reports have not yet been released — and the cabinet has not taken a decision to do so — but they are understood to be a scathing attack on fragmentation, duplication and

conflict between different government bodies, as well as on inefficiency in government efforts to deal with social problems.

The De Loor report is being studied by a committee of ministers and senior officials, who will in turn make recommendations to the cabinet.

It is hoped that the first moves towards rationalisation will start on April 1.

The cabinet's decisions will, however, have to be implemented by civil servants, who have not demonstrated much enthusiasm for change. For instance, in parliament this week, the Minister of Provincial and Planning Affairs, Hermus Kriel, disclosed that 43 new group areas had been proclaimed after De Klerk had announced that the Group Areas Act was to be scrapped.

So, while the cabinet and everyone else accepted that the law would be scrapped this year, the bureaucracy ground on implementing it.

There will, of course, have to be a civil service during the process of transition, but its potential for dragging heels and frustrating decisions for change is enormous.

Indeed, the reform of the civil service, with its power in the white community, could be one of the biggest challenges the constitutional negotiators will have to face.

ANC Women's League attacks media reporting

THE ANC Women's League PWV executive yesterday attacked what it saw as the "specious" reporting of the Winnie Mandela trial, and questioned whether the country's system of justice could provide her with a fair trial.

Mandela is chairman of the league's PWV executive. She did not attend the news conference, at which a statement was released accusing the media of "distorted thinking" which had given rise to a "baseless set of assumptions".

The statement, read by deputy chairman Joan Fubbs, said the media had inferred from distorted assumptions that the ANC was not committed to the establishment of justice. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Fubbs said Mandela herself was extremely distressed by the abduction of witnesses and the alleged kidnappings.

When a reporter suggested the statement might usefully have included an appeal to key witnesses to come forward and

TIM COHEN

testify, and an assurance that they would not be harmed, he was accused of being "arrogant".

"Perhaps because you are a man you feel it is okay for you to tell us what to do," said executive member Jessie Duarte.

She said the executive would not be intimidated.

Regional executive publicity officer Feroza Adams said the question was based on an assumption that the ANC was intimidating witnesses who had not come forward to testify, in the same way that there was an assumption that a witness had been kidnapped.

A Justice Department spokesman said there were no valid grounds for the Women's League statements on the system of justice.

"It is moreover policy not to become embroiled with biased and unscientific utterances," the spokesman said.

Whites-only CMU ruled 'unfair'

CP paper says it has 'mole'

CAPE TOWN — The CP yesterday claimed it had an agent in SA's intelligence services.

The CP's official mouthpiece Die Patriot said the agent was the source of its disclosure that a key figure in Winnie Mandela's trial, Gabriel Mekgwe, had been kidnapped by the state.

It also said that the same agent last year gave it a document which brought to light an ANC conspiracy to murder right-wing political leaders.

Die Patriot said President F W de Klerk had confirmed the authenticity of the document and had ordered a departmental investigation into the source.

This had failed, the newspaper said, as had been demonstrated by the fact that the agent had contacted it again. 610001 2212191

Seven political prisoners freed

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Seven political prisoners were released from Robben Island yesterday — the first group to be freed since government and the ANC's most recent accord on violence and political indemnity.

The move showed a trend in which those jailed for 10

HAMILTON
RUSSELL
VINEYARDS

Blom 22/2/91
'Constitution
(304A)
remains the
top priority'

PHUTHADITJHABA — Government was taking a strong stand against the idea of an elected constituent assembly because it believed a new constitution should first be planned by representatives of the different political parties in a negotiating body.

So said Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Information Roelf Meyer when he opened Qwaqwa's Legislative Assembly at Phuthaditjhaba on Friday.

He said the negotiating body's result could then be tested by the people of SA with a view to implementation. Government opposed the insistence on an interim government as this was not done in a sovereign, independent state.

Meyer said autonomous regional government could be instrumental in the handling of conflict in that it decentralised state power and would prevent domination.

Meyer said although the country was irrevocably on the way to a new SA, a solidarity among South Africans was still lacking.

Meyer said agreement still had to be reached on the participants in the proposed negotiating body, as it was not immediately obvious which organisations had proven support.

Another important question was how decisions were to be taken in the negotiating body. "On the one hand, the majority in the body should not be frustrated, and on the other, justice must be done to the smaller parties." — Sapa.

CP paper says it has 'mole'

Political Staff

(304A)

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This had failed, the newspaper said, as had been demonstrated by the fact that the agent had contacted it again. *Blom 22/2/91*

Own affairs may be scrapped

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday gave a strong signal that government planned to phase out own affairs administrations — especially in the fields of education, health and welfare.

Speaking in the Part Appropriation Bill debate, Du Plessis said government had to get rid of duplication and use the money saved where it was really needed.

"I believe if we can cut structurally the duplications, triplications and quadruplications (in the various ministries) we can reach the children with the money that we have," he said.

At the opening of Parliament President F W de Klerk said government was looking at the problems arising from fragmentation of administration.

Du Plessis said money allocated to education was not being spent as effectively as it could.

BILLY PADDOCK

Structurally, he said, government could look at education and health. Generally speaking the country carried an overhead far in excess of what was needed. "Much of this load could be converted into more and better qualified teachers," he said.

He said it cost the same to maintain elderly people whatever their race and pension disparities had to be eliminated.

Du Plessis said that he had told his officials and some colleagues at the weekend to reassess the priorities and requirements of the various departments.

He said he was being squeezed to create an environment for economic growth on the one hand and on the other was being expected to make provision for the necessary social spending.

● See Page 5

304A

Returning exiles need place to stay

By Winnie Graham

The National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR), now awaiting the largest group of returnees yet, is looking for vacant premises in central Johannesburg to accommodate about 200 people expected in the next fortnight.

Sister Shelagh Mary, one of the three co-ordinators of the NCCR's reception task force, said it was virtually impossible to integrate returnees into the community on the same day.

"Some of the returning exiles have families, but others have no place to go," she said.

A base where people can be accommodated temporarily will become increasingly necessary as thousands arrive — many of them by the end of April, the deadline set for the return of exiles and release of political prisoners.

Some may only need a bed and meal overnight while others could be in transit for up to a week.

"Exiles are not necessarily members of any political group," Sister Mary said. "They can, of course, be either black or white, conscientious objectors or simply people who left because they were afraid of the future here."

While the ANC offices set about tracking exiles, the churches are offering to use their international links to communicate information to exiled South Africans wanting to return.

Killer stunned by suspended sentence

By Julienne du Toit

A Randfontein man who pleaded guilty to killing his mistress said yesterday he was stunned at the suspended sentence Mr Justice P J van der Walt had given him in the Rand Supreme Court on Wednesday.

Alfred Henry Martin (35), also known as Trevor, was sentenced to five years in jail, suspended for five years, for shooting Claire Davies dead in her Braamfontein office on February 9 last year.

"I wasn't elated at the sentence, as some newspapers made me out to be. I just thought: now I can go back to my children and my ex-wife, I can pick up the roots again. 'I put my life into the judge's

hands. I knew I would go to jail. I knew I had committed a serious crime. But I'm free, because he took mitigating circumstances into account. He made the best decision. He wouldn't be on the Bench if he didn't."

"I had brainwashed myself that I was going to prison. Maybe I had more mercy on my side. It makes you think."

Martin said he still felt he could never forgive himself for killing his mistress of six years, "but I have to or I'll destroy myself."

"If I had committed fraud or theft, it would have been for some gain.

"But when a life ends there is no gain, just a loss. Your whole life disappears.

"Now she's gone. All I cared for and lived for. Just gone."

The bond between himself

and Ms Davies had been so great that "all the past and future newspapers could never contain it."

"I can't believe how suicidal I felt. I don't ever want to be in that trench again."

He said his Christianity had been neglected, but he was coming to terms with that.

Martin refused to elaborate on the problems that had led to the shooting — "that's been covered in court" — but said Ms Davies was never bad, never a "los meisie" (loose girl) as some newspapers had portrayed her.

"She was an excellent lady."

Martin initially refused to talk to The Star. "I want to get on with my life. I've had enough publicity."

"I still bump into people who don't look at me funny — people who have not yet heard of the case," he said.

Conference will discuss UK support for FW

A major conference, entitled "South Africa — the Struggle for Democracy", is to take place in London on Tuesday to urge the British government to be more positive about ending apartheid.

A statement issued in London by the Southern African Coalition (SAC) said speakers would include Stanley Mabizela, ANC deputy secretary of inter-

national affairs; the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches; Abdul Minty, honorary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement; and the Rev Michael Taylor, chairman of the SAC executive.

"The SAC believes Britain is failing to take advantage of the opportunities to play a constructive role in the transition

to a democratic society in SA.

"The SAC is critical of the British government's support of President de Klerk as both referee and player in the negotiating process. Instead, it believes the government should be supporting the demands from all sections of South African society for an interim government which can represent the interests of the entire population." — Sapa.

Unlikely group sits for lunch

REPRESENTATIVES of the African National Congress and black business sat for lunch in Parliament on Tuesday with a National Party and a Conservative Party MP.

ANC director of manpower Mr Popo Moloto, businesswoman Mrs Marina Maponya, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and CP finance spokesman Mr Casper Uys lunched together following a meeting of the VAT Committee.

The committee this week handed the Government their report - a com-

pilation of submissions from politicians and the public on the proposed Value Added Tax.

Vatcom was headed by the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, and members of the Democratic Party, National Party and members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

The 16-person committee included Maponya, Pretoria businessman Mr Oscar Motsepe, businessman Mr George Negot-

and chartered accountant Mr M Nxumalo.

All the black members - who served on the committee in their private capacity - are members of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce.

Dr Francois Jacobs represented the NP, Mr Jasper Walsh the DP, Mr Les Abrahams the Labour Party and Mr Kisten Moodley Solidarity.

Org Marais chaired the meeting.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

3044

United States leaders to visit South Africa

Sowetan 22/2/91
WASHINGTON - A large delegation of US senators and congressmen may visit South Africa in April or May for unprecedented talks with a broad cross-section of political leaders.

The talks, expected to take place behind closed doors at a Cape Town venue, are likely to have an important impact on how the US Congress develops its South Africa policy, and specifically what decisions it will take with regard to suspending or modifying sanctions.

The conference is being co-ordinated by the Aspen Institute as part of its series of private meetings between South African leaders and US lawmakers.

3047
According to sources, the conference is likely to be addressed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, as well as by other major South African leaders.

The US lawmakers will also use the opportunity of their visit to South Africa to study the effects of De Klerk's reforms on the ground.

The upcoming conference will be the first to be held inside South Africa, made possible by the unbanning of all political parties, the release of political prisoners and the relaxation of emergency laws. - *Sowetan Foreign Service.*

Why apartheid hurts Minister

DEPUTY Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Leon Wessels, who apologised for apartheid in Parliament this week, yesterday told *Sowetan* how he had come to see the light.

Wessels said in an interview in Cape Town yesterday that his apology for apartheid stood.

He said he had no problem with saying he was sorry for the hurt and displacement which millions of black South Africans suffered under apartheid.

Wessels said he did not convert overnight.

He first realised that apartheid was wrong when he visited unrest areas in 1985, when he was the deputy Minister of Law and Order.

"It was in Munsieville in 1985, where I met ordinary black people under the threat of forced removal.

"I saw the squalor and the hurt and suffering ... It was then that I decided that we had gone wrong," he said.

Wessels had in the past six years also frequently met Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches.

In his discourse with the two church leaders (to name but two) he found profound hope and honesty.

He explained that he regularly visited shebeens in poverty-stricken townships and was amazed at the amount of "goodwill" and

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

camaraderie among black people against pernicious laws such as the now abolished Influx Control and the Group Areas Act.

During the historic apology in Parliament on Wednesday, Wessels said: "Apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land.

"With the benefits of hindsight we now know that we have hurt our fellow countrymen.

"The only manner to successfully build our joint future is if we are, inter alia, brutally frank and honest about the past."

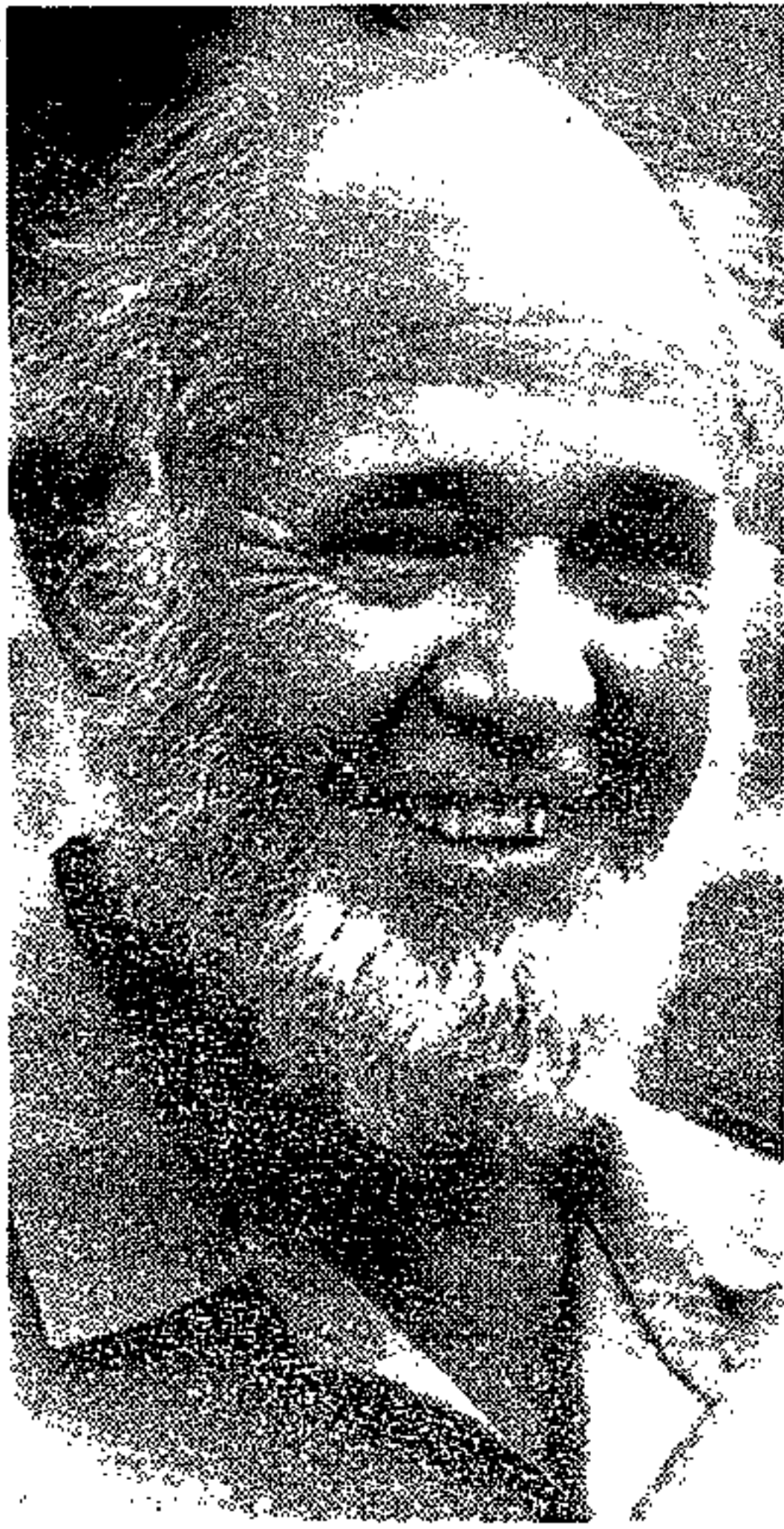
Sowetan 22/2/91 **Apology** (304A)

"We had failed to listen to the laughter and the crying of our people.

"That must never happen again. I am sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long. So indifferent."

Wessels's formal apology comes with days of a refusal by State President FW de Klerk to apologise for apartheid.

De Klerk said in a television interview Sunday night that his party were constantly in search of just solutions and suggested that an apology was unnecessary.



Orde Boerevolk's Piet Rudolph



CP spokesman Koos van der Merwe



Leader of the HNP Jaap Marais



Boerestaat Party's Robert van Tonder

Is this the demise of the right?

DOES anybody remember the white right-wing threat? A year ago it seemed that a

U/Mand 22/2-28/2/91
While right-wing sentiments have not disappeared, the organisations appear to be dying a slow death.

By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

firebrands, for the moment, have had their day.

Veteran political analyst Willem Kleynhans — who, from his vantage point in Pretoria, is never one to dismiss the right-wing threat — says the significant players on the right are once more the “respectable” political parties — the Conservative Party and, to a lesser extent, the Herstigte Nasionale Party under a revitalised Jaap Marais.

That means right-wing hopes are focused on the prospect of winning the white referendum that De Klerk confirmed once again this week would take place once the new constitution is drawn up.

Koos van der Merwe, chief spokesman of the Conservative Party, says the party is gearing up to fight the by-election in Maitland on March 6. “If the Conservative Party does exceptionally well there it should be clear to all reasonably minded people in the country that the government doesn’t have the majority support and it must hold an election.

“This type of pressure, we know from sources within the National Party, is taking its toll,” he said. “The message is getting home that they are

(304A)
governing as a minority party. We will thrash him in the referendum, then he will really be forced to call a general election.”

This seeming strength of the Conservative Party — the ability to block the new South Africa with 50 percent plus one among the white electorate — is also a big weakness.

Kleynhans claims that the CP could easily rally a majority among whites, but *Rapport* polls have shown De Klerk gaining, not losing, support — and there would have to be a massive 20 percent swing to the right over the results of the September 1989 election for De Klerk to lose a referendum.

So, what does the CP do if it doesn’t win the referendum? “Aluta continua,” says Van der Merwe, who points out that at the end of the day the rightwing has other options.

“Suppose we start to paralyse certain services in the country? Suppose we really use our muscle to bring traffic in the PWV to a standstill for the day? Suppose we ground South African Airways for a day? Suppose we cut off Eskom’s power for a couple of days?

“The Afrikaner has not lost his will to survive as a nation. The Here XVII and the British tried, and they failed miserably. The deal that is expected of us at the negotiating table means for us the eventual demise of the Afrikaner people.”

But these words, too, have a sense of unreality to them. They reveal, once

more, the dearth of options facing the CP. Carel Boshoff, himself a CP member, is prepared to move into the negotiating process to make his plea for white homeland in Orania. Younger CP MPs are also said to be very tentatively eyeing it as an option.

For a nation obsessed with its own history, one of the most glaring historical precedents is frequently overlooked. In the last days of the second Anglo-Boer war, Afrikaner leaders were divided between the *bittereinders* who refused to give in to the enemy, and the more pragmatic Smuts-Botha grouping who recognised the need to adapt and compromise rather than continue with a suicidal struggle.

Both strands are basic to Afrikaner politics: rigid hardliners, who predominated in the Verwoerdian monolithic era, and shrewd pragmatists, of whom De Klerk is emerging as the pre-eminent example. This divide is no less apparent in the ranks of the Conservative Party, as it faces the inevitable pull of the multi-party conference.

Even Van der Merwe concedes that a big part of him would like to be in that conference “knocking the living daylights out of everyone there — on the strength of my constitutional model” — but not, he says, when his basic philosophy is excluded.

The Conservative Party will soon have to come up with a better reason than that for not participating, or risk being completely sidelined by history.

(304A) ~~41~~

LP poised to put Govt in a fix ~~3~~ over Bills

Star 22/2/71

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party walked out of Parliament yesterday, starting a campaign to block the passage of legislation and force the Government to increase the budget for the House of Representatives.

LP members filed out after the debate on the mini-Budget, just before scheduled voting on several minor Bills.

Their aim was not to vote on the Bills — and compel the Government to take the embarrassing option of forcing the legislation through the deadlock-breaking President's Council.

But the acting Speaker of Parliament, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg, unexpectedly adjourned Parliament an hour early and the Bills were, therefore, not voted on.

LP members suspect he did this to thwart their strategy.

Voting on the Bills is likely to be on the agenda today when the LP is again expected to refuse to vote. If so, President de Klerk can call upon the House of Representatives to vote in two weeks.

If they fail to, they will be deemed to have rejected the Bills and he may then send them to the National Party-packed President's Council to be passed. The LP is calculating that he will not take this option as it is so clearly undemocratic.

The party has also threatened to close down the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives if the Government refuses to renegotiate a better budget.

One complaint is the Government's failure to close the R51 gap in social welfare pensions of whites and coloureds.

Mr Pik Botha has been a salesman with a bagful of goods which just wouldn't sell for the nearly 14 years he has been Foreign Minister. Now he finds himself coping with great international interest in the new-look product of reform. This week he provides his assessment of how his job has changed, what lies ahead, and why.

Waves of change

304A

23/2/91 W/E Argus.

By PIK BOTHA as told to John MacLennan, Political Staff

RIGHT now, says Pik Botha, the country is riding a series of waves. Each leads to increased options and better opportunities.

In his view the groundwork was laid by events leading to Namibian independence and subsequently President De Klerk's dramatic opening of parliament speech just over a year ago when the ANC was unbanned.

"The first wave occurred when we signed the trilateral agreement in New York with Cuba and Angola in December 1988. Before that we had to endure the vendetta of UN attacks for so many years, so it was a great moment to be invited to the UN to sign an international accord with far reaching consequences, ending a dispute on Namibia which came all the way from General Smuts's time and opened the way for Namibia to become independent and the Cuban troop withdrawal.

"That was the first major, dramatic event which started to turn the heads of the responsible governments, including the Soviet Union. Mr Gorbachev had just emerged from the old era and proved that he was a reformer.

"After the signing ceremony I received a telegram of congratulations in Russian from their foreign minister. It was, I believe, the first positive and constructive message we received from the Soviet Union since World War 2.

"But nobody really believed we would go through with Namibian independence. We moved along, elections took place and the important countries began to accept the integrity of the government. This was the first major wave.

"Namibian independence called for new forward movement and President De Klerk admirably rose to the occasion. He created the second and more dramatic wave when he unbanned the organisations.

"There was even less hesitancy about our intentions after the third major wave which came with the Groote Schuur Minute. This created enough momentum for President De Klerk to be received with dignity and applause on a tour of nine European nations as well as Morocco and Ivory Coast.

"Some countries were

still not ready for us. But the doors to the United States opened with the fourth wave, the Pretoria Minute. There we agreed on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles while the ANC suspended violence.

Extra space

"The visits to the Netherlands and Luxembourg were made possible by the fifth wave, when the ranks of the NP were opened to all. Before the visit the Dutch felt the need to put extra space between us because the perception was that the 'Boere' came from there and the Netherlands therefore had some sort of responsibility for what had happened here.

"But after we opened the party nobody could say change was reversible and the move

completed the years of trying to break out of our isolation.

"These waves of change and their effects have changed our job immeasurably. Before we had a product which you couldn't market. Now we have got something to sell. There was no way we could defend the Immorality Act, the Prevention of Mixed Marriages Act or job reservation.

"Now I am able to say to my European friends: 'You were always wondering whether change here is irreversible. But isn't there some reciprocity. Are your undertakings (on sanctions) really irreversible. We have done it. When are you going to do it?'

"The effects of these waves of change also include rewards such as leverage in our arguments, our integrity has been

underlined, economically things look better and doors are opening all over the world.

"This is because we are now in step, constitutionally speaking and from the point of fundamental human rights, with the civilised nations of the world. All of this is a very enriching, rewarding experience.

Challenges

"We now face great diplomatic challenges. The immediate task is to open as many missions as possible.

"Even so, right now we are in contact with far more countries than we can open missions. We should open up to 14 new missions in the 12 months ending June this year.

"That compares with zero in an average previous year."

**Winnie,
Marike
keep cool
distance**

JOHANNESBURG. — The personal chemistry evident between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk did not seem to filter across to their wives when the couples met at a banquet hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club.

While the ANC and NP leaders warmly greeted each other and exchanged laughter, before their addresses to a select crowd at the club venue last night, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Marike de Klerk kept a palpable distance from each other.

At a pre-drink session before the entourage of both parties moved into the dining hall, Mrs De Klerk merely greeted Mrs Mandela, exchanged a few words and promptly moved to meet other guests.

KEPT APART

Emerging from the private room, Mrs Mandela and Mrs De Klerk remained about 10 paces apart as they strolled to the banquet hall.

On entering the hall, Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk constantly smiled and chatted to each other, but their wives were shown to their places independently.

Up until the delivery of the speeches, Mrs Mandela and Mrs De Klerk did not speak to each other — they were seated about five paces apart.

It was the first time the two women had met publicly. — Sapa.

FW, Mandela flash over interim rule

JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela differed sharply on the question of an interim government ahead of negotiations when they shared a public platform for the first time.

In an address to the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday, Mr Mandela charged that it was imperative that the reconstruction of a law-abiding society was incumbent on the creation of an interim government.

"When we say that the incumbent government has no moral right to govern... we are merely stating a judgment which any democrat must make if he or she subscribes to basic democratic norms."

'Talks in dark rooms'

"It is because of our concern to commence as soon as possible (with) the reconstruction of a law-abiding society that we have called for an interim government."

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, the longer shall we be condemned to endure the steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the danger that entails." Mr Mandela said in response to the rising crime that has afflicted major city centres.



Mr De Klerk

In reply, Mr De Klerk said he took issue with demands for an interim government.

"If it means that a government has no democratic base and is cooped up in talks in dark rooms, then I cannot accept that."

"A new government must come into being in a democratic manner. We must negotiate for a new Government. We cannot afford a constitutional vacuum as this will be a recipe for anarchy."

"We cannot jump from A to Z. However, it does not mean that we cannot talk about new concepts."



Mr Mandela

Mr De Klerk said he did not believe the future of South Africa could be decided by the National Party and the ANC.

"The total leadership — working together — has to sit at the table to work out a solution. All leaders with conflicting views must be there."

"We need an indaba between all the people and leaders — there is no simplistic division as to who represents who. We need a future of shared values," Mr De Klerk said.

Mr De Klerk went on to repeat an offer to all political forces to meet at the negotiation table. — Sapa.

**Nelson,
FW most
'popular
leaders'**

**Weekend Argus
Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk and Mr Mandela are the two most acceptable leaders but Mr De Klerk has a broader support base than Mr Mandela.

This emerged from a telephone survey done by the Human Science Research Council.

Mr Mandela polled the support of 44 per cent of blacks, one per cent of coloured support, five per cent Indian support — but no white support.

Mr De Klerk, on the other hand, polled 25 per cent support among blacks, 51 per cent among whites, 66 per cent among coloureds and 48 per cent among Indians.

Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi got two percent support among blacks, five per cent among whites and none among Coloureds and Indians.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht polled eight percent support among whites but none among blacks, Coloureds and Indians.

The report said: "The findings indicate that Mr De Klerk has succeeded in maintaining a broad base of support for his socio-political initiatives, although the base is in the process of being redefined."

"In addition, his support exceeds that of Mr Mandela in breadth and depth."

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23/2/91

W/ing
Argus

Dhlomo's plan for democracy



Dhlomo



Brand



Vilakazi



Godsell



Van der Ross



Cooper

Making of a free SA

W/E Argus 23/2/91 3041

AMID all the excitement about reform and transition to a "new South Africa" most people seem to take it for granted that we are moving towards a non-racial democracy. But are we?

Warnings have come from several sources that we cannot be too sure about that. As veteran parliamentarian Mr Colin Eglin put it recently: "While there is reason for high hope, there are no guarantees about the future."

There are no guarantees that there will be a truly democratic government, that the rule of law will prevail, or that there will be respect for the freedom and dignity of individual South Africans.

Intolerance

Some analysts have warned that the "new South Africa" could even be ruled by another authoritarian-type regime, or worse. And political scientist Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University has pin-pointed remarkable similarities between anti-democratic trends in the old National Party and in the African National Congress of today.

One of these, he notes, is the trend towards intolerance and controls which reached a high point under the P W Botha regime, with the state of emergency as its most drastic manifestation.

It is at this point of uncertainty about the future that former Kwazulu Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo is launching the new Institute for a Multiparty Democracy. Its main aims include the promotion of political tolerance and national reconciliation within a multiparty democracy.

The organisers state as one of the main reasons for the formation of the institute that there is "a serious concern that the process of transformation of the South African political system will not necessarily lead to the establishment of a multiparty democratic system."

The new movement seeks to ensure that such a democracy does come about.

The institute will be launched by Dr Dhlomo in Cape Town's plush Cape Sun Hotel on Monday. Among those invited to attend are business leaders, political

A new 'high-powered institute for a multiparty democracy is to be launched in Cape Town on Monday by former Kwazulu Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo. Its main aims will include the promotion of political tolerance and national reconciliation. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE lifts the veil over the institute's role and some of its plans.

leaders, academics, church and trade union leaders.

There can be no doubt that this is going to be a high-powered institute. It will be administered by a board of trustees consisting of an impressive panel of top people of all races and representing a wide range of political opinions across the spectrum. An equally impressive list of associates includes leading academics from various universities.

Well-known names on the board of more than 30 trustees include Dr Simon Brand, Dr Saths Cooper, Dr Dhlomo, Professor Mervyn Frost, Professor Hermann Gillomee, Mr Bobby Godsell, Professor Hennie Kotze, Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, Ms Nomavenda Mathiane, Mr Don Mkhwanazi, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Mrs Sally Motlana, Mr Mandla Msomi, Professor Harriet Ngubane, Professor Otty Nxumalo, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Dr Richard Stevens, Professor Alex Thembela, Dr Richard van der Ross and Professor Herbert Vilakazi.

Co-operation

The list of associates includes Professor M T Ajam, Professor W J de Klerk, Professor J J Degenaar, Professor W P Esterhuyse, Professor J I K Gagliano, Mr T T Goba, Dr J F Graaff, Dr J Hofmeyr, Ms F M Kendall, Mr G T Magomola, Mr P Mansfield, Dr K E M Mgojo, Dr S M Motsuenyane, Professor R A Schrire, Professor H W van der Merwe, and Professor M Wiechers. There are many more.

The institute will have a nine-point "charter for multiparty democracy" which includes most of the key requirements for truly democratic government.

The proposed political system is one in which political debate and elections must be conducted "free from duress, threat, or corruption."

The charter declares specifically that "violence and other forms of coercion shall be inadmissible as means of political mobilisation."

Every citizen over the age of 18 must have "full and equal political rights, and full and free participation in the political system, including the right to offer himself or herself as a candidate for election."

In reply to questions from Weekend Argus, Dr Dhlomo, the executive chairman, disclosed further details about the institute and its plans.

Asked where it would stand in relation to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), he said there would be "a spirit of co-operation and not competition."

"It is not envisaged that there will be any overlapping of tasks and activities. There is so much to do in the area of promoting democracy in our country. Our planned programmes are also clear-

ly different from those of Idasa ..."

In which areas of society are tolerance and reconciliation most needed? Dr Dhlomo replied that all South Africans, regardless of colour, needed to be assisted to inculcate democratic values — "all of us have never lived under a democratic political system since our country was founded".

Political parties and leaders needed to learn to co-exist peacefully, to sell their policies to voters, and to compete openly and democratically for support without resorting to violence or outright hatred.

"They must also learn to accept criticism in a democratic spirit, always remembering that in a democracy no one is above criticism."

National reconciliation needed to be promoted in the daily lives of the people.

Which democratic values and practices are most needed in South Africa?

"Democracy is first and foremost a way of life and our duty is to ensure that it is viewed as such by our people. It is not just a set of rules that must be memorised by citizens."

Important values in democratic societies included a devotion to human dignity and freedom, to equal rights for all, to tolerance of and respect for diversity, to social and economic justice, to the rule of law, to freedom of speech, and to freedom of association.

Dr Dhlomo said the institute hoped to promote political tolerance by involving all political groups in its programmes without any discrimination.

It would try to assist political parties to draw up a "covenant for democracy" in terms of which they would conduct their politics in a spirit of "live and let live."

Non-aligned

Other plans include the launching of a political leadership training programme for young aspiring political leaders drawn from all political parties, and a national information strategy aimed at helping all people to promote democratic values and a democratic culture.

More details of some of the programmes will be revealed at the launch on Monday.

The institute will work in all sectors of the population. However, representation in the institute is not necessarily based on political parties.

Dr Dhlomo describes the institute as "strictly non-aligned and independent". In fact, some of the trustees made this non-alignment a pre-condition for their service in the institute.

The institute's head office will be in Johannesburg. It will have regional offices in Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

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FW should confess — Wimpie

Pierre Claassen

CAPE TOWN — State President F W de Klerk owed South Africa an open and firm confession on apartheid, says his brother Professor Wimpie de Klerk.

He expresses this view in a biography he has written on his brother entitled: "F W de Klerk — The Man and His Times".

The book is published in English and Afrikaans by Jonathan Ball and Tafelberg and is due to go on sale tomorrow.

After dealing with what Prof de Klerk identifies as the seven sins which brought about the disintegration of apartheid, he says he is not certain whether President de Klerk and his government would underwrite his diagnosis.

"To my mind it remains a pity that there has not been an open and firm confession that apartheid was an error," he says.

"I think FW owes it to South Africa."

There was a rationalising argument which broadly stated that the Afrikaner had not sinned against the blacks in the sense of a deliberate meanness or an evil plotting, that mistakes had been made but much uplifting service had been rendered.

"Our people will have to abandon this argument because it is unacceptable and contains only a kernel of truth."

Prof de Klerk, by several years the State President's elder brother, long ago left the path of National Party apartheid which his father, Senator Jan de Klerk, had served as a senior Cabinet Minister for many years.

Dealing with the confession issue he draws on his theological authority as a minister of religion.

"It is an old truth," writes Prof de Klerk, "that forgiveness demands confession of guilt. And it is the perception among black leaders that F W de Klerk is refusing it." — Sapa.

New Boer Commando breaks from the AWB

Charles Leonard

A NEW ultra-rightwing break-away organisation from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was formed in Pretoria yesterday.

The new Boer Commando comes in the wake of bitter behind-the-scenes disputes with the leader of the AWB, Eugene TerreBlanche. It could leave the AWB in tatters after four of the organisation's regional Wenkommandos joined the Boer Commando en masse.

At a news conference yesterday the convenor of the Boer Commando's leader group and former leader of the Wenkommando in the Eastern Transvaal region, Gawie Volschenk, said Mr TerreBlanche's general behaviour hampered "the aspirations of compatriots towards greater co-operation and disciplined action".

He would add nothing to this, saying that no dirty laundry should be washed in public.

He said the AWB leader had been requested by several groups of Wenkommandos to speak to them because they were having problems with him personally. Mr TerreBlanche

had refused.

A source close to Mr TerreBlanche, who did not want to be named, said what triggered the formation of the new organisation was an incident outside Middelburg on December 16. After the AWB's march through the town Mr TerreBlanche apparently drove off a low-water bridge in his BMW.

The structure of the new organisation, consisting of the Wenkommandos from the Eastern Transvaal, Southern Free State, Eastern Cape and Northern Natal, is based on strict military principles.

One of the main aims is to forge unity in rightwing ranks, Mr Volschenk said. He said the Boer Commando had already had talks with parliamentary and extra-parliamentary rightwing groups.

Several senior AWB members, including head office personnel, were seen at the Pretoria restaurant where the news conference was held. The security was handled by members of Mr TerreBlanche's bodyguard, Agulla.

It is known that Mr Volschenk's Wenkommando in the

Eastern Transvaal consists of 1 800 members organised in military-like groups.

It is also expected that the strong Western Transvaal region of the Wenkommando will join the new Boer Commando soon. That would finally erode Mr TerreBlanche's power base — he lives in that region.

Since May last year the AWB leader has been "chased away" from several of the Wenkommando training sessions, the AWB source said.

Political analyst Wim Booysse said the formation of the new Boer Commando would have serious political implications as the country headed towards a new dispensation.

"While the negotiations phase is in progress these rightwingers are organising themselves defensively," Mr Booysse said. "The long-term implication is the formation of a counter-revolutionary embryo."

"The reason why we should take this new organisation seriously is because Mr TerreBlanche is off the scene now. With him there the AWB was seen as a joke. Now things look completely different."



BREAKAWAY COMMANDO . . . convenor Gawie Volschenk, former leader of the AWB Wenkommando in the Eastern Transvaal, announces the formation of the ultra right-wing Boer Commando. Picture: Brian Hendler.

SOMETHING was rotten in the state of Denmark in the days of Prince Hamlet. The prince hesitated to cut the rottenness to the bone. In the end he had to pay the price. Something is also rotten in the apartheid state of South Africa. If the De Klerk government could acknowledge this and could implement a policy to cut the terrible legacies of the rotten apartheid policy out of the system, it may still be possible to restore the health of the South African body politic.

Unfortunately, Mr de Klerk is unprepared — or conceptually unable — to make such a diagnosis and to apply such a remedy. He said on TV last Sunday that his government decided to abolish apartheid not because it was an evil system, but because it became convinced that apartheid "could not work". What a strange motivation.

President de Klerk apparently does not understand the fundamental difference between a wrong and a rotten state of affairs — or between a wrong and a rotten policy, or between an unworkable and a per se immoral policy.

If apartheid should be abolished for the wrong reasons, we run the risk that it may happen in a wrong, an artificial and a superficial way. Then the abolishment can prove to be as "unworkable" as the NP's apartheid itself.

Any policy to solve a problem — in whatever sphere of life — can only succeed if the problem-solving activity is preceded by a sound analysis to determine the true nature of the problem.

The De Klerk government must be applauded for the success it has attained in breaking down some of the conceptual blockages and ideological hangovers that have hampered the NP's analytical ability in the Botha era.

The NP has undoubtedly broadened its perspectives during the De Klerk era. The decisive question remains however whether the new government has become broadminded, open and unideological enough to make an adequate re-evaluation of all the factors that have plunged the country into its terrible apartheid predicament.

This question is relevant because of the persuasive role the Thatcher and Bush governments have allegedly played in Mr de Klerk's reform initiatives. If the reforms are mainly the result of foreign pressure we cannot be comfortable about the quality of government leaders' convictions.

In spite of the advances made by the De Klerk government, it has in all probability not broken free, to a sufficient degree, from the ideological strait-jacket and the sectionalistic vested interests that have haunted successive Nationalist governments for decades. It seems as if we can identify

Rottenness still lurks at SA's core

(304A)
stew 24/2/91

By **SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE**



Professor of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch.

three conceptual blockages as typical features of the De Klerk approach.

At first blockage manifests itself in the very transparent inability of the NP to free itself from the Verwoerdian languages and absurdities. In a typical Verwoerdian idiom, President de Klerk said on TV last Sunday that the NP's history is basically one of reaching out to create justice for all and to grant to every national group what it claims for its own.

ALTHOUGH he admits that (technical) mistakes were made, he claims that the morality of the NP's intentions was always above contention!

This belated attempt towards yet another whitewash of apartheid in terms of the old and discredited Verwoerdian claptrap, is almost too bad to be true. It can only be attempted by someone who has not liberated himself from the conceptual bondage, the language and the escapism of the Verwoerdian era.

How on earth can someone claim in 1991 that all the exploitative and suppressive legislation, structures and policies of apartheid were morally well-intended during all these years when feeble attempts were made to test the "workability" of the Verwoerdian ex-

periment of separate "development" and separate "freedoms".

It must really have been a twisted morality that brought wealth and prosperity for the white minority and terrible poverty and deprivation for the black majority.

It is really a pity that President de Klerk has — according to his own testimony — not experienced a Damascus Road conversion. Such a conversion could have rid him of the ideological ballast and self-righteousness of Verwoerdianism. Please let us make a clean break with the Verwoerdian nightmare.

A second Klerkian conceptual blockage is manifested in President de Klerk's almost obstinate attitude not to make a confession about the NP's guilt towards the rottenness of the apartheid state and not to make a commitment to cut the rotten legacy to the bone.

Can it be that President de Klerk's unwillingness to make such a confession and such a commitment is because he shrinks from the pain he will have to inflict on his (white) constituency if he should cut the rottenness to the bone?

Has his (white) constituency become — as a direct result of their privileged position in the apartheid system — too materialistic and too bourgeois to be prepared to pay for the reparation? Apparently, yes.

It is puzzling why it is so difficult — or impossible — for the De Klerk government to do what is so obviously prescribed by Christian morality. Or are the claims of the materialistic ideology stronger than Christian morality?

A third Klerkian conceptual blockage is revealed by the apparent determination of the NP not only to control the negotiation process and its outcome, but also to prevent (or to retard) any settlement that may directly or indirectly have the implication that the NP can lose — even in the long run — control over the State machinery.

This is the result of an idea — fossilised over many years in NP thinking — that only the NP can be trusted with the task of "governing" — that is, to use State power to promote the vested interest of its own (white) constituency. Instead of maintaining white dominance through "separate development" the new approach is to keep at least control through the equally absurd and unworkable policy of "powersharing without dominance".

After having been spoiled for more than four decades by the lucrative benefits of exercising almost monopolistic power, it seems as if the Government does not realise — and is even incapable of realising — the dangers involved in its attempts to manipulate the power play during (and even after) negotiations and to retain all the (white) wealth accumulated during the apartheid years in white hands.

THIS can cause serious disruptions, instability and prolonged economic depression.

The abolition of statutory apartheid will hopefully lead to the lifting of sanctions. It is, however, necessary to realise that these developments may be insufficient for creating conditions conducive to the influx of enough foreign investment and for the attainment of a high economic growth rate.

Although it will probably be difficult for the Government to conceptualise — given the emerging Klerkian frame of mind — it should realise that meaningful measures to remove at least some of the structural inequalities, poverty and powerlessness in black circles, could prove — through its effect on socio-economic stability — to be as necessary for the influx of foreign investment and the attainment of a high economic growth rate, as is the lifting of sanctions.

Youths 'raped and murdered'

By MARTIN NTSOLENGOE

A TALE of horror in which a gang of youths allegedly went on a wild orgy of rape, robbery and murder in typical "jackroller" style unfolded in the Rand Supreme Court this week.

The five youths face six counts of rape, 16 of robbery with aggravating circumstances, one of murder and two of attempted murder.

A 16-year-old rape victim broke down and wept hysterically when prosecutor DF Dorfling asked her to identify her attackers in the trial in which Eric Xolane Dube, 19, Nhlamhla Mncube, 21, Thami Ncwana, 20, and two minors aged 15 and 16 are facing 25 counts raging from rape to murder.

Charges against them include that of holding up a taxi driver in Moroka North on August 12, 1989. The youths are alleged to have confronted Azaria Moleko at gun-point, ordering all his passengers to get off the vehicle. They later drove away with the minibus, leaving Moleko and his passengers stranded at a street corner.

Later, in Zone 9 Meadowlands, they allegedly went to a shebeen, impersonating the police, abducted a woman and took her to a nearby school where they raped her. Before that, it is alleged, they attempted to murder Leon Rodney Osmond by assaulting him before robbing him of R60 and slashing his car tyres.

They are also alleged to have assaulted Dan Phetoe and robbed him of two rings valued at R400 each, a crocodile leather wallet, a watch worth R900 and R180 cash.

Still in Meadowlands, they allegedly assaulted Moses

Mandela at Bop funeral

NELSON Mandela will go to Bophuthatswana for the first time today when he attends the funeral of ANC Youth League executive member Bachana Mokoena who died in a car accident in Midrand last Sunday.

Mokoena and his brother, Alfred, who was also killed in the accident, will be buried at the Ga-Bankuwa cemetery.

Accompanying Mandela will be his wife Winnie and Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani.

Nishunsha by hitting him on the head with iron bars.

A few paces away they allegedly abducted a young woman and forced her to go with them, later gang-raping her.

They then allegedly went to the home of the 16-year-old girl, forced her in front of her parents to accompany them and raped her.

From there, it is charged, they went to Extension 7 Meadowlands where they forced a woman who was with her boyfriend, Sylvester Clement Môngalo, to go with them.

When Môngalo attempted to resist, he was attacked with an assortment of weapons and died from severe head and body wounds.

The case is proceeding.

Inkatha lashes ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO

Clippers 24/2/91

THOUSANDS of heavily armed Inkatha members marched through the streets of Soweto yesterday on their way to hear KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi call on his followers and the ANC to lay down their weapons.

Addressing about 35 000 supporters at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, he also rejected the Harare Declaration, calls for a constituent assembly, the establishment of an interim government and lashed the ANC for its mass action calls.

Buthelezi said a one-man-one-vote system was not the only kind of democracy fit for mankind.

The bomb exploded

last week when Mlangeni fitted the earphones to his head. Mlangeni received the parcel containing the bomb after Coetzee failed to fetch the parcel, addressed to him, from the post office in Lusaka.

"In the past, he (the officer concerned) also prepared mechanisms for me and I used two of the bombs in Swaziland," Coetzee alleges.

"I blew up an ANC transit house with the one and a wooden house with

■ To Page 2

Mandela, De Klerk differ on new SA

By SANDILE MEMELA

Clippers 24/2/91

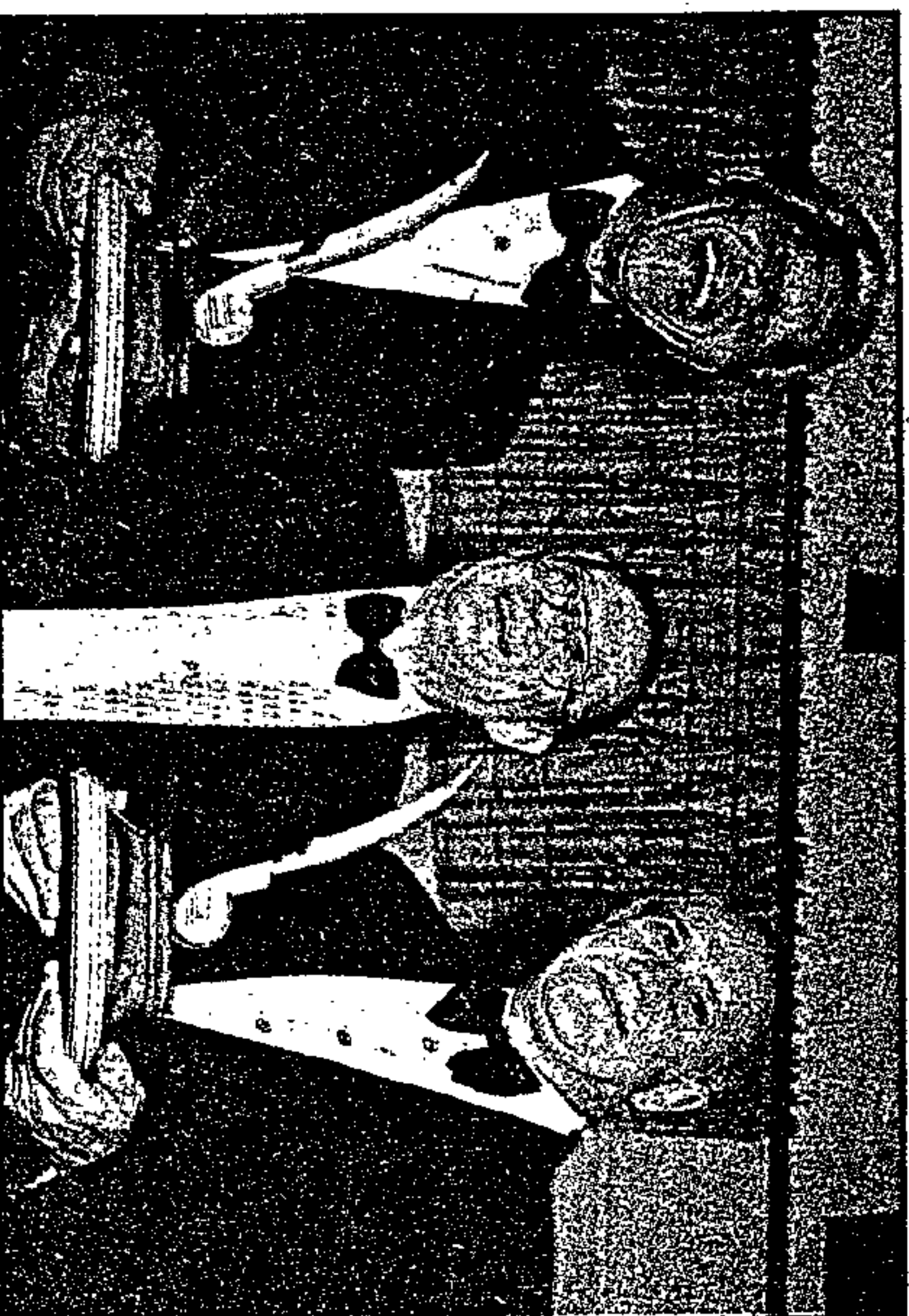
ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk differed sharply on the question of a new South Africa when they jointly received the Newsmaker of the Year award on Friday.

The two men received the prestigious award at a function hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club.

Mandela said the current government under De Klerk had no moral right to govern, and called for the creation of an interim government.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, the longer we shall be condemned to endure the steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the danger that entails," he said.

De Klerk dismissed the idea of an interim government, saying he could not accept a government which was "cooked up in talks in dark rooms".



Newsmakers... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk receive awards from Press Club chairman Hans Lombard.

Failure to act in...
that he would tolerate
... (327)

THREE of the finest analysts of political change in South Africa — Samuel Huntington, R W Johnson and Van Zyl Slabbert — have all agreed in the Sunday Times Towards the Future series that, given our divisions and conflicts, we are broadly on the right track: a negotiated resolution between all major parties before competitive elections.

All three are very mindful of the hazards, however.

Huntington reminds us of the sobering fact that we are burdened with more violence than other transitions he has studied. The manifest influence of extremists on all sides convinces him that the critical negotiations and the compromises should occur in secret.

Slabbert, concerned about the same problems, sees a need for systematic negotiation about the rules of transition perhaps before substantive issues like the constitution and major aspects of policy are dealt with.

These are sound suggestions, but, given certain other major problems, they might not resolve difficulties in our transition. One has to ask a few tougher questions. Who, for example, negotiates for whom?

This question has relevance on

'The major actors in many of the local situations are neither under the political discipline of the ANC nor of the National Party'

all sides. The greatest confusion, however, surrounds the ANC. Obviously the ANC must be in the negotiations as a major player at all stages, but is the ANC on its own sufficient as the representative of the interests it purports to speak for?

The ANC, by its own description, is part of an alliance. One knows that critical decisions relating to strategy are taken by the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the labour movement

on a joint basis. Furthermore, more broadly, one must include the civic movement in this operating alliance. The Mass Democratic Movement, which includes all those mentioned, does not appear to have been phased out. The decision regarding "mass action", for example, was not taken by the ANC alone.

The ANC can perhaps speak for the others but can it commit them to its compromises? Here we must bear in mind, for example, that the most organised formation in the civic movement, Cast, has indicated that it wishes to make itself more independent of the ANC. The SA Communist Party has always emphasised that it shares the ANC's strategy for national liberation in the first instance but that it will thereafter seek to promote a socialist transformation.

This is its right, and, if it did not intend to achieve socialism, there would be little point in calling itself "communist". It is inconceivable, however, that the communists in the alliance will not attempt to influence the first stage so as to facilitate the achievement of reconstituted communism or some form of

"democratic centralism" thereafter.

All these variations, nuances and diverse elements within the ANC alliance are quite understandable in a movement which has hardly had the time to shift from the solidarity of struggle against a common opponent to the establishment of a coherent political party.

The implication, however, is that in all major negotiations, whether about the constitution or about rules for the transition, the ANC must either conduct separate running negotiations on the side with its alliance partners or else it must admit that the undertakings it makes will not necessarily be adhered to by its allies.

The fact that there are communists on its top negotiating team only helps the situation to a degree, because, by their own admission, when they are operating as ANC they wear ANC hats. We have witnessed the hard fact that agreements made with the government in the Groote Schuur and the Pretoria minutes have had to be renegotiated recently, in part because of the problems I have mentioned.

We have also seen calls for

peace in the townships ignored. It would be naive not to predict that the latest agreements on peaceful limits to mass action will be broken.

This issue has become more relevant in the light of the government's intention to legitimise negotiations about interim

'The government must take greater and more urgent steps to establish the image of all the security forces as being impartial'

forms of unified local government. Urban politics are a serious part of national politics and destructive tactics in local negotiations must inevitably threaten the central negotiation process.

One cannot help observe that the major actors in many of the local situations are neither under the political discipline of the ANC nor of the National Party; hence

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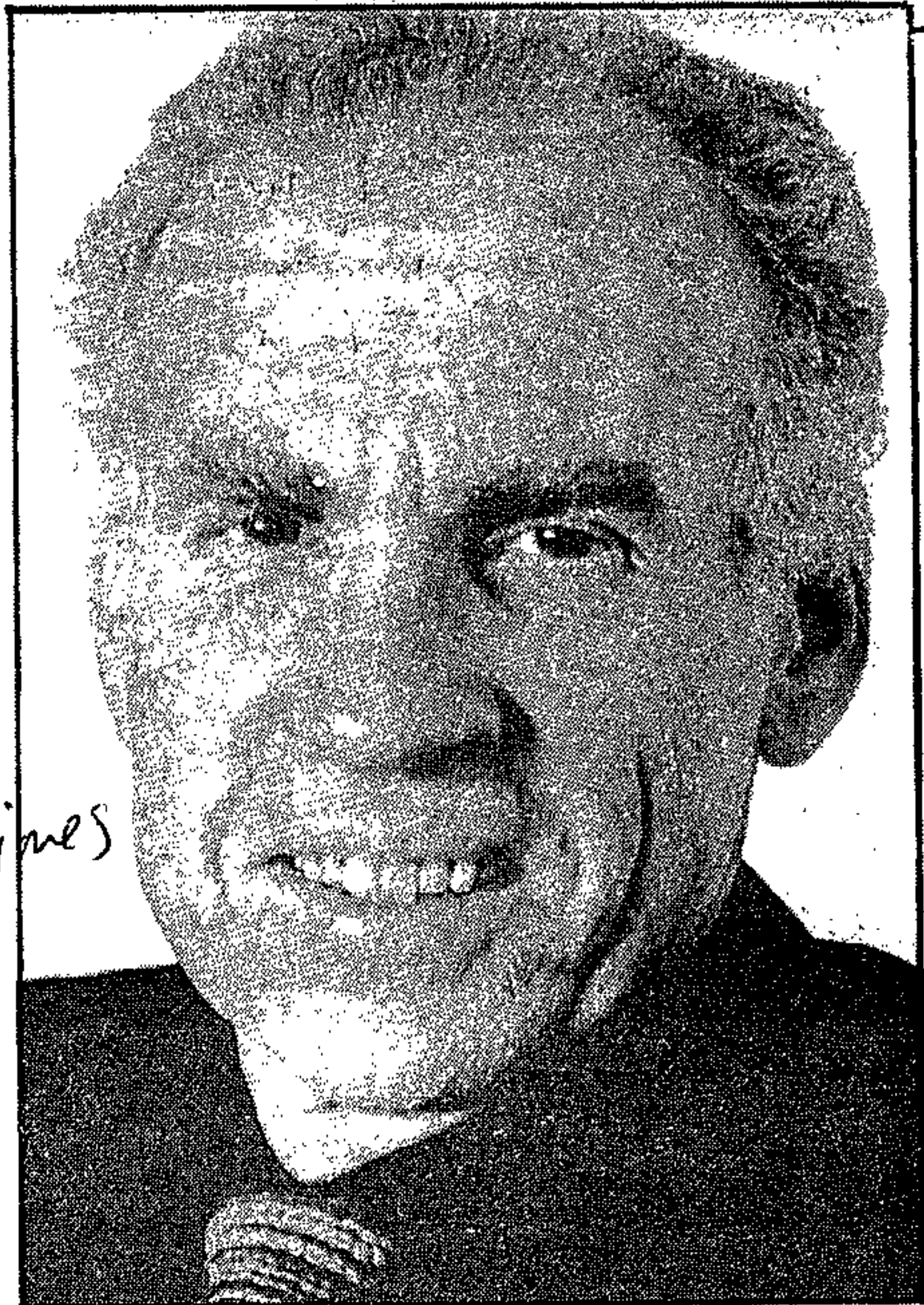
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S/Times 24/2/91.

In the fourth contribution to our Towards the Future South Africa series, **Lawrence Schlemmer** proposes that an influential mediating body might be the way to resolve deadlocks on the road ahead

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my earlier comment that the problem exists on all sides.

Hence even the much vaunted multi-party conference will not resolve these problems unless the SA Communist Party, the organised civic movements, Cosatu (if it intends playing a political role), and the Conservative Party are included. Azapo and the PAC should be there as well, particularly since the PAC seems to be edging closer to the ANC on the strategy of mass action.

Obviously the parties not involved in negotiations cannot be forced to participate. At least in the case of the ANC, however, the government, the local media and the international community have a right to expect any alliance partners which make up their own minds about strategy to come to the conference in their own right. If this does not happen we may see every advance in our transition being negotiated at least twice, and unrest persisting.

In the latter regard, it also goes without saying that the government must take greater and more urgent steps to establish the image of all the security forces as being impartial. This issue might be appropriate in the multi-party conference as well.

Will there be some empty chairs at the table? South Africa's political parties and activists are highly polarised, hence Professor Huntington's concerns. This does not necessarily apply in equal measure to South Africa's rank-and-file people. By now dozens of opinion surveys as well as informed accounts suggest that some two-thirds of both black and whites endorse compromise, co-operation between parties and concessions rather than conflict or destructive pressure politics.

The spectrum of coloured, Indian and white popular

viewpoints are probably reasonably well-represented if one considers all parliamentary parties and the extra-parliamentary movement. There are serious doubts as to whether this is the case with blacks, even allowing for the fact that the Inkatha Freedom Party and various homeland parties will probably be in the negotiations.

The ANC alliance is undoubtedly the largest political grouping with a large base of generalised support, but its enrolled and organised membership is still short of 500 000 by all accounts. One of South Africa's most experienced journalists, Patrick Lawrence, after reviewing the results

'It is an open question as to what' particular strategies of the ANC are supported by its large passive constituency and which are not'

of an opinion survey in July last year, described the ANC's support among the rank-and-file as "tepid or qualified". It is an open question as to what particular strategies of the ANC are supported by its large, passive constituency and which are not.

For this reason there may very well be a large segment of relevant black opinion missing from the process at the moment. There is every indication that this missing segment might be something of a bridge between polarised constituencies.

There is little that can be done

about this problem other than perhaps to invite non-political organisations to play some part in the negotiations. Organisations with the best access to the real rank-and-file are the churches, and not only those mainline churches which have already taken positions on political issues but all the independent African and evangelical churches as well. This is a highly problematic issue but it may be necessary to factor in the passive political constituencies in this way or in some better way, if it exists.

Should economics come before politics?

There is little doubt that our economic malaise threatens the stability of transition under any circumstances. Should the multi-party conference therefore not perhaps give early attention to critical aspects of economic policy and sanctions for this reason?

An early economic contract is as necessary as agreement about the rules of transition. While there has been a great deal of convergence in broad economic thinking between establishment economists and the ANC, the policies are still far too general to allay the investor fears which were aroused by earlier rhetoric.

Could there be a role for an impartial advisory panel?

As Van Zyl Slabbert and others have observed elsewhere, an enduring problem in our process of negotiation is the fact that the

National Party is both participant and referee. This problem will only be marginally eased if a cabinet negotiating team distinguishes itself from the party caucus, as is being suggested.

On the other hand, the government, with its mandate already stretched, will not risk handing over to any elected or independent negotiating forum or interim structure. A compromise alternative might be an influential mediating and advisory body,

'An early economic contract is as necessary as agreement about the rules of transition'

the status and experience of which might make it effective in encouraging sound policies and resolving strategic conflicts.

Above all, South Africans and the media must not simply take sides, or fasten their seatbelts, hold thumbs and hope. They must keep on asking tough questions of all participants in the negotiations.

□ Professor Schlemmer is director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University and co-author of *Negotiating South Africa's Future*

HISTORIANS will not lack for evidence when they come to trace the moral degeneration of the ruling Afrikaner elite, from the severe rectitude of Dr D F Malan and Paul Sauer, to the pervasive rottenness of today.

What will puzzle them is the craven paralysis of the government of President De Klerk — a man of evident moral courage and decency — in the face of mountainous evidence of depravity in his government.

The report of auditor-general Peter Wronsley is but the latest indictment to set out details of criminality in government: unauthorised expenditure amounting to theft, belated authorisation amounting to a cover-up, obstruction of the auditor-general, destruction of evidence, and the probable complicity of senior officers in the crimes — including murder — of other officers.

The SADF — well populated these days by the unblooded soldiers whose careers were assisted by the Nationalist purge after 1948 of the fighting men of the Second World War — is now an organisation that invokes not the patriotism of decent South Africans, but emotions of fear, pity and disgust. The corruption is not universal. I know decent, honest officers — including at least one general whom I

admire greatly — and I believe the Air Force and the Navy have largely escaped the depravity that created and continues to protect the CCR. (That is why, I suspect, the budget cuts have fallen so heavily on the navy; the army does not like that fine service.)

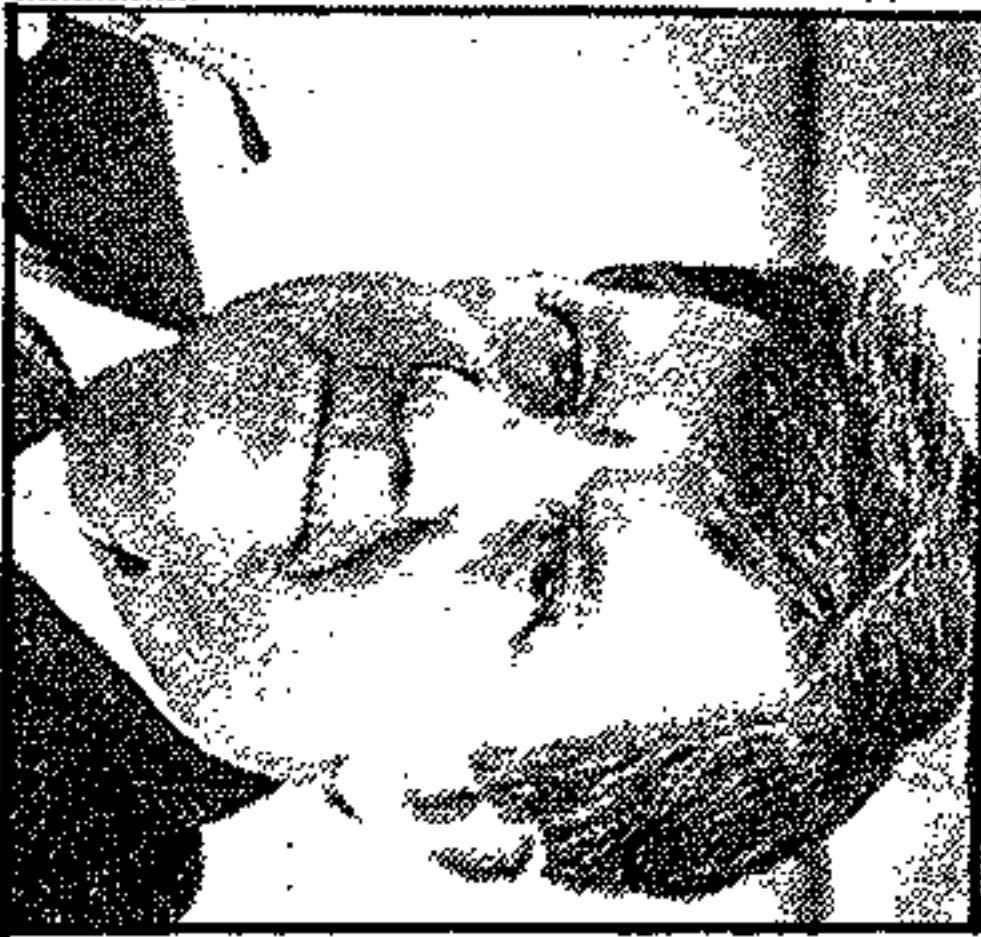
The army itself is now less comparable to the famous regiments and to the Boer fighting generals like Smuts and De Wet from which it is descended than to the armies of Uganda or Nigeria. Idi Amin is a continental symbol.

To be fair, the army has merely shared the fate of the broader Nationalist administration of subsiding from the standards undemocratically imposed by Victorian colonists towards the worst that this sorry continent offers.

How did it happen? Historians will find the roots of depravity in racism, and they will be right, but the principal sinner was not necessarily that psychotic immigrant, Hendrik Verwoerd. Somewhere in the 60s the Nationalists took the Afrikaners as a people across a moral precipice.

The great initial act came from John Vorster, the wartime traitor to his Afrikaners compatriots who made up the bulk of our fighting men "up north". In the 60s he launched an attack on the basic precepts of justice and liberty enshrined in the Roman

30th / 24/2/91 *Stewart* **KEN OWEN** **ON SUNDAY**



Dutch common law which, as a lawyer, he was sworn to uphold.

The result, within months, was the death in Cape Town — almost certainly by murder — of Looksmart Ngudie, the first of four-score prisoners to die in detention.

The court records, the crooked inquiries, the perjured evidence, the tales of people who slipped on soap, the many torture cases covered up by out-of-court settlements, all await the diligent historian.

LIKE the Germans, we white South Africans are condemned to find redemption only through the meticulous examination, and the full exposure, of our own depravity. For Leon Wessels, a good and brave man, to confess to terrible sin, as he did in parliament this week, is

but the first step; the real agony of confession is yet to come.

Meanwhile, however, the pigs still wallow in the trough. The corruption of the law was quickly and inexorably followed by financial corruption, of which the most scandalous example — among many of the past decade — is the looting of the state pension scheme. It continues to this day.

If the Cabinet of President De Klerk has within it a shred of moral fibre, it will stop this massive legalised theft — R30-billion, perhaps, or more — by reversing (preferably next week) the crooked scheme that enabled civil servants to "buy back" pensionable service.

All the government need do is repay every civil servant for bought-back pension, including fair interest on his money, and scrap the outrageous

benefits to which they are now entitled. The government will not do so, and historians will puzzle why not, because a successor government (the ANC?) will simply sweep aside those pensions — and rightly so.

It is important to say that Afrikanerdom as a whole is not corrupt, and that it has thrown up heroic individuals, moral giants. Like Germany under the Nazis, we produced our own Pastor Niemoller in Beyers Naudé; like Berthold Brecht, Breyten Breytenbach redeemed the language by taking a moral stand in the face of corrupted patriotism; honest barristers like Fanie Cilliers and Johan (now Mr Justice) Kriegler defended the law as honourably as more famous men like Sydney Kertridge.

Even in the Cabinet, Pik Botha — then a junior minister — once faced down the formidable John Vorster to force, at a crucial point, disclosure of the Information Scandal. He stood against the party hierarchy in other ways, notably in his famous UN speech predicting the death of apartheid, and in 1986 when he infuriated President Botha by foretelling the coming of a black President; but mostly the Nationalists were cravenly obsequious.

Many Nationalist politicians were mocked in their day, by foreign diplomats and other observers, for crawling around the boots of President Botha, fawning to his face and contemptuous behind his back. The mockery was unfair: none of us opposed the tyrants of apartheid as fiercely as we should have done, and it must have taken courage to face Mr Botha at close quarters.

Mr Botha, whose act of teenage hoodliganism in riding a horse through the house of a *bywoner* set the pattern of his life, was not to be trifled with. The lethal fifth now leaking from the army and the police can be traced back to his years in power. Fear of such a man is a sign of sanity.

But Vorster is dead, and Mr Botha lives a lonely, bitter life shorn of

power at, appropriately, the Wilderness. So why does President de Klerk hesitate to lance the boils that cover his people?

Is he covering up his own collegial culpability? — we shall forgive him, we need him badly. Is he, for all his reformist zeal, another John Vorster serving the cause of Afrikanerdom at the cost even of moral survival? Or is he simply afraid of the Matia that lurks in the army and the police? Does he fear they will poison him, perhaps?

HE is wont to say he has only one police force, and if we destroy it we shall be defenceless. I sympathise with his dilemma: the army we can cut down to a training corps, but we need three or four times as many policemen as we have today. Is there any reason why President De Klerk cannot reach into the ranks of the army, and of the police, and take out some of the outstanding men who, to my personal knowledge, are to be found there, and create the nucleus of a new law enforcement agency to clean the sewers of government?

That, after all, was how the FBI was formed in a time of comparable moral degeneracy in the US. We need an Edgar Hoover, and a cadre of G-men, to remove the muck.

Law commission finishes three studies for De Klerk

THE SA Law Commission has completed three major projects on group and human rights, constitutional models and administrative law, which will be released soon at a critical stage in SA's constitutional development.

The commission's reports are expected to make a major contribution to the constitutional debate on the eve of an anticipated breakthrough to full-scale negotiations.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Pierre Olivier said at the weekend the working group on the group and human rights project had approved the final draft of the document, which would be handed to government about the middle of March.

TIM COHEN

A working paper, on which the final report was based, was hailed as a highly significant document by a wide range of political commentators when it was released about two years ago.

It proposed a Bill of Rights guaranteeing all citizens participation in all legislative institutions, but added such a system would not be credible unless blacks had the vote.

The long-awaited final report, which is a "substantial advance" on the draft, will be tabled in Parliament during the current session.

The commission has considered more than 400 submissions since it published its draft report. It will be

about 700 pages long.

The commission was asked by President F W de Klerk to investigate constitutional options during his February 2 speech last year.

Mr Justice Olivier said this report also had been approved by the commission and would be handed to government by June.

The commission, which visited several African and European countries to study their constitutions, had produced a report about 300 pages long.

Mr Justice Olivier said a major study of about 1 000 pages had been produced on administrative law, and a draft report would be published for comment by the end of April.

'FW to stay central political figure'

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will remain a central figure in SA political life, his brother Wimpie de Klerk says in a new book about him.

De Klerk will play the role of a transitional figure,

TIM COHEN

chief negotiator and bridge-builder, says the book, to be published this week.

The book, F W de Klerk — The Man in His Time, predicts the National Party will continue to play an important role.

As a transitional figure, De Klerk will have to engineer a change from white domination to black participation. "This is an unenviable role, alien to the laws of politics, requiring great strength, self denial and conviction.

"He will become the prime negotiator, advocate, watchdog and entrepreneur of white interests. He has to redefine the role of whites in the face of growing scepticism.

"He will have to transform the tradition of mistrust to introduce the art of creative political association."

De Klerk writes that negotiating parties should have more or less evenly balanced power bases, because negotiation is about weighing up power.

"The government, fortunately, restored the balance of power when it unbanned the proscribed organisations."

De Klerk also warns that SA should be prepared for negotiation to proceed in fits and starts.

Partition as an ultimate solution to SA's constitutional dilemma is not necessarily far-fetched, but it could not be along the lines of a "boerestaat", the book says.

It would have to be a ne-

gotiated solution with general concurrence among black and white and the international community.

Rather than a "boerestaat", the country could be divided into a northern and southern state, with full civic rights granted to all groups in each of the two states.

The states could differ in their political and economic systems but "population groups could hardly be relocated", De Klerk writes.

"No white-dominated state, unless it was a province in a federation, would be tolerable."

However, De Klerk favours the alternative compromise of power-sharing in an undivided SA "since the opposing parties have often expressed their willingness to accept it", the book states.



Killing the apartheid beast is no easy task

3049

Sowetan 25/2/91.

THE Government is trying desperately to kill the monster created by the ruling National Party in 1948.

You almost want to feel sorry for the NP as it treads a precarious middle path in South African politics.

On the left, the ANC is breathing heavily down its neck.

On the right, there is the Conservative Party, with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging close behind spitting hellfire and brimstone.

And according to the state, all it wants to do is dismantle apartheid and get on with creating a just and equitable social order for the people of South Africa.

Nobody believes it though.

The CP says the NP have capitulated to the communists.

The left, while respectful of the Government to a degree, thinks it is too slow in addressing the needs of the people.

It is fascinating and amusing to watch the NP trying to change its evil ways.

Dramatic

In a dramatic move last Wednesday, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Leon Wessels apologised in Parliament for being part of the apartheid mechanism.

"We have failed to listen to the laughing and the crying of our people. That must never happen again.

"I am sorry for being so hard of hearing for so long. So indifferent," Wessels said.

The day after his historic apology, Wessels spoke with the *Sowetan* and clarified his "Road to Damascus" remarks.

It had been a long time coming, he said. Since the early '70s, when he was head of the Students Representative Council of the University of Potchefstroom, he has been tormented by the realiza-

Focus



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

tion that things are not what could be.

He gave expression to his feelings years later, when he became deputy Minister of Law and Order after a stint in Parliament.

Wessels told Members of Parliament that had he lived under the circumstances that black South Africans did, he was not sure that he would have been a law-abiding citizen.

"I would have been branded a radical too," he said.

Regular visits to townships, where he witnessed the poverty and squalor that had become part of the daily lives of black people, strengthened his conviction that apartheid is wrong.

Tiro

At the time of his reign as SRC head, Wessels met and befriended Black Consciousness leader Onkgopotse Tiro, who was then the SRC head at Turfloop.

"I thought of Tiro as a friend, and I'm sure that was the way he thought of me."

He also read and often quoted the pre-eminent leader of black consciousness Steve Biko.

"I was a student leader the same time Steve Biko was a student leader and I read what he

wrote at the time," he said.

Years later, when Archbishop Desmond Tutu heard Wessels quote Biko, he was surprised.

"That is where I come from," he told Tutu.

If Wessels's apology for apartheid was revealing, boss Foreign Minister Pik Botha's attack on the CP and his remarks about apartheid were astounding.

Botha was relentless in Parliament last week.

Rebels

Replying to a question about the NP's attempts to eradicate apartheid, Botha said that the question was nonsensical and unworthy of a reply.

He called the CP "a bunch of losers caught up like fleas in the hairs of the apartheid beast that was busy dying."

The CP, he said, were like the anti-apartheid movements. Both stood in the way of the Government's attempts to dismantle the system because such an accomplishment would leave both sides as rebels without causes.

Hope

"The anti-apartheid movements were not interested in seeing apartheid die. They were like the CP, they want apartheid to continue. They both have hidden agendas," he said.

The anti-apartheid organisation can only exist whilst apartheid does. It is thus not in their interest to see apartheid go, Botha told the House of Assembly.

"The anti-apartheid movements have only one hope - the CP," he said.

Because of that party's powerless position, he said, its rantings and ravings were like the simulated orgasms of the impotent.

He reminded parliament that CP farmers and factory owners

cannot exist without black people.

"They can't plow without them. They can't sow their seeds without them. They can't harvest without them.

"They receive their coffee from black hands while they are still in bed. Their children are bathed and raised by black people.

"That is the truth, that is how simple it is," he said.

When the CP's Mr Tom Langley stood up and launched yet another attack on the NP "for associating itself with the dismantling of apartheid", Botha got really angry.

But before he could speak, the CP's Mr Koos van der Merwe stood up and gnawed at Botha's heels.

Power

"I want to tell the Minister of Foreign Affairs that there is a nation at the tip of Africa that will not be misled, that will not die, that has for centuries fought for its survival," Van der Merwe said.

"The biggest power struggle ever fought in Africa will take place when power sharing among all races becomes a reality."

Botha was fuming: "What Mr Van der Merwe hasn't realised is that his argument is so comical, nobody is taking him seriously any longer."

The Afrikaners were doomed under apartheid, he said.

During Botha's speech, the CP's Mr Hercules Baranard jumped up and posed a question.

"He is wasting my time," Botha replied.

Botha's swansong was the best though. Referring to the CP, he said: "There are a bunch of cowards out there who are too scared to compete.

"They want legislation to protect them against equal competition and to entrench their white skins and privileged positions."

FW owes SA a confession - brother

Scudgen 25/2/91

3047

STATE President FW de Klerk owed South Africa an open and firm confession on apartheid, says his brother Professor Wimpie de Klerk.

He expresses this view in a biography he has written on his brother entitled: *FW de Klerk - The Man and His Times*.

The book is published in English and Afrikaans by Jonathan Ball and Tafelberg and is due to be on sale today.

After dealing with what Prof de Klerk identified as the Seven Sins which brought about the disintegration of apartheid, he says he is not certain whether President de Klerk and his Government would underwrite his diagnosis.

"To my mind it remains a pity that there has not been an open and firm confession that apartheid was an error," he says.

"I think FW owes it to South Africa."

There was a rationalising argument which broadly stated that the Afrikaner had not sinned against the blacks in the sense of a deliberate meanness or an evil plotting, that mistakes had

been made but much uplifting service had been rendered...

"Our people will have to abandon this argument because it is unacceptable and contains only a kernel of truth," the author says.

Prof De Klerk, by several years the State President's elder brother, has himself long ago left the path of National Party apartheid which his father, Senator Jan de Klerk, served as a senior cabinet minister for many years.

Verlig

Prof De Klerk is currently lecturing political communication and journalism at the Rand Afrikaans University.

He was the first to coin the terms "verlig" and "verkramp" when "newly reigned Afrikaner political homogeneity under the National Party started dividing into the 'enlightened' and 'insular' camps which later gave birth to the break-away Herstigte

Nasionale Party of Dr Albert Hertzog and Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

Although he edited *Die Transvaler* and later *Rapport*, his academic training, including a doctorate, is theology and philosophy.

His first career was one of NG Kerk minister lasting 10 years.

Dealing with the confession issue - a subject repeatedly raised inside and outside parliament in the past 10 days - he draws on his theological authority.

"It is an old truth," writes Prof de Klerk, "that forgiveness demands confession of guilt. And it is the perception among black leaders that FW de Klerk is refusing it."

One of them told the author in an interview that his brother radiated a paternalistic spirit, "as if he is doing us a generous favour by his considering to give us a place in the sun."

Prof De Klerk says he did not believe the presi-

dent radiated such a spirit, "but that does not refute that such perceptions do exist."

Another analytical conclusion - also bordering on the religious - the author draws about his brother was that he had definitely undergone a "great political conversion".

Responsible

Knowing his younger sibling as he did, his level-headedness, self-criticism and "hyper sober-mindedness", his serious truth-orientated and responsible nature, "I believed these attributes would let him look afresh at South Africa and that his eyes would be opened, that a clarity would assail him..."

The narrative of their own political relationship bears this out.

Prof De Klerk feels it necessary to say that he must "record once more my surprise that this same man sharply attacked me a year earlier (1989) for my London talks with the ANC."

He was a member of a group which had confidential talks with the ANC twice yearly.

"He (President de Klerk) was outraged and upset over this 'collusion with terrorists'."

"Immediately following his inauguration on 20 September 1989 (a photo of them together with their wives on the day appears in the book), I went to speak to an important man in the National Intelligence service at his (FW's) request.

"In this conversation I was pressurised to stop my visits as it gave 'prominence to an organisation on its knees' and 'the ANC can never play a role in negotiations...'"

He believed that the "moments" of his brother's "conversion" could be regarded as:

* The first that he came to realise - the breakthrough was in 1986 - that power-sharing with blacks in South Africa was the only way to a political solution;

* The second was after 1986 when he started growing strongly into the new policy which he started to preach with conviction and power,



President F W DE KLERK

* The third was his election as leader of the National Party on 2 February 1989, a crisis moment as he now had to put his personal stamp on the policy;

The breakthrough followed six days later when he addressed Parliament.

"He (FW) tells of how he had taken certain final decisions the week before. Some of these he spelled out in that speech of February 8:

"His goal is a totally changed South Africa, a South Africa freeing itself from the antagonism of the past, of domination and repression, and which

stood united behind a true democracy."

"A settlement plan had to develop for the short, medium and long term. He was going to give immediate attention to the elimination of obstacles to negotiations and the redress of justified grievances."

President De Klerk was going to speed up everything within a short time frame.

"In that speech," his brother concludes, "his conversion was confirmed in a public communal and confession of faith." - Sapa

Mandela, FW share top Press award

304A
25/12/91
Soweto

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE ANC has called for an interim government ahead of negotiations because it wanted to begin the reconstruction of a law-abiding society as soon as possible.

This was said by the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg on Friday night.

The ANC leader was addressing the Johannesburg Press Club during his first joint appearance with State President FW de Klerk on a public platform.

The two men were elected Newsmakers of the Year by the club.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that

enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, so long shall we be condemned to endure this steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the dangers that it entails," Mandela said.

The most effective means of building a law-abiding society, he added, was to cultivate respect for the law.

"The law in our country will only be deserving of respect to the extent that it serves the ordinary citizen and ceases to be a club wielded by the authorities to bludgeon us into submission or deprive us of our rights."

"This relates directly to the issue of the

legitimacy of the incumbent government and its administrative arm. When we say that the incumbent government has no moral right to govern, we say this not to heap insults or offence to anyone."

Obedience to the law should not be based on fear, but rather on respect for the law as the expression of commonly-held societal values and shared goals.



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk were named joint Johannesburg Press Club 'Newsmakers of 1991'. Congratulating each other at a glittering banquet on Friday night they are flanked by (left) Mr Clive Stanton, the main sponsor, and JPC chairman Mr Hans Lombard. Picture by LEN KUMALO.

FW is harming his cause, says Tutu

THE State President missed a "crucial chance" to win the trust of blacks by failing to deal with dirty tricks operatives in the security forces, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

Tutu, who was himself a target of the shadowy

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

CCB, said only decisive action could save President FW de Klerk.

Unwillingness to take action on this very sensi-

tive issue could send De Klerk's credibility plummeting, Tutu said.

"When we are moving into a new dispensation, one would hope that we could have a thorough spring-cleaning.

"The President, who has to be commended very warmly for many of the things he has done, is hurting himself and his own operations by his seeming unwillingness to

deal vigorously with this viper in his bosom," he said.

He said De Klerk was not just robbing himself of the right to criticise future governments that might engage in CCB-type operations.

"More than that, he is undermining the credibility that was building up with great difficulty in the black community," he said.

CM 7415 25/2/79 3044

Cape Times, Monday,

Partition in SA 'not far-fetched'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— Partition as an ultimate solution to South Africa's constitutional dilemma was not necessarily far-fetched, Professor Willem de Klerk writes in a book about his brother President F W de Klerk.

Prof De Klerk writes in "F W de Klerk—The Man in his Time", which is due to be released today, that partition could not be on the lines of a "Boerestaat".

It would have to be a negotiated solution with general concurrence among black and white and the international community.

Rather than a "Boerestaat", the country could be divided into a northern and a southern state, with full civic rights granted to all groups in each of the two states.

The states could differ in their political and economic systems but "population groups could hardly be relocated", Prof De Klerk writes.

"No white-dominated state, unless it was a province in a federation, would be tolerable," he writes.

However, he favours the alternative compromise of power-sharing in an undivided South Africa.

"Such a compromise is highly probable, since the opposing parties have

often expressed their willingness to accept it," the book states.

He also writes that for many the economic transition will be traumatic, as blacks receive more socio-economic resources, standards change and there is a shift towards a "so-called mixed economy".

His brother, he predicts, will be cast in three roles in the next five years: Transitional figure, chief negotiator and bridge builder.

As transitional figure he will have to engineer a change from white domination to black participation.

"This is an unenviable role, alien

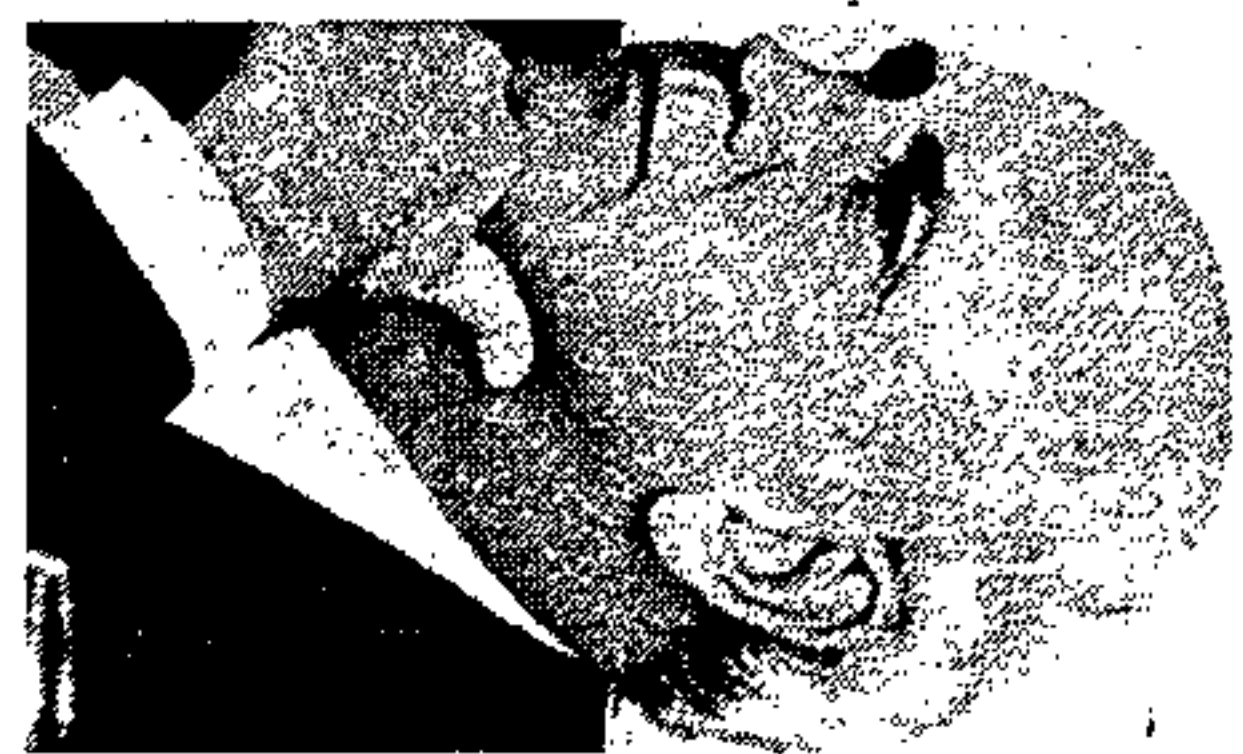
to the laws of politics, requiring great strength, self denial and conviction."

De Klerk writes that his brother and the NP will continue to play a leading role during the transition and afterwards.

"He will not phase out himself or his government.

"He will become the prime negotiator, advocate, watchdog and entrepreneur of white interests. He has to redefine the role of whites in the face of growing scepticism.

"As bridge-builder he will have to gain the confidence of both black and white. He will have to transform the tradition of mistrust."



BROTHER . . .
Mr F W de Klerk

Sure sign that the heat's off SA

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Palpable evidence that South Africa is no longer a major issue in the United States is the recent removal of the 24-hour American police guard at Pretoria's Washington embassy.

The familiar uniformed guard, usually sitting in a police car or astride a motorcycle outside the official residence of the South African ambassador, was quietly removed last month.

Instead, a police guard is now stationed outside the British embassy on the other side of Massachusetts Avenue, Washington's "embassy row".

The British embassy was considered to be more at risk than South Africa's mission because of the terrorist threat resulting from the Gulf War.

The removal of the police guard from the SA embassy is a demonstration of Pretoria's

vastly improved image in the US since President de Klerk came to power. It is a far cry from only a few years ago, when embassy officials were seriously debating whether to erect a security fence around the premises.

In the mid-1980s, the embassy was the target of anti-apartheid activists for a number of sit-ins and demonstrations which resulted in scores of arrests on charges of civil disobedience.

There were frequent pickets outside the embassy and a large number of political and entertainment celebrities flocked to join the protests.

Ambassador Piet Koornhof rejected the notion that the embassy should retreat behind a security fence, a decision which has been vindicated by the complete disappearance of protest activity since Mr de Klerk took office (there were no protests outside the embassy even when Mr de Klerk visited Washington last year).

Tos Wentzel reviews relations between Downing St and SA

Can UK help in the transition?

4/25/11
304 R

A MEETING between President de Klerk and British Prime Minister John Major in April will underline the "very good" relations between the two countries, as both sides describe them at present.

Issues between the two countries that needed resolving have been whittled down to one — the dismantling of apartheid.

It is Mr de Klerk's efforts in this field and the way his commitment to scrapping apartheid is being accepted in Britain that has already led to an improvement in relations, which were bad a few years ago and getting worse.

One of the lowest points in bilateral relations was when South Africa virtually banned the United Democratic Front and other organisations in February 1988.

It was then that British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick, in an address to the Urban Foundation, referred to South Africa complaining about the way the outside world was treating it. His advice: "If one wants to get out of a hole, the first thing to do is to stop digging it."

It was a blunt warning that South Africa could not expect an improvement in its strained relations with the outside world while the suppression of political movements and the maintenance of apartheid continued.

South Africa's foreign relations started changing after Mr de Klerk's February speech last year.

When he visited Margaret Thatcher at Chequers in June, she said: "We have waited so long to be able to welcome a South African president in a way we have always wanted to welcome a leader of this country and now at last we can."

With the issues of Namibia and destabilisation out of the way and with South Africa wanting to co-operate in peace moves in Angola and Mozambique, the main issue between Britain and South Africa is apartheid and how to get rid of it.

Relations have already improved as apartheid has been dismantled. From the South African Government's point of view, constructive British involvement in the European Community, the United

Nations and the Commonwealth, especially the stand against sanctions and disinvestment, has contributed to this improvement. There is also growing recognition in Britain of the constructive role South Africa can play in the region and the possibilities for a stable economic bloc.

The multifaceted relations between the two countries rest on the pillars of blood and trade relations. There are some 350 000 British passport-holders in South Africa and some 600 000 more potential ones. Trade has increased significantly in the past few years.

While about 50 percent of US firms involved in South Africa have withdrawn in the past five years, only some 20 percent of the British firms have done so. In the rest of Africa, 30 percent of the British firms have withdrawn.

In future new British investment will largely be through the expansion of existing investment.

There has been largescale and increasing involvement by the British government as well as British firms in schemes to help disadvantaged blacks.

Aid amounting to R60 million a year is given to education and to a number of community projects.

As apartheid finally crumbles, Britain is showing a keen interest in a negotiation process that will lead to a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

While acknowledging that they have no direct standing in the current process and that this is very much an area for South Africans, the British would be glad to try to help in any areas where they could.

Mr Major has indicated that he intends to play an active role in encouraging a solution.

His general approach will be much the same as that of Mrs Thatcher without perhaps some of the sharper edges.

The way in which Britain has from early on been willing to accept the bonafides of Mr de Klerk has made a favourable impression on the Government. Given also its good relations with other political groups in the country there could well be a role for Britain. □

FW and Mandela most popular leaders

By Mark Suzman (3041) (11)

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are the two most popular leaders in South Africa, according to a new survey carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council. *sw 25/2/91*

According to the survey, published in Information Update, a new monthly publication to sur-

vey opinions in South Africa, Mr de Klerk's support cut across all race groups while Mr Mandela's was restricted largely to the black community.

Mr de Klerk was supported by 51 percent of the white population, 25 percent of blacks, 48 percent of Asians and 66 percent of coloureds.

Mr Mandela was supported by 44 percent of blacks, but only 5 percent of Asians, 1 percent of

coloureds and less than 1 percent of whites.

With regard to political organisations, the HSRC survey revealed that the ANC has the support of 56 percent of blacks, 4 percent of coloureds and 8 percent of Asians.

The NP is supported by 54 percent of whites, 41 percent of coloureds and 28 percent of Asians.

Gibson to stand for DP in Yeoville

By Julianne du Toit

304A

Douglas Gibson was last night chosen as Democratic Party candidate for the Yeoville parliamentary by-election on May 8.

In his speech to the electoral body, which he made available to the press, Mr Gibson said in spite of the fact that a new constitution would probably be in place in two or three years' time, he wanted to do his "damnedest" to make it work.

"I could not bear not to be part of the supreme effort which our politicians must make to pull off the miracle which our country needs," he said.

'Jump in'

Besides, he added after he had been chosen, "I am the same age as Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani. If they can help build the new South Africa, so can I."

Speaking about his ideals of democracy, personal and economic freedom, the rule of law and justice, Mr Gibson said "anyone who does not want to jump in and help must be half dead".

The Yeoville seat fell vacant when Harry Schwarz resigned to accept the post of ambassador to the United States.

Nomination day has not yet been gazetted, but is expected to be close to March 25.

Mr Gibson is national chairman of finance for the DP and deputy chairman of the party's southern Transvaal region.

He was a former PFP MP, was a member of the Transvaal Provincial Council for 16 years and was leader of the opposition in that council for nine years.

Institute to 'teach' democracy

Political Staff

Star 26/4/91

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — Inculcating democratic values among ordinary South Africans was to be the chief aim of the new Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy (MPD), which was launched in Cape Town last night, according to founder Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

"Our chief task will be working with the grassroots. These are the people who have been neglected (in efforts to change the country) and are the key to whether we transform into a viable democracy," Dr Dhlomo said yesterday.

"We feel we must spend time working with them to enable them to exercise an informed and decisive vote.

"We will not specialise in high-powered conferences involving the leadership elite. The main focus is to work with the grassroots. Our approach is an educational one."

Funds for the new institute would come from



Oscar Dhlomo ... "working with the grassroots."

the private sector in South Africa as well as "foreign foundations and governments", he said. The institute had not yet finalised a budget.

South African busi-

nessmen had given "great moral support" for the new venture. MPD hoped for greater material support.

"Some have contributed, but their contributions are not what one would expect. We are in a situation where foreign foundations appear to care more for democracy than we do."

Dr Dhlomo rejected suggestions that the establishment of the MPD was a threat to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

"Democracy is a way of life and none of us has been exposed to it in our history. We need as much education as we can manage and it is a good thing that there will be more than one or two institutes doing this."

The institute would be strictly non-partisan and would take no part in party politics.

Former Azapo president Saths Cooper is to be the national president of the MPB.



TERRE'BLANCHE

AWB

leader lashes out at rebel

Sowetan 26/7/91
AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday labelled complaints about his behaviour from breakaways as "absolute trash".

He warned the media and Mr Gawie Volschenk, interim convener of the new organisation, the Boere Kommando, that he would take "determined" action should there be an attack on his person.

"I do not intend to be personally insulted," Terre'Blanche said.

He said he was considering several civil claims but would not go into details.

Listed

Two hundred and twelve members in Volschenk's Eastern Transvaal region were listed at the AWB's headquarters.

It could not be ascertained exactly how many members in that region have joined the Boere Kommando but it appears to be about 50 members, Terre'Blanche said.

Asked about Volschenk's criticism of the AWB's administration, Terre'Blanche pointed out that the rebel leader had not handed in commando reports and financial statements to the head office for the last three months.

Asked about the complaints against him as a person, Terre'Blanche said he personally officiated at Volschenk's election as commando leader in January and no complaints were lodged.

Overdue

"The only complaints were from our side about overdue reports and statements," he said.

Terre'Blanche said he was getting the impression that rightwing political parties had difficulty grabbing the imagination of their supporters, especially now that there would not be another white election.

The names of the breakaways were not those of former AWB members, he said.

He implied that they were government agents who had attempted to infiltrate the commandos but had been suspended.

Sowetan Correspondent

!RECUS 26/2/91

South Africans 'haven't a clue about democracy'

30/4

Political Correspondent

ROOTING out apartheid was not the same as being committed to multi-party democracy, which many believed was simply the removal of oppression.

This was the cautionary view of Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who spoke in Cape Town last night at the launch of his Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy.

The non-aligned institute is committed to inculcating democratic values and promoting political tolerance and reconciliation.

Dr Dhlomo said that South African history "has left us without a democratic tradition, a democratic culture or democratic knowledge that could positively influence and guide our future political behaviour".

"The majority of all races have had no experience of multi-party democracy or the values it embodies. At best, we regard it as a 'good idea'. At worst, we haven't a clue what it is all about."

Many tended to make the mistake of equating democracy with the removal of oppression, rather than as the "complex set of ideas, institutions, obligations and activities that constitute a functioning democratic society," Dr Dhlomo said.

Despite continuing violence, there were signs that at least at leadership level, "a spirit of greater tolerance is starting to emerge".

The next few years would present "the democratic opportunity of a lifetime".

"If we fail to grasp that opportunity, and allow one authoritarian system to replace another, we will have only ourselves to blame."

Urging business to support the new institute in promoting democracy, Dr Dhlomo said that the future "depends on people like ourselves and whether or not we bother to put our shoulders to the democratic wheel both morally and materially".

"If we do not, South Africa would end up as just another banana republic in an era in which the price of bananas is falling daily."

AWB leader denies claims of a split 304A

Staff Reporters Stew 26/2/91

Claims by former Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members of a split in the movement were yesterday dismissed as "cheap propaganda" by the movement's leader Eugene Terre-Blanche.

Mr TerreBlanche said a splinter group, the Boere Kommando, comprising 212 members, was trying to win over AWB members and supporters to establish its own commando. He also denied claims made by the group that he was the obstacle to right-wing unity.

The breakaway group's interim leader, Gawie Volschenk, was unable to perform his administrative duties within the AWB, according to Mr TerreBlanche.

"Mr Volschenk claims to enjoy the support of four of the AWB's 14 commandos. The executive committee finds this a tragic distortion of the truth. His total number of supporters is 212 and a complete commando comprises 196 members.

The names of the breakaways were not those of "old" AWB members, Mr TerreBlanche said.

"The claim is also made that the attitude of the AWB leader was a motive for their resignations. But for years the leader has strived towards right-wing unity and it was he who called for a new right-wing dispensation for South Africa."

Hendrina detergent manufacturer Gawie Volschenk (32), interim leader of the newly formed right-wing Boere Kommando, said Mr TerreBlanche, was "too much big talk".

"If Eugene had got the people around him to work, we'd have been able to take this country tomorrow. But it is not too late ..." said the ex-schoolteacher.

A former member of the National Party, Mr Volschenk has been an active member of the AWB since 1981. A year ago he was appointed head commandant of the movement's eastern Transvaal and northern Natal "wenkommandos" — leading 1700 men, he claimed. He said he would tour the country to gain support for the new organisation. Its first national meeting would be on March 9.

"In the next few months we will be giving the Government an ultimatum. We will say if you cross a certain line we will have no choice but to put Plan B into action."

He would not elaborate on Plan B, other than to say it would be a "rising up of the Boer nation to defend our land". White members of the security forces would support this uprising, he claimed.

Mr Volschenk predicted a slow death for the AWB, and said he was "heart sore" about walking out on Mr TerreBlanche.



The leader of a team of Portuguese parliamentarians visiting SA, Dr Victor Manuel Calo Roque, accompanied by a Foreign Affairs official, addresses reporters at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Dhlomo launches new democracy think-tank

CAPE TOWN — Leaders from across the political spectrum including the ANC, NP, SACP, CP and Azapo had expressed support for establishing a multiparty democracy in SA, former Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo said last night.

Speaking at the launch of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMPD), he said the success of the institute might significantly determine whether the "democratic seeds that are sown by the negotiation process take root, grow strong and blossom in the decades that lie ahead".

He said failure might mean these values would wither and die in the harsh climate of political intolerance, national alienation, violence and despair.

Businessmen

Despite this, many SA businesses had failed to contribute to the IMPD and "it is ironic indeed that we have found ourselves in the situation in which foreign foundations, governments and institutes gave more generously, and cared more deeply, about the development of a genuine multiparty democracy in SA than did SA businessmen", he said.

He said these were the same businessmen who looked forward to doing business in a stable and democratic socio-political environment in the future.

Dhlomo said the IMPD had taken nearly a year to come to fruition, and included discussions at two think-tank sessions held in Johannesburg.

The parties involved might have had different interpretations of a multiparty

BILLY PADDOCK

state but, he said, it was encouraging to find unanimity about the need for it.

"The IMPD's next step... will be to seek to develop, in conjunction with political parties, a covenant on democracy that will spell out in precise terms what is meant by multiparty democracy," he said.

Once the wording had been agreed to, the IMPD would try and get the irrevocable commitment of all political parties to this covenant.

The IMPD had worked out a detailed charter of what it regarded as essential components of the rules for the multiparty democratic process, including the constitutionally guaranteed right of all adults to participate in regular, free and fair elections and the development and maintenance of a political culture of tolerance.

Dhlomo said there was a determination to ensure the IMPD would be politically non-aligned and accessible to all.

He said the institute was not set up in competition with any similar organisations, such as Idasa, but would strive to work with all organisations.

Dhlomo said the IMPD's emphasis would be on education of the public on multiparty democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation. High profile conferences involving SA's leadership elites would be the exception.

Dhlomo has been appointed as the executive chairman of IMPD and former leader of Azapo, Saths Cooper, will leave his post at the University of Western Cape to take up the position of national director.

ANC considers 'third party' aid in transition

WINDHOEK — The ANC was studying the possibility of a third party or external force being involved during the transition to a new political order in SA, the ANC's legal and constitutional committee head Zola Sekwiyea said yesterday.

"That process is being studied and it has already been suggested within the ANC for some time," he told a media briefing in Windhoek when asked if the UN might participate during the transition.

He added the ANC had not taken a policy decision yet on the issue.

Sekwiyea was speaking at the end of a three-day closed conference in the Namibian capital between ANC and Namibian government legal and constitutional specialists.

One of the topics raised was that of transitional mechanisms, "especially the question of monitoring how the SA regime stick to their agreements made with the ANC and comparing that to the experience of the Namibians", he said.

He said the Namibian delegates emphasised the need for uniting all anti-apartheid forces in SA and also the ANC's role in reconciliation. "They also stressed the need for us to begin as early as possible to educate our people on the electoral process," he said.

"And, of course, the need for the ANC to make its agenda very, very clear not only within SA but also for the international community as a whole."

ANC executive member Joe Dladla said a big problem facing the ANC was that government was both "player and referee" at the negotiating table, "hence the ANC stand and demand for an interim government".

He also called for the SA media to make a productive contribution to the processes under way, but emphasised he was not asking for "ANC puppets".

"But we want to win it over to be supportive of the broad process of finding a peaceful resolution to the SA problem," he said. — Sapa.

World bars must be lifted to aid SA blacks, says Chalker

B (pay) 26/2/91

LONDON — Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development and Foreign Office Minister responsible for sub-Saharan Africa, said yesterday it was "critically important" that international measures restricting the economic advancement of blacks in SA be lifted.

This, she said, would help blacks to take their "rightful place" in the country.

But she also stressed that the extension of the vote to the disenfranchised remained a "very important" principle.

Answering questions in the Commons following her trip to SA early this month, Chalker said she had been impressed by the speed at which moves towards political reform were taking place.

President F W de Klerk and his government were clearly determined to move ahead with the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act, she said.

She noted that while she was in SA, the

government announced provisions, in advance of the repeal of the Population Registration Act, making it no longer necessary for babies to be registered by race.

Chalker rebuked one of her own backbenchers who argued that the opening of the SA market to world trade was more important than the principle of voting.

She told him: "The principles of voting are very important and I hope the all-party congress (in South Africa) will proceed apace."

"But of course, it is critically important that we do lift a series of bans which are holding back the progress of black South Africans."

"South Africa needs involvement in world trade if it is to give training and opportunities to black South Africans so that they can take their rightful place in the new South Africa," she said.

KIN BENTLEY

Pik announces 'interest Section' links with Soviets

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Diplomatic and consular relations between SA and the Soviet Union were brought nearer yesterday with the announcement that "interest sections" are to be set up in the Austrian embassies in Pretoria and Moscow — a major step in the direction of formal links.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in the absence of diplomatic and consular relations, current working contacts between the two countries would be maintained through these interest sections.

The establishment of limited formal contact between SA and the Soviet Union is further evidence of the thawing of relations between Pretoria and the outside world.

Botha announced recently that six missions had already been es-

established in Eastern Europe and seven in Africa.

Sapa-AP reports that Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin said in Moscow: "We envisage that consular and diplomatic relations will be established on the level of working contacts between the two countries."

Changes

He emphasised this move did not constitute diplomatic relations.

The Soviet Union cut diplomatic ties in 1956 over SA's policy of apartheid. It provided military aid to the ANC.

Churkin said the recent positive changes in SA, "including the

beginning of the dismantling of apartheid", prompted the change in the Soviet attitude.

The Soviet Union broke a long-standing refusal to do business with SA last year when it signed a deal to sell the next five years of its diamond exports through De Beers. The SA company, which controls most of the international diamond market, advanced the Soviet Union \$1bn on future sales.

The offices in the Austrian embassies in Moscow and Pretoria will study the situation in each other's countries and establish contacts, Churkin said.

The Soviet Union had informed the ANC beforehand, said Churkin, and it understood the move. The decision to establish these offices was reached during meetings that had been held in Austria since Saturday, he said.

Minister reports on oil pollution

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Six cases of oil pollution were recorded around the Cape Peninsula last year and 38 incidents of oil-affected penguins were reported, Minister of Environment Affairs Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

All the oil pollution was cleared or broken up, he said in reply to a question tabled in Parliament by Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point). (DP 27/2/91)

The 38 incidents of oil-affected penguins, involving fewer than five birds in each case, were recorded along the Peninsula coastline but were not linked to any of the reported spills.

Pienaar said Kuswag 7 oil pollution coastal patrol aircraft patrolled the shipping lanes between Saldanha Bay and Richards Bay.

They flew an average of 60 hours a month.

CCB revelations

MARK

Silence, Day

Multiparty talks take step forward

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk met leaders of the self-governing states and Ministers Councils' chairmen yesterday, and a decision was taken to form a working group on the multiparty conference.

A joint statement issued after the meeting said there was general agreement about the urgency of the multiparty conference becoming a reality.

"To this end a working group, representative of the delegations present, was formed... to produce a document for the next meeting with detailed proposals on a number of practical issues regarding the launching of the multiparty conference."

The meeting dealt with "matters of mutual concern, the most important of which was the multiparty conference."

Thorough attention was also devoted to aspects of the draft White Paper on Land Reform and the repeal of the Land Acts.

"All those present were appreciative of the latest developments, nationally and internationally, indicating real progress on the way to a new SA to which they are all committed."

After the meeting, Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the working group would probably start meeting next week. He was confident the multiparty confer-

BILLY PADDOCK

ence would soon be launched.

"The draft White Paper proposals on Land Reform are a veritable minefield, and they seem to have done a very good job," Buthelezi said.

The meeting was attended by De Klerk,



DE KLERK

Cabinet ministers, Buthelezi, Gazi, Minister H u d s o n Ntsanwisi, Kangwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Leboa Chief Minister Nelson Rammokoane as well as chairmen of the Ministers Councils Kobie Coetsee, Alan Hendrikse and J N Reddy. Administrators of the four provinces were also there. Gwa Gwa Chief Minister T K Mopeli and KwaNdebele Chief Minister Prince S J Mahlangu sent representatives.

DP calls for further inquiry into hit squads

CAPE TOWN — The DP yesterday called on government to institute a fresh inquiry into death squads in view of the attempted murder of former police captain Dirk Coetzee.

DP justice spokesman Tian van der Merve, during an interpellation in Parliament yesterday, said witnesses called to testify should be given indemnity from prosecution "in exchange for spilling the beans".

He said a fresh investigation "is desperately necessary" in the light of the death of attorney Bheki Mlangeni. Mlangeni died when a "walkman" cassette player and tape he had received in the post exploded.

The gadget and tape were initially sent to Coetzee in Lusaka just prior to his leaving to testify before Mr Justice Krieger in London in connection with a defamation claim by police forensic unit chief Gen Lothar Neethling.

Van der Merve was sceptical about the success Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen and Transvaal Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau would have in tracking down the murderer.

He said this was not because the general was incompetent, but because the killers were too professional and had too many resources and too much expertise available to them.

He said a few weeks ago a witness, "Peaches" Gordon, had died.

"Could anyone doubt that his death was a result of his CCB revelations?"

In reply, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the assassination of Mlangeni was being given urgent attention. All forensic tests would be conducted by CSIR personnel and the CSIR would be a leading part of the investigation. Should the killers not be identified within a short period, Von Lieres would request either the setting up of a judicial commission or a judicial inquest.

SA, Soviets start open diplomatic links

stev 27/2/91
Political Correspondent

The first step towards normalising diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union has been agreed to with the government of Austria. (3041) (1991)

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, announced yesterday that Austrian embassies in Pretoria and

Moscow would now accommodate "interest sections" of the two countries.

Mr Botha said in the absence of full diplomatic relations, working contacts would be maintained through these interest sections.

South Africa severed diplomatic relations with the USSR when it closed its Pretoria embassy in the fifties.

When the Soviet peace-making role in the Angolan conflict, tentative contacts with the South African started to warm relations between the countries.

These secretive contacts culminated in an official visit to State President de Klerk by former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during the Namibian independence celebrations. — Sapa.

Councillor's apartheid apology

Municipal Reporter

304A
27/2/91

Johannesburg National Party councillor Hein Kruger last night apologised to residents for the mistakes of apartheid and called on all groups to work together towards a solution to the city's problems.

At the city council's monthly meeting, Mr Kruger repeated the words of Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wessels, who last week said in Parliament that apartheid had been a terrible mistake and he was sorry.

"I would like to associate myself fully with these words and sentiments. They are also appropriate in Johannesburg," Mr Kruger said.

He was speaking during a debate on the draft constitution of the Metropolitan Chamber for the central Witwatersrand.

"We say to our fellow residents of greater Johannesburg:

"Take our hands and let us together build the future of our metropolis and not make the mistakes of the past that have caused so much pain and suffering.

"Over the past 40 years, the National Party has learnt important lessons, and we have become aware not to repeat them."

He called on all political parties and citizens to work together to find solutions.

But he slammed Conservative Party council leader Jacques Theron for his "archaic" way of thinking.

Mr Theron had asked how the council could associate itself with the murderers and arsonists who had burnt out and intimidated black councillors.

He warned the council to consider the implications of the Metropolitan Chamber seriously. "Otherwise one will get a government of the self-appointed over the elected."

Mr Kruger said Mr Theron had no notion of the process of negotiation. "You want to go to Orania, and already you people are complaining you can't take your black domestics with you."

He said Mr Theron sounded like a man from another world.

'Negotiators could influence Govt'

By Peter Fabricius
Political
Correspondent 304A

A formal council of leaders involved in the negotiation process could be created to exert "considerable" influence on the Government on important matters during the transition to a new constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said this yesterday, spelling out Government thinking on transitional arrangements during negotiations.

He was speaking in the House of Delegates, where he rejected a motion by the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Dr J N Reddy, for the dissolution of the three Ministers' councils and

replacement with a consultative cabinet.

Dr Viljoen made it clear that when President de Klerk said he was considering transitional arrangements pending a new constitution, he did not mean changing the present legislature and executive by opening it to people now outside Parliament.

Although the Government rejected the African National Congress's

idea of an interim government, it did acknowledge the need for some transitional arrangement within the present constitution to give people outside Parliament a voice in the legislature and executive.

He said once the negotiating forum representative of all significant groupings had reached sufficient agreement on common constitutional principles and goals, it

might acquire the capacity to exert "direct, considerable and material" influence on Parliament and the Cabinet.

The main negotiating parties could also formally appoint a council of leaders to consult with the Government.

But Dr Viljoen stressed throughout that the Government would retain ultimate authority through the transition.

Star 28/2/91

Namibia expects R209m deficit

WINDHOEK — Finance Minister Otto Herrigel presented Namibia's first budget yesterday. This provides for additional expenditure of R164,7m for the 1990/91 financial year.

"Apart from this total of R164,7m, a further statutory obligation of R9,1m, resulting from exchange rate fluctuations and increased cost of loans, has to be financed," Herrigel told the National Assembly in Windhoek.

Provision was made for expenditure of R2,5bn in the main budget, with an expected revenue of R2,3bn, leaving an expected deficit of R209,6m. *Bloom 28/2/91*

For the current financial year, total estimated expenditure was R2,7bn and the total amount financed would be R2,5bn.

"That leaves a total of R212,1m, which is very close to what we envisaged," Herrigel said.

He had no choice but to raise loans or arrange an overdraft with the Central Bank of Namibia to finance the deficit. — Sapa.

All those MPs may cost R35m to keep

PRETORIA — SA's 308 parliamentarians will cost taxpayers in excess of R35m in the new financial year when perks are added to the salary account, according to informed calculations. *Bloom 28/2/91*

This is based on the virtual certainty that parliamentarians will give themselves the same 12% pay hike expected by public sector workers.

In the current financial year salaries and allowances for the tricameral system's 308 white, coloured and Asians MPs, according to 1990/91 budget estimates, will amount to around R27m.

The 32 Cabinet-rank ministers — 18 in the central Cabinet, four own affairs ministers in the House of Assembly and five each in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates — will earn around R6m.

A minister's salary this financial year totals about R185 000, which includes a large non-taxable reimbursement allowance.

GERALD REILLY

And the 11 white deputy ministers, and one each in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, will earn around R1,7m.

Last year's 26% pay hike for politicians — an across-the-board increase of R12 000 a year in addition to the 10% non-pensionable allowance granted all exchequer personnel — was greeted with outrage by the Public Servant's Association.

At the time PSA president Colin Cameron said if there were special circumstances justifying a double pay hike for politicians then the same circumstances had to be taken into account for government workers.

And in addition to the 26% increase MPs were given an R8 000 a year rise to R18 000 for "constituency expenses".

The administration of Parliament, including Hansard and staff, was expected to amount to about R35m.

Margaret willing to negotiate

Bloomberg likely to fight in Yeoville

THE chances are "very good" that former National Party MP Sam Bloomberg will fight the Yeoville by-election — a decision which has angered NP members in the constituency.

Bloomberg said yesterday he was likely to contest the seat as an independent, following the Democratic

TIM COHEN

Party's nomination of Douglas Gibson.

He said he would be discussing the matter with his financial backers at the weekend and would make a final decision then.

But Bloomberg added that he thought he would have a very good chance of winning the seat against the DP candidate he defeated in 1987 in Bezuidenhout.

He said he would have to resign from the NP and would also probably have to give up his position in the

reserve forces. (304A)

Bloomberg said he had not come across any ill feeling from NP members about the possibility that he would stand, but NP members said yesterday the NP would be upset if Bloomberg decided to stand.

The NP agreed not to contest the seat which was recently vacated by Harry Schwarz who has become SA's ambassador to the US.

CP national secretary Andries Beyers said yesterday his party had not decided whether it would contest the seat.

The multiparty cocktail party

304A

Star 28/2/91

NOW just a moment isn't that Minister Gerrit Viljoen? And isn't he holding hands with, on one side, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and on the other, Peter Hendrickse? What on earth are they up to and what is that they're chanting?

"Let us walk together hand in hand", they're intoning. "on this long journey to a multiparty, democratic, nonracial, nonsexist South Africa."

"Let our diversity be our strength as we move forward to build a great democracy out of the ashes of the past."

They're not alone in mouthing the mantra. Just look on the other side of the room: there's the Communist and Conservative parties, the Afrikaner Volkswag and the ANC, Inkatha and Inyandza, the PAC and the People's Progressive Party, all holding hands smilingly and singing along.

The reader can be forgiven for assuming that the above is a rough draft for a new "Theatre of the Absurd" production Upstairs at the Market.

It is not. It is a sober description of an extraordinary political event in Cape Town this week.

On Monday night former Inkatha grandee Dr Oscar Dhlomo launched his "Institute for Multiparty Democracy" in the ballroom of a swish Cape Town hotel.

Some 200 people attended, and they were as comprehensively eclectic as could be: key politicians, unionists, businessmen, clerics, academics, diplomats and media personalities.

It was, in Dr Dhlomo's not-so-humble assessment, "the most representative cross-section of South African political opinion that has ever assembled in one place". The success or failure of the deliberations could, in Dr Dhlomo's view, "significantly de-

termine whether or not the democratic seeds that are sown by the negotiation process take root, grow strong and blossom in the decades that lie ahead, or whether they wither and die in a harsh climate of political intolerance, national alienation, violence and despair".

Given the weightiness of this introduction, guests clearly felt duty-bound to comply when the Rev Francois Bill of the SA Council of Churches surprised them by requesting that they stand, hold hands and incant after him.

Of course cynics could say that Messrs Viljoen, Pahad, Mulder, Mabaso, Rajbansi, Jordan and Desai — to name but a few of the political notables present — went along with it simply because there was no escape, and they would have looked extremely churlish if they had tried to flee.

But this would do an injustice to the rare moment of across-the-

board South African co-operation. The event was folksy in the extreme but a great achievement nevertheless, an unexpected and pre-emptive curtain-raiser to the Multiparty Conference which the nation awaits with bated breath.

Dr Dhlomo's point was that the MPD is decidedly different from the innumerable well-meaning institutes which apartheid — or more specifically, the fight against it — has spawned. He was simply seeking (and apparently getting, to a surprising degree), agreement over a basic commitment to a multiparty future for South Africa.

There was no party bias, and no hidden agenda. Alongside the negotiations process, Dr Dhlomo and his colleagues were serving notice of intent to create a "culture of democracy and tolerance" among South Africans at large. Nothing of substance was debated on this occasion — and Dr Dhlomo point-

ed out that among the guests there were very different definitions of "democracy" and "multipartyism" — but at least the guests judged it important enough to attend. Dr Dhlomo is one of very few political figures in South Africa who could have achieved this; he will certainly bear watching in the crucial coming months.

But let us return to the surreal scene in the Cape Sun. The singing is over, and a smiling young man on the podium has something to say. It is Dr Saths Cooper, who will be remembered in an earlier incarnation as an especially angry and uncompromising president of Azapo. He is now the national director-designate of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Dr Dhlomo's chief lieutenant.

"We are certain that we have made a very important start for our country," he is saying. Then it sounds like he is running a dating agency: "Now we ask that you sa-

your the next hour or so, have drinks in the room next door and make associations that may not have been possible before.

"We ask you to take this moment of history back with you to your constituencies."

The bemused politicians — many of whom previously would not have been seen dead in each other's company, complied as if in a dream. "What the hell's this?" remarked a senior official of a major liberation movement under his breath. "Do we need the Multiparty Conference any more?"

It was a good observation. It seemed, for an instant, that if someone just locked the doors a new constitution could be hammered out there and then over cocktails. Of course it remains to be seen whether Dr Dhlomo can ever get them all together again, now that the first flush of flirtation is over. □