

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1991

JULY.

A CLOSE but confidential link has been forged between the African National Congress and South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs to shape South African foreign policy in a post-apartheid society.

The link has been highlighted by an invitation to the Commonwealth Secretary General, Chief Imeka Anyaoku, to lead a delegation of statesmen and other eminent persons to South Africa in early October to assess the changes that have taken place in the country that was once the pariah of Africa.

The invitation was delivered to Chief Anyaoku in London by the African National Congress.

Mugabe move

The visit by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group Mark II will have wide significance. It will come just before the Commonwealth heads of government summit begins in neighbouring Zimbabwe on October 15.

The Commonwealth is expected to announce at the Harare meeting a phased lifting of sanctions against Pretoria, and Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, will signal his country's rapprochement with South Africa and announce publicly his acceptance of the "irreversibility" of change there.

Mugabe's zeal for announcing his dramatic conversion explains his curious behaviour at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Lagos earlier this month.

While he urged fellow African heads of state to maintain strong sanctions against South Africa top Zimbabwean officials were signing a new trade agreement with Pretoria and making a formal request for "most favoured nation" treatment.

ANC and government work together to shape foreign policy



Dr Hendrik Verwoerd



Mr Robert Mugabe



General Olesegun Obasanjo

Zimbabwe maintains a 15-man diplomatic mission in Johannesburg to oil the wheels of its roaring trade with South Africa.

Torpedoed

Diplomatic sources said the structure of the EPG Mark II delegation under Chief Anyaoku had already been agreed. So, too, had the topics the delegation would discuss at a closed conference before going on to Harare to report to the heads of government.

The South African government is keen for the EPG Mark II to see the changes

that have occurred since the first disastrous EPG under Nigeria's General Olesegun Obasanjo in early 1988. On that occasion the EPG Mark I was edging close to an agreement under which the ANC would suspend armed struggle in return for Pretoria releasing Nelson Mandela from prison and opening negotiations.

But the EPG mission was deliberately torpedoed by Pretoria's hawks when the South African army launched raids into three neighbouring states.

The government's attitude towards the Commonwealth has changed completely since President F W de Klerk came to power. Both the government and the ANC agree that South Africa should rejoin the Commonwealth: the late Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd led the country out of the Commonwealth after the March 1961 London summit at which his apartheid policies were severely criticised.

ANC adamant

The South African government believes that Commonwealth civil servants have become more professional and realistic in the late Eighties and that the organisation can play an important role in smoothing the re-entry of South Africa into other international organisations.

For that reason the government would be happy to resume Commonwealth membership before South Africa's new democratic constitution is in place; but the ANC is adamant that the country should rejoin only after the first one-person-one-vote election some time in late 1994 or early 1995.

The ANC is keen for South Africa to join the Commonwealth. During its long years in exile it received important support from many Commonwealth countries, and top officials such as Thabo Mbeki, director of international affairs, and Pallo Jordan, director of information, maintained good relations with Commonwealth secretariat.

For its part the government feels the Commonwealth has undergone an important and positive transformation — ironically, largely because of the issue of South Africa.

Because it had dominated summits for the past 20 years and threatened to break up the Commonwealth, key actors decided that the organisation must "grow up" and get involved with a host of other important world issues,

such as global security and human rights other than those pertaining in South Africa.

Pretoria feels that the new breed of Commonwealth technocrats can play a particularly important role in organising an EC-type Southern African Economic Community, to the benefit of everybody in the region.

In their extraordinary secret negotiations on foreign policy the government and the ANC have agreed that South Africa has a moral responsibility to play a vital role in the reconstruction and development of the shattered or run-down economies of the region.

Watershed?

Now that South African foreign policy is no longer exclusively in the hands of the government the Commonwealth seems likely to succumb to temptation and act as facilitator.

Diplomatic sources said the EPG Mark II visit could turn out to be the watershed in the whole South African reform process. An endorsement of that process could give momentum to the constitutional talks, which are likely to be under way by the time the Commonwealth leaders meet.

Most other South African parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party and the Black Consciousness Movement, support a return to the Commonwealth.

Only the Afrikaner far right wing is opposed. It sees it as a British plot, a continuation of the Boer War objectives of subjugating the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners. A recent commentary in *Die Afrikaner*, the voice of the right wing Conservative Party, said last month's visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher was a conspiracy "with the communist Gorbachev against the Afrikaner nation... as if South Africa is a British colony".

Die Afrikaner added: "Britain's objective is, most probably, to have southern Africa in the British sphere of influence; and for this South Africa is the most important ingredient..."

"Thatcher's motivation was not primarily a love for the blacks and the communist, but a British obsession to remove Afrikaner nationalism from South African politics — the old Milner-Rhodes-Chamberlain politics which never succeeded." — Sunday Telegraph

Opportunities facing South Africa

are mind-boggling, says Marais

Finance Staff

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CAPE TOWN — Addressing a meeting of the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Cape Town, Dr Jan S Marais said that never during his time had he been happier with the trend of events and the opportunities now offered in South and Southern Africa.

However the vital proviso was that a free market-oriented and democratic nation be achieved.

He said that the first thing to admit was that in the aftermath of the more than four decades of the apartheid regime a whole new image must be created and a great "mess" of unemployment, lack of education and training, high inflation, hunger, large-scale crime and violence, bureaucracy must urgently be addressed.

He said that a basic requirement for a free market and a democracy should be to enlighten all the millions of people with highly politically emotionalised expectations that scrapping of apartheid and the right to vote would not alone mean a prosperous life tomorrow.

A prosperous life would only be achieved step by step.

Truths

He said that he had recently launched and publicised "21 Questions to South Africans" simply because, unless the facts were made known, disillusionment on a large scale could result in fuelling a new wave of violence.

Some of the vital truths according to these questions were:

- The whole nation would have to be indoctrinated with the truths programmed with the truth that prosperity can only be achieved through peace, study, training, birth control, massive investments, job opportunities and plain hard work.

- Higher living standards would remain illusory unless those sections of the nation with an unbelievably high birth rate can be educated in birth control and family planning.

- Apartheid alone can't be blamed for everything that is wrong. There were millions of oppressed and worse-off people in many countries where the word apartheid had never been heard.

- The economy needed simplification. A hard look at priorities and first essentials was necessary and it was highly questionable whether VAT, even though it might be the fairest and most scientific tax system, can be justified in the present circumstances.
- Leaders must spell out in practical detail an attainable fair-for-all vision for a future South Africa.

This approach would make it so much easier to sort out differences around a constitutional debating table.

- All media should be convinced that now is the time to convey to the nation at large the historical records of achievements versus disasters, with reference to the different political, economic and even religious systems.

The massive amounts of useless and even highly negative programming information daily being thrown at the public should be re-oriented towards practical, useful, inspirational and comparative information spread to create enthusiasm and a balanced viewpoint.

- To achieve high ideals, practical ways of breaking through to the millions in the townships and remote farms should be developed.
- Dr Marais suggested as one of the highest priorities a series of practical, easily understood documents.

This was because millions would probably never be able to read and many more who could read just did not bother.

But they all are, whenever possible, glued to radios and TVs.

Dr Marais said South Africa was different from practically any other country on the continent in many ways and had already certain distinct advantages:

- A unique nucleus of natural resources, an extensive infrastructure, modern technology, financial and marketing expertise.
- It was readily acknowledged as the powerhouse of Africa.
- Apart from the largely untapped market of a population approaching 50 million, there was an untapped market in the other 20 or so Southern African states with a total population approaching 150 million, not to speak of the other millions of Africans farther north.
- Even after sanctions and

boycotts, South Africa's trade with Africa had developed rapidly and, according to estimates, already amounted to R10 to R15 billion.

Some 80 000 black businessmen had been visiting SA every year over the last few years.

- All the basics were in place for South Africa not only to remain but to become more and more the springboard and gateway for foreign investors and traders into Africa.

Dr Marais said that in his view the only workable constitutional system in complex circumstances would be a federal/confederal approach, not a carbon copy of the Swiss system, but close to it.

He said that whatever fancy names and gimmicks might be pulled into the fighting arena by manoeuvring politicians, the ultimate and most logical solution would be such a constitutional system incorporating a comprehensive Bill of Rights and certain basic guarantees by the United Nations.



Dr Jan Marais... a whole new image must be created

Kaunda hails courage of De Klerk

LUSAKA — Zambia President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday hailed President de Klerk as the first Afrikaner leader with courage and commitment to the cause of justice.

Dr Kaunda, opening the Zambia International Trade Fair in the northern copperbelt town of Ndola, said Mr de Klerk was an important leader not for his country alone but for the whole of the African continent.

Since coming to power in 1989, Mr de Klerk has pressed ahead with bold reforms to forge a democratic society.

"He is the first Afrikaner leader with the courage and deep commitment to the cause of justice and fair play," said Dr Kaunda, who has campaigned vigorously against apartheid for decades.

"This is a dawn that promises not only freedom of choice in the political field, but freedom in economic action across the whole region." — Sapa.

Small men hold the big key

Star 11/7/41

AT THE dawn of a post-apartheid era, the main debate now centres on what kind of political model looks best suited to the new South Africa — and which economic route to follow.

On one side stand the champions of a market economy approach, with an emphasis on free enterprise, individual initiative, entrepreneurship and efficiency.

On the opposite side stand the supporters of a command economy approach, with a commitment to egalitarianism, welfare services and social security based on Government intervention and control.

There are also many combinations and permutations between the two extremes of the sort of fully democratic system practised in Switzerland and the totalitarian dictatorships that ruled much of Eastern Europe until the recent collapse of several communist regimes.

One major problem is the way the current debate is bedevilled by a lack of consensus on the precise meaning of key terms in the political lexicon.

For one person, "profit" means a reward for effective economic action; for many others it carries connotations of exploitation or privilege.

For some, "socialism" means solutions to end poverty; for others it raises the spectre of a failing and declining economy and widespread misery.

The irony of the situation is that the protagonists of socialism hold that central planning is necessary to achieve a better



deal for the masses.

This is due to the fallacy of identifying the ideology of "separate development" with the economic system of "capitalism" in the minds of people in the large Third World periphery.

The majority of voters in the new South Africa are not likely to be easily persuaded that central planning and totalitarian government — albeit "democratic centralism" — are inherently hostile to the spiritual and material welfare of the man in the street.

Hence we must expect a battle for the minds of people between the forces of individual freedom and enterprise on one hand and supporters of socialist central economic planning on the other.

We at the Small Business Development Corporation believe

Dr Ben Vosloo, who today celebrates 10 years at the helm of the Small Business Development Corporation, was at the spearhead of moves that ushered budding black businessmen into the economic mainstream when he took the lead in breaking down apartheid barriers. He explains why he believes the small businessman can play a crucial role in the post-apartheid era.

that the natural mediators between these conflicting views are South Africa's entrepreneurs.

Men and women who are engaged in the small business sector of the economy tend to be true free marketeers, though few would actually give themselves that label.

It is largely only the entrepreneurs, with positive hands-on experience of a free market at work, who can act as a bridge between those South Africans who find they do not really see eye-to-eye.

And it is only here that emotional issues do not cloud concepts by attaching moral values to them. For your average entrepreneur, the critical question is not whether a concept is ideologically acceptable, but whether and how it works in practice.

Without job-creation and economic growth, our society will be condemned to impoverishment. Basic needs such as housing and better education and health services will fade out of reach.

Like most countries in today's world we are likely to continue running a mixed economy that combines free market features and some government intervention. But sharp questions will have to be asked about the nature of the mix — and the direction of the tilt.

In the final analysis it should be made clear that our hopes for the future do not lie in simplistic ideological rhetoric. They lie in a refocusing on the true nature of development at the grassroots level in towns, cities and regions.

Real economic development is a do-it-yourself process that can at best only be reinforced by sound economic policies.

It boils down to the rediscovery of the enterprising individual who creates job opportunities, who takes risks, who breaks new ground and who plays an innovative role in the economic life of a country.

The way to build a happy and prosperous nation does not lie in centralised bureaucratic planning and control but in unleashing the creative potential of the entire population.

The media in South Africa has a crucial role to play to ensure that the debate on our future political-economic order is an informed debate and that all the relevant facts and arguments are made known. □

Settlers 'betrayed' 304A

THE EXECUTIVE committee of an organisation claiming to have representation in the Netherlands, Belgium and South Africa yesterday condemned the scrapping of apartheid legislation.

The Dietse Federation said it was treason against the Afrikaner and immigrants who had come in good faith to South Africa. *Sowetan 2/7/91*

The Federation said that when immigrants came to South Africa they had been informed of apartheid and its advantages.

"The families who came on the immigrant ships, believing they would be safe, never dreamed that their children and grandchildren would sit in mixed schools or that they would have to arm their homes like forts as a result of the chaos from the scrapping of apartheid legislation."

The organisation said these people had accepted South African citizenship and shared the dangers of the "born Afrikaner". - Sapa



Newly appointed British ambassador to SA Anthony Reeve arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to replace outgoing ambassador Sir Robin Renwick, who has been appointed ambassador to the US.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

New British envoy takes up SA post

DARIUS SANAI

BRITISH ambassador to SA Anthony Reeve arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to replace Sir Robin Renwick, who has been appointed ambassador to the US.

Reeve was tight-lipped about his new job and only told reporters at the airport that he was "very glad to be here and looking forward to the job".

He has visited SA several times before and was head of the SA Affairs Department of the British Foreign Office from 1984 to 1986.

As ambassador to Jordan during the recent Gulf War Reeve found himself at loggerheads with the local media as King Hussein's ostensibly neutral regime adopted a pro-Iraqi stance.

British newspapers reported that he had to tighten security around his residence in Amman.

An Oxford graduate, Reeve has served in Beirut, Cairo and Abu Dhabi and speaks fluent Arabic.

He said in an earlier interview that he planned to learn Afrikaans when he arrived in SA.

'Too early' for full ties

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mauritius is unlikely to establish full diplomatic links with South Africa unless there is a democratically elected government in power, according to the secretary-general of the island's Labour Party, Kailash Purryag.

Mr Purryag, who arrived in Durban yesterday, served as Minister of Social Security and then of Health. He is in Durban to attend the African National Congress conference.

He said that while Mauritius had business and other links with South Africa, the idea of full diplomatic relations was not part of the island's approach in its contribution in helping to remove all apartheid.

"Neither the present Mauritian government nor a Labour Party future administration can be seen to have official diplomatic relations when apartheid is still alive," said Mr Purryag.

He said that his party would be contesting all 62 seats in the election which was expected to be held shortly. At present Labour is the Opposition in Mauritius.

'Survey is bad news'

Sowetan 3/7/91 (304A) (19)
SURVEY results showing the National Party would be the official opposition after a one man, one vote election means that liberation movements should get their act together, said callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talk-back show.

Lucky from Dube said the results show that blacks have a short memory if they could vote for the party that caused years of repression and subjugation.

He said it is sad that affluent blacks are associating themselves more and more with the NP.



However, other callers felt that the survey did not reflect the truth, as the NP would remain in power.

Rodney from Johannesburg said the NP had improved its image a lot since the survey was conducted and only the youth, most of them not eligible to vote, are supporters of the ANC.

Len from Soweto said the NP would come first because it has proved to a lot of former ANC supporters that it has control.

He said the ANC blames the NP for a lot of things that it itself cannot control, like violence.

Peter, a staunch ANC supporter from Carletonville, said the ANC would win and to him it was immaterial who came second.

ANC, Govt in fresh row

Sowetan 3/7/91.

304A

A FRESH row between the Government and the ANC overshadowed yesterday's opening of the ANC's first legal conference in South Africa in 30 years.

As 2 000 ANC delegates gathered for the conference, President FW de Klerk announced on Monday that his Government and Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC had agreed there were no more political prisoners in South Africa.

The presidential statement was swiftly denounced by the ANC.

"This is absolute twaddle," ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said. "There has been no such agreement. Somebody is

playing propaganda games. We don't know why."

The row focused on a long festering dispute between the ANC, the country's biggest black grouping, and the Government.

Prisoners

The Government says it has released all political prisoners - a key condition for the lifting of US sanctions - while the ANC says more than 900 are still in jail.

ANC displeasure with the pace of Government action in freeing political prisoners, as well as what it calls the Government's failure to halt black township violence,

has stalled black-white power-sharing talks.

Conference organisers said the ANC was looking ahead to forming the country's first non-racial government after elections due in 1994.

"We are here to prepare the machinery to be the next government," said Natal ANC leader Mr Manto Tshabalala.

"We are hoping to come out with a clear programme for majority rule."

Political analysts say the conference will seek ways of recapturing the initiative from De Klerk. - Sapa-Reuter

ANC would win an election, says poll

APR 21 1991

APR 21 1991

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — In a one

man, one vote election today the ANC would win, but nine out of 10 people in the townships believe that it would have to build the future through negotiations, not confrontation, with the government.

A new poll says on average President F.W. de Klerk's National Party would emerge as the second-largest party among township residents.

These are three of the key findings from research into the attitudes of people in the town-

ships of South Africa's main cities, published today.

The research was conducted during March this year by the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and was based on questions formulated by the centre's director, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

The survey, a nationwide sample of all ages, found that only one out of 10 people support the armed struggle and three out of 10 support consumer boycotts and stayaways.

But nearly half of the people

back protest marches, meetings and demonstrations and about the same number believe in protests aimed at the resignation of black town councillors and homeland leaders.

The survey found that 65 percent of all township residents feel "close" or "very close" to the ANC.

In Soweto that falls to 49 percent and in the hostels to 12 percent. In the hostels more than seven out of 10 people feel "close" or "very close" to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Nationally, the organisation

which seven out of 10 people feel closest to is their church.

The researches asked the people who they thought was responsible for starting the violence in their areas. Nearly six out of 10 people in Soweto blamed Inkatha Freedom Party. Sixteen percent of people in hostels felt the same.

Others blamed for the violence, in order of frequency, were youths who were pseudo "comrades", the police, ANC or Communist Party-linked activists, and then certain headmen and vigilantes.

NP urged to show commitment

Mandela calls for full talks to start soon

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DURBAN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday steered the organisation's 48th national conference towards an urgent resumption of the negotiating process.

In his opening address, delivered jointly with Oliver Tambo, he urged delegates to prepare for the next stage in the process — a multiparty congress — "sooner rather than later".

Mandela said those responsible for the violence that had delayed the talks "should not be allowed to succeed in their intention of slowing down the process".

In a brief and ambiguous reference to sanctions, Mandela charged the conference with the responsibility of finding ways to arrest the erosion of international economic pressures.

Indications from other top ANC officials suggest the ANC leadership believes this would be best achieved by adopting a policy in support of the phasing out of sanctions as various stages of progress are reached.

Mandela said the ANC did not wish to "lose this weapon, which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted".

Meanwhile, Mandela said the first principal step towards a parliamentary election was the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations including the ending of a "campaign of terror against the people".

BILLY PADDOCK, ALAN FINE
and TIM COHEN

In reference to another perceived obstacle, he denied reports of a final agreement between the ANC and government on the release of political prisoners.

He said a heavy responsibility rested on the ruling NP "to demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations".

"Neither can it expect that we accept its good faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces it controls themselves engage in violence against people (and) permit such violence to occur."

However, Mandela said the ANC must "push the process forward leading to the transfer of power" and the organisation should prepare for participation in an all-party congress "with some urgency".

Mandela said that a crucial part of the all-party congress's work would be the creation of an interim government.

"The importance of the matter cannot be over-emphasised. (It will) have to be constituted in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity."

He reiterated the ANC's demand that a

□ To Page 2

Mandela

new constitution should be drafted by an elected constituent assembly and warned that this would not be achieved solely through negotiations. In order to force government to accept this demand the ANC would have to mobilise mass support.

He rejected government's contention that mass mobilisation was an obstacle to negotiations but said the ANC had a duty to entrench a culture of political tolerance. "It is absolutely impermissible for any one of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles we must ensure that people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation."

Mandela attacked the NP saying "it has never been on the agenda of the party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power".

There are people within state structures who remain opposed to the transformation of the country and who did not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of exiles, the termination of political trials and a review of security legislation, he said.

● See Page 6

● Comment: Page 8

□ From Page 1

duced on health services. in case the tax was intro-

NP candidate ousts CP man after 3 years

POTCHEFSTROOM. — A National Party candidate in a Potchefstroom municipal by-election has won a seat held by the Conservative Party since 1988.

Dr Willie Victor, a local dentist, won Ward 7 in Potchefstroom by 420 votes against Mr Fred Pelsner, supported by the CP. The figures were 779 votes to 359 votes.

The swing to the NP from the CP was 18,4%, enough in a general election to remove most of the Conservative Party MPs if repeated nationally.

The NP's victory means it can now, with the votes of the Potchefstroom municipality, reclaim the Transvaal Municipal Association and the local Western Transvaal Regional Services Council from the CP. — Sapa

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Govt is 3049 Keen on Sowetan ANC 5/7/91 debate

THE South African Government was following the proceedings and statements of the ANC closely and with interest, a senior spokesman said yesterday.

He said the Government welcomed the ANC conference as it was important that the ANC should have the opportunity to discuss its policies, positions and leadership issues.

Until this happened, the ANC would not be able to move forward into proper negotiations.

"The Government is watching developments with intense interest, taking note of the statements and positions during the conference."

Government officials had studied the opening statements by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with great care.

The Government was reluctant to comment on everything that came out of the conference as it did not want to be seen to be interfering.

'Ordinary people killed apartheid'

30411

Sowetan 577/91

CRITICS of apartheid who dismissed changes in the country as insignificant denied the achievement of ordinary blacks who non-violently caused racist laws to crumble.

In the second edition of *South Africa Silent Revolution* Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, argues that ordinary

people, rather than political organisations, sanctions or State President FW de Klerk, contributed more to the scrapping of racist laws.

The *Sowetan* Nation Building programme was a revolt against the myth of black helplessness, against what amounted to a view that the only good black was a powerless black - exploited and exiled and dependent on foreign fundings, Kane-

Berman said.

The late Mr Sam Mabe, who was Assistant Editor of *Sowetan*, was quoted as saying: "I am sick and tired of people using apartheid as an excuse for not doing anything for themselves."

Kane-Berman said apartheid legislation was scrapped when the Government realised the laws were not enforceable.

Getting down to an all-party conference

PRESIDENT De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela should be contacting each other soon. Early indications from the ANC conference in Durban were that the ANC now wanted to get down to an all-party conference to prepare for constitutional negotiations.

Mr Mandela urged the movement to prepare urgently for this and said such a conference must take place sooner rather than later.

This is the signal Mr De Klerk must have been waiting for. He already has many other movements including Inkatha and all the parliamentary parties excluding the Conservative Party lined up for such a conference. He said recently that there had been particularly satisfactory progress in discussions with extra-parliamentary political leaders.

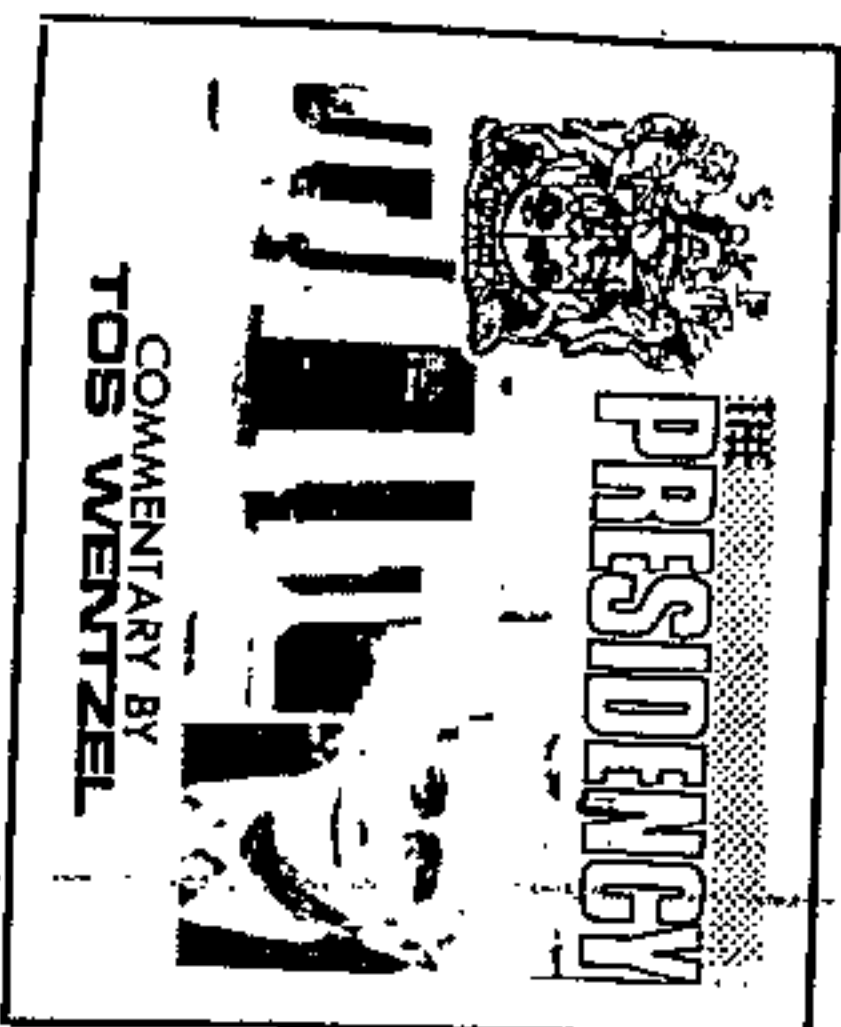
Even while he was trying to take a short break from his arduous duties this week Mr De Klerk must have been planning ways in which he could call the conference.

Mr De Klerk has found that as president he is never really off duty completely. During the week he had to issue a statement on an agreement reached between the government and the ANC on procedures to be followed for the release of remaining political prisoners and others who claim that they qualify for release.

Mr Mandela repudiated what he had said was a statement by Mr De Klerk that all political prisoners had now been released — something Mr De Klerk had not said. He had in fact dealt with an agreement dealing with the finalising of remaining applications and claims for release.

One of the sticking points is prisoners held by Bophuthatswana. Here Mr De Klerk indicated that the government was prepared to play an intermediary role. He should in fact place heavy pressure on Bophuthatswana to release these prisoners or at least to follow South African procedures. President Lucas Mangope after all owes the South African government for its intervention in the 1988 coup attempt in his country.

There was some dismay in government circles following Mr Mandela's reactions to Mr De Klerk's statement. They said it was another example of bad communications in the ANC and that there had been previous examples where representatives of the ANC, empowered to negotiate with the government, had had decisions taken on these occasions queried when they reported back.



ANC 5/7/91

Mr Mandela himself has had some of his talks with Mr De Klerk queried which may account for the some of his fiery rhetoric lately. Mr De Klerk's one hope must be that from this conference an ANC leadership will emerge which will be willing and able to assert itself in its own ranks.

Mr De Klerk appears to have kept a cool head throughout and he will no doubt be looking for the positive aspects of Mr Mandela's conference speech.

He is likely to let pass the way in which Mr Oliver Tambo claimed credit for the ANC for the peace initiative without giving him any credit. Mr De Klerk is a mature politician process must start, and not who claims the credit.

In his last speech in the past session of parliament Mr De Klerk did, however, claim that in the field of negotiation the government had gone out of its way to remove obstacles and that good progress had been made and continued to be made. He added that dialogue was still being conducted over a wide spectrum.

Mr De Klerk feels that what is at issue is that the current phase of discussions with a view to removing obstacles in the way of real negotiations must be speedily concluded.

Mr Mandela's remarks about the ANC having merely suspended, not terminated, the "armed struggle" and that Umkhonto we Sizwe had the responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness must have come as a disappointment to Mr De Klerk.

He is clearly deeply concerned about this issue.

In parliament he said that from the government's point of view there was a need for the ANC to move from mere suspension of the armed struggle to its final termination. What

was required was that the ANC should cease presenting itself as a semi-military movement and concentrate rather on those matters and activities which befitted a political party.

The question can also be asked whether the armed struggle in any case ever amounted to all that much.

Mr De Klerk has also said that the government is not interested in destabilising the ANC and that it would prefer it to be a well-organised political party.

Another sticking point between the two sides is the question of violence which Mr Mandela has described as "a campaign of terror against the people" and an obstacle to be resolved before there could be moves towards an all-party conference.

Against the background of ANC charges that security force elements may be involved Mr De Klerk has pointed out that strong and far-reaching initiatives have been taken.

The police force had been greatly strengthened, citizen force and police reservists were regularly called up when needed, a standing commission on violence had been established.

He maintains that the violence problem is also a question of dealing with attitudes and that government strong-arm measures alone cannot solve it.

The ANC and its affiliates did not attend Mr De Klerk's summit on violence but the two sides may well soon be together at another conference arranged by neutral church and businessmen.

There will also still have to be some tough bargaining on the issue of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Mr Mandela blundered when he said a while back that there could be no compromise on these issues. There will clearly have to a great deal of give and take at the negotiations.

Mr De Klerk remains implacably opposed to the idea of an interim government and constituent assembly taking the place of the present government.

As he has often stated his administration is a sovereign one, recognised internationally, which must stay in place until a new Constitution has been drawn up and that this Constitution will then have to be passed by the present parliament.

ANC flexible on interim government

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ARG 5/7/91

DURBAN. — Hints that the ANC would be prepared to adopt a more flexible approach in its demand for an interim government to run the country during negotiations were given here by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani.

Mr Hani, often considered a hawk by the white establishment, yesterday rejected a rigid approach to negotiations, and expressed a preparedness to consider other proposals offered at the negotiation table.

Asked at a Press briefing whether he considered an interim government "an absolute non-negotiable", he replied: "I would prefer not to use the word 'absolute'.

"We should never absolutise anything."

"The interim government is the position of the ANC and it wants to discuss that with other parties.

"We will go to the negotiation table with that position, but we will listen to other positions put by the government, the PAC, Inkatha and the homelands."

Reports by Political
Correspondent MICHAEL
MORRIS and Political Staff
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN.

While the ANC believed an interim government offered an important solution to the problems of handling the transition to a new order, he added: "We want to know from other interested parties how they hope to handle the process of transition, and in that process of talks, something that might not be quite what the ANC proposes might emerge.

"You never know what will emerge. You never close your ears to other suggestions.

"The ANC is not going to prescribe to other groups. We will keep an open mind and listen to the reasonable arguments of other groups."

He said he fully endorsed the ANC's commitment to negotiations and was not merely "paying lip service" to it.

Mr Hani acknowledged that his frankness might not always be popular.

WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman



Wanted: Strength, not oppression

W/Mail 57-11/7/91

WHAT this country really needs is a strong state.

Before fan mail from secuocrats and Stalinists begins pouring in, an explanation is needed.

A strong state is not one which uses large doses of force to keep its citizens in check. Those states are weak, since force — and constant control over citizens' lives — is the only means they have to stay in power.

And, since they use up most of their resources and the country's simply on staying in power, sooner or later the costs become too high and the system begins to crumble.

A strong state is one which maintains order with a minimum of force.

It can do that only if it wins the consent of its citizens. That means it must enjoy legitimacy; citizens must believe that the state is entitled to make rules and they must see it as a guarantee of their rights.

One reason our attempted journey to democracy is proving so difficult is that our state is weak.

This wasn't that obvious when its chief goal was to ensure that things stayed the same. All it needed was enough force to stop its opponents overthrowing it and it had that.

But the costs of staying the same became too high and the government's task is now to ensure that things change.

The force needed to stop change is very different to the strength needed to ensure order by winning the support of those who have been excluded.

Despite the state's arsenal, it doesn't seem to have shown township residents tired of conflict that it can protect them rather than add to their problems.

Nor has it been able to win support by getting schooling or housing to those who need them — many of whom might support a state which did that, regardless of what it did in the past.

Its weakness may stem partly from a failure to win active support for change from its own police or civil servants. But it may stem also from its view of what strong government is all about.

The government knows it lacks legitimacy; most of the things it has done since last February aim to correct that.

But it still believes it can win it by controlling as much of the change process as it can: whether the issue is the release of prisoners or land reform, it still seems eager to show that it can decide what will change and what will not.

The press and some commentators seem to agree that this shows strength. As the African National Congress met this week, it was again reminded that the government had "outmanoeuvred" it by introducing changes largely on its own terms.

That is half true. But order is still not maintained, the schools crisis continues, rent boycotts have still not been settled.

And, while our rulers may have pleased foreign governments and sport chiefs, they have not won support from the 80 percent of the people whose consent is needed if we are to have a strong state. Until they do, the government will remain weak, no matter whom it "outmanoeuvres".

A more realistic test of government strength may be whether it has won black constituencies to its brand of negotiated change.

That means asking how many settlements it has negotiated which make stable change more likely, not how many decisions it has taken on its own.

The government will remain weak until it finds partners who can offer stability in exchange for a share in decisions — no matter how many "victories" it wins.

But its weakness is not necessarily a source of strength for its opponents — or the country.

While the government may be too weak to change things on its own, it still commands enough force to stop its opponents doing that. So at best, its weakness is a recipe for stalemate and decline — at worst, for a return to rule by force.

Part of the problem is that its opponents are also weak. They, too, can stop the government doing things but may be unable to show strength on their own. The type of "strength" needed to mobilise protest or to deny the government legitimacy is not the same as that needed to win active support.

To do that, resistance movements may need to show that they can wield power in ways which offer improvements to their constituency.

If the government will stay weak until it negotiates solutions with its opponents, so will resistance movements. The sooner both accept that, the more

■ NEXT WEEK: Ameen Akhalwaya

The 'Crash' and the 'Coalition'

New Nation (Learner's Nation) 5/7/11/7/91

304A

The Great Depression (1929-1933) started when what is commonly referred to as the 'Wall Street crash' in the US plunged the world and South Africa into severe economic hardship. Emergency measures had to be taken by all governments to solve the financial and unemployment crises which resulted. As leader of the ruling National Party, JBM Hertzog entered into an agreement with the ruling class opposition party in the minority-elected government. The South African Party under JC Smuts agreed to a coalition government of national unity and the United South African National Party, commonly referred to as the United Party, was formed and won the 1934 white election.

The Great Depression

The coalition government had emerged to solve the problems of the depression. We shall briefly examine the reasons for the depression and its aftermath. A stock exchange is a place where shares are bought and sold. Many companies raise money by selling shares. In 1929, over one million US citizens owned 300 million company shares. In October 1929, share prices began to fall and many shareholders decided to cut their losses and sell. There was panic reaction. Within days, twelve million shares were offered for sale, but there were no buyers. On 29 October 1929, known as 'Black Thursday', over 16 million shares were traded. Companies were forced to close down, banks closed their doors, people lost their savings and the US Federal Reserve Bank could not assist. Overnight, those who had speculated on the stock market became poor and the poor became even poorer. The US government called in its overseas loans and so the economic depression spread worldwide. In South Africa, trade came to a standstill and this had a ripple effect on business. In 1933, the Hertzog government needed to find a solution.

Pan



JOHN STEINBECK THE GRAPES OF WRATH

John Steinbeck wrote many books about Depression in America. 'The Grapes of Wrath' looks at the migration of thousands of homeless families into California, in search of work.



A refugee family

Gold

South Africa's major export commodity, gold, suffered a setback. All capitalist countries decided to abandon the gold standard, which meant that their currencies would no longer be backed by gold. South Africa was pressurised financially to abandon the full gold standard as well.

A strong call to abandon the gold standard came from a former Nationalist Member of Parliament, Mr Tielman Roos. In 1932, Roos stated that the abandonment of the gold standard would prevent a lot of money from leaving the country. He also proposed a coalition between the NP and the SAP, but he wanted to lead this coalition government himself. In December 1932, CN Havenga, the Minister of Finance, announced that South Africa would abandon the full gold standard and a slow economic recovery resulted.

In March 1933, JBM Hertzog became leader of the United Party, and JC Smuts became his deputy. Roos was left in the political wilderness.

Basis of the coalition

The seven-point programme will be outlined briefly:

- * SA would maintain its independence
- * The present flag would be kept
- * Equal language rights for English and Afrikaans-speaking people
- * A "white civilised labour policy" to reserve certain job categories for whites only
- * Political segregation to be kept
- * Safeguarding of South Africa's currency
- * Industrial development

In the 1934 racist election, the Coalition United Party won 136 out of 150 seats, proving that the white electorate supported this move. Many key Afrikaners broke away from the National Party and formed the 'Purified' National Party. Colonel JF Stallard and some English-speaking South Africans opposed Hertzog's anti-imperialist views and so broke away from the South African Party to form the Dominion Party.

For the oppressed black people of South Africa, problems during the post-depression years revolved around mere survival. The majority of black South Africans still lived in rural areas. The focus for the oppressed was on survival and the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter.

The ANC at this time was largely decentralised and there were merely calls upon the government to organise a conference to discuss segregation. However in 1937, 25 years after the birth of the ANC, moves were made to rebuild the organisation and commitment to the struggle for liberation.

World War Two (1939-1945)

The coalition government only lasted five years. The split came over the issue of participation in the Second World War (1939-1945). Hertzog and Smuts differed on their support for Britain in the war. Hertzog believed that South Africa should remain neutral and not automatically support Britain in the war. On the other hand, Smuts felt

that South Africa was a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and should therefore support Britain fully.

When the Germans under the leadership of Hitler invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, South Africa had to make its decision. Members of Parliament were asked to vote on the issue and Smuts gained 80 votes and Hertzog 67 votes. As Prime Minister, Hertzog asked the Governor-General to dissolve parliament and call an election. The Governor-General Patrick Duncan accepted his resignation and asked Jan Smuts to form a new government. The coalition had ended.

On 6 September 1939, South Africa entered the war on the side of Britain. The Smuts government called for volunteers to join the Defence Force and soldiers were sent to fight in East and North Africa, Madagascar and Italy.

Internal matters were neglected as international politics became the focus of attention.

Next week we shall focus on events which led to the victory of the National Party in the 1948 election.

Try this exercise!

Refer to the cartoon and answer the questions which follow:



1. Identify 1, 2, 3 and 4.
2. Which political party was formed when it broke away from the National Party in 1934?
3. Which political party was formed when members broke away from the South African Party in 1934?
4. Why was a coalition government formed?
5. Why is figure 1 represented as larger than figure 2?
6. Why are figures 3 and 4 represented as being small?

Answers

1. (1) JBM Hertzog
(2) JC Smuts
(3) DF Malan
(4) Colonel Stallard
2. Purified National Party
3. Dominion Party
4. To help South Africa survive the depression period and revive the economy
5. JBM Hertzog was Prime Minister of the coalition government and Smuts was his deputy.
6. Malan and Stallard did not have much support amongst the white electorate in 1934.

Inkatha-NP coalition 'a threat to stability'

CAPE TOWN — The prospects for future stability in SA would be dealt a fatal blow if a National Party/Inkatha coalition were to win the next election, international authority on SA politics Heribert Adam said yesterday.

Adam, sociology professor at the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, said legacies of apartheid such as violence, crime and poverty, could be tackled only by a government regarded as legitimate by the majority of South Africans.

"In order to legitimise a new political order it is necessary that the opposition (the ANC) is victorious in the next election.

"The old forces can return in the next round once the norms of changing government have been established," Adam told members of the UCT Graduate School of Business Association yesterday.

It was possible that the NP and a conservative black alliance could win the election but this would lead to accusations of rigging and would result in mistrust.

A more favourable outcome would be a government dominated by the ANC under moderate leadership, with limited participation by the NP, Adam said.

But the ANC had internal divisions

LESLEY LAMBERT

which threatened to split the movement and derail negotiations if they emerged before rather than after a political settlement.

The ANC was divided into three camps: the militant youth, which wanted a resumption of the armed struggle, the transfer strategists, including hardcore Stalinists who saw negotiations simply as a means to a transfer of power, and the stalemate proponents, including moderates who were genuinely interested in a negotiated multiparty democracy, he said.

These divisions were reflected in different attitudes towards the role of proposed self-defence units in the townships.

The militant youth wanted local mafia and warlords to protect township dwellers, the SACP wanted structures to discipline and indoctrinate the youth, while the moderates wanted the equivalent of neighbourhood watches to pacify people.

ANC leaders were using "war talk" to keep the movement together, Adam said. This could become counterproductive if it raised expectations which were dampened by compromise in negotiations, he added.

CP congress on aid to whites

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party is to convene a congress to co-ordinate action for emergency economic assistance to unemployed whites. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday. (304A) (388)

"This is clearly the time for a new assistance organisation that will include a mechanism for job creation," he said. CT 6/7/91

Dr Treurnicht said the CP wanted to give urgent attention to the frightening crisis of poverty which was affecting white families.

Mr Wynand van Wyk (CP Witbank) was elected chairman of the Co-ordinating Assistance Emergency Committee at a meeting between right-wing unionists and MPs here this week. — Sapa

PRETORIA. — While slamming what it called the ANC's failure to abandon violence, the government yesterday sounded a cautiously hopeful note that the ANC's national conference would lead to a resumption of negotiations.

In a statement issued on behalf of the government, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the conference had been observed with interest.

The conference, the first held in South Africa for more than 30 years, ended in Durban at the weekend.

In his statement, Dr Viljoen welcomed the ANC's "apparent

Govt hopeful of resuming negotiations

(304A) 2/8/79
greater flexibility regarding the constitutional negotiation process", and indications that the organisation's leaders were in a hurry to start discussions.

However, he said, a number of negative aspects had also emerged. These included a failure to clarify the relationship between the ANC and the SA Com-

munist Party — with its outdated ideology.

"The apparent decisive role of the SACP within the ANC has been reconfirmed." Hopes that the ANC-SACP would discard the option of violence were also dashed, Dr Viljoen said. Instead, strategic decisions and statements "showed a greater commitment to violence."

"This is being done behind the smokescreen of accusations, void of all credibility, that all the other parties, including the government, are responsible for the violence," Dr Viljoen said.

He said he expected that talks for a multi-party conference would get back on track. — Sapa

Visitors to offer SA advice on democracy

LONDON. — Senior legislators from seven Commonwealth countries will visit South Africa from today to offer advice and help on introducing full parliamentary democracy, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association said on Saturday.

During a nine-day visit, the group will meet President F.W. de Klerk, members of the government and other prominent people, including Mr. Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader.

The members of the group are from Australia, Botswana, Mauritius, India, Canada, Jamaica and Namibia.

The association represents legislatures in the 50-nation Commonwealth of Britain and its former colonies — Sapa-AP

Hurd faces tough task on reform

Sowetan 8/7/91 304A

LONDON - British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd faces a tough task in encouraging the process of constitutional reform in South Africa when he arrives for a four-day visit today.

Hurd will meet State President FW de Klerk and senior ministers as well as leaders of the black and white opposition parties.

The main purpose of Hurd's visit was to encourage both sides to begin constitutional talks aimed at giving blacks a say in Government following the dismantling of apartheid, the Foreign Office said.

But at the African National Congress's Durban conference, which closed



DOUGLAS HURD

early yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela appeared in uncompromising mood, stressing that "enormous differences" remained between blacks and the Government.

He repeated the ANC's demand for an interim government to oversee a transition to majority rule and for a constituent assembly to draw up a non-racial constitution before elections - demands which the

Government has already spurned.

ANC officials said they would stay away from talks on a new constitution until the Government ended the township violence that has killed more than 2 000 in less than a year.

Hurd will see Mandela, Clarence Makwetu of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha.

Buthelezi was in London last month for talks with Hurd and Prime Minister John Major, at which he expressed his appreciation for Britain's policy of relaxing sanctions.

The British foreign secretary is also expected to have talks with Dr Andries Treurnicht.

- Sapa-Reuter

304A
ARG 8/7/91

SA must take chances on offer, Hurd will tell FW

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, arrived in South Africa today and will have talks with Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi, businessmen and others.

Special writer STANLEY UYS reports from London

THE dynamics of South African politics have changed quite dramatically since Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd first met President F W de Klerk in Cape Town 15 months ago.

(Mr Hurd was on his way home from Namibia's independence celebrations).

Mr Hurd, who arrived in South Africa today, must be well pleased with the changes that have taken place in South Africa since then, and when he meets President de Klerk in Pretoria today he may tell him so, even if in guarded Foreign Office-speak.

Mr Hurd is answering to a new prime minister this time — John Major not Margaret Thatcher. Mr Major may not be quite as over the moon about South Africa as Mrs Thatcher was, but basically the British government's policy will remain unchanged, although Mr Hurd probably will have more scope now as Foreign Secretary.

cure external financial support.

Another Western anxiety is that while promises abound of material improvements in South Africa, the actual work on the ground is not commensurate with these promises, and unless ordinary South Africans (blacks more than whites) feel they will benefit from the negotiation process, they will not give it their support. This means material improvements must begin immediately.

Much will depend, therefore, on what Mr Hurd learns at his meetings with President de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi, businessmen and others. The message he takes back to Western Europe, and later to the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare in October, will be important for South Africa's economic future.

The message that President de Klerk will get from Mr Hurd's visit is that opportunity is knocking at South Africa's door. But Mr Hurd will also be voicing his — and the West's — anxieties that the opportunity might be missed. The most immediate of these anxieties is the violence in the country. Western governments see it as highly damaging to the negotiation process, and they are not sure whether South Africa's political leaders are getting to grips with it.

Is the government doing enough to ensure the impartiality of the police? And is it really necessary for black leaders to arouse the passions of their followers in the way they have been doing?

Arousing passions is the business of politicians, but once a political party prepares for government, as the ANC, Inkatha and others are doing, "mobilising the masses" becomes a two-edged sword. The mass followers of today become the undisciplined mob of tomorrow.

However, Western governments on the whole were mightily pleased by the recent church-sponsored conference on curbing the violence, and they will wait to see now how the conference's resolutions are implemented.

Western (and other) governments feel they have a legitimate interest in what is happening in South Africa. They are being asked to help provide the financial underpinning for post-apartheid South Africa and they want to be sure they will not be wasting their money.

On South Africa's post-apartheid success might depend the survival of much of the Southern African region.

In any case, as all South Africa's political leaders will have noticed, the principle of sovereignty — that countries should not interfere in each other's internal affairs — is wearing thinner and thinner in Africa, as increasingly tough conditions are set to se-

By October, the Commonwealth could be looking at a South Africa that is very different from the one they knew at their last meeting. The negotiation process might not have started, but if other issues have been cleared up, like the release of political prisoners, there might be no need — for the first time in years — for the Commonwealth to rake over old quarrels about whether to lift sanctions or not.

The importance of a change in the Commonwealth's attitude to South Africa should not be underestimated. Once the barriers come down between South Africa and the rest of Africa, entirely new influences could come into play.

It is almost certain that Nigeria, under President Ibrahim Babangida, will become a more significant voice in Southern Africa, overshadowing perhaps even Zimbabwe. A powerful enemy could be transformed into a powerful friend.

The international community is poised to lift sanctions — the European Community and the Bush administration in particular. Even the OAU is shifting into a more flexible position. Everyone is recognising that the time to start rebuilding South Africa's economy is now, not after the installation of a post-apartheid government. The country cannot afford to lose the precious next few years.

Mr Hurd's visit, therefore, is not just another diplomatic jaunt. It is a serious fact-finding, situation-reading mission that could help to pave the way for South Africa's final readmission into the international community.

If, at his meetings with political leaders, Mr Hurd is made to listen simply to a litany of complaints about each other, he will not feel that his mission has fulfilled its promise.

It is common purpose he is looking forward to — some recognition that, political differences aside, South Africans have the same priority, which is to rebuild their country as quickly as possible.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, right, was greeted by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, today.



All-party talks 'within weeks'

19/11/81
PAGES 8/7/91
3044

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE government said today it was keen to start all-party talks to prepare for constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the government was ready and the talks, following exploratory moves, could start within weeks.

The ANC conference in Durban gave its new leadership the go-ahead for negotiations but was also determined that it should get tougher with the government.

Greater flexibility

Dr Viljoen welcomed the ANC's move to greater flexibility in the constitutional negotiation process and the indications that its leaders were in a hurry to start negotiations.

All parliamentary parties except the Conservative Party have already expressed their willingness to attend such talks. The Inkatha Freedom Party also wants to attend.

Dr Viljoen said today that representatives from both sides had previously been appointed to "talk about talks".

The government had already discussed many aspects of the calling of an all-party conference including the logistics of such a meeting with the ANC.

So far the ANC had not yet officially reacted to any of the government's proposals in this regard.

These exploratory talks could now be resumed.

New, critical phase

Michael Morris and Dennis Cruywagen, Political Staff, write that political dialogue enters a new, critical phase with the election of a strong and more resolute ANC leadership mandated to form a high-powered talks team to press ahead with negotiations.

But mass action and other forms of pressure will be maintained and even intensified as the movement emerges more confident and determined from its watershed five-day conference in Durban.

Cadres of the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are being prepared, under the direction of their popular chief-of-staff, Mr Chris Hani, for eventual integration into a national regular army, but in the meantime they will be kept in a state of readiness to step into the breach in case talks break down.

The ANC's post-conference strategic thinking places negotiations in the "terrain of struggle", alongside mass action, but delegates gave the leadership a clear mandate to press ahead speedily with the process of creating a new non-racial constitution.

While the government's chief negotiator, Dr Viljoen, regretted that the ANC had not "finally discarded" what he called the "violence option" and that it had failed to distinguish itself more clearly from the SA Communist Party, he welcomed the movement's "apparent greater flexibility" on negotiations.

Delegates at the conference spelled out exactly how they wanted the ANC leadership to approach negotiations.

Secrecy condemned

Implicit in the list of resolutions is a criticism of the way talks with the government have been handled.

Chief among these is that "negotiations shall not be secret" and that the leadership must "ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for consultation and communication with the membership".

While the conference has accorded the national executive committee "discretionary powers" within ANC policy to carry on talks about talks, it is clear there is a desire for greater control over the process.

'Get on with it' political leaders say

Political Staff

INKATHA said today it wanted exploratory talks for an all-party conference to begin as soon as possible.

Spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said the major negotiations on constitutional reform could not start right away. Mechanisms on how the all-party conference should be structured, including who would attend, how decisions would be taken and ways of solving disputes, would have to be decided on beforehand.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse MP said the party was also in favour of all-party talks starting as soon as possible.

Such a conference should decide its own agenda. Matters such as demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly would have to be clarified. Labour felt that an all-party conference could fulfil the role of a constituent assembly. It was still weighing up arguments about an interim government.

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Peter Soal said the party welcomed the commitment of all the main players to the process of negotiations and hoped discussions would start without delay.

An all-party conference would have to find areas of agreement on the structuring of real negotiations on a new constitutional system.

ARG 8/9/91

Hurd here to see how Britain can help the new SA

The Argus Correspondent

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — British Foreign Minister Mr Douglas Hurd arrived in South Africa today to consider steps the British government could take to help ensure a successful transformation in the country.

He was welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by Mr Pik Botha, his South African counterpart.

Mr Hurd said there had been an "amazing" transformation in the country since his last visit en route to the Namibian independence celebrations 15 months ago.

He said Britain had a great interest in a successful transformation in South Africa.

Mr Botha said they would exchange views on South African, Commonwealth, African and European affairs.

Mr Hurd will see President De Klerk and a wide range of political leaders.

Sapa, meanwhile, reported that the new British ambassador to South Africa, Mr Antony Reeve, presented his credentials to Mr De Klerk today at the Presidency in Pretoria.



Mr Douglas Hurd

Mr Reeve greeted the President in Afrikaans, saying it was a "great honour, privilege and pleasure" for him to represent his Queen and government in South Africa.

He said the "shadow of apartheid" had prevented the relationship between the two countries from fulfilling its potential.

"Now, that shadow is fast disappearing: it is a particular pleasure for me to arrive in South Africa at the moment when parliament has removed the 'pillars of apartheid' from the statute book."

Mr De Klerk replied that he looked forward to even better relations between South Africa and Britain than the present cordial relationship.

The new Paraguayan ambassador also presented his credentials to Mr De Klerk today.

Mr Raul dos Santos said his country wished to maintain its friendly relations and continue its trade with South Africa.

● See page 11.

Commonwealth legislators to advise SA

^{13/10/81}
LONDON — Senior legislators from seven Commonwealth countries arrive in SA today to offer advice and help on introducing full parliamentary democracy.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association said on Saturday that the group, on a nine-day visit, would meet President F W de Klerk and members of his government, as well as other prominent people, including ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The members of the group are from Australia, Botswana, Mauritius, India,

^{8/11/81}
Canada, Jamaica and Namibia.

The association represents legislatures in the 50-nation Commonwealth of Britain and its former colonies.

Yesterday, a British embassy spokesman said in Pretoria that British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who arrives in SA today, would meet leading figures across the political spectrum.

^(304 A)
He is to meet De Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mandela, Buthelezi, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and business leaders. — Sapa-AP.

UK envoy quick to the hot spots

ANTHONY Reeve, Britain's new ambassador to South Africa, arrived in the country last Monday, just in time for the ANC's national conference.

Without further ado he flew to Durban and met ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A less pacy introduction to his new post might have been inappropriate, as he has arrived at a time when history in South Africa is on a fast track, demanding constant attention and up-to-date analysis.

Listening to Mr Reeve during an interview with The Star, it is clear that he is more than ready for the task he faces.

Unlike his predecessor — the much-loved (and sometimes hated) Sir Robin Renwick, whose style was innovative and risky, bordering on the interventionist — Mr Reeve gives the impression of being a quiet observer with a formidable knowledge of his territory.

He has, as one of his embassy colleagues put it, a very distinct and individual style that cannot be compared with his predecessor's.

Mr Reeve is a softly spoken man, straight and to the point, but not one who wishes to prescribe or make judgments. This is certainly true of his attitude towards his government's role in South Africa.

"Britain has always had very close links with South Africa, and we are willing to assist when our help is sought, but we are not seeking to interfere where we are not wanted."

Although Mr Reeve, after only a week in his new post, is not to be drawn out yet on his personal opinion of South African political developments, he does reveal an acute sensitivity for the underprivileged sector.

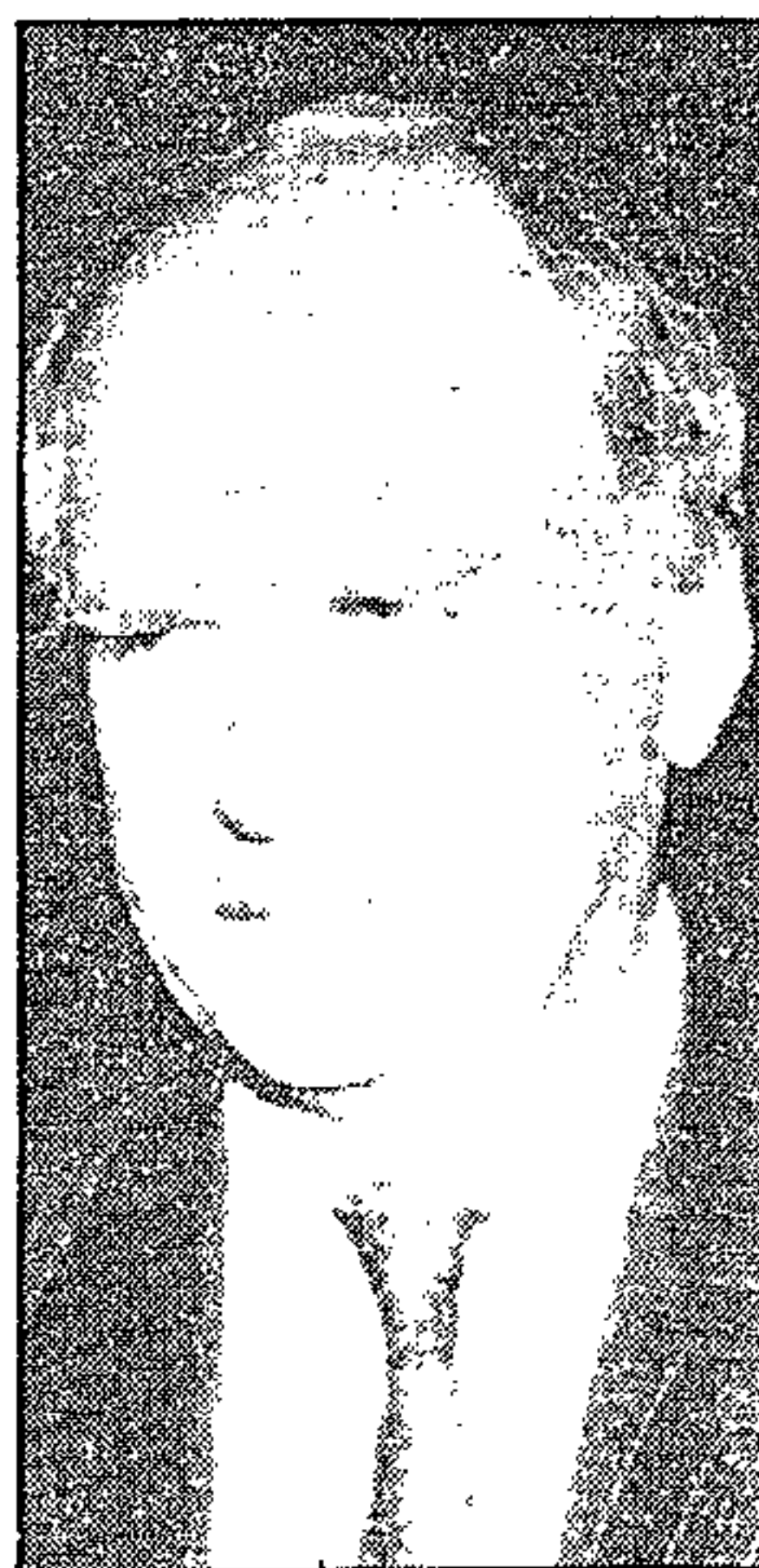
Britain's new ambassador to South Africa, Anthony Reeve (right), is nothing like his highly individualistic predecessor, Sir Robin Renwick. But as a pragmatist and cautious team-operator, with a formidable knowledge of his new territory, he is bound to win many friends. He spoke to HELEN GRANGE.

He has already visited Alexandra, where his government is funding several social upliftment projects.

"The question of aid to black townships is an important one. There has to be a lot more spent on the underprivileged, and the sums of money required are enormous. A great deal of effort is also needed and we will continue to do what we can to help."

He also perceives the underprivileged class to be a vital consideration in the political future.

"While I am optimistic about a political solution here, I don't want to minimise the difficulties. Those in control are very satisfied that their future is assured — but there are many underprivileged people who don't



have a say and are expecting great things."

Despite having spent considerable time in the British foreign service, focusing on the Middle East, he is hesitant to draw comparisons with the South Africa.

"I think it's rather unwise to detail comparisons between the Middle East and South Africa. The South African situation is unique, and involves the people of one country, whereas the Middle East involves conflict between different countries.

"What is similar, though, is the difficulty in achieving a compromise. South Africa is more encouraging in this respect because, in the Middle East, there is no sign of compromise, whereas in the case of South Africa, there has been a

great movement forward and a transformation of attitudes."

Mr Reeve has, on previous occasions, met the leaders at the forefront of South Africa's transformation: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"Mr Mandela is a remarkable man. I believe he is a moderate and rational man who will be ready for the changes ahead ... I met Mr de Klerk a few years ago in London and I found him to be a very interesting and astute man with clear ideas."

Meeting everybody who has a role to play in negotiations is what Mr Reeve sees as his first and most important task — and an indication that he will probably show himself to be a pragmatic and cautious team-operator.

"I want to get to know people from the Right and the Left, as well as the moderates. Their views are important. It's a big task. There so many shades of opinion among the various cultural groups.

"I do know a lot about South Africa, but I'll learn a lot more. I'll be travelling a lot. I regard it as a challenge, and I feel very ready for it."

One thing Mr Reeve is prepared to state at this stage is his belief that the removal of sanctions is crucial if Africa is to be uplifted to a state of economic independence.

"We have been known to resist sanctions, and are looking forward to a growing economy. The economic problems are crucially important, and the extent to which the economy can grow to provide jobs is absolutely vital.

"If the South African economy is allowed to grow, it will be the most important country in Africa." □

30417

Star 8/7/91

Britain admires new SA - envoy

Political Staff

BRITAIN was determined to help in South Africa's process of renewal and reconciliation, the new British ambassador, Mr Anthony Reeve, told State President FW de Klerk yesterday.

Mr Reeve was presenting his credentials to Mr de Klerk at the Presidentsie. The event coincided with the arrival of British Foreign Minister Mr Douglas Hurd in South Africa for a three-day visit.

Justice

The ambassador, who delivered his speech in both Afrikaans and English, said: "At this decisive moment in South African affairs, therefore, I would like to assure you that my government - and the British people in general - continue to follow with the greatest interest and admiration the steps your government are taking to build a new South Africa on the principles of justice and of human dignity."

Quoting Mr De Klerk, Mr Reeve said apartheid now belonged to history.

The new Paraguayan ambassador, Mr Raul dos Santos, also presented his credentials yesterday.



WELCOME: the new British ambassador Mr Anthony Reeve (right) yesterday presented his credentials to President FW de Klerk. Pic: WALTER PITSO



Govt ANC urged to talk

Sowetan 9/7/91

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said they expected the Government and the ANC to go ahead with negotiations to pave way for a new constitution by next year.

Most of the callers supported the mandate given to the ANC leadership at its conference at the weekend, that the organisation should go ahead with negotiations.

But Bernard of Soshanguve sounded a warning to the ANC, saying the organisation should first stick to its demands made to the Government concerning the return of all exiles, the political prisoners and an end to violence.

Bernard's view was echoed by another caller, Thabang, who said negotiations should go ahead as soon as possible. But, he said, the Government must remove all major obstacles first.

However Kenny from Johannesburg said the problem was the ANC, because the Government had removed three-quarters of the obstacles but nothing had come out of the talks so far.

"If the ANC did not withdraw (from the talks) things would have come to an end now," he said.

Smilo of Zondi said he supported negotiations but unity among black political organisations was crucial.

Dita Rabothata of Naledi, Soweto said negotiations should be through by October 10 this year, and voting for representatives of all parties to the constituent assembly on February 2.

"On April 6, our elected CA should be drawing up our new constitution," he said.

State, ANC closer on interim govt

Sowetan 9/7/91 304A

THE African National Congress and the Government have come closer on the question of an interim government, according to ANC publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan.

He was speaking on the *Agenda* TV programme, which was staged live in the Durban Exhibition Centre with participation by an audience which included Nationalist and Democratic Party MPs, Durban civic figures, Inkatha representatives, members of the House of Delegates and leaders of the business community.

With Jordan on an ANC panel were secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma, and national executive com-

Sowetan Correspondent

mittee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Replying to a question by Professor Mervyn Frost of the Political Science Department of the University of Natal, whether a government of national unity was likely or imminent, Jordan said there had been *toenadering* (overtures) on this issue.

Election

However, he also made it clear that what the ANC had in mind was still very different from the co-option process suggested by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Replying to a question by Dr

Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, whether the ANC would be prepared to share government with other parties - the Nationalists specifically - he said the idea had merit but would depend on the outcome of a democratic election.

If the ANC won a clear majority in such an election, it would probably prefer to form its own government.

Sections of the largely good-humoured audience laughed derisively when Kasrils, a senior functionary in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC armed wing, described the organisation as a force for peace.

He was replying to Mr Musa Zondi, leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

FW expects negotiations 'sooner rather than later' (304A)

The Argus Correspondent 9/7/91

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk says the negotiation process will get under way sooner rather than later following the ANC's national conference in Durban.

He was speaking yesterday after a meeting with British Foreign Minister Mr Douglas Hurd at the State guest house in Pretoria.

Commenting on the outcome of the ANC conference, he said it was constructive from the viewpoint of the negotiation process.

The ANC leadership obtained a mandate for negotiations from its members, he added.

This view was in line with that of the government, which was in a hurry to convene a multi-party conference.

For his part, Mr Hurd said he was due to speak to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela later but there was no alternative to negotiations.

"The question is not whether you

have negotiations or something else. The question is how you get the negotiations to succeed," said Mr Hurd.

He hoped now that the ANC conference was over, the issue of fruitful negotiations could be resumed. "I don't see any other way forward for South Africa," Mr Hurd added.

In reply to a question, Mr De Klerk said it was not a concern that the number of Communist Party members elected as ANC leaders posed a specific threat but it did give rise to uncertainty "as to who stands exactly where. It's rather like a scrambled egg," he said.

Commenting on the ANC's definition of violence as an obstacle to negotiations, Mr Hurd said it was difficult for a government in any country to stop violence. A government had, however, the responsibility of doing its best, which was administering the law impartially and effectively. It also needed the support of all its citizens to accomplish this aim.

Commonwealth group meets FW

9/7/71 GERALD REILLY 304A

PRETORIA — SA's return to the fold of Commonwealth nations was imminent, leader of the visiting Commonwealth Parliamentary Association delegation Clive Griffiths said last night.

Griffiths, association executive chairman and Western Australian Legislative Council president, is heading a mission of seven Commonwealth parliamentarians.

"We are here to establish links with the SA government prior to SA resuming its place in the Commonwealth at the earliest possible opportunity," he said.

He said President F W de Klerk had told the mission at a meeting yesterday that SA had long ago reached the point of no return on the road to a one-man one-vote parliamentary democracy.

"The discussions were extremely constructive. We were deeply impressed with President de Klerk's obvious sincerity and determination in this aim."

On Commonwealth sanctions Griffiths said the association could only advise and provide the background against which Commonwealth heads of state would decide on the issue.

Association secretary-general David Tonkin said he would be reporting on the visit to the Commonwealth heads of government in Harare in October.

He said the association — with its diversity of 50 member nations, 120 parliaments and 10 000 MPs — had a wealth of experience and expertise in democracy.

Tonkin said De Klerk had undertaken to send a copy of the draft constitution to the association for comment.

Govt out to retain white rule — claim

By Garner Thomson
and Guy Jepson

A powerful and ruthless State security machine is playing a "decisive role" in shaping the course of South African politics, a leading British newspaper has claimed.

The Independent on Sunday this week alleged that the "sophisticated use of violence and propaganda" together with the Inkatha Freedom Party is undermining both the democratic process and the ANC.

"The final objective is to ensure the perpetuation of white political control beyond apartheid," it said.

In the report, the newspaper's southern Africa correspondent, John Carlin, accused the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) of orchestrating township violence last year, with the police being "clear accomplices".

The allegations were yesterday rejected by spokesmen for both the SA Defence Force and the Ministry of Law and Order.

The strategy, added Carlin, contained the possibility that, should the ANC become the government, "a military force will be unleashed capable either of seizing power or of plunging the country into civil war".

The Independent on Sunday's investigation included interviews with a wide range of MPs, military experts, Inkatha and ANC officials, trade unionists, monitors, victims of violence and former SADF offi-

cers including Nico Basson who repeated his claim that the State was funding Inkatha and training its members while "subtly fanning the township violence".

The objectives of the campaign, Carlin reported, were to undermine the ANC's capacity to organise itself while reducing its credibility, to project Inkatha, to promote ethnic divisions and to put across the idea to both blacks and whites that South African blacks cannot be trusted to run a party.

The newspaper cited claims by Mr Basson and others like him, as well as "commonsense", to support its belief. New evidence included a statement from a black man who said he was an employee of military intelligence and who insisted there was collusion between Inkatha and the police.

Securocrats

The man claimed to have been personally involved in seven murders and two attempts on the lives of ANC sympathisers or activists. He also said the killing of Chief Mhlabinzina Maphumulo was a military intelligence mission.

Dozens of interviews revealed how Natal Zulus were being recruited and armed to fight in the townships.

The force behind this strategy are the "securocrats" who, Carlin continued, appeared to have reimposed the old counter-revolutionary agenda, "convinced that a fair political game would not secure white political control after apartheid".

And, within the DMI, he added, "the only difference they perceive between the De Klerk and the Botha eras is that the enemy, the communist ANC, is now within the country's borders".

Carlin claimed that a "terrifying contingency plan" existed: that, should the ANC succeed, thousands of highly trained men in Special Forces, together with Inkatha and the KwaZulu police, "will be in a position to render an ANC government utterly ineffective, or to overthrow it".

Approached for comment yesterday, an SADF spokesman described the allegations as vague and unsourced, and said they were obviously part of Mr Basson's "own agenda to discredit the defence force for reasons of his own".

"In this process, it appears he is blatantly using others to do his dirty work for him. The SADF is no longer prepared to comment on allegations of this nature," the SADF spokesman said.

Commenting on the allegations only insofar as they affected the SAP and its role as law enforcer, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the claims amounted to "propaganda paranoia based on the 'Big Lie' principle".

"The SAP would never tolerate anyone breaking the law. The mindless repetition of claims that the SAP is in any way involved in the violence simply does not stand up to closer scrutiny."

Portuguese MPs arrive in SA for discussions

Political Staff

Star 9/7/91

Four senior Portuguese MPs arrived in South Africa yesterday on a two-week visit to inform themselves about the latest developments in the country and hold talks with the Portuguese community here.

The MPs, all members of the ruling Social Democratic Party (PSD), are guests of the Department of Foreign Affairs and were met at the airport by senior Foreign Affairs officials.

A spokesman for the visitors, Dr Jose Pereira, said his delegation would have extensive contact with a wide range of people, including President de Klerk and members of his Government, as well as leaders of the ANC, the CP and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Dr Pereira, vice-president of the PSD parliamentary group, said he and his colleagues wanted to make "first-hand contact with the reality of South Africa" in the light of the continuing political changes.

The second reason for their visit was to hold discussions with the Portuguese community in this country to find out how it viewed the unfolding political situation in South Africa.

Portugal, Dr Pereira said, was heading for a general election in October. There were developments in regard to the European Community, and his delegation would inform the Portuguese community about these and other matters.

Other members of the delegation are Louis Gerald, MP for the Portuguese community based in South Africa; PSD speaker on economic and financial matters Dr Rui Carp; and Dr Rui da Salva. Only Mr Gerald has been to South Africa before.

Dr da Salva was invited by the Department of Foreign Affairs to visit South Africa in 1989 but could not do so.

(304A) ~~1985~~

CP leader reacts to ANC threats

DURBAN — Threats from the ANC, especially its "armed intimidation", left whites no choice but to protect themselves through neighbourhood watches against attacks, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Commenting on the ANC's national conference held in Durban last week, Dr Treurnicht said in a statement it was "totally unacceptable and a sign of weakness that the Government continues to invite the

ANC to negotiations while it continues making threats of training terrorists".

It also condemned the ANC for allegedly collecting weapons aimed at the "armed overthrow" of South Africa.

The Government's scrapping of "protective laws" had plunged the struggle for whites to rule themselves in their own land into a new phase.

"The ANC is not an alternative government, especially not for whites," Dr Treurnicht said.

16/11/85
5/2/86

304A

Bid to re-establish SA links

The re-establishment of South Africa's links with the Commonwealth is one of the objectives of a group of visiting senior Commonwealth MPs.

The group, all senior members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), arrived in South Africa yesterday to meet political and community leaders and offer help in the progress towards democracy in South Africa.

In a statement, the delegation expressed its willingness to pursue the question of South Africa's rejoining the CPA as a full member, in light of the positive steps that have been taken.

However, the delegation stated it had no brief to do more than treat the visit as a first step in a process of re-establishing ties with the Commonwealth. — Pretoria Bureau.

Negotiations on hold, Mandela tells Hurd

By Thabo Leshilo and Sapa

ster 9/7/91

3047

"Real negotiations" continued to be the prime ideal for President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after separate meetings in Pretoria and Johannesburg, respectively, with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday.

But while Mr de Klerk said these negotiations would be the fundamental solution to the violence in South Africa, Mr Mandela, while hinting that negotiations were desired, said the ANC would not negotiate until barriers to dialogue had been removed.

Speaking to reporters after their meeting at the ANC's head office, Mr Hurd said he and Mr Mandela had had a "good, long exchange" and agreed that dialogue should continue.

In particular there was complete agreement that fully integrated South African sport should return to the international sporting arena, Mr Hurd said.

Mr Mandela told reporters he had made it clear to Mr Hurd that the ANC would not engage in negotiations with the Govern-

ment for a new constitution until certain obstacles had been removed — including the release of all political prisoners, the cessation of political trials, the unconditional return of political exiles and a concerted effort by the Government to end the country's violence.

Mr Mandela added that the obstacles to negotiations were the same as the obstacles holding up the lifting of sanctions.

However, Mr Mandela explained, the ANC was flexible on the question of sanctions, and "the specific nature of that flexibility will be seen when the moment arrives".

Referring to negotiations and their relevance to the country's endemic violence, Mr de Klerk said: "If the supporters see their leaders talking to each other regularly on a round-table basis, then the basis for positioning and violent interaction between political factions falls away."

Mr de Klerk said that from the point of view of the negotiation process, there was no doubt the ANC conference had been constructive, as the leadership had obtained a mandate for negotiations.

Huddleston now 'hopeful' for SA

CT 10/7/97

Staff Reporter

304A

BRITISH anti-apartheid veteran Archbishop Trevor Huddleston is "immensely hopeful" for the future of the country after taking part in the ANC's conference in Durban — and is confident that he will outlive apartheid.

The 78-year-old former Anglican parish priest of Sophiatown attended a lunch at the University of the Western Cape yesterday and was declared a patron of the newly established historical and cultural centre, which will include a museum on the apartheid era and an archive on the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The archbishop, who toured the townships and squatter settlements on the Cape Flats during the morning, said his return to South Africa had been one of "ecstasy and agony".

He said the anti-apartheid movements were changing their approach to tackle the "agony" — apartheid's legacy — and facilitate the negotiation process by maintaining world interest and pressure on the government to accept democratic change.

"The struggle is only just beginning. Dropping laws like the Land Act does not resolve the problem of millions of people who were displaced and are now too poor to buy land. That is part of the new battle and it is going to be a tough one," he said.

The UWC historical centre has the "whole-hearted" support of the ANC and United Nations.

Races differ on priorities

10/7/79
JOHANNESBURG. — Black South Africans see education as the government's priority while whites focus on the lack of housing. Health care is regarded by all South Africans as the third priority, according to a survey by Research Surveys' Omnichek division. Asked where the funds should come from, an overwhelming majority of whites proposed a state lottery, while blacks opted for higher business taxes. — Sapa

Black councillor a first for NP

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Mr Gilbert Motloun, the Mayor of Mangaung near here, has become the first black councillor in the Free State to join the National Party. (304A) CT 10/7/91

He believed that several of his friends, and possibly fellow councillors, would join the NP.

The Volksblad said that Mr Motloun, who is serving his second term as mayor, was impressed with President F W de Klerk as a leader.

"He is the one that is bringing change. In a new South Africa we will not know colour."

Mr Motloun said he was sick and tired of violence and could not understand why the ANC still advocated sanctions against South Africa when there was so much poverty and unemployment in the country.

He had studied the NP's policy and associated himself with it. He was surprised that the ANC wanted to continue its liberation struggle.

Mr Motloun said he had decided to join the NP when he saw members of the ANC burning placards of Mr De Klerk.

He telephoned Dr Frik van Heerden, NP MP for Bloemfontein North, and said he wanted to join the National Party. — Sapa

Black mayor joins Nats

Sowetan 10/7/91 304A

MR GILBERT Motloun, the mayor of Mangaung near Bloemfontein, has become the first black councillor in the Free State to join the National Party.

He believed that several of his friends, and possibly fellow councillors, would join the NP.

Die Volksblad reported yesterday that Motloun, who is serving his second term as mayor, was impressed with State President FW de Klerk as a leader.

"He is the one that is bringing change. In a new South Africa we will not know colour."

Motloun said he was sick and tired of violence and could not understand why the ANC still advocated sanctions against South Africa when there was so much poverty and unemployment in the country.

He was surprised that the ANC wanted to continue its liberation struggle.

"I don't want to continue with a freedom fight. I seek a political party," Motloun told *Die Volksblad*.

Motloun said he had decided to join the NP when he saw members of the ANC burning placards of De Klerk. - Sapa

Flip-side of SA's legitimacy claim

304A

Southam 10/7/81

STATE President FW de Klerk's main weapon against the call for an interim government and a constituent assembly is his claim that his Government is legitimate.

This sentiment was expressed by De Klerk during his recent visit to Europe and America.

He said then that nobody should question Pretoria's legitimacy, and that he would not hand over the reins to an interim government "just like that".

Earlier this year, the Democratic Party's rightwinger, Mr Tony Leon, echoed this sentiment at a meeting in Stellenbosch.

The Government satisfied all the legal requirements for international acceptance, Leon said.

But there is another side to the story, which is based on the universal common law that all governments should govern by consensus of the governed.

All political formations to the left of the Government subscribe in some way or another to this idea.

Demand

The ANC has not denied outright the Government's legitimacy but, through its demand for an interim government and elections to a constituent assembly, the movement by implication questions the legitimacy of Pretoria.

The SACP, the ANC's political bedmate, suggests that South Africa is "a colony of a special type".

Two movements are unrelenting in their arguments against the legitimacy of De Klerk's government - the PAC and Azapo.

Both movements have refused to enter into negotiations with the Government on the grounds that it is illegitimate.

At a consultative conference on Pretoria's legitimacy held in Harare between September 5 and 7 1989, an exiled South African

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

lawyer, Mr S Pheko, declared De Klerk's government illegitimate.

Pheko contends that South Africa was handed by the then British colonial power in 1910 to a settler community descended from the Dutch - who first colonised the country.

According to Pheko, Britain "gave" the colony to the Afrikaners, who in turn unilaterally declared a Republic in 1961.

At the conference, he submitted a statement made by a former British governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Georger Grey.

Grey, according to Pheko, gave the reason for handing the colony to the descendants of the Dutch as: "A strong federal government which unites within itself all the European races in South Africa and which can permanently maintain peace in this country and free Great Britain from constant anxiety for the peace of her possessions there."

Pheko said that Britain's interests and those of her colonial settlers converged with the discovery of gold and diamonds.

"The demand for gold strengthened the British currency. Britain was therefore willing to betray the Africans and install an

illegitimate minority settler regime foreign to the Africans so that she could continue to loot the wealth of this African country and pay slave wages to the African workers who dig gold and other minerals in South Africa," he said.

One of the reasons the former colonialists and Dutch settlers give for having settled here was that there were no people at the Cape at the time.

This issue is clouded, or, obscured, by the fact that all the existing works of history in South Africa have been written either by the British colonialists or the settlers under them - the descendants of the Dutch as well as the Huguenots.

Virtually no coherent oral history exists because of the dispersal under apartheid's homelands policy and influx control.

Mines

Archaeological and anthropological research have revealed that the southern tip of Africa was inhabited by humans from as early as 27BC.

Clay pottery in the shape of a human skull, found in Lydenburg in the Eastern Transvaal, has been carbon dated to the 5th and 6th century.

One of the earliest copper mines south of the Limpopo was established during the 7th century.

Phalaborwa has through its Iron Age yielded evidence of early occupation of the land by indigenous people.

"Despite the fact that Africans were an overwhelming majority and the country theirs by right of first occupation earlier than the birth of Christ, the Africans were reduced to mere spectators.

"It has been the practice of Britain to abandon principles of democracy where colonial settlers are involved.

"For example, in former Rhodesia, Britain granted so-

called 'responsible government' to white settlers - who represented less than five percent of the colony's population," Pheko said.

When the British parliament passed the Union Act of 1909 - giving "responsible government" to the settlers in South Africa, there were 5 million Africans and 349 837 whites in the country, according to the official census at the time.

As soon as the whites took control of South Africa, they embarked on making South Africa white man's land.

This sentiment was expressed quite vocally in the House of Assembly in Cape Town on November 30 1910.

The Member of Parliament for Braamfontein, Colonel Sir A Wool-Sampson, said: "The majority of honourable members declared in the most positive terms their determination to make this (South Africa) a white man's country."

"The time has come when honourable members have to carry out their promise to their electorate, and to assure South Africa that they were all earnest when they said: 'This shall be white man's country'."

There have been numerous international agreements on South Africa's legitimacy and all of them have in the least accepted that "the ANC and PAC were the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people".

The 1982 Paris Declaration on the History of Resistance Occupation, Oppression and Apartheid in South Africa, which was held at the United Nations from March 29 to April 2 declared: "The apartheid regime is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of Azania (South Africa).

"Such a regime is the by-product of a white settler minority in 1910."

Ron Kraybill discusses ways in which posturing could be reduced during negotiations

When solutions are a problem

Star 10/7/91.

304A

WHAT strategies will the negotiators of South Africa employ when they finally gather around "the Big Table"? The question is a critical one, for how people go about negotiating, determines to a large extent the results they achieve. In the language of conflict resolution: outcome is inherent in process.

Effective negotiation is problem-centred, not solution-centred.

Left to natural instincts, most people bring a solution-centred approach to conflicts. When an issue arises, the sides determine "their" solution, and then battle over whose solution will win.

Two colleagues have a fight about phone messages. John, who travels a great deal, claims that Roger, his office-bound partner, is losing phone messages from clients. John insists that Roger keep a log of all calls. Roger refuses, demanding instead that John spend more time in the office to deal with his own clients. They argue to a stalemate, then depart in a huff. What is blocking them? Their efforts at conflict resolution centre on solutions: each has decided what ought to be done and focuses attention on convincing the other to accept this solution.

The alternative is problem-centred negotiation. This approach recognises that effective negotiation starts with defining problems, not with debating solutions. After all, every solution pre-

supposes a problem. It pays to understand what each side views as the key problems.

It was only luck, in the form of a trip planned long in advance, that brought the two colleagues together in a relaxed setting where they got to the root of things. Roger, stuck in the office by nature of his duties, had for months felt left out of the action. "I work as hard as you, John, but you get all the glory. People think I'm merely your assistant."

The two were able to quickly sort out a solution acceptable to both. Roger was given a title which left no doubt as to his role; John agreed to involve Roger directly with clients at key moments of decision-making. Roger now happily agreed to work out a system to meet John's need for a reliable phone message system.

Fortunately, no one need rely on luck to bring a problem-centred approach to conflict. "Let's spend some time talking about the problems this situation is presenting us with before we start talking about our ideas for dealing with these problems." Or, "Let's begin by talking about our needs before we discuss what to do about them." Two parties who understand such an approach and use it in a disciplined way become much more effective in addressing conflicts.

A problem-centred approach does several things:

- It establishes a mood of under-

standing and joint effort early in the process by enabling the parties to interact around tasks that are key but less polarising than debating solutions.

- Discussion becomes more efficient by enabling parties to focus on the same problems rather than debating solutions to differing problems.

- Posturing diminishes and discussion becomes more objective. "Does this solution meet the needs identified?" becomes the basis for debate.

- Agreements reached are more likely to correspond to the needs that bring negotiators to the table, since identifying the needs is a central part of the process.

A problem-solving approach is equally effective in political conflict. The key is that parties must first devote attention to the question of the process itself, and agree to a process that incorporates a problem-oriented approach. Often this involves approaching negotiation in stages.

During the early stages of negotiation, parties agree not to make demands, take positions, or attempt to bargain. The first stage is "mutual education", when each side is asked to educate the others about what they regard as critical realities in the situation at hand.

The second stage is "problem definition". What are the key problems or needs, long-term and short-term, that each side thinks must be addressed to satisfy the needs of its own constituencies?

This is tricky; the tendency is to simply state solutions. The CP, for example, may respond, "Our problem is that we need to have our own land north of the Orange where we can live as we please." This is not a problem statement, it is a solution. What is the problem or need that this solution will satisfy? Here a problem statement would likely refer to fears of some whites of losing their own cultural identity and freedom to live as they choose.

Why the big deal about defining problems? Because the options available for resolution increase by twofold and more if parties adopt a problem-oriented approach. John had one solution to the conflict above: Roger must develop and use a written logbook of all calls. Roger had one solution as well: John must spend more time at the office.

Two intelligent men with many resources at hand came up with only two solutions and got stuck arguing about them! Had they focused for a time on the problems each was encountering, they would have discovered that the real problems driving each could be resolved in numerous ways.

Yes, but this is inter-personal conflict, a sceptic might argue. What relevance does this have to the complexities of community and political conflict? The experience of conflict resolution practitioners is clear: the more complex the issues and the greater the numbers of people involved, the

more important it is to devote careful attention to problem definition before beginning debate about solutions.

Defining problems, of course, is not enough. In the end solutions demand to be found. But a problem-oriented approach sets the groundwork for thoughtful discussion of solutions once the solution stage arrives. Various approaches are available. One is to begin the solution stage by developing a tentative list of "criteria for recognising good solutions".

John and Roger might develop a list as follows: "Good solutions would: (a) take care of John's need for getting reliable information regarding phone calls; (b) ensure that Roger gets a more prominent public role in the partnership; (c) create ways for better communication between the two of us." Having developed a list of criteria, it is easier to work together in creating solutions which meet these criteria.

Another approach in the solutions stage: separate the generation of options from the task of evaluating them. In other words, avoid a situation where each side suggests an idea, and the other side demolishes it and then puts forward a counter-proposal.

Instead, agree to create a list of as many solutions as possible without debating the merits of each. Then thoughtfully analyse each one at a time.

"Who has the time for such

niceties?" people sometimes ask. "The country is burning!"

In truth, good process hastens the arrival of genuine resolution. Good process takes longer in the early stages, but in the latter stages it moves more efficiently than traditional approaches which throw process planning to the wind.

"But power is the only thing that really matters in the end," some say. "Why play around with process? Why negotiate at all for that matter?"

Yes, power matters and we dare not hide from its reality. Sometimes power is so unbalanced that negotiation ought not to be contemplated. But, in the end, every conflict where the lives of the parties are as intertwined as in South Africa must be negotiated. The question is not if, but when.

The point for now is not the timing of the appropriate moment to negotiate, but rather this: when that moment does arrive, at least employ processes that maximise opportunities to move beyond mere power-mongering, that give a chance to the best of human potential for co-operative analysis and compassionate thought. To be sure, no problem-solving approaches can guarantee that reason and justice will prevail. They can, however, increase the likelihood of such outcomes.

● Ron Kraybill is director of the Training Centre for Intergroup Studies in Cape Town. □

Hurd sees Buthelezi as 'major player' in new SA

DURBAN — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday held talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he described as a "major" and "substantial" player in rebuilding SA after apartheid. (18)

Hurd and Buthelezi's talks covered sanctions, constitutional problems and violence, in what Hurd described as an "updating session" after a recent meeting between them in Britain, Sapa reports. (304A)

The meeting had been "very successful and we will continue to keep in close contact", Hurd said.

At a news conference after the meeting, Buthelezi said he had told Hurd what "we and Inkatha Freedom Party thought about it (violence), how it sickened us".

He also said he had told Hurd black South Africans needed help now, and the programmes and the money to go with them to assist black advancement.

Our Durban correspondent reports Hurd emphasised the need for the socio-economic upliftment of the majority of SA's population after he undertook a helicopter tour of the Durban Functional Region yesterday.

He said his administration was spending nearly R50m this year on running projects such as building schools as part of an aid programme. He said the SA government had a great deal to do in this regard.

Hurd also met Institute for Multi-Party Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo.

After lunching with businessmen, representatives of various political parties and newspaper editors, he met ANC southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma.

Hurd then saw Bishop Stanley Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of SA and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal.

Govt must invest in townships — Hurd

star 10/7/91
DURBAN — A large amount of public investment was required from the SA Government to redress the living conditions of township residents, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said in Durban yesterday.

Mr Hurd made this remark after a helicopter tour over Durban's suburbs and sprawling townships yesterday morning, shortly after he landed at Louis Botha Airport.

Mr Hurd also reiterated that a large amount of foreign investment was necessary to create employment and assist in uplifting black communities.

The Foreign Secretary was flown over Durban's suburbs and sprawling townships, including the squatter settlement of KwaMakutha and the Umlazi township.

Mr Hurd's helicopter landed in one of the townships where he spoke to local residents.

"Obviously, a struggle for power goes on on the hillsides. It's a struggle for territory and power," Mr Hurd observed.

The violence, he noted, had affected the area where he landed.

Asked what the British government could do to assist these communities, Mr Hurd said: "We're doing a lot — more than anyone else — and we're making progress."

Mr Hurd met the executive director for the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, yesterday before holding talks with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He may also meet ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma and local church leaders, according to a British consular official in Durban.

Bill of rights

Chief Buthelezi said in Durban yesterday that a multiparty conference would help to end political violence in South Africa as it would compel leaders of all warring factions to deal with the issue together.

Speaking at a media conference after meeting Mr Hurd, Chief Buthelezi, however, expressed concern at the ANC's "ready-made agenda" to take to the conference, such as its insistence on an interim government and a constituent assembly.

He preferred to attend the discussions to talk about issues such as the rule of law, a bill of rights and ways of ending violence.

The ANC's agenda was a "recipe for conflict", the Inkatha leader added.

● Britain is to grant a further R460 000 to the Alexandra Health Centre in Alexandra, near Johannesburg, Mr Hurd announced.

Mr Hurd is to visit the centre this morning.

He said half this amount would be donated by the British government to match a similar grant of R230 000 from the British pharmaceutical company Glaxo.

He said in a statement through the British Embassy in Pretoria that the Alexandra Health Centre was "of the highest value".

Britain had been supporting it for the past four years.

"The Alexandra Health Centre has led the way in providing health services to the community. It is a model for health care provision in poor urban areas elsewhere in South Africa," Mr Hurd said. — Sapa.

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NP may form alliance with IFP and others

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party will attempt to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Labour Party, Solidarity, the Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

In its latest publication, the SAIRR said yesterday its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zion Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters, the publication "Countdown to Negotiations" said.

Author Mr Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multi-party conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances or increased membership, or both.

"Recent surveys have indicated that the NP has substantial support from coloured people and Indians, and for this reason, it has opened its membership to blacks in the hope of attracting that support," said Mr Mackay.

"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a substantial number of white members," he said.

Legitimate claims

The ANC, the PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, are looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejects the multi-party conference outright, claiming it is aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to "Countdown", the PAC and Azapo see the proposed multi-party conference as an opportunity for the government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body the NP will fill with black parties it has been working with.

In Mr Mackay's opinion, therefore, there is the danger that organisations like the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to participate in the multi-party conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which the new constitution is to be built.

PROFILE

London Correspondent KIN BENTLEY profiles British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who arrived in South Africa on Monday for three days of talks with various leaders and to consider steps the British government should take to help ensure a successful transformation in the country.

ONE of Britain's most experienced politicians: such is Douglas Hurd's stature that he was nominated to contest the Conservative Party leadership election when Margaret Thatcher resigned as British Prime Minister last November.

That Mr Hurd came a fairly unflattering third — polling just 56 MPs' votes to John Major's 185 and Michael Heseltine's 131 — was probably due largely to a desire by his colleagues not to lose such an effective Foreign Secretary.

Hurd, the son of a Lord, was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge.

From the outset his mind was set on a career in diplomacy — but it was just two years ago that he was appointed to the post he believed was made for him: British Foreign Secretary.

Although the Tories have always been reluctant supporters of sanctions on South Africa, under Mrs Thatcher the Foreign Office was given very little autonomy to implement policy in this regard.

Mr Major felt her wrath during the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Singapore in 1989, when he was Foreign Secretary. A statement on South Africa which he had painstakingly worked out with other Commonwealth leaders was promptly repudiated by Mrs Thatcher.

However, policy on South Africa is now firmly back in the hands of the Foreign Office — and Mr Hurd.

The cross-section of business and political leaders he has met in South Africa would be foolish to be misled by his gentle tone. He speaks with the full authority of the British government, which is deeply concerned that South

Hurd to help SA over the transition hurdle

CT 11/7/91

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Africa find a political solution to its problems.

Britain and the EC, who have equally pressing problems in central Europe and in the convoluted process of seeking European economic and political union, want to see South Africa become an economic success story capable of stimulating growth throughout southern Africa.

Pressure

According to Foreign Office sources, Mr Hurd is applying pressure on all parties to ensure constitutional negotiations start as soon as possible. But he knows this is unlikely until the violence has been brought to an end. By timing his visit so soon after the ANC's national conference, Mr Hurd was optimistic that he could act as something of an independent broker between the warring factions. He also knows that, as EC leaders stressed in May, the ultimate responsibility for bringing peace to the townships rests with the government, who have to bring alleged renegade members of the security forces to heel.

Mr Hurd's life in diplomacy and politics has taken him around the globe as well as into the portals of power in Whitehall, where he has served not only in the Foreign Office but also as Home Secretary and as Private Secretary to former Prime Minister Edward Heath.

He served for two years in Peaking (1954 to 1956) and then for



DOUGLAS HURD: Policy on South Africa firmly back in his hands.

four years with the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations in New York.

He was Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office from 1960 to 1963 and subsequently served for three years in Rome. In 1966 he resigned from the diplomatic service and joined the Conservative Research Department, becoming Head of the Foreign Affairs Section in 1968.

Minister of State

From 1968 to 1970 he was Private Secretary to Mr Heath, who was then Leader of the Opposition. He continued as his Political Secretary when Mr Heath became Prime Minister.

In 1974, he was elected MP for Mid-Oxfordshire. From 1976 to 1979 he became an Opposition spokesman on foreign and Commonwealth affairs, with special responsibility for Europe. When the Tories came to power in 1979 under Mrs Thatcher, Mr Hurd became Minister of State at the Foreign Office. In 1983 he became Minister of State at the Home Office.

The following year he was appointed Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, becoming Home Secretary a year later.

Following the June 1987 general election, he was reappointed Home Secretary, remaining in this post until October 1989 when he received his present appointment.

SA 'still violates human rights'

DARIUS SANAI

TORTURE and political killings were still regular occurrences in SA, despite improvements in the political situation, Amnesty International said in London yesterday.

In its annual report, it said last year's release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was "symbolic of a greater world-wide respect for human rights".

A spokesman said yesterday the organisation still had "major concerns about serious human rights violations in SA".

"Our primary concerns involve the accusations of torture and complicity in political killings by the security forces," the spokesman said.

Government had been consistently slow in following up allegations against the security forces during the past 18 months, she said.

Government's reluctance to pursue allegations arising from the Harms Commission of Inquiry into politically motivated killings last year was "implicit message that the security forces would not be punishable for human rights violations".

She said this year's revision of the Internal Security Act was a step in the right direction, but the police still had "far too much discretion" in legal matters.

Black farmers 'need direct aid'

Bl Day 11/7/91

THEO RAWANA

THE Land Bank should provide direct financial support to prospective black farmers to enable them to buy land directly from owners, Development Bank of Southern Africa senior divisional manager Johan van Rooyen said this week.

Addressing Nafcoc's agricultural conference in Thaba Nchu, he said extending the financing facilities of the Land Bank and the Agricultural Credit Board to black farmers was the best form of affirmative action to benefit black farmers.

Land transfer programmes through the Land Bank were lengthy, difficult and costly processes which chased up land prices, he said.

"If any subsidy is considered, it should be directed at reducing the transaction cost of access, rather than at subsidising the interest rate." Examples of these costs were deposit requirements, conveyance and loan administration costs.

Van Rooyen said alternative programmes to facilitate access to farming opportunities also needed to be considered.

"A substantial proportion of farms in the current commercial farming areas are not permanently owner-occupied, and farms are often under the effective management control of black farm managers."

"Alternative programmes could include the extension of share ownership schemes to farmworkers by farmers looking for alternative ways of accommodating farm labour."

Van Rooyen said sources of credit such as co-operatives and the commercial banking sector were not always geared to providing credit to emerging farmers, smallholders and part-time farmers.

This would also require innovative strategies like rural savings mobilisation (stokvels), group credit schemes and new interest rate policies. It might also be necessary to consider certain specialised institutions to provide such finance.

Van Rooyen said affirmative action could also take the form of training black farm managers and "new" farmers.

NP plans a moderate alliance, says study

THE NP would attempt to form an alliance with Inkatha, the Labour Party, Solidarity, the Zionist Christian Church and various homeland leaders, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in a research report released yesterday.

The SAIRR said its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zionist Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alli-

ance could attract a majority of voters.

Research officer Shaun Mackay says in the publication Countdown To Negotiations that in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations are expanding their power bases through alliances or increased membership, or both.

Mackay says the PAC and Azapo see the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for govern-

ment to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body the NP will fill with black parties it has been working with all along.

In Mackay's opinion, therefore, there is the danger that organisations like the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to participate in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which the new constitution is to be built. — Sapa.

Immediate help needed Hurd

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday pronounced apartheid dead and called for immediate and massive new investment in SA. *bloody 11/7/91*

"It is time to put aside the worn out arguments about sanctions," Hurd told a Press conference at Jan Smuts airport at the end of his visit. "It is no longer necessary to condemn blacks to greater poverty in the cause of ending apartheid."

He said now was the time to start encouraging investment for SA's future, adding that SA could not afford to wait for a political settlement before addressing the legacy of apartheid.

He "warmly welcomed" President George Bush's decision to lift sanctions, saying the next step would be to remove restrictions on SA access to IMF funds.

It was important to create confidence so investment actually came to SA, he said.

He hoped lifting economic and sports restrictions would encourage the ANC and government to move towards negotiations to which there was no alternative.

SA must now proceed with nation building through investment to address the "fearful legacy of apartheid", although vio-

lence stood in the way of progress.

Police could not be everywhere at all times, but government had a heavy responsibility to ensure the SAP acted impartially and effectively, he said.

Hurd said Prime Minister John Major was "very keen" to come to SA and was "extremely supportive of the reform process", but no date had been set for his visit.

Hurd said he did not see a role for international mediators to solve SA's problems because there was constructive dialogue underway between political leaders.

Britain's bilateral aid programme had contributed R45m to SA — the world's largest aid programme for SA, he said.

Following a request from government and in consultation with the ANC, Britain would help pay for hundreds of orphans to return to SA from Tanzania as part of its R4.6m contribution to the return of exiles.

Hurd visited Alexandra yesterday where he announced an additional R470 000 grant to the health centre.

See Back Page

JONATHAN REES

Hints of NP alliance with other groups

Star 11/7/91

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The National Party will try to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

It said in its latest publication that its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zion Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters.

Author Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances.

"Recent surveys have indicated that the NP has substantial support from coloured people and Indians, and for this reason it has opened its membership to blacks in the hope of attracting that support.

"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a sub-

stantial number of white members."

The ANC, PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, were looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejected the multiparty conference outright, claiming it was aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to the publication, the PAC and Azapo saw the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for the Government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body which the NP would fill with black parties it had been working with.

In the author's opinion, there was the danger that organisations such as the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to take part in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which a new constitution was to be built.

"The ANC is also in favour of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. To allow for an interim government, the present Government would need to change the constitution.

"This is, however, unlikely to happen." — Sapa.

Differences must be solved, pleads Hurd

Star 11/7/91
Sapa and Staff Reporter

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday expressed the hope that the current move to lift sanctions against South Africa would encourage the Government and the ANC to work out their differences.

He was addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after a three-day visit to the country.

Now, not later, was the time to start encouraging investment for South Africa's future, he said.

"South Africa cannot afford to wait for a political settlement before addressing the legacy of apartheid."

He also welcomed the decision by the International Olympic Committee and the International Cricket Conference to readmit South Africa.

Mr Hurd and his entourage included new British ambassa-

dor Anthony Reeves.

They visited projects partly sponsored by Britain.

Britain is providing a further £100 000 (about R460 000) towards the costs of the Alexandra Health Centre.

The grant was announced by Mr Hurd, during a visit to the health centre on the Johannesburg border.

Admiring the talent of young cricketers being trained under the Alexandra Township Cricket (ACO) development programme, Mr Hurd said he hoped some would soon represent South Africa at international level.

"We are helping to train the opposition, but it's for a good cause," he told reporters when presenting the second half of a R125 000 consignment of cricket equipment.

A spokesman for the United Cricket Board, which runs the programme, Chris Day, told reporters R1 billion was needed to redress the backlog in cricket facilities in townships country-wide.

Travelling through streets stinking of sewage and strewn with rubbish, the delegation made a final stop at a creche bordering shacks on the outskirts of Alexandra.

After an inspection, Mr Hurd was told by ACO's Mr Mayekiso that next time he should not only visit British projects in the township but speak to residents and inspect the migrant labour hostels — scene of violence this year.

Mr Hurd said British Premier John Major would be keen to visit the country, but it was a matter of timing and would have to be worked out in conjunction with South African authorities.

Mr Hurd said the first chapter towards a post-apartheid South Africa, the abolition of the legal structure of apartheid, was virtually complete.

● At the Alexandra Health Centre, Mr Hurd was confronted by banner-waving members of the Alexandra Land and Property Organisation.

Mandela to address Portuguese delegation

MICHAEL MORRIS ^{30/11}
Political Correspondent

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to be peppered with questions on his view of the future when he visits Cape Town today to address a meeting of the traditionally conservative Portuguese community.

Today's meeting is to be attended by a delegation of four MPs from Portugal's ruling Social Democratic Party, including the MP whose constituency encompasses the estimated 600 000 Portuguese living here.

They are leader of the SDP's parliamentary group Dr Jose Pereira, MP for foreign Portuguese communities outside Europe Mr Luis Geraldos, Dr Rui Alvarez, Carp and Dr Rui Gomes da Silva. ^{Aug 12/191}

The delegation, whose two-week, fact-finding tour will include discussions with wide-ranging political groups, spoke yesterday of the deep concern among their countrymen here about the future, and the impact of change on their lives.

The significance of the visit is that Portugal assumes the presidency of the European Economic Community in January and intends making relations with Africa a foreign affairs priority.

Delegation leader Dr Pereira said that while the group did not have a formal message for South African Portuguese, they would express a personal view that "change is needed".

NP 'wants alliance'

Source 12/7/91
THE NATIONAL Party will attempt to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Labour Party, Solidarity, the Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

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The NP believes this alliance could attract a majority of voters, its publication *Countdown to Negotiations* says. - Sapa.

How to ensure a free and just SA

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Sowetan
12/7/91

THE official abandonment of the Population Registration Act and other legal underpinnings of apartheid has been hailed in the United States and around the world as a great step forward.

But if the American experience is a harbinger for South Africa, it will take more than a stroke of the pen to insure justice for all, regardless of race.

Such is my belief, and it was reinforced during my visit in June to South Africa, where I participated in an historic conference at the University of Natal's Centre for Criminal Justice in Pietermaritzburg.

The conference was held to discuss policing the new, post-apartheid South Africa. It was historic because in addition to the international participants, representatives of the South African and local police engaged in an exchange of ideas and positions with the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The grinding poverty of the all-black townships I visited during my brief stay served as a reminder that large economic, educational and social issues must also be addressed to insure a just society.

Powers

Still, few subjects are as important as the role of the police. The powers given to the police - the power to arrest, to detain, to use physical force - are extraordinary in a democratic society in which the role of the police is confined to maintaining that degree of public order which makes possible the continued functioning of a free society.

What, then, is the role of the police in an historically divided society - a society divided de jure or de facto along racial lines?

I was invited to address the Pietermaritzburg conference about

FOCUS

This article on policing in a post-apartheid South Africa was specially prepared by New York City police commissioner Lee P Brown who visited this country to speak at a conference last month.

the American experience with police and race, particularly in the American south.

As an American, I take no small measure of pride in the fact that those engaged in writing a bill of rights for a new South Africa have turned to the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, among other documents, for inspiration and guidance.

Slavery

Yet, as an African American, I know that the ringing guarantees of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in the Declaration of Independence and "liberty and justice for all" in the Constitution of the United States were systematically denied to Americans who were not white.

Despite Thomas Jefferson's aborted efforts to include the abolition of slavery in the Declaration of Independence, the final document made clear that the new republic would discriminate between those whose were "free persons" and those who were not. The assertion that blacks were property, not persons in the fullest sense, was the credo of American slavery. It took a bloody civil war and the subsequent abolition of slavery with the 13th amendment to the constitution for that faith to be shaken, but not destroyed.

There persisted in slavery's wake another deeply rooted faith. It held that while black people

were no longer slaves, they were still inferior and must be treated as such through a rigorously enforced system of discrimination, segregation, and cruelty. It was a faith that police throughout the American south adhered to.

Considering history, considering cultural acceptance of segregation, considering the fact that most police departments were predominately or exclusively white, it should come as little surprise that the police in the American south were willing - if not eager - to deny basic rights to blacks.

Lynching

The police enforce the status quo, which is admirable only when the status quo protects the right of individuals. When the status quo is corrupt by virtue of its repression of others, then the police become instruments of repression and are corrupted in the process.

The extent to which the police were used as instruments of repression and intimidation crystallised in the mind of the American public with the advent of television and the flowering of the American civil rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

It was then that the American public saw the searing images of police, equipped with riot batons, dogs and fire hoses, attack unarmed protestors who had assembled peacefully to demand rights.

Police resistance to the civil rights movement and defence of the status quo was more than disturbing. Not only would it involve brutality and the violation of civil rights, but eventually it would involve murder.

While the lynching of African Americans is a well documented outrage in the sordid history of the American south, American public opinion never mustered the kind of indignation one might expect

from an advanced society until three civil rights workers, two of them white northerners, were murdered in Mississippi in 1964, with the connivance of the local sheriff's department.

The names James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman were etched in the American psyche; at once the victims and the proof of deeply-rooted race hatred, abetted by official police corruption and violence.

For many, the murders of the three civil rights workers were the worst examples of police misconduct and racism of the era.

In the American civil rights experience it was essential that the national government set a high moral tone.

If there was a failure of police agencies on the regional or local level to protect the rights of individuals, as there was throughout the American south, then it became the obligation of the national government.

Killers

After all, it was the Federal Bureau of Investigation that breached the barriers of local police obstruction, and launched the most extensive FBI investigation in history to find the bodies of Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman and to bring their killers to justice.

The national government must insist on adherence to the rule of law and demonstrate its will in overcoming provincial resistance to the same. One historical example was the drama that unfolded on June 11 1963 on the steps of the administration building of the University of Alabama.

Armed with a federal court order, but little else, United States Deputy Attorney-General Nicholas Katzenbach accompanied two African students who were seeking to enrol in the

* To Page 7

P.T.O.

And now a message from the Swedish PM

LAST year top economists from Sweden gave a crash course to African National Congress leaders on the Swedish model and its possible benefits. ANC leader Nelson Mandela himself has described the Swedish approach as "very tempting".

Meanwhile, Swedes themselves are giving up some of their most prized welfare policies, like the state-sponsored medical aid scheme and commitment to full employment. Unemployed Swedes have up to now been supported by trade union-run unemployment schemes directed to meet demands in the labour market.

The state itself is no longer allowed to soak up the jobless, as it used to when Sweden was one of the most solid economies around. With just one percent growth last year and one of the largest public sectors in the West, state spending has reached its ceiling and the ruling Social Democratic party had to do something drastic.

The final blow, urged by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development economists, came a few months ago when Finance Minister Allan Larsson announced a harsh 25 percent cut in state bureaucracy.

The tax system has also been reformed.

So a question mark hangs over the Swedish model. Does it still exist?

What is clear is the glue that once kept capitalists and workers together — a consensus-oriented state where economic growth and a just distribution of wealth walked hand-in-hand is no longer as strong. One of the most successful socio-economic models

Sweden's socio-economic policies may work in the icy north. But are they appropriate for South Africa?

By CHRISTER PETTERSSON

during the post World War II period is in crisis — a crisis largely accepted even in Social Democratic power circles.

The Swedish economy is suffering from recession with unusually high inflation at 11 percent and social welfare costs consequently cut back. This time the measure is not seen to be temporary as during the 1970s and 1980s crisis but a general shift in social democratic ideology. Critics say the party is not the staunch defender of working class interests it used to be. Its emphasis and general constituency have moved towards the centre ground.

These days the arch defenders of the welfare state are mainly the Swedish Left Party, which is the reformed Communist Party and dissatisfied worker-oriented Social Democrats in an unholy alliance with Greens and, to some extent, farmers.

They are worried that the death of the Swedish model was declared recently when Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's government handed in Sweden's formal application to join the European Community.

That means, say critics, the government will have to adapt to EC welfare standards, which means to let some five to 10 percent of the population stay unemployed — instead of today's 1.8 percent which together with Switzerland is the lowest in the world. Others

believe inflation will increase unemployment anyway and that Swedish multinationals voted for the EC long ago by moving their investments into Europe. Some, like power engineering giant Asea, have even moved their head offices.

The main force prodding Swedes to join the EC is fear. Swedish gross national product, buying power and

wages were far ahead of Europe 20 years ago. Today there is no such difference — most countries in Europe have caught up and some, like Switzerland and Holland, are ahead, according to a survey by a Swedish business weekly.

Exactly how EC membership will affect the rest of the Swedish system remains to be seen. But there are still



many benefits left that most mainland Europeans — not to mention the Third World — wouldn't even dream about.

Deregulation — for example with more freedom to choose between state, private and co-operative creches — is fashionable at the moment but it is all still within secure welfare parameters.

In fact, the hegemony of the Social Democrats' welfare system, injected into the blood of every Swede from cradle to grave over the past 60 years, is the main gain that won't easily be given up. Swedes, including conservatives, are largely in favour of a common social responsibility and are no longer used to turning a blind eye to society's poor and marginalised, even if there are differences about how wide the security network should be.

Thus Swedes do not fear that there will be a revolutionary change if Swedish Conservative Party leader Carl Bildt becomes prime minister after the elections in September.

Even if Bildt himself is in favour of Thatcherite policies, his coalition partner in a possible bourgeois government, the Liberal Party, won't digest too radical cuts in what remains the Swedish model.

When it comes to, for instance, state intervention in the economy, many Swedes are against it and are pro-privatisation these days. This is not disturbing in the Swedish context as only some seven percent of the economy is in the hands of the state — compared with South Africa at around 40 percent.

For South Africa looking for direction to sort out the apartheid mess, it's more the sentiment and the value system than a blueprint of the Swedish model that is desperately needed. No South African government is likely to be able to afford to repeat Scandinavian welfare policies.

But the notion of settling differences in negotiations involving state, capital and labour is probably worthwhile looking into. The Social Democratic state's main objective is to diminish conflict in society by co-opting and absorbing disturbing complaints. Participation, not exclusion, is the name of the game in the country that invented the ombudsman institution.

At the seminar in December the Swedish experts pointed out labour market policy, state housing policy and, to some extent, fiscal policy as some areas where ANC-aligned leaders could benefit from the Swedish experience.

However, the model is approaching retirement age and Swedish aid, both to the ANC and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference states, cannot be taken for granted any longer.

●Christer Pettersson is the Southern Africa correspondent for *Veckans Affärer*, a Swedish business weekly.

The fall of Smuts' government in 1948

New Nation (Learning Nation)

12/7-18/7/91

304A

The United Party under the leadership of J.C. Smuts survived the war period (1939 - 1945) and had gained worldwide favour because of its anti-Nazi stance. But on the home-front the tide had turned. Opposition to the United Party mounted. The white electorate went to the polls on 26 May 1948 and voted for the Reunited National Party under D.F. Malan. The institutionalisation of racist ideology in the guise of apartheid and separate development was supported by the white minority electorate. Today, the National Party has been in power for 33 years and the majority of South Africans are still denied the right to vote.

Post-war Issues within South Africa

In 1943, the United Party (UP) was re-elected to govern South Africa because it was the political party which had ruled during the difficult war period. Volunteer soldiers who had fought on the Allied side in both North Africa and Italy returned home inspired with patriotic feelings towards South Africa and its government. The 1943 election was aptly called the 'khaki' election. (Khaki is a dull yellowish brown colour. Most military uniforms are khaki coloured.)

However, many Afrikaans-speaking ruling class white South Africans had opposed the Smuts' government's decision to participate in the Second World War. This group had favoured neutrality. No rebellion similar to that of 1914 occurred, but these voters used the ballot box to voice their protest. The Reunited National Party (RNP) gained their support.

The UP had difficulty solving the economic crises of the post-war period. Many soldiers returned home to face unemployment. Household goods and services were in short supply. Prices of key commodities such as bread, meat, sugar and petrol had increased. The government was blamed. The working class became too discontented -- with low wages and bad working conditions and the white working class once again relied on the government to offer them job protection.

Dual medium education became a key issue. Afrikaans-speaking people insisted on the use of both English and Afrikaans in the government, civil service and education. As unemployment grew, many people objected to the immigration of Europeans who often gained job opportunities at the expense of the indigenous people. Many Afrikaans-speaking people also opposed the visit of the British royal family to South Africa in 1947. The UP was the target of these criticisms.

The South African oppressed

The voteless black majority also had major grievances against the United Party. In 1946, black mineworkers went on strike and the Smuts' government called upon the defence force to stop industrial action. Smuts' handling of the 1913, 1914, 1918, 1920 and 1922 strikes was vividly remembered and the black working class witnessed Jan Smuts working closely with the industrial capitalist class.

Discriminatory laws were passed and implemented by the UP. Here are a few examples:

- In 1943, the Pegging Act was passed. All property transactions between South Africans classified 'white' and 'Indian' were to be frozen for three years. This act was condemned within the United Nations Organisation (UNO) as was the government's policy towards people of Indian origin living in South Africa.
- A critical housing shortage occurred in areas demarcated for black occupation, namely in Sharpeville, Marabastad, Sophiatown and Springs.
- Racist bodies had been set up to discuss issues relating to the oppressed. For example, the Coloured Affairs Department was established to discuss issues affecting people classified 'coloured' while the Native Representative Council was established to handle issues related to black South Africans. These bodies were totally rejected by all who believed in non-racism and anti-racism and those who participated in these bodies were also rejected by the oppressed people.

Political Parties and Organisations

By 1948, numerous political parties had been formed to oppose the Smuts' government. There were also numerous extra-parliamentary organisations which opposed the government. We will look at a few of these briefly.

In 1939, at the outbreak of World War Two, the United Party had split. Those who refused to participate in the war left the party and rejoined the National Party under Malan. J.B.M. Hertzog resigned from the Reunited National Party in 1940 and founded the Afrikaner Party. Oswald Pirow, a National Party member, founded the New Order of South Africa, which based its policies on national socialism. Another key organisation was the Ossewa Brandwag (OB). The OB was a cultural organisation but became a paramilitary organisation when members attacked soldiers who had volunteered to fight in the war.

The African National Congress (ANC) had also gained large-scale support from the black majority and continued to struggle for full political rights. In the 1940s the ANC became active in campaigns to end the pass laws, to gain recognition of trade unions, for the abolition of the 1936 Land Act and for the right to education. In 1943, the ANC Youth League was formed. Its early members included Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. The Communist Party remained active and opposed participation in World War Two on the grounds that workers would gain nothing. In 1943, when Smuts formed the Coloured Affairs Department, there was widespread opposition. The Anti-CAD Movement was started and many members united to form the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) to demand full democratic rights for all people.

The 1948 Election

As opposition to Smuts and the United Party grew, the RNP and the Afrikaner Party made an election agreement. They would not oppose each other in the election campaign and do their utmost to oust Smuts.

The RNP won the support of the white electorate with the following programme:

- mother tongue education
- economic expansion
- assistance to the farming community
- the building of a powerful defence force
- apartheid
- separate development

Apartheid was a fairly new concept and was based on the ideology of racism and the belief that different 'races' should be separated. Segregation and separate facilities were introduced in all spheres. In May 1948, the National Party of D.F. Malan won 70 seats, the Afrikaner Party 9, the United Party 65 and the Labour Party 6. Malan and apartheid had been victorious.

Try this exercise!

Refer to the cartoon below and answer the questions which follow:

1. Interpret the cartoon.
2. Explain why the Ossewa Brandwag is drawn larger than Malan and Malan is larger than Hertzog.
3. To which political parties were Malan and Hertzog affiliated?
4. Does the Ossewa Brandwag still exist?



Rand Daily Mail 11 February 1942

Answers

1. The cultural organisation formed to unite Afrikaans-speaking ruling class South Africans is gaining prominence and is aiming to incorporate the national Party and the Afrikaner Party.
2. The OB had more support and wished to control the NP under Malan; Malan in turn hoped to incorporate the Afrikaner Party into the NP.
3. Hertzog: Afrikaner Party; Malan: National Party
4. yes

APARTHEID LAWS FM 12/7/91

OWN AFFAIR REMAINS

In a glare of publicity President F W de Klerk consigned apartheid to oblivion — or did he? **304A**

The repeal last month of the Population Registration Act removed the statutory foundation for race discrimination but apart-

heid lives on in many areas.

The Labour Party's Desmond Lockey says statutory discrimination is still found in at least eight laws, the:

- ☐ Social Pensions Act which determines that whites receive higher State pensions than coloureds and Indians, who in turn receive more than blacks;
- ☐ Indian Education Act;
- ☐ Coloured Persons Education Act;
- ☐ General Pensions Act;
- ☐ Advanced Technical Education for Indians Act;
- ☐ Education Affairs Act (House of Assembly) which regulates whites-only schools;
- ☐ National Education Affairs Act which, he says, enforces a race quota at white tertiary education institutions; and
- ☐ Education and Training Act (for blacks).

In addition, says Lockey, "interim" apartheid measures which government says can't be scrapped before a new constitution is negotiated include the:

- ☐ Child Care Act;
- ☐ Referendums Act;
- ☐ Voting Qualifications for Local Government Act; and
- ☐ Citizenship for National States Act.

The Constitution itself — here to stay, by government's admission, until replaced by a negotiated alternative, and its attendant own-affairs provisions — are also blatantly racist.

In particular, white schools are strictly segregated unless an unreasonably large majority of white parents vote otherwise. Some hospitals, too, though officially open to all, remain, it seems, for whites only. Welfare services, including pensions, also still discriminate against people of colour.

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows warns that government will fool nobody by scrapping the Population Registration Act and claiming that apartheid is dead while still segregating schools.

The DP suggested in parliament this year that barring children from any school on the grounds of race might be unlawful after repeal of the Act. But white own-affairs Minister Piet Clase retorted that race classification had nothing to do with own-affairs education. He said his department's activities were not regulated by the Act, but by the National Education Policy Act and the Education Affairs Act — both of which are own-affairs Acts "enshrined" in the Constitution.

Burrows says further evidence of continuing apartheid is that preprimary schools receive government subsidies on condition that a majority of pupils remains white in terms of the Education Affairs Act. The survival of other private schools compelled to maintain similar majorities or face deregistration is also threatened.

He disputes government's excuse that it would need to amend the Constitution to open white schools, but concedes that Clase has a political problem with the Conservative Party.

Burrows says a way out for government is Item 14 of Schedule 1 of the Constitution. It

allows an own-affairs ministry to act on an agency basis in the rendering of services to "persons who are not members of the population group in question." The House of Representatives and the House of Delegates have already taken this route and opened their schools to all — without a constitutional amendment.

DP health spokesman Mike Ellis says the lack of desegregation taking place at own-affairs hospitals, in spite of guidelines for admissions sent out by Health Minister Rina Venter, is worrying.

A reply to questions put by Ellis to Venter in parliament showed that 11 hospitals in the Transvaal and two in the Free State admitted no blacks last year. At another eight in the Transvaal and three in the OFS, fewer than 1% of admissions were people of colour.

Venter says, however, that none of the four provincial administrations is aware of any occasion on which a black person was refused admission to a hospital on the grounds of race.

But Ellis says in spite of Venter's assurances, there is clearly something fundamentally wrong with a system in which there is a massive demand for hospital beds, but some own-affairs hospitals that have not admitted any black patients have low occupancy rates.

Segregated welfare is another area of concern, not least to the NP's Sheila Camerer. She said in parliament this year that discriminatory welfare allowances and the fragmentation of welfare administration couldn't go on.

"At present not only is there a huge discrepancy between welfare services for the white child and those available to the black child, but there is also total fragmentation of welfare services for children."

Services for whites, coloureds and Indians are provided by three separate own-affairs departments, while those for blacks fall under the four provincial administrations.

In defence of maintaining apartheid at white own-affairs welfare institutions, Welfare, Housing & Works Minister Sam de Beer says his department will "continue to render a service that is in line with the needs of the communities concerned, communities that have been served for many years already."

De Beer adds: "It continues to be government policy to promote the concept of an own community life and we shall continue, as the present Constitution requires of this department, to render these services within the framework of the Constitution."

He says there are 429 homes for the aged, service centres, children's homes, crèches and rehabilitation centres owned and run by private welfare organisations and that their managements must decide their admissions policies. However, his administration paid subsidies only for whites.

DP leader Zach de Beer says if hospitals can accept patients of all races, schools should be able to do the same. "If we don't need hospital apartheid, then why, in the name of heaven, do we need to offend and insult the majority of our population by maintaining school apartheid for another two or three years after which it is doomed anyway?"

While the DP accepts that the current Constitution will have to remain until replaced by a new one, it disagrees that it is consequently impossible to make essential amendments to phase out own affairs as far as possible.

De Beer says the NP must decide if it still wants own affairs. If it does then it remains, to an extent, in favour of apartheid. "They may say yes, we still want own affairs, but only for a limited time. Are they not then saying that they want to be only a little bit pregnant? What use is it to keep something going that must disappear soon in any case?"

HE WHO HESITATES . . .

The ANC has had a successful national conference (see page 22), essentially clearing the way for a resumption of "talks about talks" in a forum which could lead to the "transitional arrangements" Pretoria speaks of, though the ANC's wish is for an "interim government."

It should be recalled that the ANC broke off negotiations on the grounds that Pretoria was not doing enough to bring violence to an end. However, co-operation in various committees has continued and the ANC — or at least Nelson Mandela — appears to be aware that the next phase must begin or it will lose international credibility, along with funding. Sanctions are ending and the pretence that the ANC can somehow dictate how and when they should be eliminated is a face-saving pretence.

On the face of it, government is in a strong position to simply wait for the ANC to return to the table — and perhaps even calculate that if it waits too long, the congress will lose electoral support in the democratic poll which will dramatically crown the efforts to destroy apartheid. But this would be to assume too much; though the central apartheid laws (barring the Constitution itself) have been repealed, reform needs to be a continuous process.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in education. The paradox of empty "white" schools and overflowing "black" ones is explicable only in terms of conservative whites in the provincial bureaucracies making hay before the sun goes down.

They have the latitude to do so because of the division of education into a multitude of own affairs and ethnic departments; and so long as they are allowed to get away with it, educational policy smacks of a discriminatory clinging to privilege compounded by spite.

Social services — the matter of different pensions for different races is the most glaring example — also need attention. The question of compulsory military service for whites only will have to be resolved one way or another.

Nor would it be wise for government to leave land claims — where there are pertinent arguments for restoration — in limbo. To do so would be to place an emotional time bomb under the validity of a new constitution and it would be better to create a special court or equivalent structure to assess such claims on their merits now.

A large number of similar items need reformist attention. F W de Klerk's administration need only proceed to give them that attention to hold the moral high ground it has attained. If the issues are neglected, the ANC can be counted on to point this out and exploit it.

It may be questioned whether threats of mass action will have much real effect — and no one would look more foolish than the ANC if it calls for such actions and they fail to materialise. But government's interests will best be served if in the coming weeks it moves unequivocally towards ensuring that reform really does take place within the bureaucratic labyrinth. ■



Criticised . . . Senator Gareth Evans.

Editorials decry Australian stance

Star Foreign Service

MELBOURNE — Australia's two leading newspapers today strongly criticised the policy of the Government and the attitude of Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, to South Africa.

The Australian newspaper accused Senator Evans of "holding up moves to return South Africa to the world economy and, finally, to the community of nations".

It claimed he appeared determined that the timetable Australia would follow would be set by the ANC. *SW 12/7/91*

"The Government should re-examine its devotion to the ANC line," the newspaper said. "The ANC has strong links with the South African Communist Party and has yet to be proved the representative of that country's black people."

It said Australia's "dithering on sanctions is denying our economy the benefits of renewed trade".

The Sydney Morning Herald demanded that Australia and the Commonwealth "should not plod on with a plan of phased reductions" which "would contribute little or nothing to the bargaining strength of the black South Africans".

Such policy would merely "polarise opinion in Australia".

Minorities need assurance that they won't suffer

Star 12/7/91.

(10) 304A

VIRTUALLY all that remains of Mahatma Gandhi's multiracial community on the lush Natal coast is his bust. This monument to the champion of peaceful resistance to racism sits in a clinic on the site of the Phoenix settlement.

His house, his printing works and the iron press that dispatched Gandhi's philosophy in "The Indian Opinion" after 1903 stand shattered. The 100 acres of pasture has become a slum.

The destruction of the settlement came not with Gandhi's return to India nor the imposition of apartheid, but just six years ago. It fell victim to a battle for land between black ANC supporters and Zulus backing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Indian residents were driven off and the shrine to Gandhi wrecked in the ensuing conflict. ANC supporters won, and turned it into a squatter camp.

The fate of the settlement epitomises the differences between South Africans of black and Indian origin, and the ANC's difficulties in winning support from minority races.

The fate of the Phoenix community is seen among a number of Indians as a foretaste of life under majority rule. Among them is a former member of the Indian chamber of Parliament, Pat Poovalingam.

"Comparisons have been drawn here between the Indians and the Jews of Europe in the 1930s. Indians are poor enough to be despised and rich enough to stick out like a sore thumb," he said.

There are more than a million Indians in South Africa, descended from labourers shipped in to work on the British sugar plantations. Some 80 percent live around Durban. Their vote, along with coloureds', will be crucial in multiracial elections.

They, too, have suffered the indignity of forced removals, segregated living areas and job reservation for whites. Yet invariably they have fared better than blacks.

According to recent opinion polls, when multiracial elections are held, a majority in both communities plan to vote for the National Party.

Nelson Mandela acknowledged the problem in his opening speech to the ANC conference a week ago.

The ANC's problem is trying to convince minorities they will not suffer under black rule. From CHRIS MCGREAL in Durban.

"The ANC should not be afraid to confront the very real issue that the national minorities — Indians, coloureds and whites — might have fears about the future," he said.

Fatima Meer, a prominent member of Durban's Indian community, sees those fears as two-fold: racial and economic.

"The ANC is seen as an African party representing African interests.

"The National Party now says it is no longer a racist party, and you're looking at a situation where minorities may feel their best chances lie in hanging out together against the majority.

"When you start speaking about redistribution of resources, material fears, people may say the ANC makes a lot of sense but it needs to be moderated before they will vote for it," Ms Meer said.

The outgoing ANC general secretary, Alfred Nzo, in a secret speech to the conference, warned that it was among a number of obstacles to winning support from Indians and coloureds. Others included the factional violence, which has claimed 10 000 lives, and ties to the Communist Party.

From the black perspective, Indians are often among the exploiters, although they, too, are among the exploited. Only 20 percent of Indians are directly involved in business, but it is that portion which is frequently the primary point of contact with blacks.

They are among the more privileged elements of the Indian community. It is that position, squeezed between blacks and whites, that most often leads to resentment.

In 1949 it contributed to anti-Indian riots in Durban that left several hundred people dead. Passions have cooled, but the ANC has yet to come up with firm ideas on how to persuade Indians and coloureds that they are not going to suffer under black rule. — The Independent News Service. □



CONRAD SIDEGO

Conrad Sidego is envoy to Denmark

Weekend Argus
Political Staff

PRETORIA — Former Cape Town journalist Conrad Sidego is to be South Africa's new ambassador to Denmark.

Mr. Sidego, 45, who will succeed Mr Anton Loubser in September, worked on newspapers in Cape Town for 16 years before becoming corporate communications manager at the Anglo American Corporation five years ago.

After the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced the appointment on Friday, Mr Sidego said that South Africa had reached a point where it was possible for ordinary South Africans to make a meaningful contribution to the future of the country on all fronts.

He had no "political colour" and would find it easy to fulfil the role of an independent representative of a wide variety of South Africans.

"If you are honest and balanced about what is going on in the country and represent it in a responsible way, whatever you are doing could be representative of most people in the country," said Mr Sidego.

Mr Sidego said the process of change in South Africa was irreversible and those who disagreed underestimated the determination of South Africans, especially the oppressed, who would undoubtedly continue towards their aspirations for a better South Africa.

"I have never had the vote in my own country and now together with other South Africans I feel confident enough to make a contribution to the day when everyone has the vote."

"We have been protesting and boycotting for a long time but we have seen enough political change to feel we can make a contribution."

Commonwealth EPG group could visit SA

304A CT 13/7/91

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A second Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) could be sent to South Africa in October to assess changes in the country and report back to the organisation's Harare summit later in the month.

A spokeswoman for the Commonwealth Secretariat said yesterday that a visit by a delegation of statesmen and other eminent people, possibly headed by its secretary-general, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, was "one of the options" open to them.

However, she said that if SA had reached a point where it was "down the road of nego-

Qantas to fly to SA again?

SYDNEY. — Australia's international carrier Qantas Airways Ltd may resume its "Champagne Route" to South Africa, one of the world's most lucrative long-haul flights, by October, an airline spokesman said yesterday.

He said government-owned Qantas could resume air services immediately but had to await the go-ahead from the Australian government.

"We could have a 747 in the air tomorrow," he said. "It's one of the most lucrative routes in the world because of its length and non-stop nature."

Australian newspapers reported yesterday that Qantas had held preliminary talks with South African Airways. — Sapa-Reuter

tiations", such a visit might not be necessary.

She declined to comment on reports that the ANC had invited the Commonwealth. "But I am not saying that people are not thinking about it in South

Africa."

The previous Commonwealth EPG mission in 1986 during the state of emergency was torpedoed when the SADF launched raids into three neighbouring states.

July 14 1991

Huddleston warns of tough times

By SEKOLA SELLO

14/7/91

THE president of Britain's Anti Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, jets out of South Africa today after a three-week visit.

He leaves with mixed feelings and warned tough times lay ahead for the country. The end of statutory discrimination took "the people out of Egypt (legislative bondage) but are now in a desert (another form of bondage)", he said.

Huddleston acknowledged moves by State President F.W. de Klerk to end statutory discrimination. Although he said he was pleased with the changes he had seen, it would be wrong to say

apartheid was dead.

Before apartheid could be pronounced dead, there had to be a democratic and representative constitution, an interim government, and free and fair elections.

Huddleston said if these conditions were met then apartheid would be dead, although the legacy and pain would last many years before they were eradicated.

Giving his impressions of the country he was forced to leave 36 years ago, he said in most cases conditions had worsened. He cited squalid conditions at squatter camps he had visited.

"What I saw of one squatter camp in Cape Town were the most appalling

living conditions," he said.

He also visited a school in Alexandra township near Johannesburg which he had known before he was forced to leave the country.

"The school was more dilapidated than it was when I arrived in this country for the first time in 1943."

After seeing the squalor of the school toilets, the overcrowding and shortage of teachers, he was convinced the Anglican Church took the right decision in closing down their schools when the government introduced Bantu Education.

During his stay, Huddleston also visited Sophiatown, now called Triomf which he called "that disgusting

place". He preached at Regina Mundi, a church he revisited Rosettenville where he first met Oliver Tambo.

After leaving the country 36 years ago, Huddleston returned to Britain where he launched the AAM to highlight the plight of the victims of apartheid and also isolate South Africa. He said if there was a democratic and non-racial constitution, he would seriously consider returning to settle in South Africa.

Huddleston was a delegate to the ANC conference in Durban last week, which he described as the "most impressive event... tremendous experience and unique conference since the congress of the people in 1955".

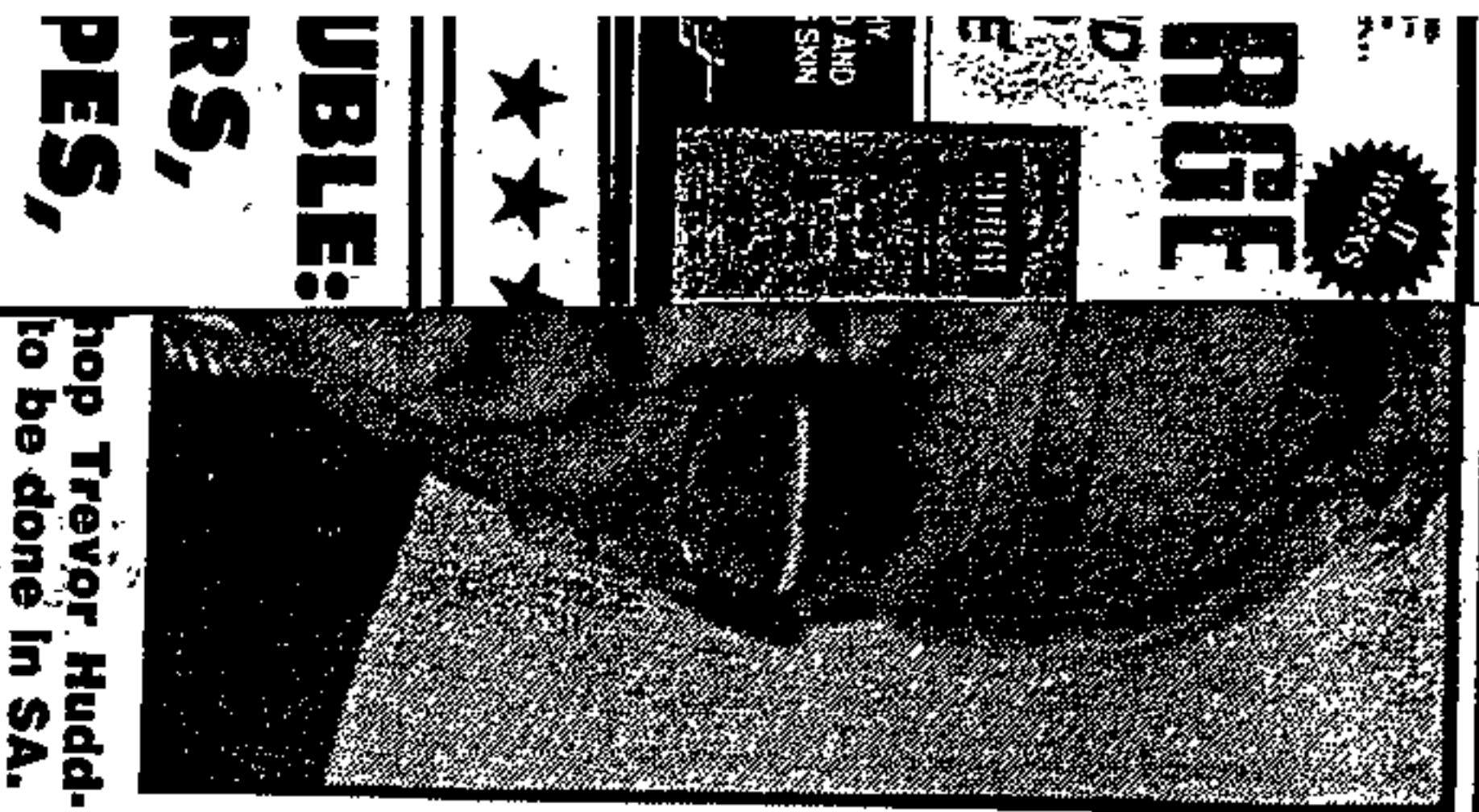


PHOTO
Huddleston
to be done in SA.

US fears SA 'begging bowl'

By LUCAS DE LANGE

THE Americans have a habit of wrapping their political decisions in a highly moralistic package which fits American self-interest.

When US president George Bush announced his decision to lift trade sanctions against South Africa, he stressed that he had told ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was "the right thing to do".

One must ask: Right for whom?

Filtering through from the American establishment in recent months, a new concern has been manifesting itself – a genuine fear that South Africa's economic situation is going to deteriorate to such an extent that we may become just another African basket case.

The last thing the Bush Administration would like to see, is another begging bowl.

With a growing number of States in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe – and even the Soviet Union – exerting constant pressure for aid in a world short of capital, another candidate from southern Africa would be most unwelcome. Especially one that has succeeded in arousing emotions in Black-White American politics.

Using its economic might to help South Africa avoid becoming another basket case makes good sense. The scrapping of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will undoubtedly cre-

ate new opportunities for South African exporters, while foreign investors will show a greater interest in South Africa.

But be careful – it's a tough and highly competitive world out there and there is no such thing as a free lunch. In fact, South African political and business leaders would do well to soberly consider certain factors that played an important part in the background to the Bush decision.

The attitude of establishment Americans towards South Africa is probably well-defined in an article by respected US economic and political analyst Francis Fukuyama, after a recent visit to South Africa.

Writing in the journal *The National Interest*, this former deputy head of the State Department's policy planning division said he found it hard to overstate the potential for economic disaster in South Africa.

His article suggests three possible scenarios. The first is one in which South Africa would follow Germany's example, where the developed part of the country would peacefully absorb the less-developed part and, while suffering a temporary drop in living standards, would eventually raise the poorer section to the level of the richer part.

The second possible scenario seen by Fukuyama is that South Africa would deteriorate into a Lebanese-type situation. In this

scenario, the township violence would spread and become part of the future of the country as a whole, because it has been partitioned into different ethnic or racial communities. In such circumstances, each of these communities would possess arms to protect themselves.

The last scenario is the Latin American model, where the decline would be mostly economic into some kind of poverty-stricken banana republic.

"It is a widespread misconception," he states, "fostered for many years by the apartheid regime, but believed by many blacks, that South Africa is a relatively rich First World country that has simply failed to share the wealth adequately with its black population."

The starting point for a new government could be the redistribution of wealth. "The problem is that any large-scale attempt to right these wrongs over a short period would be self-defeating in that it would wreck the economy."

"It is here where the evolution of the ANC's economic thinking over the next few years will be critical."

Fukuyama warns that a major problem a new government will have to face is to persuade the whites to stay. A serious deterioration in the economic situation will undoubtedly convince many whites that they should take their expertise where it is more marketable. He

believes that it would be hard to overstate the potential for economic disaster should large numbers of whites leave the country.

It is against this background that the favourable reception of the De Klerk government's efforts to have sanctions lifted must be seen. Many people in the ANC feel the Bush decision came much too early. But one may well ask whether it really had so much to do with what De Klerk and Mandela – although on opposite sides – had to say about the matter.

The reality is that sanctions are becoming part of our history. But another reality is that their disappearance will not make all that much difference to our economic situation. Assessments towards the end of the week showed that very few experts expect anything dramatic to happen.

Foreign investment will not simply appear on the horizon. Until perceptions overseas change about the country's stability and our willingness to increase our productivity, very little will change in the everyday lives of ordinary South Africans.

Fortunately, we are not all that desperate for foreign investment. South Africa can finance an important part of its future growth, provided we can rebuild business confidence and stop the slide in workers' productivity.



WALKING TALL ... SA's new man in Denmark Conrad Sidego with his wife Amy and sons Jonathan and Conrad-Jay
Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

The ambassador-to-be who still has no vote

CONRAD SIDEGO is 45. Classified as a coloured until recently, he has never voted.

This week he accepted the job of South Africa's ambassador to Denmark.

Yesterday, as he accepted congratulations at his Johannesburg home, he said: "I'll be one of the few voteless people ever to represent their country. That's the irony of South Africa."

"But accepting the job is part of the optimism I have about the future."

Mr Sidego, a former journalist, has been Anglo American's communications manager for the past

By HERMAN JANSEN

five years. He speaks Afrikaans at home and said he joined the Afrikaans press because of his love for journalism and Afrikaans — not because of politics.

The tall Afrikaans-speaking diplomat-to-be said he had never been a "screamer and shouter".

"My way was silent protest, like not registering my children under the Population Registration Act."

His wife, Amy, is a teacher at Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg. His sons, Conrad-Jay, 7, and Jonathan, 3, also attend the school.

Mr Sidego said he had consulted widely, "especially to the left", when the job was offered to him three months ago.

"Some thought it was too early still — that I should first have, for instance, a guarantee of the vote. But I have never reacted as a political victim."

"My style has been to take things in my own hands and rise above them — though sometimes I did this with tears in my eyes because of the humiliations I suffered."

"I believe that one should make the push, like a political No 8 in a scrum, to make the process totally

irreversible." The tall man — in a photo on his wall posing with Muhammed Ali, he is 1cm taller than the former boxer — is known for his wit.

He joked: "I imagine the Danes will expect anyone coming from a land of sunshine to be very tanned."

He admitted he had feared his was a token appointment.

"I confronted Foreign Affairs and said if they were looking for a black face for the sake of it, I wasn't interested."

"They assured me the appointment was entirely on merit."

Constitutional talks will open the way for IMF

^{ST 11/20}
^{14/11/91}
SOUTH AFRICA will not have access to desperately needed International Monetary Fund financing until further concrete steps are taken towards agreement on a new constitution.

That was the broad consensus of US officials, congressional sources and financial analysts in Washington this week following President George Bush's decision to rescind the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act.

SA stands to obtain IMF loans of nearly \$2-billion (R5,6-billion), according to estimates presented to Congress last year, but it all depends on whether the Bush administration is prepared to give the go-ahead.

More importantly, an IMF decision to grant such loans will be viewed by international financiers as a signal that SA is a safe bet, since private sector lending would, in effect, be partially guaranteed. Until then the pump will be dry.

The collapse of trade and investment has notwithstanding, without the IMF's resources and its seal of approval,

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT by SIMON BARBER in Washington

val, SA will be hard-put to reflate its economy, enhance its productivity and international competitiveness, and create jobs for the 40 percent of its working age population which is unemployed.

SA's re-engagement with the fund may also have an important knock-on effect regarding state and local sanctions which persist as an important brake on US investment and trade.

If the international marketplace decides that SA is a sound investment again, local authorities will have to ignore or waive their own laws to continue dealing with major companies and banks.

This will obviate the need for any constitutional challenge to "local

foreign policies", which is just as well since such a challenge, if it ever emerges, is likely to be extremely long drawn out.

The key obstacle to the normalisation of relations between the fund and SA is widely misunderstood. There is no formal ban, nor, in theory at least, does the US necessarily have a veto.

The position is as follows: In November 1982, SA drew \$1,1-billion (R3-billion) from the fund with US backing. This was controversial not only among anti-apartheid activists, but within the fund itself.

Many members, especially from developing countries, argued that SA did not need the money and was only looking for credit at concessional rates.

They also contended that apartheid so distorted the country's economy that SA should not be eligible for further

loans under the IMF's own rules unless it instituted massive political reform.

The US Congress, which is responsible for approving Washington's contribution to the fund's overall capital responded by enacting the Gramm Amendment.

The fund is run like a public company. Each representative on its board of directors wields voting power proportional to his government's share in the organisation's capital. This means the US has around 19 percent of the vote. Other industrialised countries combine for 46 percent, the Third World for 34 percent.

Since there are a limited number of seats on the board, smaller countries form groups, effectively pooling their shares in order to achieve representation. Since 1983, no one has wanted SA on their team, so Pretoria is voteless.

The Gramm Amendment called for the US director to "actively oppose" any SA drawing unless it met certain criteria related to the removal of the

economic distortions caused by apartheid. In addition, SA would have to be in genuine balance-of-payments straits.

Given that the Third World would automatically vote against SA, and assuming the US administration did not interpret "actively oppose" as a summons simply to abstain, this was tantamount to a veto on SA borrowings.

Though both the foregoing assumptions remain valid, particularly the former, the situation now is rather different.

As long as SA has run down the balance-of-payment surplus it has been forced to incur to pay off its foreign currency debts following the informal lending embargo imposed in 1985, a tactfully crafted loan application would almost certainly qualify under Gramm's own terms.

The determination rests with the US Treasury Secretary — which means the President who appointed him. If they decide the application qualifies, all they have to do is inform certain congressional committees and instruct the US fund director to vote accordingly.

The Bush administration has signalled Pretoria that it is not in a political position to support an SA drawing now. It feels the dust must be allowed to settle after the removal of the CAAA sanctions.

The reason is twofold: One, Bush used the fact that the Gramm Amendment would remain in force to buy acquiescence for his decision on the CAAA. Two, he will be asking Congress later this year to increase the US contribution to the fund and World Bank.

He does not want this replenishment held hostage over SA, nor does he want to see Congress close the existing loopholes that will enable the US to support an SA application later.

Even after the replenishment, however, there is a strong feeling here that there should have been enough progress in SA to justify Bush's CAAA decision before he takes another step.

That means getting concrete constitutional talks up and running.

funds

THE ANC national conference has sent a clear and urgent message to the South African Communist Party.

It has told the party faithful to abandon any further thoughts of insurrection as the royal road to a national democratic revolution, and to focus all their energies on the negotiations processes.

The communists cannot fail to heed this call. Not only did Mandela and the conference at large commit the ANC unequivocally to negotiations, as I predicted it would do in my last contribution to this space, but the congress has knowingly elected a number of prominent communist activists to its National Executive Committee.

There, they will have to play their part — and it may well turn out to be a prominent part — in steering the ANC through the ensuing phases of negotiating a new South African constitution.

For the SACP and for its party programme, The Path To Power, the implications are both very challenging and extremely serious.

The Programme, adopted by the Party's Seventh Congress in 1989, tries to reconcile both an insurrectionary and a negotiating perspective within the confines of a single overall analysis.

Decision-making

The ANC conference has now made glaringly apparent what some SACP analysts thought was evident when drafts of the programme were being secretly discussed, viz, that the two points of view are not reconcilable in practice.

It is quite simply beyond the bounds of political possibility to expect that President De Klerk and his allies, or anyone else for that matter, will negotiate seriously while

BY
TONY
HOLIDAY



ANC poll shows that Reds are here to stay

CT 15/11/91

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Inevitably, these questions, and such answers as may be given to them, have concrete implications for the make-up of the Central Committee the party must elect in December, just as discussions at the ANC conference had consequences for the leadership it, decided to elect.

Leadership consequences

Of course it may turn out that the SACP congress, in a spirit of cosy comradeship, rests content with allowing the insurrectionists to admit their mistake and promising to try to do better next time. But the paths of politics, like those of true love, seldom run quite as smoothly as that.

The fact is that the dawning era of real negotiations for a transfer of power will also be an extremely testing one for all parties involved. It will be particularly unforgiving of misreadings of political realities.

The ANC, SACP and the vast mass of voteless South Africans cannot afford such misreadings to be a ubiquitous feature of the new phase.

Inevitably, the restructuring of its programme and the acceptance of its negotiating role will plunge the SACP into a set of profound theoretical debates.

These have already begun but are still in their infancy and will continue well beyond December.

These will focus on such issues as the leading role of the party, its relation to the South African working class, black and white, the meanings of terms like "democratic socialism" and "social democracy", communist attitudes to religious belief and the place of moral values within Marxism.

Colleagues

What is certain is that the ANC-SACP alliance is as firm as ever it was, if not firmer, and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. The fact that nearly 90% of the ANC delegates voted Joe Slovo on to the NEC is eloquent proof of that.

That the 2 224 delegates to the ANC conference, have evinced this kind of support for the communists in their leadership, constitutes an unmistakable signal to President De Klerk and his constitutional advisors.

From now on they will have to debate and negotiate with communists and prepare themselves to accept them as colleagues in a future Parliament.

To do this effectively, they will need to rid themselves of the bigotry which has clouded their view of what communists really are and stand for hitherto.

If they want the negotiations to prosper, they must cease their futile plotting to prise the SACP loose from its alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

All this will not be easy for the politicians of the White Establishment. But they really have little choice in the matter. The ANC's decision is unmistakable: The Reds are here to stay.

□ Anthony Holiday, a senior lecturer in the philosophy of education at the University of the Western Cape and a member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes in his personal capacity.

JOHANNESBURG. — Fewer than one in 10 blacks believes SA should have an all-black government, according to a recent Gallup poll by market research company Markinor.

In a different opinion poll by the Centre of Policy Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, the government has a higher level of support in Soweto than any other political formation.

Of 1 300 blacks sampled in Markinor's Gallup poll, only 9% said they favoured a government in which "all power was in the hands of blacks".

More than 2 000 people, including 800 whites, were sampled across the country for the poll last month. Power-sharing was the most popular choice

Only one in 10 blacks support all-black govt

among both groups, with 85% of blacks and 58% of whites saying they favoured a government in which "power is shared equally by all population groups and no one group dominates the others".

A black government was the least popular choice among both groups in the sample, favoured by one in 100 whites and 9% of blacks. A white-dominated government was favoured by 41% of whites and 6% of blacks — more

popular overall than an all-black government. Markinor deputy MD Ms Christine Woessner said the results made it clear that most whites and blacks took a "realistic, middle-of-the-road view" of political developments.

The Centre for Policy Studies poll found that Soweto residents were "very moderate" in comparison with township residents in the rest of the country and gave the government a higher level of support than

they did the church, trade unions, the ANC, employers and Azapo.

The survey, of 905 township residents across SA, showed that 80% of respondents were satisfied with the leadership of Mr F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, but in Soweto Mr De Klerk got 20% more support than the ANC.

But the ANC would get the votes of 60% of all township residents in a general election.

Civic associations, street committees, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu enjoyed lower levels of identification in Soweto than in other townships.

Inkatha had "overwhelming support" among hostel dwellers, who gave positive ratings to both the state and employers.

Major will urge G7 to back SA

3044A
CT 15/7/91

LONDON. — The need for rapid and unhampered economic recovery in South Africa will be stressed by Britain at the summit of the Group of Seven (G7) economic super-powers, opening here today.

British Prime Minister Mr John Major will want unanimous support for his argument that reform leading to constitutional negotiation needs economic muscle now. The lifting of US and Japanese sanctions allows their delegations unreservedly to back Mr Major's position that the big powers must support the South African economy, diplomats said yesterday.

Mr Major has warned Britain's G7 partners in advance that reform, short, medium and long-term, must have the endorsement of their economic support, and that remaining financial and economic sanctions are counter-productive.

A high-level South African delegation is arriving in London for the summit, which will concentrate on the economic crisis in the Soviet Union and calls for aid for President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Britain wants the summit to agree today that the United Nations should be developed into a "world watchdog" to prevent conflict, British officials said.

A senior government official said Mr Major, as host to the summit, would pro-

Soviet delegation to sign SA trade pacts

JOHANNESBURG. — The first Soviet trade delegation to visit SA arrived yesterday on a 10-day tour.

The head of the six-member team, Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Dr Vladislav Malkevitch, said they would sign trade pacts with the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut, National African Chamber of Commerce and the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob).

The team would also sign two protocols with the Chamber of Mines and the South African Foreign Trade Association (Safito). Sacob, which organised the visit, said the arrival of the Soviet team would boost South African links with Eastern Europe. Safito international division senior manager Mr Mike Veyzie said yesterday that there were excellent trade opportunities between the two countries. But he warned that the Soviets might have difficulty financing imports from SA.

pose the UN work as a "world watchdog, bringing to international attention problems that are emerging but have not actually turned to conflict".

It should take a lead in controlling the international trade in conventional weapons and in providing a quick response to disasters.

"The UN needs to make its weight felt," the official said. "The UN came of age in the Gulf war. We want to maintain this impetus."

At the weekend the United States and Japan seemed resolved to oppose any bid to pump more cash into the Soviet Union when Mr Gorbachev comes knocking on the door of the seven rich nations.

Mr Gorbachev meets the seven on Wednesday after the formal summit in a historic appearance to lobby for aid, and if he goes home empty-handed it could doom him in any Kremlin power struggle.

The talks open formally today under the chandeliers in a room at 19th-century Lancaster House, where Chopin once played the piano for Queen Victoria.

● Several hundred protesters marched through central London on Saturday demanding that world leaders cancel debts owed to their nations by Third World countries.

Carrying placards reading "Robbing the poor to pay the rich", demonstrators protested against the treatment of poor nations that owe billions of pounds to the G7 states.

Unemployment in Alexandra, study finds

MORE than half of Alexandra's adult population is unemployed, according to a recent survey.

The survey by the Education for Employment Campaign (EEC) also found that the township's population had risen by about 30% during the past year to 320 000.

EEC director Dave Jackson said only one-fifth of Alexandra's children of school-going age were at school.

The remaining 76 000 children were turning to crime.

"Many unemployed people, including children, when asked how they survived, replied 'We have to steal — how else do you expect us to live?'" Jackson said.

The EEC seeks to train township residents in practical matters and is funded by the Independent Development Trust, local industries and foreign interests, including the European Community (EC).

Jackson said that 90% of Alexandra's population pinned their hopes for the

DARIUS SANAI

future on the education of their children. But certificates of education were virtually useless if the holder could not speak English well, he said.

"There are people out there with BSc degrees who are not able to communicate properly in a factory and therefore cannot find jobs," he said.

The EEC programme aims to upgrade school facilities, provide training, counselling services and employment facilities for the unemployed and management training for community leaders.

The latter was vital to help defuse tension between rival township political groups, Jackson said.

The programme is being set up initially in Alexandra.

The EEC hopes to provide the service in other townships as well.

Soweto 'gives most support to govt'

GOVERNMENT has a higher level of support in Soweto than any other political formation, according to a survey of township residents' political attitudes.

The report, by the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, found that Soweto residents were "very moderate" and gave government a higher level of support than they did the church, trade unions, the ANC, employers and Azapo.

The survey, of 905 township residents across SA, showed 80% of respondents were satisfied with the leadership of De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, but in Soweto De Klerk got 20% more support than the ANC.

The ANC would, however, get the votes

of 60% of all township residents nationally in a general election.

Civic associations, street committees, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu enjoyed lower levels of identification in Soweto than in other townships.

On the East Rand, virtually all political formations had a lower endorsement than elsewhere, except for Inkatha.

Inkatha had "overwhelming support" among hostel dwellers, who gave positive ratings to both the state and employers.

Most striking about hostel dwellers, the researchers said, was that they rated all other agencies and movements, including the church, relatively poorly.

JONATHAN REES

Farmworkers victims under law report

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE exclusion of farmworkers from industrial and labour legislation made the law a weapon in the hands of farmers, according to a report published by the Black Sash and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac).

University of Witwatersrand researcher Lauren Segal, the author of the report, said the relationship between farmers and labourers operated along the lines of a medieval master-serf relationship rather than according to contractual principles.

"With no written obligations to bind him, the farmer is free to dismiss his worker for whatever reason he wishes and to decide on his own terms," she said.

"SA's 1.3-million farmworkers are not legally protected and conditions on some farming operations have revealed that there is no bottom line to how bad such conditions may be under the law."

She said farmworkers were excluded from the Labour Relations Act, the Wages Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Factories Act, and had no right to public holidays, sick pay or leave pay.

There was no legal limit to working hours or any statute compelling farmers to pay overtime and as there was no minimum age for farmworkers, child labour was endemic, she said.

Legislation which could be used against farmworkers included the Illegal Squatters Act, the Trespass Act and the General Law Amendment Act, she said.

Bookmakers have no official status

Power sharing wins poll

6/04/91 5/7/91

DARIUS SANAI

FEWER than one in 10 blacks believes SA should have an all-black government, a recent Gallup opinion poll by market research company Markinor found.

Of 1 300 blacks sampled, only 9% said they favoured a government in which "all power was in the hands of blacks".

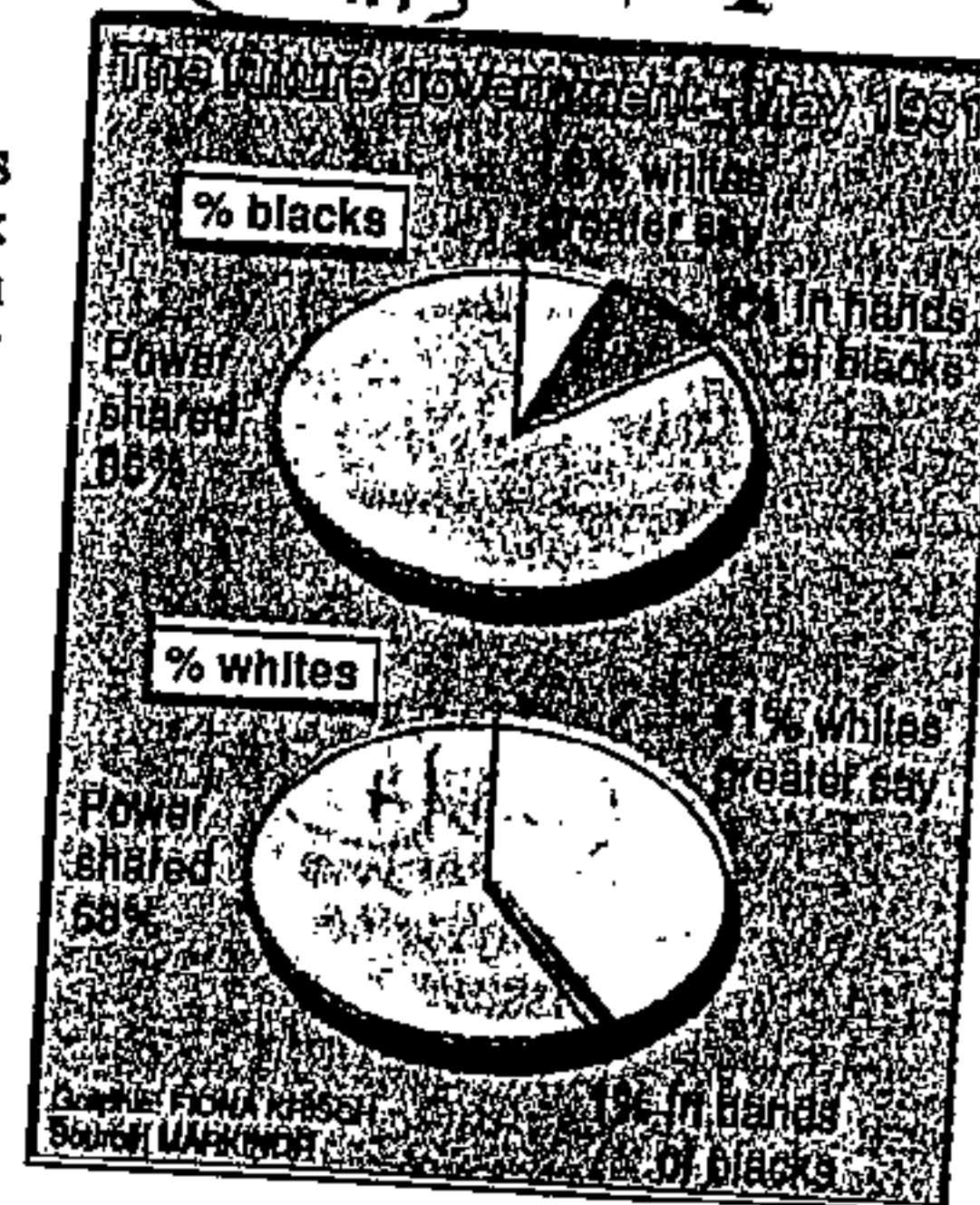
More than 2 000 people, including 800 whites, were sampled across the country for the poll last month.

Power sharing was the most popular choice among both groups, with 85% of blacks and 58% of whites saying they favoured a government in which "power is shared equally by all population groups and no one group dominates the others".

A black government was the least popular choice among both groups in the sample — favoured by only one in 100 whites and 9% of blacks.

A white-dominated government was favoured by 41% of whites and 6% of blacks.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said the results made it clear that most whites and blacks took a "realistic, middle-of-the-road



view" of political developments.

Divisions within the racial groups were more marked among whites than among blacks.

Three-quarters of English speaking whites favoured power sharing, compared to just under half the Afrikaans speakers.

Among blacks, Xhosa speakers were the most polarised, with 15% in favour of a black government. Only 6% of Zulu speakers did so.

SA's 'hesitancy' problem

PRETORIA. — South Africa would be welcomed back as a member of the Commonwealth once enough constitutional progress had been made, the leader of the visiting Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Mr Clive Griffith, said yesterday. He told a news conference that the great majority of South Africans wanted full parliamentary democracy with one-person-one-vote. (304A) There were many difficulties to be overcome, including the unacceptably high level of violence. Mr Griffith said he also saw as a problem the hesitancy by some key players in the process to have faith in the bona fides of President F.W. de Klerk.

Fear rules as SA enters a new era

Sowetan 16/7/91

304A

AS SOUTH Africa emerges from its apartheid quarantine to rejoin the world, divisions at home seem only to widen.

A dialogue of the deaf rages between white and black, white and white and black and black while the nation prepares to resume sport and trade with the international community.

Fear rules. The Government fears unbridled black majority power, the African National Congress fears a secret Government agenda to perpetuate apartheid in another guise and the other big black grouping, the Inkatha Freedom Party, fears the ANC means to wipe it out.

Saga

The white right, polishing its rifles in the wings, fears the Government of President FW de Klerk is writing "the end" of the saga of the white race in Africa.

And many in the Indian and coloured communities fear they will be crushed as black and white wrestle over power in the new South Africa, acting out the African saying that "when elephants fight the grass gets trampled".

Three days before the United States lifted sanctions as a reward to the Government for dismantling apartheid and moving towards democracy, Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC accused De Klerk with unprecedented bluntness of pretending to talk peace while prosecuting a divide-and-rule terror war against blacks.

More than 1 000 people have been killed in township violence in the past year. The Government says they are victims of political warfare between the ANC and Inkatha but the ANC says the Government bears the entire responsibility.

The foreign view. RODNEY PINDER, South African bureau chief of the British news agency Reuters, takes a jaundiced look at our affairs



Officials at the organisation's first legal convention inside South Africa in 30 years said the Government seeks to destabilise the ANC in order to dictate the shape and pace of reform and emerge from the first black enfranchised elections still in effective control.

Over and again, ANC officials said they no longer believed the Government was committed to a genuine transfer of power to the black majority.

One young rising star, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said she felt "angry and cheated" and one senior official said privately that Mandela himself shared her disillusionment.

Euphoria

The Government, on the other hand, has always talked publicly of powersharing, not transference of power, a qualification often overlooked in the initial euphoria over De Klerk's reforms.

It insists that it is entitled to recognition for abandoning apartheid and it is impatient to wrap up a new constitution enshrining rights for minorities as well as the majority. In this, it seems to have the sympathy of the West.

ANC officials say their argument that change so far has not been fundamental is reinforced by such incidents as armed white police barring deprived black children from an empty white school.



BUTHELEZI

They say the struggle is still against white minority rule and pledge to take their message to the world - but concede few may want to listen.

Mandela, newly elected ANC president, said: "There still remains an enormous difference in the perceptions of the oppressed about the necessary changes that have to occur, and the character of future society, and that of the National Party Government."

Some diplomats see great dangers in a fickle outside world washing its hands of South Africa, of believing the job is over and done now that the legislative pillars of apartheid have been removed and US sanctions lifted.

"The loss of its sanctions weapon leaves the ANC with little alternative but the streets," said one seasoned envoy.

"A complete loss of international interest is a recipe for resurgent violence as the only way to regain that interest."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,

leader of Inkatha, said in an interview immediately after the ANC conference that all the ingredients existed for a civil war ultimately between rival black groupings, as in Angola and Mozambique after the fall of white rule.

He said he was disillusioned by the ANC, which he accused of seeking to bulldoze its way to power over the dead body of his Zulu nation.

Buthelezi does not forget the fate of the Zulus' cousins in neighbouring Zimbabwe, the Ndebele, who were quickly crushed by the army of President Robert Mugabe, leader of the majority Shona people, when they showed stirrings of unrest after independence.

It was difficult to see the way forward, Buthelezi said in his bush hilltop capital, Ulundi.

"There is a lack of trust all round," he said. "We have this heritage of mistrust from the past. If we can't get rid of this we can't make progress." - Sapa-Reuter

CP called on to quit Parliament

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder has issued a call to the Conservative Party to resign from Parliament.

"The CP is wasting its time in the Cape Parliament, as nothing will now prevent blacks, Indians and coloureds from registering on the white voters roll.

"They overwhelm by numbers, which means that the CP and the five other right-wing organisations put together could never gain the majority," he said in the BSP's newsletter, published this week.

CP media spokesman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was not available for comment. — Sapa.

SA's ticket to the Commonwealth: one-man, one-vote

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa will not be readmitted to the Commonwealth unless there is an election based on the principle of one-man-one-vote, a visiting delegation of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) said yesterday.

Addressing journalists in Pretoria before leaving South Africa, the delegation made it clear that the Commonwealth looked forward to South Africa's readmittance and would contribute toward the critical need for education funds once the country had achieved a democratic constitution.

The eight-man delegation said, however, that there seemed to be hesitancy among many South Africans to trust the *bona fides* of President de Klerk.

"Until you can get people to talk, there will be difficulty in reaching agreement," said Clive Griffith, chairman of the CPA and president of the Legislative Council of Western Australia.

South Africa deserved the help and support of the Commonwealth to ensure it reached its goal as quickly as possible, they said.

The CPA made its first official visit to South Africa for more than 30 years to offer objective and impartial advice

and comment to all groups involved in the negotiations.

President de Klerk has suggested the CPA examine and comment on the draft constitution and Bill of Rights for South Africa, when it is prepared.

Among parties and leaders the CPA delegation met were peace facilitator Dr Louw Alberts, PAC general secretary Bennie Alexander, retired DP MP Helen Suzman, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, CP foreign affairs spokesman Nicholas Langley and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Israel now on De Klerk's list of likely foreign destinations

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has accepted an Israeli government invitation to visit that country, but no dates have been set.

De Klerk's spokesman Kobus Pieterse said yesterday it was probable the President would visit Israel but "no specific arrangements have been made as yet". He refused to confirm that De Klerk had accepted the invitation. A Foreign Affairs spokesman said he could not speak on behalf of De Klerk and could not confirm the visit was on.

However, another source said De Klerk had accepted the invitation "in principle" but "the two parties were still trying to arrange dates for the visit".

Both Pieterse and Foreign Affairs said that if De Klerk visited Israel he would incorporate it into one of his other foreign trips that were in the pipeline for this year.

There is strong speculation in government circles that De Klerk will visit Nigeria this year and possibly Japan following that country's recent lifting of some sanctions.

Earlier this year plans were being made for De Klerk to visit Israel, but these were put on hold following the outbreak of the Gulf war.

The plans were put on track again about a month ago when De Klerk addressed the Jewish Board of Deputies in Johannesburg.

BILLY PADDOCK

He spoke then of the thaw in relations between the two countries and said he hoped that these would be normalised in the near future.

At the same meeting, held before to Israel's invitation to De Klerk, SA Zionist Federation executive director Solly Sacks said that in view of the reforms government had initiated it was time for Israel to extend an invitation to De Klerk.

It is not known whether Sacks knew an invitation was in the pipeline, but De Klerk was invited shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday welcomed Israel's decision.

In a statement, he said the Israeli decision was in line with "decisions taken by the European Community as well as the US government and other governments worldwide".

A spokesman for Botha said Israel's four-year ban on new arms contracts remained in force despite persistent claims of military co-operation between the two countries.

When sanctions were imposed by Israel in 1987, the Israeli government undertook to honour all existing military contracts but refused to divulge what these were or the extent of the contracts.

SA 'on way to full democracy'

304A

Bl page 16/7/91

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA was well on its way to being a full democracy although it would be foolish to ignore differences between key groups, a spokesman for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) said in Pretoria yesterday.

The CPA mission, which completed a two-week fact-finding visit to SA last night, said it was convinced of the sincerity of President F W de Klerk.

CPA executive committee chairman and president of the legislative council of Western Australia Clive Griffiths told the media: "We are convinced the great majority of South Africans, regardless of race or colour, want a full parliamentary democracy with one person, one vote."

He said: "SA deserves the support of everyone in the Commonwealth to ensure President de Klerk reaches this goal as quickly as possible."

There were many difficulties to overcome, he said, including the unacceptable level of violence, but leaders were talking

to each other and progress was being made.

A report on the mission's findings would be submitted to the Commonwealth leaders summit in Harare in October.

De Klerk had assured the mission everything would be in place by 1994.

However, said Griffiths, the mission felt that every day that went by without multi-party talks placed the time scale in jeopardy.

The CPA urged all democratic groups to talk to each other and bring about a parliamentary democracy in SA.

De Klerk had suggested the CPA examine and comment on the Draft Constitution Bill and Bill of Rights when they had been prepared. This would be done.

Stressing the importance of education to the success of change, Griffiths said an educated electorate was a vital component in creating a new democratic SA.

EXPLICITLY or implicitly, the external constraints on SA's reconstruction that were subject to the craven perversity of the US Congress have fallen away. What looks like continued obstacles — the restrictions on access to the IMF and the US Export-Import (Exim) Bank, plus the much brouhaha-ed "sanctions" imposed by US state and local authorities — are obstacles only as long as South Africans choose to treat them as such.

If SA starts to get its economics and politics right, IMF and Exim financing will soon become available without any changes having to be made to US law. At the same time, state and local authorities will be obliged to issue waivers to their selective purchasing statutes (as some are already doing) if they wish to do business with established banks and suppliers. For, likely as not, those banks and suppliers will be doing business with SA.

SA's future is now, more than ever, in the hands of South Africans. Foreigners no longer provide any credible excuse or crutch for failure. Able leadership, moronic ideology and the self-inflicted wounds of the past are the only real sanctions left, and they are all homegrown.

It is up to government, in both its present and future manifestations, to take decisions and adopt policies that will let markets operate most efficiently to create and spread wealth on a sustainable basis. That, as the World Bank convincingly demonstrates in its latest annual world development report, will require a combination of sophistication, open-mindedness and courage not currently on great display among SA's ruling elites.

Foreign investment — the Cargo Cult of the 1990s as Francis Fukuyama has called it — is not going to save the day. Believing that is quite as puerile as the ANC's continued incantations on sanctions.

Renewed and healthy inflows of foreign capital and technology are indeed conditions for SA to achieve growth with equity, but they are not

SA's destiny is back in the hands of its own people

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SIMON BARBER in Washington

the only ones and are themselves conditional on much else besides: above all, a clear, credible and long-term commitment from SA's rulers, whoever they may be, to placing a higher priority on sound macro- and micro-economic management than on short-term political interest and advantage.

Investors, foreign and domestic, will be prepared to bet on SA's future — to risk present loss in expectation of future reward — if government is prepared to bet with them.

Government can bet in a number of ways. It can be fiscally responsible while allocating resources in areas — education, public health and infrastructure — that increase the efficiency of the marketplace. It can divest itself of all its politically expedient but economically unproductive encrustations, in particular its vast jobs-for-the-boys bureaucracy. State-owned enterprises can be returned to the private sector however much the political opposition screams. Price-distorting policies can be phased out: protection, subsidies, price controls, discriminatory tax structures, biased regulatory mechanisms and artificial exchange rates must all go.

Such steps require courage of an order as great, if not greater, than President F W de Klerk's agreement to negotiate the National Party out of exclusive power: racial socialism

has created a mighty array of entrenched interests and rent-seekers all of whom will inevitably suffer intense withdrawal symptoms when obliged to compete on a level playing field. Those wishing to take over the warm spot in the featherbed will have to be faced down, too.

Like apartheid itself, most of the distortions that continue to strangle the SA economy were imposed to make the marketplace do what it would not otherwise have done. Left to itself, the market would have punished the appalling Nat government through massive capital flight. Instead, businesses and banks simply did what they could: those in a position to withdraw their stakes did so, those that could not refused to wager any more capital, imposing on the country an embargo more devastating than any dreamt up in the US Congress. Between 1980 and 1989, according to the World Bank, gross domestic investment fell by 4.5% annually. Need more be said?

One of the reasons the IMF exists is to help countries make the transition from bad to good government by making available standby credits to restore the market's confidence while the restructuring process is under way. In SA's case, access to

such facilities, and the seal of approval it applies, will do several highly desirable things.

Most importantly, it will enable SA to re-tool and thus render more productive its stagnant economy. The certainty that the IMF stands ready to top up SA's foreign exchange balances will enable the Reserve Bank to release more dollars and Deutschmarks and pounds so that business can borrow and buy new machinery from abroad.

It will also make possible the scrapping of the two-tier exchange system and a reduction of the prohibitive tax on imported capital goods. Both have helped make SA's manufacturers uncompetitive in world markets and have thus crippled employment. Employers have been obliged to offset high capital costs by cutting labour ones.

Greater productivity will, in addition, help reduce inflation by restoring the balance between available goods and money supply. That in turn will enable an easing in interest rates and the effective tax they place on productive activity. Combined with good policy, the IMF can thus help SA move from a vicious economic cycle to a virtuous one.

However, the IMF cannot help if the government and its would-be replacements remain wedded to follies that the marketplace chastises. If the various parties cannot create a

climate for investment and regeneration, the IMF does not have it in its gift to do the job on their behalf. It cannot force investors to invest. It can assist only those who demonstrably wish to help themselves.

This is a far more important fact than the Gramm Amendment, which, ultimately, is only a restatement in American law of the IMF's own basic principles. It says, in effect, that the US should oppose any IMF assistance to SA until SA has met the preconditions the fund should have itself imposed had it done its job properly the last time SA came by for support in the early Eighties.

The IMF was not chartered as a cheap credit window for inherently losers. "A country practising apartheid", as SA is referred to in Gramm, is a country that self-evidently is not making the fundamental market-orientated reforms IMF credits are designed to facilitate.

That has now changed, irreversibly. All that remains is for SA to convince the IMF's largest shareholder, the US, that the change is irreversibly towards a goal whose attainment could usefully be supported by fund credits. In concrete terms, that means getting full-blown constitutional negotiations underway so the world may judge whether the new SA intends to govern itself sensibly.

Lest any have been carried away by recent events, let it be remembered that the jury is still very much out on that question. Good governments, one might note, do not as a rule empty their jails by way of ostentatious gesture. It demonstrates a rather terrifying lack of self-control.

Nonetheless, if the omens are decent, the Bush administration will quietly inform the IMF that it will back a commitment to provide standby credits to SA should they be asked for. The administration will be well within its rights to do this under the Gramm Amendment. It will entail no change in US law or even, until SA actively applies to make a drawing, any public statement.

The IMF will then pass word that its executive board is ready to be of service, and advise SA's financial authorities to start taking the necessary steps to reflate the economy.

'Hut squads' to crack down on illegal squatter camps

CAPE TOWN — In a major crackdown on illegal squatting, government has announced the immediate formation of a countrywide network of "hut squads" and a 24-hour hotline to assist rapid response units to nip squatter settlements in the bud.

Government yesterday also urged people to look out for emerging settlements and "to report any obviously illegal structures immediately to ensure that new squatting can be prevented in time".

The latest get-tough approach on the squatting problem will be aimed at squatters and landowners alike.

Announcing the Cape leg of the national initiative, MEC for urbanisation and squatters Koos Theron said: "These uncontrolled illegal activities will no longer be permitted."

"Steps will be taken in future to prevent illegal actions in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act."

The moves were immediately condemned by the ANC, which predicted they would "give further impetus to right-wing thuggery and encourage a national campaign of snooping by racists on the homeless".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "We totally reject this kind of action which will have the effect of criminalising citizens who are homeless largely because of the government's apartheid policies and economic mismanagement."

Theron said in his statement yesterday that the rights of landowners had increasingly been violated by squatters.

But he added that "some" landowners, who were responsible for preventing illegal building structures on their land and "obviously or otherwise allowing squatting on their properties."

In order to prevent and counter such trends, government had decided to institute immediately "squatting support units" at all provincial regional offices.

These units would provide "advice, support and guidance" to local authorities, land-owners and "anyone else" to counter illegal squatting.

The staff at the units would be vested with the power to enter private land and institute legal proceedings.

DP calls for affirmative action for women

THE DP would adopt a programme of "affirmative action" or positive discrimination for women if it came into power, according to a discussion paper released yesterday.

The paper, compiled by a group of largely women DP members, calls for a future government to embrace the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against women.

The convention advocates affirmative action "as a temporary measure"

to correct discrimination against women.

The paper calls either for a women's ministry or a women's desk to be set up in each government department. Women would also have to be protected from marital rape.

DP spokesman James Selfe said yesterday the paper would be discussed further before being presented to the party's national conference.

He said some of the proposals could change "quite a lot" before the conference, but that most of them were in line with thinking among rank-and-file party members.

The paper says that white, coloured and Indian women suffer less of a disadvantage than black women in SA, but that all women suffer from a societal imbalance that can be corrected by temporary affirmative action.

10	1058,41	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
15	1059,19	1060	2,8798	0,3475	3,1500	0,3257	1,7955	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
20	1060,41	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
25	1061,63	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
30	1062,85	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
35	1064,07	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
40	1065,29	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
45	1066,51	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
50	1067,73	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
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65	1071,39	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
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85	1076,27	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
90	1077,49	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
95	1078,71	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5
100	1079,93	1060	2,8773	0,3472	3,0700	0,3174	1,7928	4,7502	16,80	1077,5



National Health Minister Rina Venter, left, talks to German MP Ursula Männle, head of a delegation of 10 German women politicians, in Pretoria yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

German women parliamentarians visit SA

A DELEGATION of six senior German women parliamentarians on an eight-day visit to SA met some of the country's most prominent women yesterday.

The delegation held meetings with retired politician Helen Suzman, ANC Women's League president and deputy president Getrude Shope and Albertina Sisulu and National Health Minister Rina Venter.

The delegation also visited the maternity ward, the children's cancer ward and the emergency ward at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto.

A German Embassy spokesman said the delegation was in SA to study the role of women after apartheid and it would talk to a broad spectrum of women to find out what assistance Germans could offer. — Sapa.

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95% turnout, says the SADF

LINDEN BIRNS

THE SA Defence Force yesterday denied reports that less than half of this month's expected national service intake had reported for duty, and said more than 95% of conscripts had begun their year of service.

The denial followed several reports that at some bases less than 40 out of 800 conscripts had turned up. *81 day 16/7/91*

An SADF spokesman said yesterday more than 95% of the intake reported for duty, but that some of the recruits had not reached their bases as they were still in transit.

"We hope to have transported everyone to where they have been posted within the next few days," the spokesman said.

He added the July intake was about one-third the size of the January intake.

According to unconfirmed reports, instructors had been told only 14% of the total July national service intake had reported for duty, with many of those not reporting for duty under the belief that they could no longer be forced to serve following the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

In terms of the Defence Act, only white males are eligible for national service.

The SADF spokesman said the SADF regarded the Defence Act as binding, despite the scrapping of population registration.

Fingos ask FW to return land

304A

81 day 16/7/91
J BILLY PADDOCK

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu led a Fingo delegation in a meeting with President F W de Klerk yesterday at which the community appealed for the return of their land in the Tsitsikamma area.

Tutu, who arranged the meeting, said the delegation received a "very sympathetic hearing".

At a news conference afterwards, Tutu said De Klerk had told the delegation he was "solution-orientated".

The delegation, which included Port Elizabeth Anglican Bishop the Right Rev Bruce Evans, met De Klerk at the Union Buildings.

Listened

Tsitsikamma Exile Association general secretary Thobile Makamba said that in view of government's new proposals on land ownership "we had to act quickly so that we could regain our land. We wanted the existing government to make sure that it addresses the problems now ...".

He noted that a Supreme Court case challenging the government takeover of the land was pending.

De Klerk said in a statement he had listened carefully to the delegation's representations.

He "did not commit government to any specific decisions or actions but assured the delegation that careful consideration would be given to their

representations".

Tutu noted that De Klerk had been "under the legal constraint of the sub judice rule with the ... case coming up". However, the government delegation said it was "going to take very serious cognisance of what we proposed".

The community of about 5 000 Fingos were forcibly relocated to Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei in 1977.

The Tsitsikamma land was granted to them by the British government 150 years ago in appreciation of their support for colonial authorities in frontier wars against other Xhosa-speakers.

Nineteen white farmers now own 6 000ha of the 8 000ha tract of land. Government owns the remainder.

Tutu said the delegation had gone to underline four important points:

□ The land was trust land given to the Fingo people in the 19th century;
□ That in alienating the land and selling it, government did not follow even the prescriptions and procedures laid down in law;

□ The incredible suffering the people experienced as a result of the forced removal; and

□ That when the community was moved to Keiskammahoek, the people suffered as a result of unemployment, the infant mortality rate increased and there was starvation.

Worrall: Black/white government needed

Own Correspondent

304A

LONDON. — The first government of the "new" South Africa should be broad-based and include both black and white South Africans, Dr Denis Worrall told a group of British businessmen yesterday.

Speaking to representatives of some 50 UK companies, he said he believed a stable multi-party democracy in South Africa was possible.

He said the first "new" government would be faced with two dominant needs — to achieve stability and to increase economic development and create jobs.

"The threat to stability could come from both the left and the right, and for this reason it will be essential that the first government ... be broad-based and include both black and white South Africans."

"And, quite frankly, the presence of whites in the 'new' government is required also if the 'new' South Africa is to generate business confidence."

Call for CP to resign

JOHANNESBURG. — Boerestaat Party leader Mr. Robert van Tonder has issued a call to the Conservative Party to resign from Parliament.

"The CP is wasting its time in the Cape Parliament as nothing will now prevent blacks, Indians and coloureds from registering on the white voters' roll.

"They thus overwhelm by numbers, which means that the CP and the five other right-wing organisations put together could never gain the majority," he said in the BSP's newsletter, published this week. — Sapa

Helen Suzman takes issue with those who insist sanctions succeeded in ending apartheid

A cure sure to kill the patient

Star 17/7/91

304A

GETTING rid of the legacy of apartheid is not as simple as repealing legislation in Parliament. That can be done — as State President de Klerk has done — with the stroke of a pen. But it is considerably more difficult to establish a viable nonracial democracy to replace apartheid. To advocate maintaining sanctions on South Africa at this critical juncture is self-defeating and can only hinder the process of reform.

More than 50 percent of blacks in South Africa are under the age of 25. The vast majority have been subjected to inferior education and many are functionally illiterate. An estimated five million people (mostly black) are unemployed. Seven million people (almost all black) live in informal

settlements — a polite term for squatter camps and backyard shacks. Dire poverty, violence and crime are prevalent.

The salvation lies short term in massive state assistance (which is forthcoming) for education, training and housing. But long-term salvation lies in ongoing opportunities for gainful employment. This means substantial economic growth, now at its lowest ebb because of lack of confidence and shortage of investment capital and sanctions.

Those who claim triumphantly "sanctions have been effective in ending apartheid" ignore the fact that many non-cosmetic changes contributing to the breakdown of apartheid occurred before the imposition of sanctions. I refer to the repeal of job reservation in industry, to the legal recognition of black trade unions in 1979, to the acceptance of the permanent urbanisation of blacks by extending freehold rights and with the repeal of influx control and the pass laws in June 1986.

All these important changes were due to internal economic factors and not to sanctions. And they were due to the escalation of black resistance — mass protests, strikes and boycotts — in South Africa. I can never understand why blacks do not claim the credit of being largely responsible themselves for change, instead of attributing it to sanctions.

If sanctions have "worked" against apartheid, they have also had disastrous effects on the South African economy. The longer sanctions are maintained, the greater the danger of curing the disease but killing the patient.

President Bush has lifted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 but important strictures remain, such as denial of bank loans and access to IMF funds. To the ongoing policy implemented by some 26 states, 78 cities and 20 county governments of refusing to grant contracts to firms doing business with South Africa must be added the reluctance of institutions to invest their pension funds in such firms.

The pro-sanctions lobby should take a long, hard look at the history of the US. It is nearly 30 years since the US Civil Rights Bill, which outlawed race discrimination, was enacted. Black Americans remain an underclass, despite the considerable progress

made by many individuals, as the depressing statistics on black earning capacity, unemployment, illiteracy, one-parent families and the prison population bear witness. And, indeed, as do the Civil Rights (Quota) Bill now before Congress and the apparent continued necessity for the existence of a black caucus in that assembly. Does anyone really believe that the lot of black Americans would have been improved by a decrease in job opportunities and a downturn in the US economy?

Whether the pro-sanctions lobby here and abroad operates through moral convictions, misguided assumptions or expediency is immaterial — the effect can only be to delay the reform process and lead to the steady descent of South Africa into Third World chaos, irrespective of the government in power in the future.

I appreciate that to favour the removal of sanctions, one has to have faith in the sincerity of President de Klerk's intentions to convert South Africa into a non racial democracy. I have never considered him to be a frustrated liberal, but I have no doubt his acceptance (albeit late in the day) of the failure of apartheid is as genuine as the acceptance by eastern Europeans of the failure of the communist system.

I only wish I could say the same about the South African Communist Party. I wish too that the ANC would recognise the damage it does to its own future prospects by advocating continued sanctions on South Africa and by retaining its strong links with the SACP. □

MEDIA PUBLICATION

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The State Department is circulating a new plan for allocating the \$10m voted by Congress last year to promote democracy in SA.

Under the proposal, the ANC would receive \$4.5m, Inkatha \$2.5m, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) \$2m and the US National Endowment for Democracy \$1m.

Congressional staff members who have been briefed by the department say neither the ANC nor Inkatha would receive funds directly. Instead, the US Agency for International Development would purchase computers, fax machines and other equipment, but not vehicles, on their behalf.

Under the administration's original plan, the ANC was to receive \$3.73m, In-

US revamps \$10m 'democracy' plan

katha Freedom Party \$1m, and the Wits Centre for Policy Studies \$225 000, with the remainder going to a variety of US groups to run conferences, workshops and other projects in SA. This was blocked by conservatives opposed to direct funding of the ANC. *Blom 17/7/91*

The department hopes to be able to start implementing the new plan in about two weeks.

Republican critics were rallying opposition to the move on the grounds that the House had voted on June 10 to deny US assistance to any organisation "associated or affiliated" with the SACP.

DP Youth accuses ANC of 'haughty posturing'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party Youth has challenged the ANC's Youth League to respond to criticism of its stand on sanctions by arguing its case rationally, rather than by "haughty posturing".

Vice-chairman of the DP Youth Mr Colin Douglas was reacting to the ANC's angry response to an early DP statement accusing the movement of being "grossly irresponsible" in advocating sanctions.

Mr Douglas said: "It is unfortunate that the ANC Youth League chooses to counter our criticism with haughty posturing rather than rational argument."

18/7/91 "The DP Youth speaks out against the ANC's continued support for sanctions not because we wish to be offensive, but because the homeless, the unemployed and the poor desperately need an improvement in South Africa's dire economy, and that cannot take place unless foreign investment is encouraged immediately by all political leaders."

Mr Douglas said the ANC should accept that the time of "open, multiparty debate has arrived".

"The ANC Youth League should respond to our criticism by arguing the case for sanctions rather than taking offence and questioning our credentials."

STANLEY UYS, The Argus Foreign Service

THE scene is set for real negotiations — and major ANC compromises — if the government acts quickly to restore faith in its intentions, Mr Nelson Mandela disclosed today.

In an exclusive interview with The Argus — his first in-depth policy pronouncement since the landmark ANC conference this month — Mr Mandela made it clear the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues blocking the negotiation process.

He emphasised this depended on the government demonstrating its sincerity in resolving the principal obstacle of political violence and addressing the issues of prisoners, exiles, and political trials.



HAPPY BIRTHDAY: Mr Nelson Mandela turns 73 today — but it will be a normal working day as he will attend a meeting of the ANC's national executive committee which was adjourned yesterday. He said he was looking forward to his birthday. "We have been getting congratulations from all over. It gives one a lot of inspiration."

He did not demand conclusive resolution of these stumbling blocks but said there had been a distressing erosion of trust in President De Klerk's government.

This could be redressed by meaningful gestures by Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would —

- Not delay constitutional negotiations because an interim government had not been agreed on, or if the "Patriotic Front" meeting of anti-apartheid forces did not reach consensus. "Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations. We are going on with negotiations".

- Be completely distinct from the Communist Party once apartheid was removed. The SACP would "take their own line ... which we will not follow."

- Tell the business community the ANC was not "dogmatically attached to nationalisation or state intervention" and had "perhaps overstressed" these issues in the past.

- Favour minority representation in future governmental structures: "For example, the whites must (be able to say): 'There is Gerrit Viljoen — I have got representation there'."

- Consider "very carefully how the principle of one person one vote should be applied in the light of (the South African) situation, especially in the first few years of democratic government."

- Avoid groups such as Inkatha feeling sidelined: "We must involve them."

- Learn from the mistakes of countries like Mozambique and Angola which were "reduced to ashes" because they "did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era".

Crucial to ANC flexibility is the restoration of mutual confidence between the ANC and the government, said Mr Mandela.

He made clear the ANC's conviction that government actions — or the refusal to take action — had eroded the feeling of mutual trust which had existed when the ANC leader was released from prison.

Expressed disappointment

The government's inability to stop the township violence in particular "has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build. I would like to think that there are people undermining (President De Klerk) because I think he is too honest to play this kind of game.

"But my problem is that he has not been able to use his capacity to put an end to the violence so that we can move forward."

President De Klerk had to ensure that he was seen as being on the side of those who were fighting against the violence, Mr Mandela implied.

He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush's lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. The ANC favoured the lifting of sanctions once the government had demonstrated its goodwill in overcoming obstacles and ensuring that once laws were repealed, blacks were given the opportunity to enjoy the resulting benefits.

● Interview, page 19.

Mandela: ANC will be flexible

But compromise only if government restores faith

CT 12/7/91

Recent comments by the executive director of IDASA, Dr ALEX BORAINÉ, on the ANC-SACP relationship, have attracted widespread attention. Here is the full text of what he said in an editorial in the IDASA journal, *Democracy in Action*.

OLIVER TAMBO, in his opening address at the recent ANC conference, high-lighted again the organisation's "proud record of struggle against apartheid". However, the real question facing the conference delegates was whether or not the ANC had the potential for government!

This is a question which the newly elected ANC president, Nelson Mandela, sought to answer. His speech, which was in large measure enthusiastically supported by delegates — not only at the time of delivery but in the deliberations which followed — gave a more convincing answer than South Africans had heard thus far from the ANC.

A party that is "ready for government" must be prepared to negotiate, must look well beyond the present obstacles, must be prepared to fight in a free and fair election, must have the appropriate machine (organisation) in order to fight that election and must have a base which is representative of all South Africans rather than only one part thereof.

It would be fair to say that Mr Mandela, in his speech, met all those requirements of a party that is ready for government.

It is clear that the commitment is there but a very long, hard road lies ahead. The election of a person of the calibre of Cyril Ramaphosa as

Challenges lie ahead for ANC and government

secretary-general of the ANC gives further encouragement.

There are two major problems which the ANC is going to have to come to terms with if they are going to be successful in presenting "a consistent voice" and a "clear vision" which will meet the many fears which still exist, not only among white, coloured and Indian people, but among many blacks as well.

Separate identities

You don't have to be a supporter of the "red under every bed" brigade to have misgivings about the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The recent collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe makes it difficult for many South Africans to understand why there is the continuing strong identification between the ANC and the SACP.

The SACP should never have been banned and it was right that it was unbanned at the same time as the ANC, PAC, UDF and so on. But it has a very clear economic position which supports socialism.

The Communist Party in many parts of the world has had a dismal history and it would do the ANC a great service



THE LEADERS: Many ANC supporters want to be clear whether they are also supporting the policies of the SACP; while to convince the majority that it means what it says, the government has to show negotiations are worthwhile.

if these two groupings were separate with distinguishable identities.

In a word, there are many who are inclined to support the ANC but they want to be clear that by supporting the ANC they are not at one and the same time supporting the policies and the practices of the SACP.

Another problem

which is going to face the ANC is the need for greater clarity concerning the activities and the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

State initiative

It is readily appreciated by anyone who understands the history of South Africa that MK is part of that historic reality.

Many of its members will play a role and in many instances a significant role, in the future defence force and police force.

The real problem is to know what their current role is. It is particularly important because of the grim cycle of violence which has gripped South Africa in the last few years. That the ANC has its military wing could well give other parties and groupings excuses to have their own "private armies".

Meanwhile the other major actor in the unfolding drama is obviously the South African government.

President De Klerk, like Mr Mandela, has given bold and courageous leadership. But the current government also has its problems.

First, there is a continuing belief among many blacks that the security forces are playing a role in the current violence, through the sins of either omission or commission. President De Klerk has not yet satisfactorily clarified the recurring questions surrounding violence and the State.

Second, it would appear that the government has yet to learn that when it apparently waits to be pressurised into action, the only message it gives to the ANC and other organisations is that they will never get anything significant or worthwhile unless they adopt continued pressure and mass action.

If the government is to convince the vast majority of South Africans that it means what it says, it has to take far greater initiative which will persuade the dispossessed, the poverty-stricken, the homeless and the jobless that negotiations are worthwhile and worthy of active support.

Anglo American Property Services (Ampros) director Peter Gardiner appears to be poking ANC Youth League spokesman Parks Mankahlana in the eye at the start of an Anglo-sponsored debate yesterday. The debate — on SA's economic future — was between Mankahlana and Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza, left.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

'Distortions' cause MP to cancel trip to US

DP MP for Umhlanga Kobus Jordaan yesterday turned down a free trip to the US because of the Bush administration's "distortion of the realities in SA".

In a statement Jordaan said he had been invited by US ambassador William Swing last year to visit on an international visitor grant from the US Information Service (USIS). He was to leave later this month.

But because of statements by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, in particular, he had to reconsider the invitation.

Cohen said last week that "(the US) has seen no evidence that South African government entities are supporting black-on-black violence" when explaining the US's decision to lift sanctions.

Jordaan said: "Any serious student of SA politics will reject this statement with the derision and contempt it deserves."

Although he was not suggesting President F W de Klerk was party to the "present destabilisation of black politics" he believed that De Klerk's position had been weakened by the violence which had

"strengthened the hands of the hard men in the political and security establishment".

With regard to Cohen's remark that the US administration felt all political prisoners or prisoners of conscience had been released, Jordaan said the US definition of a political prisoner differed from that agreed to by the ANC and government.

Jordaan said Cohen's statement that government appeared to be honestly and genuinely committed to creating a non-racial democracy could have been true in the latter part of 1990 but no longer.

Of late there had been signs from government politicians and supporting media that they had decided "under pressure from the security establishment" and from opinion polls, to go for a competitive transition in alliance with other "moderates".

USIS public affairs counsellor Kent Obee said he regretted Jordaan's decision but the embassy was not going to enter into an argument with him.

BILLY PADDOCK

Magistrate tells of impact of...

The battle for Washington isn't over yet, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

ANC Survives Bushwhackings

Star 18/7/91

304A

ONE can picture the scene quite vividly. A telephone rings in the Soweto home of Nelson Mandela. The ANC president picks it up himself. It is a transatlantic call: "Nelson? Hi bud, George here. I'm shuffling you. Just wanted you to be the first to know."

That, of course, is not the way in which the content of US President George Bush's momentous call to the ANC leader was reported to us, but it captures its political essence infinitely more accurately than endless explanations framed in diplo-speak.

Behind the legalisms and "spin control" interventions emanating from Washington in the wake of the lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act lies a stark fact of political life: on this issue, the ANC was Bushwhacked.

Mr Mandela and his senior colleagues had for some time drawn succour from the belief that the United States, at least, would not lift sanctions until the last moment. Because of the strict legal and constitutional constraints attending American measures, it was argued, the ANC's demand for full consultation would be acceded to. In the end, as the tele-

phone call proved, it was not the kind of "consultation" Mr Mandela had in mind.

But now that the body blow has been absorbed — in markedly gracious fashion by the ANC, it must be noted — the new nature of the relationship between the US and the ANC can begin to be assessed.

It might have seemed, in the immediate aftermath of President Bush's White House media conference last week (and in particular in his extemporé answers to questions) that Washington was coming down very strongly on the side of the Pretoria Government in the run-up to substantive negotiations in South Africa. At that conference President Bush was insistent that sanctions had played only a minor role in bringing this country to the point of a negotiated settlement.

Twice, when pressed, he gave the lion's share of the credit for change to President de Klerk. "I think what really turned the difference is when South Africa came in with a new regime and they decided to move forward. I don't think it was strictly because they wanted to get rid of two sanctions while others remained." And: "I can only point to the

real change in South Africa taking place because of Mr de Klerk himself and some of his associates who have a very different approach to equity in race and to the elimination of apartheid than his predecessors."

And again: "I can't say that sanctions had no effect, but I think far more important was the fact that you had a forward-looking man of Mr de Klerk's stature, who released Mr Mandela from jail and decided to go forward in consultation. And I can't say that Mr de Klerk did that because of economic sanctions."

In a follow-up interview, Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen presented a more balanced view, crediting all anti-apartheid campaigners with having changed the psyche of the white power bloc, and stressing that a number of important US sanctions remained in place despite the demise of the CAAA. While not suggesting that these survived on the say-so of the ANC, he did intimate that Washington had not yet decided to give President de Klerk a free ride home. For this and other reasons, it would be unwise to assume that the ANC's leverage in the sphere of international

pressure — and, in particular, US pressure — has disappeared entirely.

The sanctions and isolation weapon has undoubtedly been blunted. But ANC leaders will be well pleased with themselves for having modified timeously their policies on the issue at the recent Durban conference — which preceded the Bush announcement. At the time it may not have been of much interest to non-affiliados of ANC pronouncements, but the terminological contortions there performed have enabled the ANC to swallow Bush's bitter pill without gagging.

The sequence of events is important. Last year, after the unbanning of the ANC, the organisation's "line" was that sanctions should in no way be tampered with until Mr Mandela explicitly concurred. This was followed by a heart-stopping few months for the organisation as many countries — especially African countries — began to wobble precipitously and gaze hungrily at the reservoir of funds down south.

At this point international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki looked beyond the Limpopo and across the Atlantic, and saw the writing on

the wall in very large letters. At the ANC's "consultative conference" in December he fashioned a strategy for the "phased removal" of sanctions to make sure that the ANC retained at least some control of the weapon it had created. He was savaged for his pains by militant delegates. Thus everything stayed the same into 1991 — until Durban, when Mbeki shepherded through a "policy of 'phased maintenance' of sanctions (a very sophisticated inversion) which addressed his original concerns, but kept the militants happy too."

Thus the ANC's position remains plausible, and there is still room for business to be done with Washington. The arms embargo remains, as do the locks on the doors of the International Monetary Fund's vaults. Had the ANC still been stuck with its "all or nothing" dictum, the Government's significant diplomatic victory could have turned into a decisive one.

The ANC's claims of consistency and coherence in sanctions policy may not entirely stand up to rigorous scrutiny. But, then again, this is politics, and we do have a National Party that claims it has

been planning the De Klerk reforms all along. It should not be of too much concern if political groups try to read history backwards in order to feel better — and to make their supporters feel better — about themselves. Indeed, this is probably a necessary condition for quick progress in negotiations.

The Government, with the possible exception of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, seems to have recognised this. National Party leaders have resisted the temptation to rub the ANC's nose in the CAAA defeat.

Mr Cohen, who is an astute politician domestically as well as internationally, has let it be known to US pressure groups like the Black Caucus that Washington is not giving President de Klerk carte blanche; some firepower is being retained in case Pretoria should become too pleased with its own triumphs, and consider reneging on earlier undertakings. The ANC will — and, indeed, has already begun to — fall back on residual measures unaffected by the CAAA. President de Klerk's forces have not yet occupied Washington. □

SA pays R5,8-m to lobbyists

Star 18/7/91

304A

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — According to Justice Department records, the South African Government has paid about \$2 million (R5,8 million) in the past year to a small group of lobbyists whose principal task has been to persuade the White House and Congress to abandon sanctions.

The records, which must be filed at regular intervals in terms of the Foreign Agents Act, show that South African Government money also went to the election campaign funds of US politicians who were thought to be sympathetic to the Government and its policies.

Detailed

Eleven companies were registered as "agents" working on behalf of the South African Government, and some were paid almost \$500 000 (about R1,4 million) for their work. Detailed accounts show that expensive dinners and luncheons were paid for in some of Washington's most luxurious restaurants.

The best known South African lobbyist is John Sears, whose brilliant running of former President Ronald Reagan's election campaign won him much admiration — and influence — in Washington.

Mr Sears, whose fee is \$360 000 (about R1 million) plus expenses, also reports in his Justice Department declaration that he hosted expensive luncheons in pursuit of his South African brief.

But the big earner who did much hard legwork on sanctions was the discreet firm of Riley and

Fox, which was paid nearly \$500 000 for the year to lobby big business and Congress on sanctions.

The firm also arranged a wide variety of meetings between visiting South African politicians, businessmen and officials and movers on Capitol Hill.

According to congressional aides, however, the bulk of the work to get sanctions lifted was done by the SA embassy.

Praise

Its staff was described as dedicated and tireless, and was said to have been working "18-hour days, seven days a week" for several months on sanctions.

There was special praise, too, for the ambassador, Harry Schwarz, who has dazzled Capitol Hill with an energetic campaign aimed at making contact with a whole range of congressmen and congressional advisers who had been abandoned as lost causes by previous ambassadors.

But, in contrast with the huge expenditure to help get sanctions lifted and generally facilitate the South African Government's cause in Washington, is the perpetrator of most of Pretoria's problems here — the small upstairs office of the ANC on a noisy street in the heart of the city's most crime-ridden neighbourhood. The four-member staff has no assistance from lobbyists, operates on a shoestring budget, and takes guests to lunch at a corner eatery.

In fairness, it must be said that almost all foreign governments employ lobbyists of some sort or another in Washington. Lobbyists have, indeed, become a necessary evil.

'Army behind SA violence'

Security police funding Inkatha — new claim

ALAN DUNN and KIM HELFRICH
The Argus Correspondent

OPPOSITION MPs today called for immediate judicial inquiries into allegations that a crack South African Defence Force unit has been behind much of the killing and destruction in the townships and that security police, funded Inkatha.

A former army sergeant has surfaced to claim that members of Five Reconnaissance Regiment, a branch of the SADF's special forces which operates clandestinely, were responsible for the massacre on a Soweto-bound train on September 13 last year in which 26 people were shot or hacked to death by silent attackers.

He has charged that soldiers are still secretly operating on the Witwatersrand and took part in the violence which has plagued Natal.

The allegations were published separately in the *The Independent of London* and the *Weekly Mail*.

The report in the *Weekly Mail* said security police gave Inkatha R250 000 for public rallies as part of a strategy to bolster it against the African National Congress.

An SADF spokesman said today in an initial response that the allegations had no substance.

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said police would react "at a suitable opportunity".

Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, Democratic Party MP for Walmer and former Air Force chief, said there should be an immediate judicial inquiry into these fresh claims of SADF involvement in township slaughter.

"We are relying heavily on the security forces to establish a peaceful environment in which people can talk to each other about ... the new South Africa. To do this, the security forces must have credibility. They must be trusted, this is essential.

It was also no longer credible "having the security force investigating the security force", he said.

On the alleged funding of Inkatha, Dr Zac de Beer MP, leader of the DP, said: "One does not have to belong to any political group to be shocked by the revelations that the government doles out large quantities of taxpayers' money to political groups they decide to support from time to time."

It was inexcusable that the security police should meddle in the country's political affairs and an inquiry should be implemented immediately, said Dr De Beer.

According to today's report, the *Weekly Mail* is in possession of internal security documents, receipts and bank deposit slips showing amounts of up to R250 000 were paid into an Inkatha bank account by police.

This allegedly was used for organising rallies and other anti-ANC activities shortly after its unbanning and Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison in February last year.

One rally, allegedly paid for by the SAP, was at King's Park in Durban on March 25 last year.

These and other allegations, including one which says that Inkatha leader and Chief Minister of KwaZulu Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a senior security officer in Natal discussed ways to whittle down support for the ANC in Natal, are contained in a security police memorandum marked "Top secret".

It was allegedly written by Major Louis Botha, senior officer in the Durban regional security police on February 13 1990.

In it he asked for R120 000 because it was of "cardinal importance" that arrangements were made for a massive turnout at an Inkatha rally "to show everyone that he (Buthelezi) has a strong base".

"It should also be accepted that Inkatha does not have the financial means to arrange such a gathering. The consequences of this rally failing will have far-reaching implications for Buthelezi and the RSA," Major Botha allegedly wrote.

The cash was paid into a Durban bank account in Inkatha's name 10 days before the rally last year. Similar evidence indicates another payment of R100 000 to finance an earlier rally in November 1989, addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The rally was followed by

(Cont on page 2, col 3)

New hit squad claims

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254 118 (Cont from page 1) ~~ARG~~ 19/7/91

some of the bloodiest conflict seen in the Maritzburg area, including a planned invasion of Edendale by Inkatha-supporting impis.

Other allegations refer to the return of certain PAC exiles and the possible lack of support for Dr Buthelezi from certain of his cabinet ministers.

The Independent newspaper of London, in reports from its Johannesburg-based correspondent, said the former sergeant, Mr Felix Isaias Ndimene, 32, alleged yesterday from a safe house in Johannesburg that his white commanding officers started holding weekly "political meetings" after February last year. The message conveyed was that the ANC was "still the enemy".

"Our leaders used to say we are not going to fight the same war we fight in Angola. We fight a different war, so we started new training in urban warfare," said Mr Ndimene.

The participants in the train massacre — "my friends" — had told him what had happened "in the tea room" after they returned to Five Recce's base in Phalaborwa, in South Africa's north-eastern corner.

"They got on the train with pangas and AK-47s and they were using the name of Inkatha. They shot the people and killed them with the AK-47s. They say they were not allowed to speak during that attack because most of them were Namibian and could not speak Zulu."

A spokesman for the SADF said last night that the regiment was a highly professional unit which did not operate in the manner alleged. He said earlier claims about a "third force" had been found to be untrue.

Mr Ndimene said he served from 1983 to January 31 this year in Five Recce. He said about 120 Five Recce soldiers had been involved in operations in the last year in the Johannesburg area and in Natal.

He said he had received information from his friends in Five Recce after leaving the regiment — he remained in Phalaborwa after resigning — that they had taken part in attacks in Alexandra township, Johannesburg and Maritzburg.

"People, who went to Natal in March, came back in June and told me they were tired of killing children and women."

Mr Ndimene said he received information in February that the violence was going to start in Alexandra in March and it happened.

"They killed people in the Alexandra hostels with AK-47's," he said, adding that members of One, Two and Three Commandos of Five Recce were still operating out of Johannesburg and Pretoria.

He also gave the names of a colonel, a commandant and a sergeant-major who delivered the weekly "political meetings" and the names of six soldiers who took part in the train massacre.

As is well known to military experts, and Mr Ndimene confirmed, Five Recce is a multi-national — effectively mercenary — regiment. He said that among the nationalities in the 360-strong regiment were Mozambicans, Namibians, Zambians, Zaireans, Zimbabweans, Australians and Irish.

Getting set for the UN ⁽³⁰⁴¹⁾once again

MICHAEL MORRIS ^{Ar 28/19/1}
Political Correspondent

THIS year's session of the UN General Assembly could be the last from which South Africa is excluded, but the timing of re-entry to the premier forum of world politics, possibly next year, will be cautiously assessed.

Relations with the UN secretariat and accredited diplomats from a widening circle of nations have improved steadily since last year.

Another boost could flow from the visit of a UN fact-finding delegation to South Africa early next month — the second such visit in just over a year.

The delegation's findings will probably form the basis of secretary general Xavier Perez de Cuellar's report on South Africa, due in September.

Diplomats hope 1991 will see the General Assembly more seriously re-assessing its relations with South Africa, and bringing an end to "name-calling", for instance.

In fact, South Africa has reached a position where actually taking its seat in the General Assembly — from which it was ejected in 1974 — is not necessarily a foreign affairs priority.

But, when the time is right, the government will want the move to go smoothly.

As one senior South African diplomat put it: "We want it to be done to general acclamation, rather than controversy."

Some States would still resist South Africa's resuming its place in the Assembly.

"They could make a great nuisance of themselves and the fact is that it does not serve our purpose to have that kind



HOW soon will South Africa be back in these United Nations halls?

of controversy in a situation that at this stage is already going quite reasonably."

The diplomat said that South Africa — freed of the "baggage of the past" ... the Namibian question and apartheid particularly — would be able to return to the Assembly as "a positive and aggressive player in global politics".

He added: "So it is up to us to decide when to go back."

"By and large, we have reached the stage where many people are expecting us to come back, but the question is whether we have moved the organisation to a position where we could go back without controversy. It is probably too early for that."

"Do we need to worry about it now? After all, we have a presence there, we participate in lobby activities where most of the negotiation is done and we can submit letters stating the government's view on various matters. Our presence is a palpable fact."

Another touchy matter will directly influence the timing and nature of the resumption of full UN participation: South Africa's outstanding dues to the UN, now standing at about R150-million.

Despite the expulsion from the General Assembly in 1974, South Africa has remained a member of the UN and is being held liable for fees for all this time.

South Africa, however, will contest the sum. The diplomat said: "We say we do not owe because we have not been able to exercise our full rights."

"Between these two extremes probably lies the answer. That would need to be negotiated," he said.

That task will fall to South Africa's new ambassador to the UN, Mr Derek Auret — he takes up his post next month, replacing Mr Jeremy Shearar. Significantly, Mr Auret was a junior member of the delegation ousted from the Assembly in 1974.

'Voteless ambassador'

Agus 19/7/91

304A

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE of the Political Staff talks to Mr Conrad Sidego, South Africa's new "voteless" ambassador to Denmark

IF the Danish were ignorant, they would think South Africa's new ambassador to Copenhagen was an unusually well-tanned Afrikaner.

Conrad Sidego, 45, is as Afrikaners as melktert. He speaks his home language with a typical Boland accent; he loves potjiekos; he was editor of Rapport Extra, the Sunday newspaper's "coloured" edition, for six years.

Yet he has never cast a parliamentary vote. He still wonders what the inside of Tulbagh's public library looks like.

He walked a total of eight kilometres to school every day while a bus picked up the white kids in front of his parents' humble house to take them to their school.

For days after joining Die Burger in 1971 as the Nationalist newspaper's first non-white journalist, he used Cape Town's Grand Parade as a toilet "because I felt as uncomfortable as they did" about using the same facilities.

He cried when he had to register his sons as "Coloured" under the now-defunct Population Registration Act.

Yet, he does not dwell on apartheid's ugly history.

"There would be much to be bitter about if I wanted to be bitter. But what would it help?

"My mother has been my source of inspiration. She was the daughter of a farm labourer and a domestic worker. But she escaped farm life and became a teacher, married to a bricklayer.

"She vowed that her six children would get a high school education. We often ate pap but we all completed high school.

"My mother refused to be a victim of apartheid. I refused too. If she could escape from a farm where her mother worked for the *miesies* in the kitchen, I have the responsibility to carry forward that spirit."

He believes that political change has become irreversible.

"The legacy of apartheid is still there. My 79-year-old father gets an inferior pension because of his skin colour.

"I could have said I want to sit back and wait for him to get an equal pension. But the time has come for ordinary South Africans to take matters into their own hands. We must all join in mopping up the political mess.

"If blacks still say change is not irreversible, they demonstrate a lack of faith in their own abilities. With political arrogance, we must say it has become irreversible.

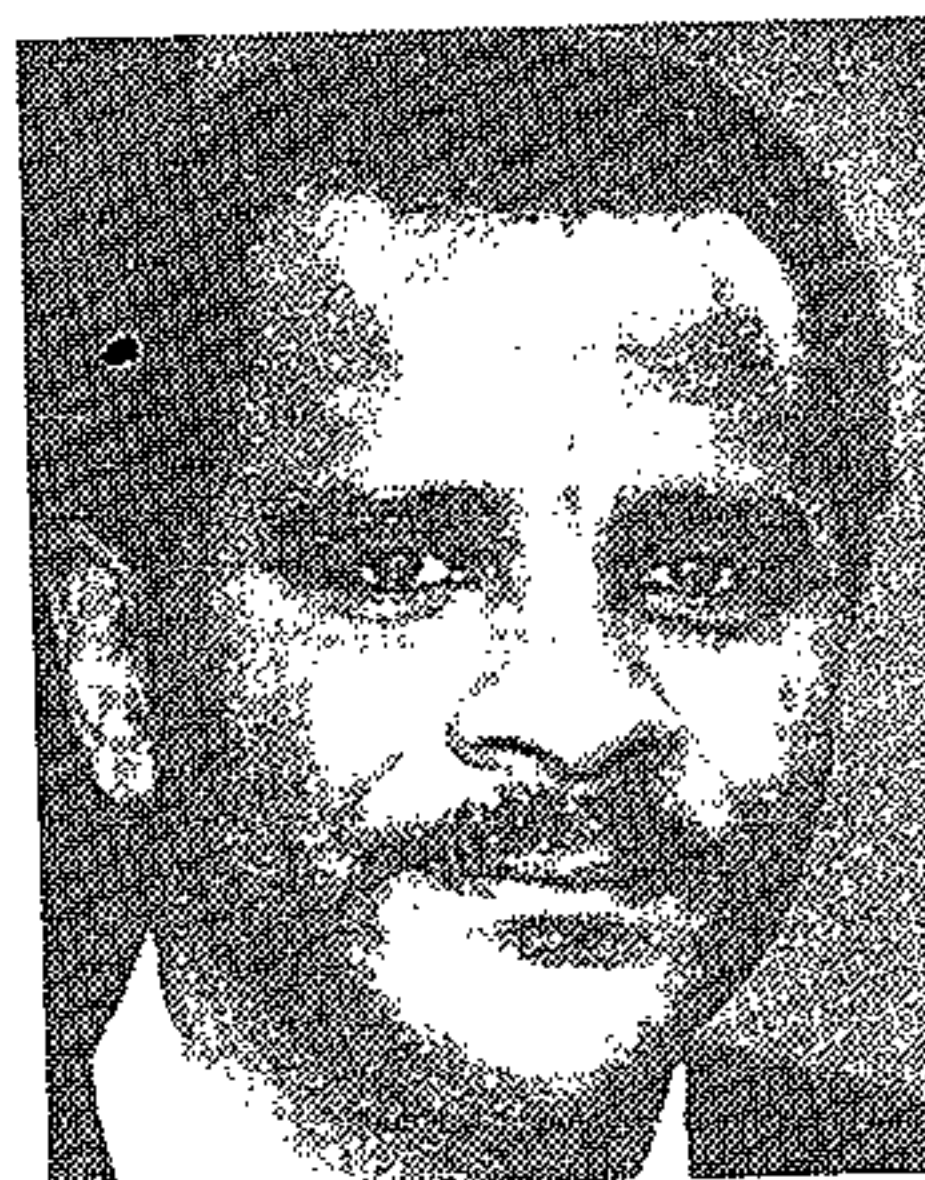
"We all talk of the legacy of apartheid. Let's be honest and call it by its real name: the corpse of apartheid. It is up to all of us to decide whether apartheid will have an expensive funeral. We have to get the corpse into the ground."

Conrad has always been a pioneer, with many firsts on his CV. He refused to be tied down by convention.

"I had to make it happen for myself. If I didn't, I would still be drying apricots on a Tulbagh farm like I used to do during my school holidays."

Despite having excelled in many fields, he humbly describes himself as a *kaalvoet klonkie van die Boland* (barefoot boy from the Boland).

In 1987, he and his wife, Amy, took the plunge by ex-



Mr Conrad Sidego

changing Table Mountain for Johannesburg's gold dumps. Conrad set aside his journalist's pen for a top public relations job in Anglo American.

Now the manager of Anglo's corporate communications department, who lives in Houghton, is ready to again break new ground by becoming a diplomat.

The decision was not easy.

"When Foreign Affairs first contacted me about three months ago, I felt honoured. But I was immediately confronted with the political reality.

"In a normal society it would have been exciting. But this is not a normal society. I consulted widely, and the message from all quarters was that I was hyper sensitive, that the job depends on what I make of it.

"I have the extra benefit that I have no party-political affiliation. At least in that regard I am un-coloured," he laughs heartily.

Even a Conservative Party friend phoned to congratulate him on his appointment as ambassador to Denmark.

"We met at a business course. Funny enough, we

clicked because we are both Afrikaners. Anyway, he said my job will be safe for about three years. When the CP takes over, they might have to replace me." That infectious laugh again.

He has always kept a bird's eye view of party-politics, and refused to be drawn into political ideology.

There's been one exception, though.

"When the Labour Party was formed — you must remember that was the equivalent of the UDF at the time, a mechanism for the voiceless against apartheid — I as a young teacher got involved in the local effort. It was either that or throwing bombs. And I didn't have the stomach for that. Maybe I was too cowardly, but then, it wasn't my style."

Yet, he has never voted for the House of Representatives. He wanted to be independent as a journalist and editor. Today, he can look each and every politician in the eye.

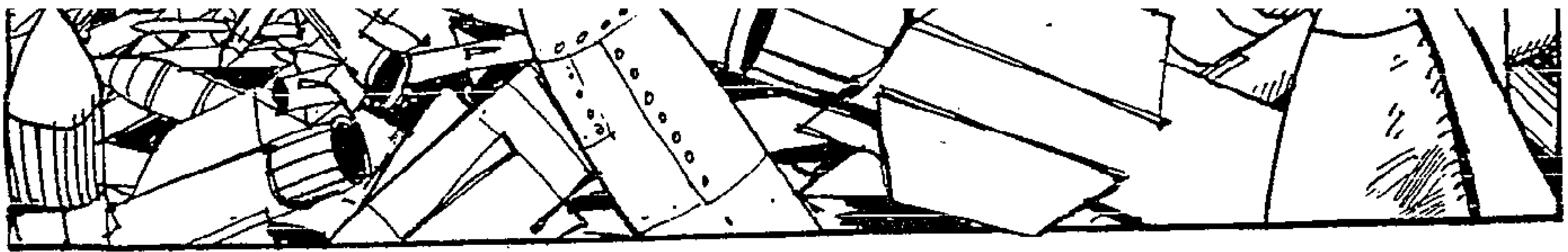
But more importantly, he refused to cast an inferior vote. He is still saving that privilege for the day he can vote responsibly, democratically, as a fully-fledged South African.

Conrad says he will represent a country and not a party.

One undertaking he vows to keep is to make contact with South African exiles living in the Scandinavian country.

"They will have a voteless ambassador. There won't be any need to fight with me — we are fighting the same system.

"Emotionally I understand their anger and fears. But I will also have a foot in Foreign Affairs which will enable me to try and change the wrongs from the inside."



A visit to America is no longer on the cards

W/mail 19/7-25/7/91

AMBASSADOR Bill Swing invited me last September, on behalf of the United States government, to visit the US. All arrangements were finalised and I was supposed to leave for the US on July 26 1991.

Unfortunately, I had to reconsider my acceptance of the invitation as a result of statements made by the US administration in providing details of the decision of President George Bush to lift sanctions imposed by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) of 1986.

In answer to a question whether the US was satisfied that the South African government was in no way involved in perpetrating black-on-black violence, Assistant Secretary General Herman Cohen said: "We have looked at all of the accusations. We have deployed our own resources to find out. We have seen no evidence that the South African government entities are supporting black-on-black violence. This does not exclude the activities of private citizens which we're not aware of. But we have seen no evidence that the government entities are doing anything in that line."

Any serious student of South African politics will reject this statement with the derision and contempt it deserves.

I do not for one moment suggest that President FW de Klerk is party to the present destabilisation of black politics. In fact, I believe his position has been weakened by the black-on-black violence, which has strengthened the hands of the hard men in the political and security establishment. There is no doubt whatsoever that members of the security forces have actively encouraged the violence. Whether this is done with the knowledge of some members of the cabinet is not clear.

Acting on hard evidence and sound information, I put a series of questions in parliament to the state president and other ministers regarding state assistance to system political groups and parties. All these questions were evaded with replies that it was not in the interest of state security to divulge the information. The same approach was originally followed by the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

The Swanieville massacre is a case in point. Excellent reports on state involvement have appeared in *Africa Confidential* and *The Independent*. It smacks of the situation in the mid-1970s, when any involvement in Angola was denied by all and sundry but was common knowledge to

KOBUS JORDAAN, the Democratic Party's MP for Umhlanga, explains why in the light of explanations for the lifting of sanctions, he feels compelled to reject an invitation to visit the United States

overseas journalists and agencies.

The second statement by the US administration was: "We feel that all political prisoners or prisoners of conscience are now out of prison." The South African government was requested, however, to put pressure on the government of Bophuthatswana to release its political prisoners.

This request is inexplicable. Apart from the fact that the US does not recognise Bophuthatswana, a large proportion of those prisoners are there as a result of the South African government's direct intervention in the attempted coup to overthrow the Mangope government.

The third statement was to the effect that "the South African government appears to be honestly and genuinely committed to creating a non-racial democracy in South Africa".

If this statement was made during the latter half of 1990, one would have been inclined to agree with it. Of late, however, there have been disturbing signs from government politicians that they have decided, under pressure from inter alia the security establishment and security-orientated members of the cabinet, to go for a competitive transition in alliance with other "moderates". This most probably explains the attitude of "we need the ANC to legitimise the negotiation process leading to the new constitution, but unless they dump the Communist Party fairly soon, we shall crush them".

I believe it is in the interest of all to allow the ANC to be built up as a strong, and hopefully adaptable, organisation that will be prepared to compromise during negotiations. Their recent congress showed extremely hopeful signs in this respect. Any compromise reached with organisations and parties which are perceived in the eyes of a major portion of the population not to be representative, despite possible acceptance by the outside world, will almost certainly lead to a new round of repression, albeit in a different guise.

The "pact mentality" of the National Party

(NP) is vividly illustrated in its employing a facade of legality by pushing legislation through parliament to broaden decision-making during transition, as borne out by measures such as the Bill on interim local government and the development aid amendment Bill. Such an arrangement will be non-racial, but definitely not democratic nor legitimate. All interim structures should be the result of negotiation with all parties.

Lest I be misunderstood, I have to state categorically that I fully support President Bush's decision to lift sanctions imposed by the CAAA.

It cannot be denied that sanctions did play a role in forcing the South African government's hand in accelerating the process towards inclusive democratic government. In the process, sanctions hurt the deprived and voteless communities to a far greater extent than the privileged minority. What hurt these communities, as well as other South Africans, even more were homegrown, abject economic and political policies and ideologies which discouraged both internal and external investment. This can only be rectified by South Africans themselves in demonstrating to all and sundry that we can govern ourselves sensibly.

Foreign governments should at all times attempt to enhance the process towards "sensible" government — which in turn would lead to the eventual provision of housing and educational needs and the provision of employment for everyone.

Against this backdrop the abovementioned statements should be evaluated. One gets the impression that the US administration has lost its way in understanding the present political situation in South Africa.

It is essential for the NP and the ANC to stop undermining each other and scoring petty debating points against one another. They must truly put South Africa and all its people first. The same applies to all other parties — both inside our country as well as abroad. It is essential for outsiders to scrupulously refrain from taking sides. The possibility of damaging the process of negotiation by giving the NP and its allies a false sense of security is indeed real.

As much as I would have loved to visit the US and share my dreams and ideals for my country with the American people, my conscience does not allow me to accept US state funds as long as the present administration continues distorting the realities in South Africa. I have no option, therefore, but to pull out of my proposed visit.

Star 19/7/91 (304A)

Nats attend Inkatha indaba

The National Party will send a delegation to the Inkatha Freedom Party's annual conference at Ulundi from today, it was announced yesterday.

The delegation will comprise Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, his deputy Rolf Meyer, and the secretary of the NP's

federal council, Renier Schoeman.

"It will be the first time that the NP has been represented at this conference," said a statement.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address the conference tomorrow. — Political Reporter.

THE WHITE RIGHT

STOKING THE FIRES

FM 19/7/91
304A

A leading Conservative Party MP says he will go to jail rather than divulge the names of rightwingers who have threatened to harm physically the country's first black stationmaster.

This threat of violence was passed on to Spoornet by Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley. He says it is in reaction to the appointment of M S Tsibalo to the Waterpoort station, near Louis Trichardt, where he will be in charge of about seven white Spoornet workers.

This is the first time a senior CP MP has indicated that he would rather accept a jail sentence than help the police arrest rightwingers who have incited or committed acts of violence.

Langley is the CP spokesman on foreign affairs. The FM spoke to him on Monday after he and a CP delegation had talks with a visiting Commonwealth group.

Spoornet human resources manager Vincent de Beer says Langley has discussed with him Tsibalo's appointment. "I have told Mr Langley that the gentleman had been promoted on merit," De Beer adds. Langley then told him that "they could not guarantee Tsibalo's safety. He also said that a bomb is not ruled out."

Langley tells the FM: "I do not recall that I mentioned a bomb. I spoke to an official and relayed the message. But they (the Spoornet officials) are not impressed. *Hulle sit daar in hul veilige nessies en hou Broederbond en Nasionale Party vergaderings.*" (They sit there in their safe nests and hold Broederbond and National Party meetings.)

Asked whether he would supply police with the names of the rightwingers whose threatening message he relayed to Spoornet, particularly if Tsibalo were to be harmed or a criminal act of violence committed, Langley replied: "Under no bloody circumstances would I give the names to the police. As an MP I am in a position of trust to those who have asked me to relay the message. Not even the threat of imprisonment would compel me to do that."

De Beer says he probed Langley for the names of the people who have threatened Tsibalo.

"I asked whether we could have discussions with them. He would not give me any names and the only deduction I could make was that they are from the farming community. I also asked Mr Langley whether these people are CP members. He denied categorically that they were from the CP."

Government and President F W de Klerk are not taking cognisance of the mood of the people, says Langley. "De Klerk does not want to, and the fat cats in Johannesburg do not want to — *die bliksems.*"

Langley continues: "I want to tell all those fat cats: you don't know the Afrikaner pioneer, and how far we are prepared to go. And if things happen I will not be able to stop them. When he (Tsibalo) takes up his post, people in that area will take note (*kennis neem daarvan*)."

Langley says that the job of stationmaster had been the one position left for the white man. "But in their efforts to create the new SA, the NP government is busy with the destruction of the entire infrastructure of the old SA."

Not so, says Spoornet's De Beer. Promotion for black railway employees is something which started long ago.

Tsibalo will move into one of the railway houses which adjoin the Waterpoort station. "I have heard that his furniture has already arrived," says Langley. "They (Spoornet) have a long story about his qualifications. It is apparently a merit promotion."

Sakkie Gertenbach, of Spoornet's equal opportunity project, says Tsibalo underwent the same stringent tests which apply to all Spoornet officials. "The days when we promoted someone only because he was top of the seniority list are gone. Tsibalo, who has been with the railways for many years, did very well in his tests. He also comes from the

realities," says Gertenbach.

The threat of violence, and Langley's refusal to identify the rightwingers concerned, come after a week in which:

- A Pretoria school earmarked to accommodate former exiled ANC children was destroyed by a home-made bomb;
- The CP and other rightwing groups refused to condemn the bombing;
- Rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolph openly defied the State by refusing to be tried by a black prosecutor, before a coloured magistrate, on traffic charges; and
- Mass murderer Barend Strydom started a hunger strike in protest against his detention and that of other rightwingers.

Eddie Botha



CP's Langley ... "under no bloody circumstances"

Waterpoort area — it is his people and his language."

Spoornet is not a political party, says Gertenbach. "We are a company which strives to do the best for the public. Tsibalo works for us, he is one of our people and we will look after him. How can we boast that people are our main assets if we do not look after them?"

The project, which was started in April last year, organises workshops for every Spoornet worker. "Everyone — black, white, seniors and juniors — attends these. At these workshops we explain the concept of equal opportunities and inform our people of the

NP lauds Nelson — Magnus cries foul

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

National Party sources have hailed ANC president Nelson Mandela's latest statements on negotiations, calling them "remarkable" and "good news for the process".

In an exclusive interview published by The Star yesterday, Mr Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues if President de Klerk moved quickly to restore ANC trust in his Government.

However, Sapa reports that last night Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said Mr Mandela's claims about the security forces and his generalisations about white people were outrageous.

The NP sources told The Star they were encouraged by the conciliatory tone adopted by Mr Mandela. "It substantially counters the somewhat confusing signals (we got) from the recent ANC conference. This is far more in tune with the times, and with the initial phase of Mr Man-

dela's leadership after his release."

The MPs expressed "irritation" with the ANC leader's insistence that Mr de Klerk had not done enough to halt township violence — or was being "undermined" by reactionaries in Government — but said this should not detract from the "overall, positive" impact of his latest remarks.

"It looks to us as if he has decided, as he suggested at the end of the ANC conference, that as leader he must lead."

Indiscriminate

"This provides great impetus — we've said all along that Mr Mandela's role within the ANC is absolutely crucial to the future," said one MP.

Asked whether Mr de Klerk was likely to respond with a positive gesture now that Mr Mandela had "put the ball in his court", a Nat MP replied: "On the multiparty congress, the locality of the ball hasn't changed. Mr de Klerk put it in the court of the ANC some time ago. The ANC has just acknowledged that the game can go on. They've

stopped sitting on the ball."

General Malan, speaking at a National Party meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand, called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about South Africa's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

He said Mr Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations", because the ANC president claimed white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level."

Mr Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, General Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mr Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways once the apartheid State was removed.

From apricot picker to Copenhagen

304A
Star 19/7/91

Let's not give apartheid an expensive funeral, Conrad Sidego tells ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE.

IF THE Danish were ignorant, they would think South Africa's new ambassador to Copenhagen is an unusually well-tanned Afrikaner.

Conrad Sidego (45) is as Afrikaans as *melktert*, speaks his home language with a typical Boland accent, loves potjiekos and was editor of Rapport Extra, the newspaper's "coloured" edition, for six years.

Yet, he has never cast a parliamentary vote. He still wonders what the inside of Tulbagh's public library looks like.

He walked a total of eight kilometres to school every day while a bus picked up the white kids in front of his house.

For days after joining a Cape Town Nationalist newspaper in 1971 as its first non-white journalist, he used Cape Town's Grand Parade as a toilet "because I felt as uncomfortable as they did" about using the same facilities.

He cried when he had to register his sons as "coloured".

Yet, he does not dwell on apartheid's ugly history.

"There would be much to be bitter about if I wanted to be.

"My mother has been my source of inspiration. She was the daughter of a farm labourer and a domestic worker. But she escaped farm life and became a teacher, marrying a bricklayer.

"She refused to be a victim of apartheid. I refused too. If she could escape from a farm where her mother worked for the *miesies* in the kitchen, I have the responsibility to carry forward that spirit.

"The legacy of apartheid is still there. My 79-year-old father gets an inferior pension because of his skin colour.

"I could have said I want to sit back and wait for him to get an equal pension. But the time has come for ordinary South Africans to take matters into their own hands.

"If blacks still say change is not irreversible, they demonstrate a lack of faith in their own abilities. With political arrogance, we must say it has become irreversible.

"We all talk of the legacy of apartheid. Let's be honest and call it by its real name: the corpse of apartheid. It is up to all of us to decide whether apartheid will have an expensive funeral."

Conrad has always been a pioneer.

"I had to make it happen for myself. If I didn't, I would still be drying apricots on a Tulbagh farm."

Despite having excelled in many fields, he humbly de-



New-school diplomat...
Conrad Sidego.

scribes himself as "*n kaalvoet klonkie van die Boland*" (a barefoot boy from the Boland).

In 1987, he and his wife, Amy, exchanged Table Mountain for Johannesburg. Conrad set aside his pen for a top public relations job with Anglo American.

Now the manager of Anglo's corporate communications department is ready to become a diplomat.

The decision was not easy.

"When Foreign Affairs first contacted me about three months ago, I felt honoured. But I was immediately confronted with the political reality. In a normal society it would have been exciting. But I consulted widely, and the message from all quarters was that I was hyper-sensitive — that the job depends on what I make of it."

Even a Conservative Party friend phoned to congratulate him on his appointment as ambassador to Denmark.

"We met at a business course. Funny enough, we clicked because we are both Afrikaans. Anyway, he said my job will be safe for about three years. When the CP takes over, they might have to replace me." That infectious laugh again.

He has always kept a bird's eye view of party politics, and refused to be drawn into ideology — with one exception:

"When the Labour Party was formed — you must remember that was the equivalent of the UDF at the time — I as a young teacher got involved in the local effort. It was typical 'Boer jou moer' politics. It was either that or throwing bombs. And I didn't have the stomach for that. Maybe I was too cowardly, but then, it wasn't my style."

One undertaking he vows to keep is to make contact with South African exiles living in the Scandinavian country.

"They will have a voteless ambassador. There won't be any need to fight with me — we are fighting the same system.

"Emotionally I understand their anger and fears," he adds poignantly.

"But I will also have a foot in Foreign Affairs which will enable me to try to change the wrongs from the inside. It will enable me to be a facilitator rather than a traditional old-style ambassador.

"And ... I've read all the (protocol) manuals on when to walk forward, when to walk backward, when to walk up straight and when to bow. It's all a bit much."

He says as an after-thought: "I just hope I won't embarrass my country." □

Top-level NP group at Inkatha congress

BILLY PADDOCK

304A

THE NP will send a high-powered delegation to the annual Inkatha congress starting in Ulundi today.

The NP will be represented by two of government's top negotiators, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Roelf Meyer, and NP federal council secretary Renier Schoeman. 810ay 19/7/91

The NP Natal region has attended previous Inkatha congresses, but this is the first time the federal council has been invited.

The decision to send such senior party members to the three-day event is seen as a further sign of the increasingly closer working relationship between the two.

Co-operation between the two parties, particularly in the Natal/KwaZulu region, has grown steadily in recent months and there is speculation that the NP and Inkatha are close to some form of political alliance.

A joint Inkatha/NP "think tank" has been operating for more than a year at provincial level. Earlier this year the NP indicated that the two parties had been speaking about closer working relations and even alliances, at the forthcoming multiparty conference.

Senior NP members said yesterday the delegation was being sent because the NP wanted to acknowledge Inkatha's role as a major player in the negotiation process.

The conference will be attended by an estimated 10 000 Inkatha delegates and supporters and observers.

BILLY PADDOCK

JAPANESE Deputy Foreign Minister Muneo Suzuki jetted into SA late yesterday on an unexpected one-day visit.

The visit is seen by political observers as significant in view of Japan's recent relaxed stance on SA. It is also believed to be the first visit by a senior Japanese minister in 69 years. *Monday 19/1/91*

The last time SA had personal contact with a senior Japanese government member was during the Namibian independence celebrations when the former foreign minister T Kuranari met President F W de Klerk.

Japanese senior consul Yoshinobu Hirai-shi said Suzuki was on an African visit when he "suddenly decided" to visit SA.

Japanese official in SA for the day

The consulate had arranged a last-minute meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels. It was also trying to arrange meetings with the ANC.

Hiraishi said the main purpose of the visit was to exchange views and discuss "recent political developments in SA".

Sapa reports Suzuki has met Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. He also visited Tanzania.

● Picture: Page 2

● See Page 4

Leon blasts Jordaan over attack on US

304A

CT 20/7/91

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Democratic Party MP for Houghton Mr Tony Leon yesterday blasted DP colleague Mr Kobus Jordaan for the latter's "unbridled and intemperate attack" on the US administration.

Mr Leon was reacting to Mr Jordaan's announcement that he was declining a US-government sponsored trip to the US because of the President George Bush's "distortion of the realities in SA".

Mr Jordaan (Umhlanga) said earlier this week that US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen deserved "derision and contempt" for stating there was "no evidence" that SA government entities were encouraging black-on-black violence.

Mr Leon called criticism of Mr Cohen "particularly deplorable, since at considerable domestic political risk, the Bush administration has taken the principle decision to lift sanctions".

He charged that Mr Jordaan was "repudiating" Mr Bush's sanctions stand in "blatant contradiction" of the DP's own position on sanctions.

Mr Leon, in Washington with Hillbrow DP MP Mr Lester Fuchs at the invitation of SA ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz, said he was satisfied that Pretoria had met the five sanctions-lifting conditions set out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

IN a shock disclosure, the government last night admitted that it had secretly channelled taxpayers' money to Inkatha and its anti-ANC labour arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

In a bombshell statement, Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok acknowledged that the government had secretly helped to bankroll both Inkatha and Uwusa — but claimed that this was part of an attempt to counter "sanctions, intimidation, illegal actions and related violence".

He acknowledged that some of the financial support had gone to organise an Inkatha rally soon after Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison last year.

In another shock development, a police general was appointed last night to investigate allegations carried in newspaper reports both in South Africa and abroad yesterday that past train massacres had been planned and carried out by special SADF units.

An angry Mr Nelson Mandela said last night: "The ANC and the government are clearly on a collision course and if the government continues with its criminal operations it is doubtful we can avoid a complete breakdown in relations."

No further talks

"There can be no question of further talks while the government is conducting a double strategy of talking peace but waging war."

Speaking shortly before his departure on an overseas trip, Mr Mandela said called on President George Bush to reconsider his decision to lift US sanctions against South Africa.

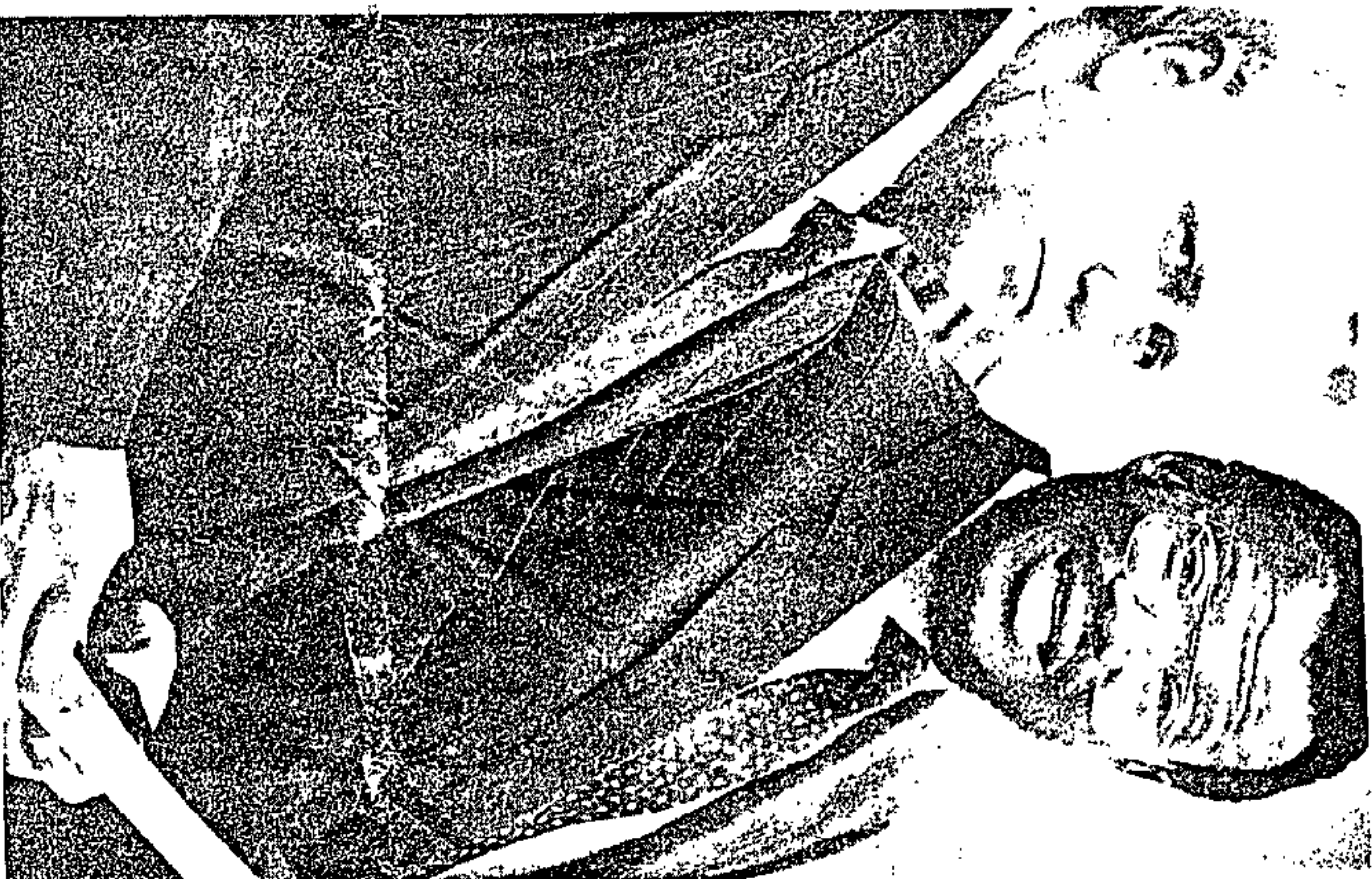
The Democratic Party last night condemned the use of public funds secretly to support "the government's lackeys" and demanded the appointment of judicial inquiries into both its support for Inkatha and state-sponsored hit squads.

"A government that is this partial and only acknowledges its misdeeds once it is caught with its pants down, cannot be trusted as the party in charge of the transition process," DP law and order spokesman Mr Jan van Eck said.

In his statement, Mr Vlok submitted that the secret funding "was under no circumstances aimed at promoting partiality or political activism of any particular group... the basis of the support was non-party political".

Mr Vlok said that following an order by President F W de Klerk last year that all secret projects were to be re-evaluated, "it was decided that financial support to Uwusa would cease".

He did not say how much money had been channelled to Uwusa or Inkatha, or whether financial aid to Inkatha had also come to an end in the light of a government decision to rationalise secret operations.



SECRET SUPPORT ... President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a recent Teyateyan meeting. Reports of a growing togetherness between the National Party and Inkatha might have been set back by the government's decision to rationalise secret operations.

From page 1

Govt money

Mr De Klerk said in a separate statement last night that "numerous" secret actions were carried out "in an orderly fashion" during the second half of last year after he had ordered an investigation into secret funds and projects in March 1990. However, he noted that some of these secret actions were being continued "in broad national interest" but were now subject to cabinet control and not specifically the nature of these actions.

Mr De Klerk said it was not the government's policy to render "direct or indirect financial assistance or other support" to any political party or organisation.

Earlier this year, both he and Mr Vlok refused to answer repeated DP questions in Parliament on whether any section of the intelligence service or the police had given financial or organisational support to groups like Inkatha.

They defended their decision not to disclose such information on the grounds that this would "defeat the legal protection of security information".

The shock admissions of government partiality to Inkatha and Uwusa followed the publication yesterday, both in South Africa and abroad, of detailed allegations of dirty-tricks operations by elements of the security forces in strife-torn areas of Natal and the Witwatersrand.

The Weekly Mail published a 10-page security confirmed memorandum marked "top secret" which face-to-face meetings between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, some of his cabinet ministers and Major Louis Botha, senior officer in the Durban regional security police, to discuss how to deal with the ANC. Chief Buthelezi denied knowledge of payments by the police to his party to help it oppose the ANC and Inkatha spokesperson Ms Sue Vos said the allegations were "completely untrue".



COLLISION COURSE ... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warns that his organisation is on a "collision course" with the government following yesterday's disclosures.

The Independent of London published claims by a former army sergeant, Mr Felix Isaias Ndimele, that members of the crack Five Reconnaissance Regiment had been behind much of the killing and destruction in townships in Natal and the Witwatersrand, including the Soweto train massacre on September 13 last year.

SADF spokesman Commandant Riaan Louw dismissed the allegations as "absolute lies", adding that such actions were in any case, "completely contrary to Defence Force policy".

But the police last night announced that a high-ranking police officer, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, had been appointed to investigate allegations that past train massacres had been planned and carried out by special SADF units.

Mr Mandela last night called on all agents who carried out operations against the ANC to come forward with evidence "to solve this matter and save the peace process".

VLOK AND WITS

Govt gave money to Inkatha

3047 22/11/91 CT 20/7/91



GETTING INVOLVED . . . Police step in to separate ANC and Inkatha factions at a recent clash in the Bekkersdal township on the West Rand. Now the government has revealed that secret police money was paid to Inkatha.

Army 'in massacre'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Two leading British newspapers yesterday carried front-page reports alleging South African military intelligence involvement in last September's Soweto train massacre and of secret security police funding for Inkatha.

The Independent quoted Mr Felix Isaias Ndimene, a former South African army sergeant, as saying that the attack on September 13 in which 26 people died was the work of "state-hired assassins".

These were said to come from

"One Commando of Five Reconnaissance Regiment, crack troops of 'Special Forces', the operational arm of South Africa's Directorate of Military Intelligence".

Mr Ndimene, who reportedly served with Five Recce from 1983 to 31 January this year, told the Independent at a "safe house" in Johannesburg that about 120 Five Recce soldiers had been involved in "hit-squad" operations in the past year. They operated both in the Johannesburg area and Natal.

He said that after Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC were legalised in February last year, his

white commanding officers started holding weekly "political meetings" in which the message was conveyed that the ANC was "still the enemy" and that Inkatha should be supported.

Mr Ndimene said his friends in Five Recce who participated in the train massacre told him about it afterwards in the tea-room at Five Recce's base in Phalaborwa. They used pangas and AK-47s to massacre the people. Most were Namibians and could not speak Zulu.

To page 2

SADF reports

The Independent said that in the past year reports had flowed from the townships of the presence of non-South African black men at the scenes of the killings.

While Mr Ndimene's credibility was sure to be questioned, the report said he named a colonel, commandant and sergeant-major who supervised the weekly "political meetings", as well as six soldiers involved in the train massacre. CT 20/7/91

In its report, the Guardian said it had acquired documents, some of them marked top secret, which originated from the Durban offices of the security branch.

Together with bank deposit slips, the documents purport to prove that the police funded Inkatha on several occasions.

One payment of R150 000 was allegedly made in March last year to finance a major Inkatha rally.

The deposit slips show the money went into an account held in

the name of "Inkatha/Kgare" (the latter being the Sotho name for Inkatha). The account number is given as 221426-8006961533, at First National Bank's main branch in Durban.

A nine-page memorandum dated February 13, 1990, and written by Major Louis Botha of the Durban security branch, sets out both his and Chief Buthelezi's concerns about the political impact of the ANC.

The report said it was apparently written after a long conversation between the police officer and Chief Buthelezi.

"During conversations (with Chief Buthelezi) it became very clear that the performance and political scheming of the ANC instilled a degree of fear in the Chief Minister, especially if one looks at the diminishing membership of Inkatha and the implications this has for him," says the memo.

Major Botha stresses the importance of a successful rally, adding: "It must be understood that In-

katha doesn't have the financial resources to fund such a project themselves." He proposes that "a clandestine donation of R120 000 should be made for this purpose". A sum of R150 000 was eventually allocated.

The Guardian report said this was apparently not the first time the security police had funded an Inkatha rally. Another document — a report to Pretoria sent in November, 1989 — showed that R100 000 had been paid into the same Inkatha banking account, apparently to fund a rally on November 5, 1989.

Marked top secret and signed by local head of the security branch Brigadier J A Steyn, the memo says: "The Chief Minister and Minister Mtetwa have asked me to pass on their gratitude and appreciation for the payment to those who were involved in obtaining the funds."

The report said Chief Buthelezi denied any knowledge of the payments.

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

IN a replay of the Info scandal, the government is embroiled in another slush fund row. It has admitted — under duress — that it secretly siphoned state money to fund two Inkatha rallies.

In the admission, made by both President De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, it is claimed that money was given to many people and institutions to combat global sanctions against South Africa.

Drama on the Agenda

PAT DEVEREAUX

Weekend Argus Reporter

Dr. ... surrounded the Thursday night screening of the SABC's Agenda programme.

A three-sided, live debate was called off barely 30 minutes before screening after consultations were held with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The proposed debate on police links with Inkatha, scheduled for 10pm, was to have featured Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze and Inkatha Press Liaison officer Ms Suzanne Vos.

The debate was based on the Weekly Mail's story alleging that the security police paid R250 000 into an Inkatha bank account to help Inkatha oppose the ANC.

Mr Harber said that it seemed the move to axe the debate and rewrite the Agenda script followed a hurried phone call by Captain Kotze after he saw the front page of the latest edition of the Weekly Mail.

Captain Kotze admitted that he called Mr Vlok before going on the show and said he had "obviously been in consultation with the minister" about the Weekly Mail allegations.

"But I want to stress that the final decision to cancel the debate rests with the SABC," said Captain Kotze.

The SABC's executive editor of television, Mr Christo Kritzing, denied that Mr Vlok had put pressure on him to pull the debate off Agenda.

"I exercised my right as an editor in deciding not to go with that story. There was no pressure by the minister," he said. "But obviously I spoke to Mr Vlok as he was involved."

A further assertion that support for Inkatha was "non party-political" was received with incredulity by opposition parties last night.

"There is something disingenuous about the pretence that this money was given to organisations because they were anti-sanctions," said Dr Zach de Beer MP, leader of the Democratic Party.

"It suggests the whole thing was another attempt by the government to use taxpayers' money to promote its own political objectives."

Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, has warned that the government's "double agenda" is threatening to cause a breakdown in the negotiation process.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has denied knowledge of the funding.

Like the Info scandal revelations in the 70s, the government admission came in response to newspaper reports in South Africa and London.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Vlok had refused to divulge these details when prodded for information in parliament earlier this year. They stonewalled formal questions from Mr Kobus Jordaan (DP Umhlanga) on whether the government had funded any political party.

Newspaper reports yesterday revealed that security police had funded two Inkatha rallies on November 19 1989 and March 25 last year.

Mr Vlok said the money was not drawn from the Special Account of the police but from funds earmarked by the government for the combating of sanctions.

"This funding was under no circumstances aimed at promoting partiality or political activism of any particular group. The funds were, inter alia, used for the following purposes: visual anti-sanctions banners, advertisements, transport, hire of stadiums and other facilities. The basis of the

■ Turn to page 3

Government admits: We funded two Inkatha rallies

VLOK'S SHOCKER

3014

ARGUS 20/7/91

P.T.O.

Government admits funding Inkatha rallies

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Aug 20/7/91

■ From page 1

support was non-party political."

Mr Vlok said it related exclusively to an anti-violence and anti-sanctions campaign.

"Due to the special circumstances applicable in South Africa before February 1990, it was essential to launch covert projects to promote order and stability and to combat South Africa's isolation," he said.

"Large-scale unrest and violence, caused by numerous factors, claimed thousands of lives. Socio-economic circumstances, especially unemployment, played an important role and were aggravated by sanctions."

The matter had never been discussed between himself and the Inkatha president.

"Both overt and covert assistance was, on request, provided to a wide spectrum of persons and institutions in South Africa in an attempt to combat sanctions effectively. Mass gatherings by an organisation, such as Inkatha, would have made a significant contribution to the fight against sanctions."

The police had also, in an attempt to "counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labour front", financially supported the United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa), said Mr Vlok. Uwusa is linked to Inkatha.

"After the president's instructions that all covert projects were, in the light of changed circumstances in South Africa, to be re-evaluated and rationalised, it was decided that financial support to Uwusa would cease," he added.

Mr De Klerk recalled a fundamental change in policy on secret funds and projects he announced in parliament last year. He had four months before that ordered a full investigation into covert operations carried out by the various branches of the security forces.

The probe was to ensure and exercise, not only financial control, but also cabinet control over such projects, Mr De Klerk said then. "I am convinced that covert actions must be managed very carefully and firmly."

"Moreover, I believe covert actions should be limited to the absolutely essential minimum. I shall see to this as soon as the enquiry I have ordered has been completed."

Mr De Klerk said last night the investigation he had spoken of was completed during the second half of last year. Nu-

merous covert actions were cancelled as a result.

"Some actions which are being continued in the broad national interest are now subject to cabinet control and, as was envisaged, are being carefully and firmly managed."

"It is not the government's policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation, except government aid made available to all qualifying political parties on an equal basis, for example the payment of constituency allowances to members of parliament and the cheaper provision of voters' rolls in terms of the Electoral Act," he said.

Dr Buthelezi said: "I knew nothing about these transactions. I was never involved in them, I was never informed about them and I had no idea whatsoever that money had been deposited in a Durban Inkatha bank account."

He said Inkatha got donations from businesses, individuals and institutions which did not want their names published. If it were known they had given money to Inkatha, there would be enormous pressure on them from other political parties to give money to them as well.

"We opened an Inkatha bank account in Durban specifically to receive money for disaster aid and for humanitarian purposes as well as for general Inkatha purposes."

"It was not unusual for anonymous amounts to be deposited in this account. The amounts that I now hear the security branch deposited in the bank account were not identified as such to me by anyone at any time."

He said at no time did he in any way thank the government for financial assistance given Inkatha. "I cannot explain why in a letter Brigadier J A Steyn, deputy regional chief of security police in Natal, wrote that I and the Reverend C J Mtetwa, Kwazulu Minister of Justice, expressed thanks and appreciation for money received."

"It is totally untrue that I received money and Mr Mtetwa is prepared to swear on oath that he at no time knew anything about the money being deposited as stated."

The government was now spending millions on social reconstruction to eliminate the circumstances in which violence was generated. The IFP and the ANC, as political parties, were joint recipients of some of these millions and

were jointly involved in the spending of government money for peace, Dr Buthelezi said.

Mr Mandela said the government's covert activities favouring the IFP set the government and the ANC on a collision course. Speaking shortly before his departure on a trip to several European and Caribbean countries, he said if the government continued with its double agenda of criminal operations while talking peace, a complete breakdown in the negotiation process could hardly be avoided.

Mr Mandela said he had furnished proof of security force complicity in the violence to the government on countless occasions. Only recently, he had disclosed to senior people in the government that criminals were being used by the security forces to conduct a reign of terror against the ANC.

The government had sensibly admitted the details because the evidence produced could not be denied. Mr Mandela called on security force personnel involved in illegal and covert activities to "come out with a clean confession".

It was Mr De Klerk's duty to see the security forces confined themselves to the maintenance of law and order. If the president could not do this, there was no point in the ANC holding further discussions.

Dr De Beer said the entire government was in trouble about this. If he were to demand resignations, it would be for everyone to go. But he realised that would be impracticable.

"I think government has got to come clean once and for all, instead of the DP and other parties having to extract confessions from it by this painfully slow process."

Mr David Dalling, DP spokesman on justice, called on Dr Buthelezi to resign as chief minister of the Kwazulu government and said those responsible for the secret payments to his party should resign and be made to repay the money to the state.

"Clearly the Nats and Inkatha have already formed their unholy alliance. The evidence for this proposition is becoming overwhelming. The sooner the Nats and Inkatha make honest political partners of each other, the better. South Africans need to know who they must vote against."

Mr Dalling said he knew of no legal authority or budgetary vote entitling the Minister of Law and Order to spend public funds on Inkatha rallies.



F.W. DE KLERK
Vice President



VAN ZYL SLABBERT
Law and Order



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
Human resources



STEVE TSHWETE
Sport



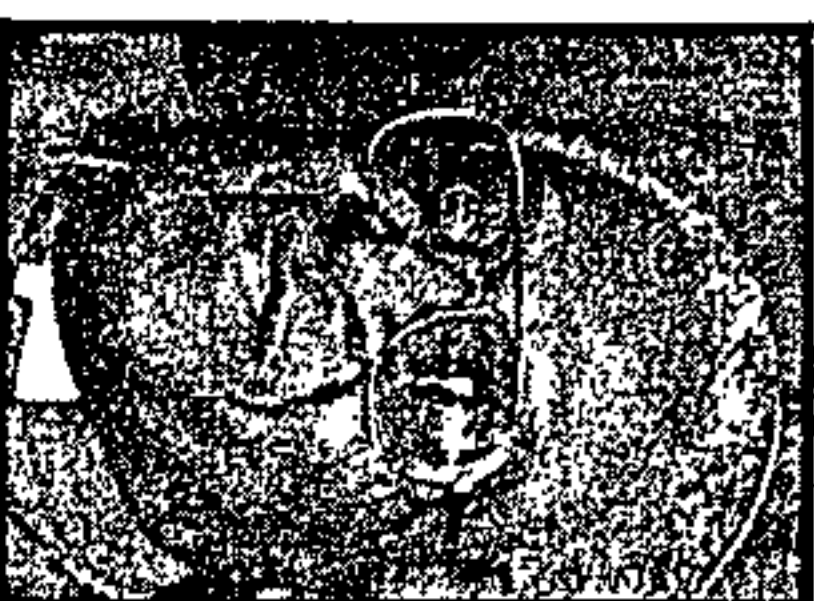
Gen BOB ROGERS
Defence



GERTRUDE SHOPE
Civil rights



KOOS VAN DER MERWE
Environment Affairs



DESMOND TUTU
Intergroup relations

Enter 'The Go-Betweens'

30417
Feb 20/7/91

THE model for South Africa's first non-racial interim Cabinet is partly based on the idea that key players in constitutional negotiations ought to have a say in the running of the country during the transition period.

AFTER the ANC's announcement of its 'shadow Cabinet' and with further moves towards constitutional negotiations continuing, the political focus is now increasingly placed on how and by whom the country will be ruled during the transition to a 'new South Africa'. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUIJSE offers a model for an interim Cabinet based on a variety of ideas from armchair politicians.

Analysts suggest members of such a Cabinet should, therefore, be chosen from the main political parties and groupings likely to be at the negotiating table. Each grouping should be represented in accordance with its influence and potential contribution to a democratic South Africa.

However, as no elections have been held to show their relative strengths and support, the choice at this stage must inevitably be based on conjecture and on the perceived performance of the players.

Factors taken into account in designing the model include the new needs arising from complexities of the proposed change from a partly totalitarian apartheid system of government to a more fully democratic one.

A Cabinet for the transition may therefore have to include some new portfolios to meet some of the new needs, especially in such fields as civil rights, inter-group relations including the removal of racism, the media and their role in a new South Africa, proper use of the country's human resources, consumer affairs, including the plight of the rural, and the country's immense housing crisis.

However, an immediate problem in designing an appropriate Cabinet is that many capable people who have been excluded from civil rights, from the vote and from the whole process of government may need time to find their feet and to get acquainted with technicalities and other complexities of certain Cabinet portfolios.

During the interim period, therefore, such new candidates may need help and guidance from people more experienced in government and administration, especially in some of the more difficult portfolios.

The only rightwing representative in the 'shadow Cabinet' model is Mr Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party. He has been chosen because of his perceived approval of rightwing participation in constitutional negotiations. So far all the while rightwing groupings have made it clear they want no part of negotiations with the ANC and other 'terrorists'.

Groupings from which Ministers and Deputy Ministers have been chosen include the ANC, NP, DP, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha Freedom Party and Idasa. Other Ministers have been 'co-opted' from churches or the private sector because of their specialised experience or know-how.



THE PRESIDENT: Nelson Mandela and a team of the future

THE SHADOW MODEL

President: Mr Nelson Mandela
Vice-President: Mr F.W. de Klerk

CABINET MINISTERS:

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert Law and Order
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa Human Resources and Manpower
Mr Steve Tshwete Sport

Professor Kader Asmal Justice
Ms Gertrude Shope Civil Rights
Ms Dene Smuts Media Affairs and Culture

Mr Pankajani Ntshonhokwe Housing
Mr Clarence Makwele Consumer Affairs
Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi Water Affairs and Forestry

Mr Koos van der Merwe Environment Affairs
Dr Ronnie Bethlehem Economic Affairs
Dr Alex Boraine Education

Mr P. Bosh Foreign Affairs
Dr Gertrude Viljoen Reform and Land Development
Mr Roelf Meyer Home Affairs

Dr Denis Worrall Constitutional Development
Dr Zee de Beer Health
Mr Enrol Moocroft Agriculture

General Bob Rogers Defence
Mr Ken Andrew Finance
Archbishop Desmond Tutu Intergroup Relations

DEPUTY MINISTERS:

Mr Thabo Mbeki Foreign Affairs
Ms Barbara Masekela Culture
Mr Chris Rant Defence

Mr Leon Wessels Consumer Affairs
Mr Janne Morberg Sport
Dr Louw Alberts Intergroup Relations

Mr Tito Mboweni Economic Affairs

HEALTHY GROWTH

WITH THE

CONSTITUTIONAL ANNAL

Govt to blame for killing fields – Mandela

THE ANC and the Government were now clearly on a collision course, said ANC president Nelson Mandela last night, commenting on the shock disclosures of Government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving on an overseas trip, Mr Mandela said if the Government continued with its "criminal operations" it was doubtful that a complete breakdown in relations could be avoided.

He was reacting to yesterday's Weekly Mail report that the Government had funded Inkatha operations. This was admitted

Star 20/7/91
JULIENNE DU TOIT

by State President F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night, but denied by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela said at least the Government had had the decency to admit the allegations were true.

There was "no question" of the ANC resuming discussions with the Government if it did not react positively – by seeing that the violence that had killed 10 000 since 1984 ended, and by seeing that the SADF confined itself to maintaining law.

"We have said all along that the Government is following a double agenda – "while talking to us, they were also conducting a war against us."

Mr Mandela said on countless occasions he had taken details of State involvement in killings to Mr de Klerk. He had asked for proof, and now he had proof, said Mr Mandela.

He urged people who had been "used for the purpose of committing crime" to come forward, as some had done, to confess.

The mass media and businessmen had not been very vocal in condemning

the Government for its complicity in killing individuals. He hoped they would now come out and condemn this, he said.

In an additional statement issued last night, Mr Mandela said the transformation of Natal and parts of the Reef into killing fields should be laid squarely at the Government's door. (S) 3047

He reiterated the ANC's demand that Mr Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan should be fired. "We shall test President de Klerk's own commitment to maintaining the search for peace on course against his actions in this regard."

No marriage, just lovers – Buthelezi

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is not negotiating an alliance with the National Party, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi yesterday. (304A) (48)

However, Buthelezi told the 3 000 delegates and guests at the organisation's 16th annual general conference that he had to "seek common ground with whoever was willing" in the run-up to negotiations. (C/P/R)

"Out of this... there may be some partnerships in the future," he said, adding this had to be viewed as parties courting each other before finally tying the knot. 21/7/91

He made no reference to the storm following Friday's revelations in the *Weekly Mail* of police allegedly depositing money into an Inkatha bank account to fund anti-ANC activities.

Buthelezi again rejected the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly, saying his party would not go to a multiparty conference to discuss these issues.

He also rejected the idea of a patriotic front, calling it "yesterday's politics".

A strong theme throughout his address concerning a future South African government was regionalism.

"We certainly do not need a centrist government in South Africa," he said.

Among the guests to the conference were delegations from the National Party, Conservative Party, Democratic Party, National People's Party and foreign dignitaries.

The NP delegation included constitutional affairs minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Roelf Meyer, while the CP delegation was led by Advocate Thomas Langley. – Sapa

The silence of the wolves

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BY A TWIST of fate, an accident of history, this country's hopes of peace rest on the shoulders of two men: President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. Mr Mandela grows in stature, President de Klerk is in danger of being dragged down by the sinister forces that lurk in his government.

The disclosure that Inkatha was subverted by the security police is but the latest in a succession of scandals that can be traced back to the existence of very large secret funds.

These scandals range from minor but disgusting episodes, such as hanging a monkey foetus outside the home of an Archbishop, to subversion of local government by the infiltration of spies, to the destruction of evidence by military officers, to the dissemination of false intelligence messages in an evident attempt to abort the Namibian settlement, and to the existence of covert organisations popularly known as "hit squads". One after another, allegations of evil-doing which seemed incredible have proved to be true.

Nor is it any comfort that President de Klerk and his government are, in these matters, economical with the truth. The scope of the Harms inquiry was deliberately circumscribed to prevent an inquiry into the assassination of Anton Lubowski. When Mr J A Jordaan of the Democratic Party asked the Minister of Law and Order in March whether the SAP was funding Inkatha, the government took refuge behind security legislation to mislead the public. Many other examples of evasion, duplicity, and cunning can be dredged from the recent record.

FANTASTIC

There is a history to all this. When the fantastic allegations of the Information scandal finally came to light, after years of deceit and untruthfulness (for which Dr Connie Mulder was to sacrifice his political career), the Rand Daily Mail carried a simple headline: It's all true.

Similarly, the allegations of "hit squads" seemed fantastic, and turned out to be true. The allegations of police collusion with Inkatha seemed far-fetched, and proved to be true. The idea that military officers would defy President de Klerk by concealing and destroying evidence seemed incredible, and proved true. As the Rand Daily Mail said, it's all true.

But other allegations, more dreadful, wait to be proven. Did the government, or any of its agencies, assassinate Lubowski? Did the CCB assassinate David Webster, as a senior police officer at first suspected? Did the police protect the "impis" that attacked ANC supporters? Did the Casspirs guard the "rooidoeke"? If a fund to fight sanctions was misused, as plainly happened, to drum up support for Inkatha, what other misappropriations might have occurred?

For thousands, perhaps millions, of South Africans who, like Mr Mandela, took President de Klerk at face value, and gave him their sympathy or support, it is becoming increasingly difficult to suspend judgment. The kindest interpretation of events is that he has failed, so far, to establish proper control of his government.

BATTERED

That, however, is small comfort to the majority of South Africans who want peaceful negotiations or to the foreign supporters, like President Bush, who have been left by the latest disclosures with egg all over their faces.

The damage is cumulative. President de Klerk's personal reputation cannot endure much more battering. If his historic endeavour to turn this country from the path of destruction is to proceed, he must soon gain control. That means, quite simply, that he must dismantle the entire apparatus of dirty tricks created by his predecessors in order to meet what they perceived to be "a total onslaught". He claims he has regained control of the secret agencies; plainly, he has not, nor will he do so until he shuts off the immense flow of funds that sustains the gangsterism in his government.

The search for peace is not advanced by the filthier instruments of war.

THE EDITOR

Rebels now without a cause

Stories 21/7/91

JOYCE HARRIS, founder member of the Black Sash and honorary life vice-president, is emigrating to Canada.

She leaves with fears for South Africa's future and a regret — that her organisation did not campaign sufficiently against the revolutionary violence that swept the country after 1976.

Mrs Harris, 71, will soon join her two sons, Nicholas and Laurence, and four grandchildren in Toronto.

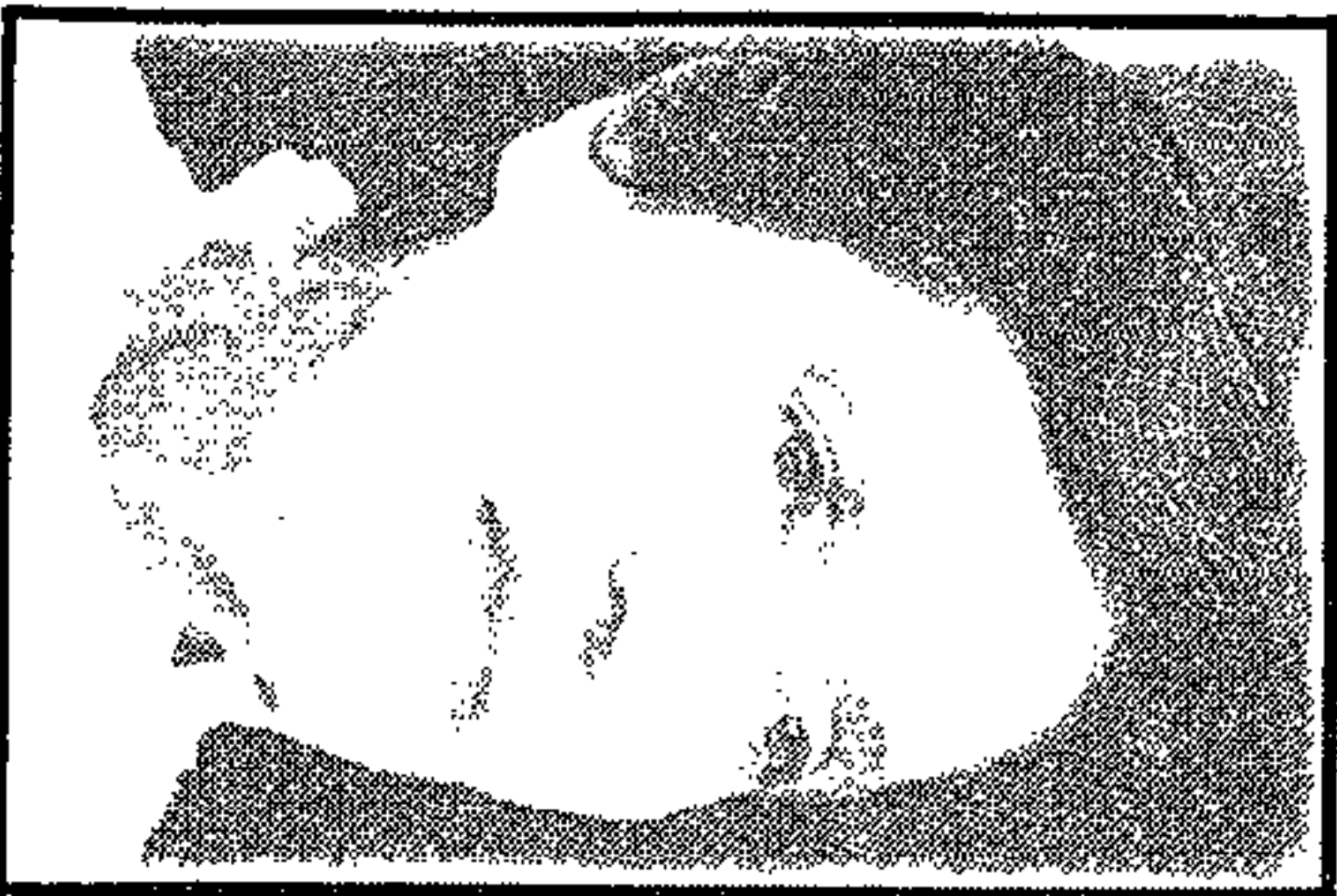
This week she spoke of her 36-year association with the Black Sash civil rights movement — the “finest people one could hope to meet” — and what she believes was its one lapse into expediency: the failure to adequately condemn township violence.

“We started having some problems after 1976 when the black community became more vociferous and fought for itself — starting to use techniques which were anathema for some of us,” said Mrs Harris.

“We did not protest loudly enough, that is my personal view. I had a very bad time coming to terms with the fact that I didn’t think we spoke clearly enough against things like necklacing and all the horrors that were happening in the townships.

“The reason was a division in the organisation. There were people who felt we did not have the right to do so. We had not been subjected to things that black people had. Who were we to say

Four decades in age separate Joyce Harris and Nic Borain. But they have two things in common. They both come from left or liberal political backgrounds — and they have both quit public life. BRIAN POTTINGER talks to Joyce Harris and IVOR CREWS to Nic Borain to find out why



JOYCE HARRIS... fears for South Africa's future

vociferous Black Sash (current membership 2 500). She has edited its publications, served four years as president and written extensively in its name.

She joined the organisation in 1955 after leaving the United Party in “a blaze of glory and

A DISILLUSIONED left-wing politician has quit the public arena to go garlic farming.

Mr Nic Borain, a former Idasa regional director for the Western Cape, End Conscription Campaign chairman, secretary-general of Nusas and SRC president at the University of Cape Town, retired from public life only months after returning deeply disappointed from a visit to the Soviet Union.

This week he described his decision to go farming as “the best I have ever made”.

For the past seven months he has lived the life of a virtual recluse.

His decision to drop out of politics came only months after he visited the Soviet Union last year as a member of an Idasa fact-finding mission — and returned to write of his disillusionment with the socialist experiment.

Peace

This week he refused to discuss his reasons for quitting politics, saying only that they were “personal”.

Mr Borain — the brother of international model Josie Borain — had been expected to play a leading role in the politics of a new South Africa.

“Today he lives alone with his dog in a rambling thatch-roofed farmhouse near the banks of a



MAN OF THE SOIL... Nic Borain, who dropped out of left-wing politics to take up farming

members and former SADF officers, who expressed support for the need to end hostilities between rival military forces in South Africa.

It was soon after his return from the Soviet Union in June that Mr Borain wrote the article detailing his disillusionment with what he had seen there.

In an excerpt from the Idasa

newsletter, Democracy in Action, he wrote:

“The Soviet Union was the land of milk and honey for many of us who grew up politically in the student movement in the late 70s and early 80s.

“This was the flagship of a growing fleet that would rid our world of the uncaring and greedy imperative of profiteering cap-

italism and of the misery it had brought our country.

“We could quote chapter and verse of statistics that demonstrated the availability of basic goods and services to all Soviet people.

“We could parade the achievements of Eastern bloc socialism — in the production of iron and steel, in the eradication of illiter-

acy, in culture, the arts and in sport. I was quite unprepared for what I found in Moscow.”

Mr Borain said that almost “without exception” the people the delegation spoke to blamed socialism for their ills.

“When those of us with deep philosophical and political roots in the SA socialist movement protested that it wasn’t socialism per se that was the problem, but the errors committed in the building of the society and economy of the Soviet Union, we were laughed out of court.

Shock

“A refrain we heard time and again was: ‘It is the ideas themselves. 1917 was a disaster for us. We need a market economy.’

“It would have been impossible, and presumptuous, for us to lecture them on the evils of rampant capitalism. They want it and they want it now.”

Mr Borain said that by the end of the 10-day visit, the Idasa group was “punch-drunk and exhausted” and spoke for hours trying to draw out the essence of their experience.

“The resounding shock waves of that catastrophe have changed the whole world,” he said. “We struggled with the enormity of it and the sense of hopelessness we were left with.”

Agonising

Is there any hope, then?
“Please do not think I am leav-

how they ought to be conducting their battle, their liberation struggle?

Painful

"I never agreed with that argument but it was a very strong one in the organisation. Some people left because of that issue. It took me years to come to terms with it. It shook me."

Mrs Harris said she believed the debate — a very painful one — had been resolved.

"We now know what we are. A political pressure group, a human rights group; we guard our independence, we are non-aligned. We stand for the things we always stood for — justice, fair play and morality in government."

It was critical that those principles were not challenged again — no matter who was in power, she said. For that reason there would always be a need for a Black Sash.

Mrs Harris has been one of the driving forces behind the tiny but

angry letters to everybody". She joined the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, later named the Black Sash, which protested against the government's attempts to remove coloureds from the voters' roll.

In 1978 Mrs Harris wrote in a Sash publication: "What a welcome change it would make to be able to write about change, real change. How exciting it would be, could be, to report the repeal of the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the migrant labour system, Bantu Education Act, Terrorism Act, Internal Security Act, to name but a few."

"And if this were accomplished, how gratifying then to be able to report an upswing in the economy, lessening of racial tensions, improved international relations, an end to unrest, a surge of confidence in the future shared by all sections of the community."

This week Mrs Harris revisited her words of 13 years ago.

"When I wrote that I was dewy-

ing South Africa because there is no hope. Not at all. It has been an agonising decision. I want to stay here. I want to see what is going to happen. I want to poke my finger in.

"I still believe there is the capacity to bridge the differences. There is goodwill in this country."

Mrs Harris's sons left in the 70s and she says she was happy for them.

"I was delighted when my children left because things were really terrible then. They were young and I did not want to see them in the army fighting their black brethren and going into the townships. It is hard now to look back and remember what it was like in those days."

Will she remain politically involved?

"I have no intention of joining the anti-apartheid movement abroad. It always made me acid the way they would sit 6 000 miles away, telling us what to do and not being part of it."

the Southern Cape.

His only contact with the outside world is a telephone and an answering machine.

"I love the peace and tranquility here," confides Mr Borain.

"I'm experimenting with different types of garlic which I hope to market successfully. When I'm not working on the farm, most of my time is spent writing on my computer."

Misery

Mr Borain, a University of Cape Town BA graduate and former editor of the student newspaper, Varsity, rose through the ranks of student politics to become secretary-general of Nusas before joining Idasa.

In May last year, he visited Lusaka as a delegate to an Idasa conference on South Africa's military future, which included ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe

LOOKING back on the years of Nationalist rule, it seems fitting that the "old South Africa" should come to its end spewing the contents of the jails into the streets, like a medieval housewife emptying a bucket of slops.

The labours of DF Malan, Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster culminate in a scurry of evil creatures into the alleyways, like rats through the sewers. The criminals, in tens of thousands, are the first to celebrate the end of apartheid.

Fittingly so. This, after all, is the republic of Nico Diederichs and Fanie Botha, bankrupts; of liars like Connie Mulder and Jimmy Kruger, born Jones, who lied even about his humble Welsh origins; of Hennie van der Walt, the cabinet minister who later graduated to, and then from, prison.

It is also the republic of the CCB, of murder cases quashed by high authority, of police killers, of unpunished deaths in the cells, and of harsh punishment for such crimes as the dissemination of thought.

Yet even in such a republic, it is an outrage that two police officers sentenced to death by the courts for murder in a drug war should have their sentences commuted, and progressively reduced by administrative trickery, and be back on the streets in

three years. Among the 57 000 common criminals set free, these are the worst.

Very well. We can, in this thug-ridden society, put up with a few more thugs; life is a lottery. More worrying is the thought that this pitiful first result of the negotiations for a "new South Africa" is the consequence not of simple skulduggery, but of intellectual collapse in the higher regions of the Department of Justice, and of woeful political ineptitude.

The government has simply lost its intellectual grip on the process of transition. Like the bungling of the land question, the bungling of the prisoner release signals a warning: this government of President FW de Klerk does not possess the depth, the intelligence or the character to preside over the birth of a new republic.

The prisoners' story begins with the Groote Schuur Minute which, in May 1990, recommended the creation of a working group to define "political offences", and to advise the government on how to set the offenders free. The prospect seemed analogous to the release of prisoners of war, complex but not difficult.

At heart, it was a matter of definition — whether, for example, a murder committed in the heat of civil commotion was a common crime, or

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

STimes 21/7/91

a political act — and that task had already been pioneered in Namibia by Professor Carl Norgaard, president of the European Commission on Human Rights. We took over his work, virtually intact.

LIKE Professor Norgaard, our working group concluded there was no generally accepted definition of a political offence, but that an international consensus, based largely on extradition laws, did provide an acceptable set of guidelines. Every case should be judged on its merits, but factors to be taken into account included motive, membership of a political organisation, the circumstances of the crime (civil commotion or riot), the gravity of the offence, and so forth.

On these guidelines, the ANC and the government agreed. At first the

government insisted that it was free to negotiate with other groups and "formulate its own guidelines", but later it was to insist that the "Norgaard" guidelines applied to all prisoners.

The Pretoria Minute, signed in August, set two deadlines. Prisoners who could be released in categories would be dealt with by December 31, and those who needed individual consideration, by April 30.

The task seemed at first to be a technical one, best conducted by lawyers and judges in public, so that justice could be seen to be done, and so win for the process, political legitimacy. Instead, this government, its attitudes fashioned by its past, made the process secret. That was its first mistake.

What happened after August is difficult to say but by November 2, the government had hit on the idea of using administrative remission of sentences to solve the problems which defeated its technical legal competence.

AT FIRST, it seemed an innocent way to sidestep the problems. Eight ANC prisoners were released after having their sentences reduced administratively by one third. Others got special remission of one year. Various categories of political prisoners — those who left the country illegally, or got military training abroad, for example — were released without difficulty.

However, as year-end approached, it became plain that the government could not, or would not, meet the first deadline for the release of all the

categories. In a perversion of the spirit of Christmas, the government announced an expedient special remission of six months, claiming to act in a seasonal "spirit of goodwill". The first batch of criminals went free.

Four months later, facing more political flak from the ANC for its inability to meet the April 30 deadline, President De Klerk granted another special, presidential remission of six months, without referring to Christmas. Another batch of criminals went free.

By this time, nobody was happy. The government, trying to suppress political criticism on left and right, was clearly playing politics. It fell into the trap of linking left and right-wing prisoners, of matching Barabbas and Jesus. Since the process itself remained wrapped in bureaucratic secrecy, a mystified public perceived only manipulation and cynicism.

As all could see, the lack of any basis for a stand on principle made the government vulnerable to pressure and, with the ANC tugging from one side and the right-wingers tugging from the other, the "guidelines" simply collapsed.

In June, President De Klerk desperately added another one-third remission of sentence for first offend-

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ers, and the government, having laboured for a year to free 1 040 political prisoners, found it had released 57 000 common criminals along with them. Political release had turned into an emptying of the jails.

IN EFFECT, any criminal who could somehow contrive to be included in the loose definition of a "political criminal", or to win a series of commutations, remissions, and parole, could go free, with capricious results. Killer police like Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe were freed; terror bomber Robert McBride was not. Crazy killer David Protter went free, Barend Strydom did not.

What is left of the Norgaard principles nobody can say. Every other person has his own theory of what should happen, what should have happened, what precedents have been set, what villains are free and what innocent victims remain in jail. The only general agreement is that, in this dying republic, justice has become a matter of administrative *diktat*.

The very concept of criminal justice has been emptied of meaning, and stripped of respect. The final achievement of the "old South Africa", in which buffoonery was made law, has been to reduce law to buffoonery.



THE first inkling Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had of the impending storm was a panicky phone call in Cape Town at 8pm on Thursday night from Captain Craig Kotze, his liaison officer.

Capt Kotze, a former journalist, told Mr Vlok from Johannesburg that the Weekly Mail would carry a report the next day alleging the SA police had handed R250 000 in "gifts" to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Vlok, survivor of many damaging disclosures about his department, acted instinctively.

He telephoned the SABC and told them he was pulling Capt Kotze out of a panel discussion with Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber and Inkatha press liaison officer Suzanne Vos on links between the police and Inkatha.

The programme had been scheduled to go out live in less than an hour's time.

Mr Vlok then contacted his senior generals. Get every bit of information you can, he ordered. His men worked through the night, conferring with Mr Vlok in Cape Town by telephone and fax.

On Friday morning, now fully informed, Mr Vlok telephoned President FW de Klerk, who was on leave. The president immediately decided to return to office.

He knew a crisis when he saw one.

Payments boost Inkatha's image

THE flurry was caused by a report in Johannesburg's Weekly Mail that the South African security police paid R250 000 into an Inkatha bank account in Durban to help pay, among other things, for two party rallies. The Inkatha trade union, Uwusa, also received handouts.

The Mail published in full a 10-page memorandum from Natal security police officer Major Louis Botha to the deputy regional chief of the security police, Brigadier JA Steyn, setting out a comprehensive SAP-supported plan to boost Inkatha's image, help it engage in anti-ANC activity, fund some of its rallies and counter ANC erosion of Inkatha support.

Maj Botha reported on confidential discussions with Chief Buthelezi in which the Inkatha chief expressed concern about Xhosa domination of the ANC, spoke of his reluctance to establish rapport with the ANC in case he was swallowed up, his fears of losing popular support and even his suspicions of some of his cabinet ministers, such as Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Chief Gumede and Mr S Sithebe.

Maj Botha reported on crumbling support for Inkatha in Natal and warned there was a danger the ANC might gain the upper hand in the province. He observed that Chief Buthelezi intended holding a series of political gatherings in Natal to broaden his political base.

A huge rally was to be held at King's Park in Durban on March 25 with the themes, said Maj Botha, of "anti-violence, anti-sanctions and pro-evolution".

Maj Botha's recommendation: "This region feels it is urgent we make a financial contribution to the rally. It is of cardinal importance that enough people are at King's Park to support the Chief Minister



ADRIAAN VLOK . . . confirmation



Gerrit Viljoen and Chief Buthelezi confer at yesterday's Inkatha rally

LOUIS BU

THE DAY THE BUBBLE BUR

By BRIAN POTTINGER, MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

because the allegations were all true.

It was not the first time charges of collusion between the SA police and Inkatha had been made. The ANC and civil rights groups had handed over dossiers of allegations of complicity in Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters in Natal and the Transvaal townships.

Many of the complaints had focused on alleged police support in bussing Inkatha supporters into ANC-supporting areas in the Transvaal for rallies — rallies which had all too often ended in violence.

The issue had also been raised in Parliament.

On March 5 this year, Mr Kobus Jordaan — DP member for Umhlanga and a former senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development until his security clearance was yanked by the police because he had begun confidential discussions with the ANC — asked President De Klerk whether the National Intelligence Service had ever given support to Inkatha.

Deputy Information Minister Roelf Meyer, standing in for Mr De Klerk, refused to answer. Similar questions to Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Mr Vlok went unanswered.

On April 9, Mr Jordaan returned to the attack. This time, Mr De Klerk said: "It is not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation, except government aid made available for a specific purpose on an equal basis, such as the payment of constituency allowances."

This answer, Mr De Klerk knew as he headed back for the crisis meeting in Pretoria, would be crucial in the government's response to the Weekly Mail story.

But Mr Jordaan had not finished. On Wednesday this week he publicly announced he would not accept a US government invitation to America because of the claim by US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen a few days earlier that the US could find no evidence of SA government bodies supporting black-on-black violence.

Of the political impact of the Weekly Mail story there could be no doubt.

The ANC would be immeasurably strengthened in its claims that the De Klerk administration was attempting to sabotage it through proxies.

Inkatha's reputation was in tatters. Not to mention the likely response of the US government, which had just lifted sanctions against the dire warnings of the sanctioners, who claimed the SA government was involved in destabilising the ANC.

Vlok confirms secret fundings

MR VLOK remained in Cape Town on Friday. He was in constant telephone and fax contact with his senior generals and the president.

The telephone line between Union Buildings and Ulundi, where Chief Buthelezi was preparing for his par-

ty's annual day, must

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The ANC, reluctant to cerned, said dentially, sabotaging and that church next week, bind Inkatha peaceful

But there Mr Nelson remarkably in which he tions were birthday part he had again ing would It was before the to respond

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From Page 1

funding had been received had sparked off the civic violence that had become known as the "Maritzburg War".

Asked whether any checks were made to ensure the money was used

Constitution Minist

Gerrit Viljoen, opening Inkatha annual Comm at Ulundi yesterday, the money donated to katha had been "cant" when seen again the background of the sums donated to the

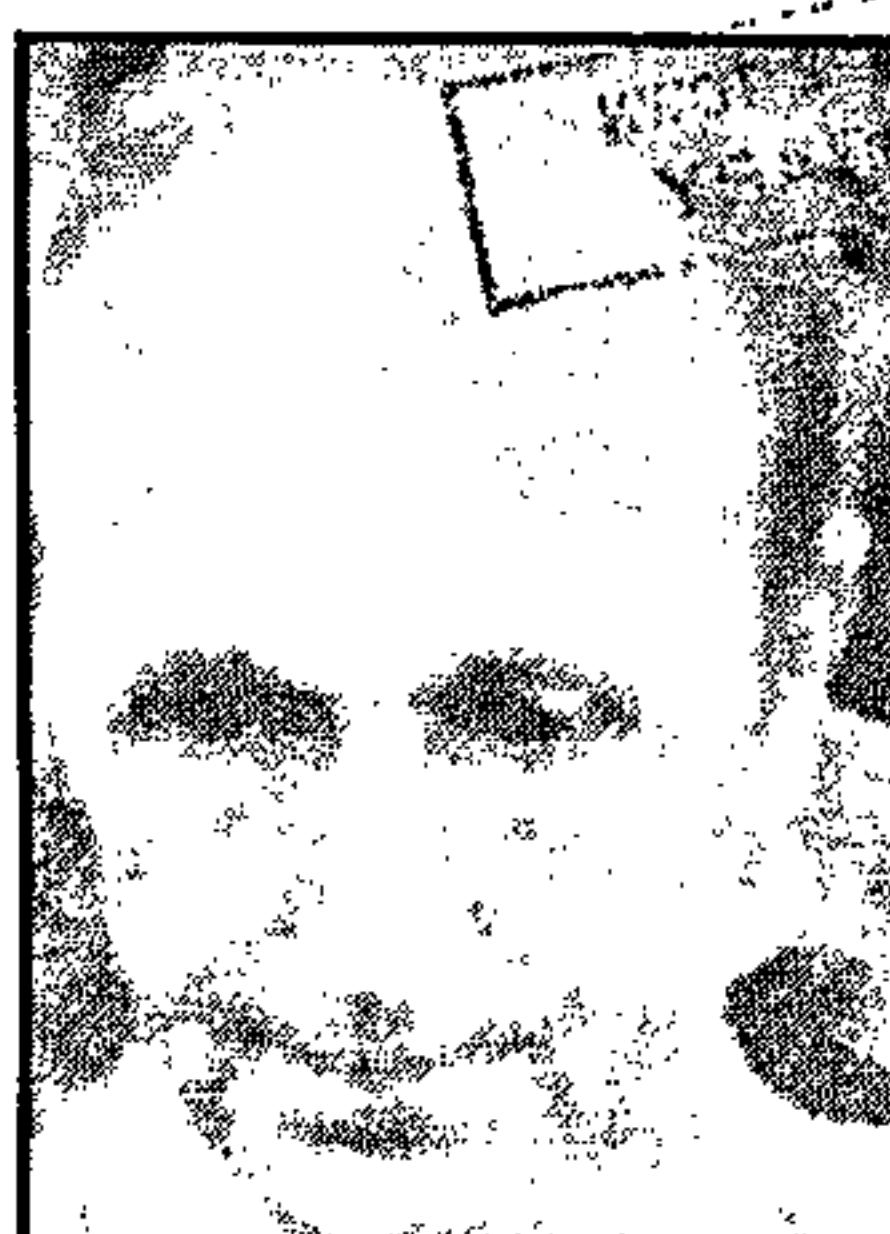
21/7/91



confirmation



Gerrit Viljoen and Chief Buthelezi confer at yesterday's Inkatha rally



LOUIS BOTHA ... suggested aid

THE DAY THE JBBLE BURST

S/Times 21/7/91

By BRIAN POTTINGER, MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

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Vlok confirms secret fundings

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The telephone line between Union Buildings and Ulundi, where Chief Buthelezi was preparing for his par-

ty's annual conference starting that day, must surely have hummed.

There was considerable confusion as the Weekly Mail article hit the streets — compounded by a report in New Nation, an ANC-sympathetic newspaper, quoting a Mozambican who claimed he was part of the SADF's 5 Recce Unit and had been involved in the slaughter of civilians on trains in the Johannesburg area as part of a special forces campaign of destabilisation.

His claims were promptly denied by the military.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos, meanwhile, said Chief Buthelezi had no knowledge of SA police payments to Inkatha and dismissed the article as a "strategic ploy" to coincide with Inkatha's annual congress.

The ANC, incredibly, was at first reluctant to comment. It was concerned, said one spokesman confidentially, that it would be seen to be sabotaging the Inkatha conference and that might hamper the crucial church peace talks scheduled for next week, at which it was hoped to bind Inkatha to a mutual code of peaceful conduct.

But there was anger in ANC ranks. Mr Nelson Mandela had just given a remarkably conciliatory interview in which he said he believed negotiations were back on track. At his birthday party on Wednesday night, he had again told well-wishers nothing would stop negotiations.

It was late on Friday afternoon before the parties were in a position to respond formally to what amount-

ed to the biggest scandal faced by the De Klerk administration.

Mr Vlok's statement came out a few minutes before 6pm. He confirmed the story, but insisted the money had come from a special fund set up to combat sanctions.

The support for the rallies, then, had been support for an anti-sanctions campaign and not for a political party as such.

Mr De Klerk's statement arrived almost simultaneously. He contented himself by observing there had been a fundamental change in the handling of secret funds. He said he had also ordered a full inquiry into covert operations of the various state departments. As a result of that, he said, numerous covert actions were cancelled.

"Some actions being continued in the broad national interest are now subject to cabinet control and, as was envisaged, are being carefully and firmly managed," he said.

It was only later that the source of the money for the Inkatha rally was discovered.

Mr Vlok had asked his colleague, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, for the money from a secret anti-sanctions budget in the Foreign Affairs Special Account, part of the Secret Services Account. This anti-sanctions budget had been widely used, it appeared, to fund campaigns all over the world.

Buthelezi hits at 'offensive' story

CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S response came soon afterwards. He denied just about everything. He denied knowledge of payments through the police to Inkatha for rallies. He denied ever having accepted money to undermine the ANC.

He described the Weekly Mail article as "offensive" and accused the ANC of having accepted government money to attend the Groote Schuur peace conference and having taken money from Russia, Cuba and the Middle East.

He particularly denied Brigadier Steyn's claim that he had been grateful for money received for a rally.

Lastly, came the ANC response, delivered by Mr Mandela on his departure overseas. The revelations, he said, confirmed ANC charges that the government had been funding anti-ANC activities and it bore direct responsibility for "the murder, sometimes of entire African families, in both the PWV and Natal". S/Times 21/7/91

He again called for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC on a collision course. If President De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no point in the ANC having further discussions with the government.

Pik says he authorised Inkath

From Page 1

funding had been received had sparked off the civic violence that had become known as the "Maritzburg War".

Asked whether any checks were made to ensure the money was used

S/Times 21/7/91
Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, opening the Inkatha annual Conference at Ulundi yesterday, said the money donated to Inkatha had been "insignificant" when seen against the background of the vast sums donated to the ANC

vealed by the Weekly Mail.

"Your guess is as good as mine," he told a reporter.

RYAN CRESSWELL reports from the Inkatha annual conference at Ulundi that shock and disbelief was the reaction of many of the 2 400 delegates

ANC President Nelson Mandela said on Friday that if President De Klerk could not ensure that the security forces confined themselves to the maintenance of law and order, there was no point in the ANC holding further discussions with the govern-

Opinion

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said on the SABC TV programme "Agenda" last night that he was reconsidering his position and would resign if he proved to be an obstacle to the success of negotiations.

Mr Vlok was replying to a question by Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber as to whether the Inkatha pay-off scandal would lead to his resignation.

Mr Vlok vehemently denied further allegations, published at the weekend, that more than R5 million had been paid to other political organisations from a special slush fund.

The minister said the SAP had paid "no more than R5 million in total" to Inkatha and its trade union, the United Workers' Union of SA.

"R5 million is way off the mark," Mr Vlok said.

He admitted that these donations had "strengthened the perception that the SAP works together with Inkatha. We have always had a good relationship with Inkatha and it was easy to pay money into a bank account. However, after February 2, 1990, matters changed and the police became neutral."

"The State President told the SAP that they were going to be removed from the political playing fields. The State President also cancelled certain secret projects," Mr Vlok said.

"It now is illegal for any policeman to belong to a political party. Those things are gone forever."

"In the past, the government was embroiled in a battle, but this has passed and we can now act publicly, which is something I prefer anyway."

Mr Vlok said the SAP had now "come clean on all the facts — we have told everything".

He repeated earlier statements that the money was used to fight the pro-sanctions campaign, and denied an allegation by Mr Harber that the money had instead been intended to bolster Inkatha against the ANC.

Mr Harber said the 10-page top-secret SAP document published by the Weekly Mail showed that the

Vlok 'reconsiders' after disclosures

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anti-sanctions campaign was not the primary purpose of the transaction.

Mr Harber said he doubted the statement by Mr Vlok that the SAP took a neutral stance after February 2, 1990, as the transactions to Inkatha had taken place after that date.

"How do we know if there weren't more of these payments, and did you defy the State President's instructions when you paid these?" he asked.

Mr Vlok continued to insist however that the Inkatha rallies had been funded to counteract the sanctions campaign, and also to highlight a message of peace in a strife-torn area.

Mr Vlok said each and every expense item had been carefully documented to ensure that taxpayers' money had not been wasted. Senior Inkatha officials provided details of expenditures to security policeman Major Louis Botha.

Mr Harber: "Why was it necessary to pay these funds through the SAP? How do we know whether money used in the anti-sanctions campaign was not also spent to pay the killers of David Webster, who was pro-sanctions?"

Mr Vlok did not reply to this question.

Mr Harber refused to disclose the source who had provided the Weekly Mail with the top-secret SAP document. "We can only say that no law was broken," he commented.

Mr Vlok: "Except by the person who stole the documents..."

Mr Harber: "A person who did his civic duty..."

The Weekly Mail editor asked further: "How can we believe your denials about the neutrality of the SA Police?"

Mr Vlok: "I've said before that you must be prepared to bring the proof..."

Mr Harber: "Here's the proof, Mr Vlok..." — Sapa



RE-ELECTED ... Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is carried on the shoulders of supporters after being re-elected yesterday as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party. He earlier volunteered his resignation over the growing row that his party received covert funds from the government. **INSET:** Constitutional Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen chats with the chief minister during a lunch break at Inkatha's 16th conference at the weekend in Ulundi.



Govt's admission jeopardises SA peace process

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CT 22/7/91

PRETORIA'S admission that it has been secretly funding Inkatha has created a major setback to negotiations with the African National Congress and jeopardised the entire peace process in South Africa.

It has also damaged the credibility of President F W de Klerk and put him under intensive pressure to sack Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan.

Mr Nelson Mandela is known to be enraged by the disclosures. They have embarrassed him with a large section of militant ANC members who repeatedly warned that he was putting too much trust in the De Klerk government.

Even so, the political initiative has shifted suddenly to the ANC. Any government denials of involvement with Inkatha or with the Zulu factions in the township violence are now likely to be disbelieved.

Mr Mandela, in Spain yesterday at the start of a tour of European and South American countries, said he doubted whether a complete breakdown in negotiations with the government could be avoided.

His main mission — to appeal for the maintenance of economic sanctions — is now certain to fall on more sympathetic ears.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha admitted yesterday that he had authorised the channelling of state money to Inkatha as part of "a world-wide campaign to counter sanctions". But the Sunday Star claimed yesterday

that the R250 000 state funds for two Inkatha rallies admitted by Mr Vlok was "only the tip of the iceberg". The newspaper said it had established that the government's secret funding to Inkatha involved amounts of more than R5 million, most of it to help Inkatha establish its own black trade union, Uwusa.

The Weekly Mail broke the story at the weekend by publishing a "top secret" memorandum from a Durban security police officer requesting funds to assist Inkatha stage rallies to counter its waning support.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied receiving any such funds. The claim, he said, had been timed to discredit Inkatha's annual conference held in Ulundi at the weekend.

But within hours Mr Vlok had admitted the secret funding. Mr De Klerk also issued a brief statement saying he had ordered a stop to "all covert funding" during the second half of last year.

At the same time, the independent pro-ANC newspaper, New Nation, carried allegations by a former black army sergeant that four members of the defence force's five reconnaissance regiment ("Five Recce") had carried out an attack on a Soweto commuter train killing 26 people in September last year.

An army spokesman dismissed the claim as "outright lies" but the government immediately appointed a high-ranking police officer, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, to investigate the allegations. — Daily Telegraph



MARCH OF HONOUR . . . Part of the crowd of more than 25 000 people who attended slain civic leader Mr Johnson Mapongwana's funeral in Khayelitsha on Saturday are seen here marching through the township. **Right:** CP chief Mr Joe Slovo and former UDF leader Dr Allan Boesak hug each other at the funeral.

Pictures: BENNY GOOL and HAROLD KING

'Ministers must resign'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MORE THAN 25 000 township mourners at Saturday's Khayelitsha funeral of assassinated civic leader Mr Michael Mapongwana jubilantly endorsed ANC calls for the resignation of President F W de Klerk and his two senior security ministers.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu told them that the ANC's national working committee would be convened "immediately", before the full executive met to discuss the government's shock admission to bankrolling Inkatha.

Further claims that a squad of SADF reconnaissance commandos murdered 26 civilian commuters on a Soweto train on September 13 last year vindicated ANC assertions of state involvement in violence, Mr Sisulu said.

"We've been telling the world that the government is responsible for violence in our country. Time and again we've asked the government how on earth such things can happen, when thousands are killed and none of the perpetrators of violence are brought to book," he added.

Mr Mapongwana, chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, and Mr Ntshintshi Ntini were shot by three masked gunmen at close range on July 8 this year.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo told the crowd that the government's covert actions were bringing 18 months of talks "closer to the brink of breakdown than they have ever been".

Mr Sisulu's speech, however, fell short of calls by Mr Slovo, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak for the immediate resignation of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

In a carefully worded address, Mr Sisulu said the ANC needed to handle the matter



WATCHING . . . Members of the Webta taxi organisation keep a close watch on the funeral of slain civic leader Mr Michael Mapongwana. Police have identified known taxi operators as suspects in the murder.

Picture: HAROLD KING

"wisely", as the purpose of the state-sponsored violence was "to retard progress and destroy our organisation".

"It is very difficult to still move cautiously when hooligans attack you at your house, but whatever you are doing you must do it with great wisdom."

To roars of approval, Dr Boesak called for Mr De Klerk's resignation, "as I do not believe that you can be head of country and have cabinet ministers who do this".

Archbishop Tutu led the crowd in chants calling for the immediate resignation of Mr Vlok and the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry.

If the commission revealed that Mr De Klerk had known about state-sponsored violence and the security police funding of Inkatha, he should also resign, Archbishop Tutu added.

Mr Mapongwana had been a leading light in the Taxi Crisis Co-ordinating Committee which introduced a selective commuter boycott against the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta), for its

reneging on a peace plan with their arch-rivals the former Lagunya Taxi Association.

The police hunt for the assassins has centred on Webta, which is under intense township scrutiny and pressure with many members and their families in hiding.

Yesterday Webta members, fearing on attack by the huge crowd, were seen monitoring the burial ceremony from the nearby dune-tops bordering their temporary headquarters in Mitchells Plain.

MK members lying on their backs on the ground fired several shots into the air with handguns in salute to their fallen comrade, as police monitored proceedings from a distance.

Members of the dissolved Lagunya Association formed a guard of honour around Mr Mapongwana's coffin, wearing the white jackets agreed to in the joint taxi peace plan.

The funeral was also addressed by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba and DP MP Mr Jan van Eck.

CRISIS TALKS

Tutu: Vlok must quit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE cabinet and senior government officials will hold a crunch meeting at a secret bushveld location outside Pretoria today in a bid to defuse the gravest crisis yet faced by the De Klerk administration.

Top of the agenda at the two-day "bosberaad" will be the government's emergency strategy to deal with the national and international outcry sparked by the Inkatha slush-fund scandal and dangers the crisis holds for the negotiations process.

The mushrooming row yesterday fuelled calls from across a wide spectrum for the sacking of government security ministers — particularly Mr Adriaan Vlok — and raised fears that the entire peace process could be jeopardised.

Mr Vlok said on SATV last night that if he was found to be standing in the road of negotiations he would consider resigning.

"I am reconsidering at the moment and will discuss it with the President," he said, but added that he would leave the matter in the hands of the President and his cabinet.

Earlier Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a mass funeral for two victims of township violence in Cape Town that Mr Vlok was "a liar who should resign immediately".

He added his voice to growing calls for the government to establish a judicial commission of inquiry into the illicit funding of political organisations.

The Democratic Party yesterday demanded a special probe into secret government expenditure to expose to the taxpaying public the full extent of irregular state slush funds.

The Conservative Party called for the immediate resignation of Mr De Klerk and his government and demanded that a general election be held.

By secretly channelling funds to a political party the government had finally proved its untrustworthiness and had violated one of the most basic principles of democracy, CP state administration spokesman Mr Chris Jacobs said.

Mr Nelson Mandela said in Spain at the beginning of an overseas tour yesterday that he doubted whether a complete breakdown in negotiations with the government could be avoided.



CALL ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu was one of several speakers at the funeral of slain community leader Mr Michael Mapongwana at the weekend who called for the resignation of Mr F W de Klerk and two senior cabinet ministers. The call, endorsed loudly by more than 25 000 mourners, follows disclosures that the government covertly bankrolled Inkatha. **Report — Page 2.**



RE-ELECTED ... Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was unanimously re-elected president of Inkatha at its annual conference yesterday, amid ongoing controversy surrounding government funding of certain IFP activities. **Report — Page 4**

The growing condemnation of the government came amid fresh claims that that clandestine funding to Inkatha and its anti-ANC union arm, Uwusa, could be at least 20 times the R250 000 originally disclosed.

But Mr Vlok last night labelled charges that R5 million had been channelled to Uwusa "way out of line", saying that "only" R1,5 million had been given

to the Inkatha-supporting union over a period of six years.

The other key figure in the controversy, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night dismissed all suggestions that he knew about payouts to Inkatha from the security police. But he refused to accept a challenge to resign if documentary evidence was produced to prove the contrary.

But as the row — described by opposition parties as "an open-and-shut case of political corruption" — continued to grow at the weekend, government ministers tried to play down the biggest scandal it has had to confront since Mr De Klerk took control of the National Party in 1989.

Mr Vlok, despite his offer to resign, dismissed suggestions that the channelling of public funds through the police constituted "a waste of taxpayers' money".

However, he acknowledged that the supplying of state money to Inkatha for "anti-sanctions and anti-violence" purposes could have "a spin-off to the advantage of Inkatha".

Earlier he said he had not had a single sleepless night over the government's decision secretly to channel public funds to Inkatha, as the action was "justified under the circumstances".

Mr Vlok told the Sunday newspaper Rapport that he did not think any heads would roll as a result of the disclosures, as he believed the government had behaved "responsibly" in the matter.

He was not aware of a government-sponsored Inkatha rally in Natal last year leading to township violence, but would investigate these claims.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the payments made by the police to Inkatha were "insignificant" and for the "limited purpose" of organising two mass rallies and to support the fight against sanctions.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who yesterday admitted authorising the siphoning off of public money to Inkatha, defended the decision by saying a number of bodies had been given secret funds in the past "to fight sanctions".

"It had nothing to do with support for political objectives or ideologies but was purely to oppose sanctions," he claimed.

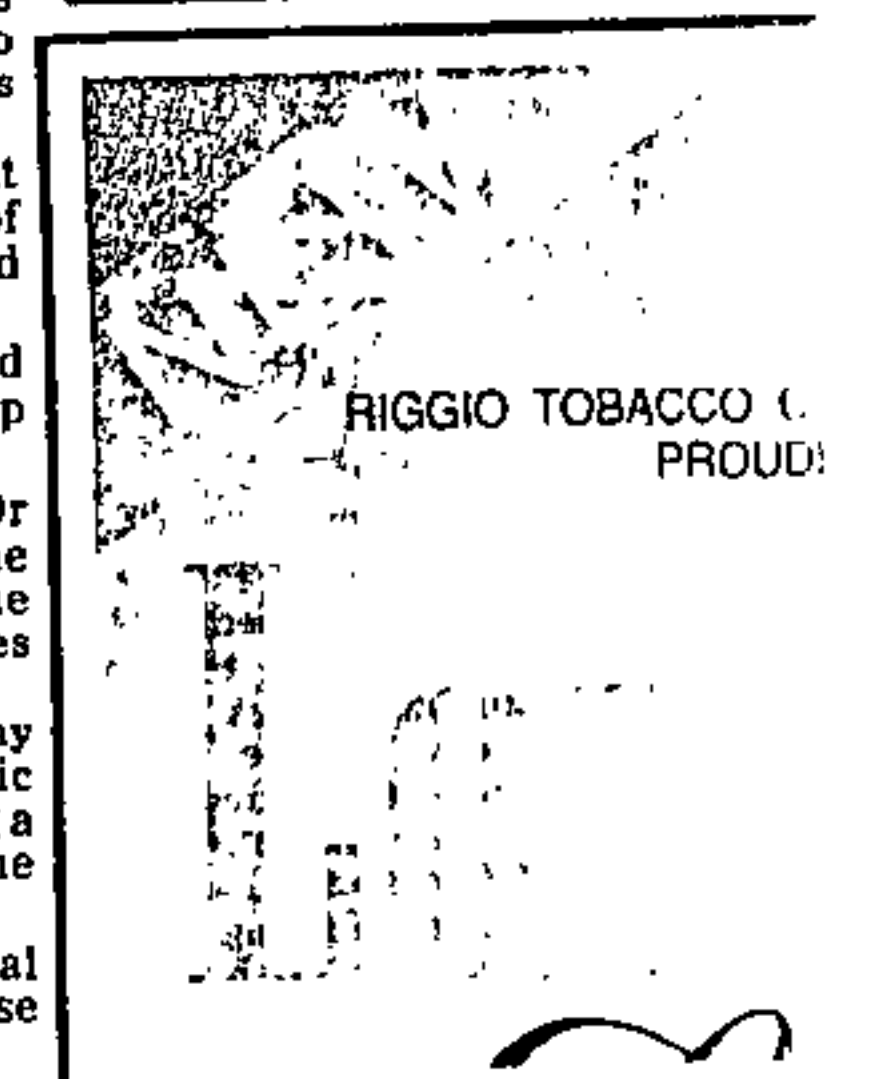
However, a security police memorandum motivating the need to channel taxpayers' money to Inkatha cited the "urgent" need to boost Inkatha's image, help it engage in anti-ANC activity, fund some of its rallies and counter ANC erosion of Inkatha support.

The Democratic Party yesterday dismissed the government's "sanctions" justification for helping to bankroll Inkatha as "an insult to the public's intelligence".

DP finance spokesman Mr John Walsh said a full probe was now necessary to unveil the precise extent of irregular government expenditure.

● **'Ministers must resign' — Page 2**
● **Vlok 'reconsiders' after disclosure — Page 4**

To page 2



Buthelezi bashes press

ULUNDI. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday described the South African media as "anti-Inkatha" and partial, following coverage of disclosures of government financial assistance to his party.

Speaking at the Inkatha Freedom Party's Annual General Conference in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said he was "amazed and astounded" by the attitude the media had taken on this issue.

He was not the "darling of the media" because he was an indig-enous leader "who doesn't lean on any liberal or anyone", Chief

Buthelezi said.

"The IFP is so detested because it's proving a point that the sons and daughters of Africa can run an organisation like this on our pittance."

He rejected the implication that Inkatha was responsible for the violence, reiterating that he had never presided over a meeting where decisions were taken to kill anyone.

On calls by some newspapers for his resignation, Chief Buthelezi said: "If the Sunday Times, the Weekly Mail and others think the future of the country can be

determined without an impact by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, they need their heads read."

The Inkatha leader also hit out at his former secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, for recent remarks in the media concerning the IFP and its leadership, and about the organisation's "ethnic" base.

Chief Buthelezi told several thousand delegates and Inkatha members at the conference that he knew "you're boiling within you because I know how I feel about this bull...". — Sapa

PARUS 29/7/91

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Secret funds: Ministers in trouble

ids:

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Staff

THE Cabinet has gone into retreat today amid conflicting statements by three ministers on the crisis over secret funding to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The scandal has shaken the government and remains a threat to the negotiation process.

The Cabinet's two-day conference, planned some time ago, will be dominated by efforts to resolve the crisis.

President De Klerk will be anxious to limit the political damage and protect the negotiation process.

So far, three senior ministers have been carrying the burden of justifying the secret IFP funding:

- Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, who finds himself in yet another controversy because of the security police's involvement in channelling the funds to the IFP,

- Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the government's chief negotiator who attended the IFP's annual conference in Ulundi at the weekend, and —

- Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, who admitted that R250 000 from the Foreign Affairs Special Account was used to sponsor two IFP rallies in November 1989 and March 1990 and to assist the IFP trade union, the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) to fight sanctions.

Different accounts

In weekend statements, the three ministers gave different accounts of crucial aspects of the clandestine funding.

Mr Botha said he had authorised a payment totalling R250 000 for two IFP rallies and assistance to Uwusa. This was supported by Dr Viljoen, who said the money was earmarked "for the limited purpose" of organising two mass rallies and to support the fight against sanctions.

Yet Mr Vlok made a vague distinction between the funding of the rallies — totalling R250 000 according to secret police documents published last week by the Weekly Mail — and the money given to Uwusa. Mr Vlok said "in addition" to the funds for the rallies, Uwusa had received money towards "an attempt to counter intimidation, illegal actions and related violence on the labour front".

Further, the Democratic Party's Umhlanga MP, Mr Kobus Jordaan — a former senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development whose security clearance was withdrawn because he started confidential discussions with the ANC — claimed at the weekend to have documentary proof that R5 million of taxpayers' money had been donated to Uwusa.

Mr Vlok, who has ordered an investigation into the claim, did not flatly dismiss this possibility. He merely said: "I really don't think it is anywhere near that amount. However, I don't want to speculate."

Mr Vlok initially insisted the government's covert financial support of the IFP — as an anti-violence and anti-sanctions organisation — was non-political. At the weekend he conceded that part of the security police reasoning in proposing the government funding was to boost Inkatha's waning support.

Mr Vlok told the Afrikaans NP-supporting newspaper Rapport: "The question here is the money given to a political organisation to help fight sanctions ..."

Mr Vlok made several other controversial remarks in the exclusive interview with Rapport:

- He denied knowledge of the widespread violence — dubbed the "Maritzburg War" — which erupted shortly after the government-sponsored rally on March 25 last year.

He said: "At these gatherings calls have been made against violence and for peace. No violence followed (from those rallies), at least not as far as I know. I have anyway ordered an investigation."

However, Mr Vlok and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi jointly visited the strife-torn area by helicopter during the "Seven Day War".



■ Mr Adriaan Vlok



■ Mr Pik Botha



■ Dr Gerrit Viljoen

'Acted responsibly'

● Mr Vlok said no heads would roll over the funding debacle and added that the government had acted "responsibly" and "in the interest of the whole country".

Asked whether he could vow that taxpayers' money would be used more carefully in future, he said: "Of course, but would many taxpayers have complained over the spending of money to contribute to the war against sanctions?"

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that the secret funding could obstruct South Africa's access to a multi-billion rand loan from the International Monetary Fund and is also likely to embarrass President Bush and his advisers.

Aides to some congressmen who support sanctions confirmed over the weekend that they had been requested to review the Gramm amendment, which restricts US support for IMF loans to South Africa, in order to tighten its provisions.

And they argued that the disclosure of the secret funding of Inkatha would reinforce many lingering doubts in congress about the claim by President Bush and the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, that the South African government was committed to negotiations "in good faith".

Crucial to any decision by congress will be Mr De Klerk's response in deed, rather than in word, to the disclosures.

For the time being he continues to enjoy wide support on Capitol Hill. But it is not unconditional support and nor is it uniformly enthusiastic.

● Twelve questions you should answer about SA — see Quiz SA — page 9.

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**Vlok: I will
reconsider
my
position**

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ARG 22/7/91

THE Minister of Police, Mr Adriaan Vlok, is "reconsidering" his position in the wake of calls for his resignation over the scandal involving the channeling of police funds to Inkatha.

On the SABC programme *Agenda* last night Mr Vlok said he would speak to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, regarding his position.

"My standpoint is that if I am an obstacle on the road to negotiations and the future of this country, I will reconsider my position. I am reconsidering my position and will discuss it with the State President," Mr Vlok said.

The minister was responding to Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber's question: "Considering the damage that has been done to the police, the government, the security forces and the negotiation process, would it not be in the best interests of your cabinet to resign?"

During the heated debate, Mr Vlok said "each and every cent" of the money funded to Inkatha had been accounted for by senior Inkatha officials, who reported back to the police.

However, he claimed he had never spoken to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi regarding the funds.

Mr Vlok insisted repetitively throughout the debate that taxpayers' money, spent on Inkatha, had not been wasted.

He revealed that the police had funnelled "not more than R1,5million" to Inkatha's union United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa).

"The figure which has been alleged in the Press — R5 million — is way off the mark. Apart from the R250 000 spent on the two rallies, the police spent not more than R1,5 million over a period of six years," Mr Vlok said.

Questioned by Mr Harber as to why two different reasons were given as to the aim of the funding to Inkatha — one by Durban security police chief Major Louis Botha and another by him — Mr Vlok said he admitted that there was a "spin-off" in that Inkatha benefited politically from the police funds.

"I admit there was an advantage for Inkatha, which was not yet a political party, but the main aim of the police funding was to fight sanctions," Mr Vlok said.

Clearly annoyed, Mr Harber said he disagreed, and that sanctions fighting was not the major factor in the funding.

"And why should it (financial assistance) come through the police? ... How do we know that the police did not pay the killers of David Webster? How do we know just how widely you were prepared to spend the money?" asked Mr Harber.

Mr Vlok: "You are missing the point. The money was to help Inkatha to pay for the rally. It was costing them thousands to get the message (anti-sanctions) across, inside the country and abroad."

Asked why Major Botha, in documents made available to the Weekly Mail, had said that Chief Buthelezi had personally thanked him (Major Botha), Mr Vlok said: "Maybe there was a misunderstanding."

"You are too suspicious of people, Mr Harber. The important point is that certain



Mr Vlok ... insisted that taxpayers' money spent on Inkatha had not been wasted

monies were deposited for Inkatha. I think you should put the question to Buthelezi (as to whether he knew of the funding or not)".

Mr Vlok on two occasions brought up the ANC's covert operation "Operation Vula" following questions Mr Harber put to him, saying that it was important to be fair and even-handed. The ANC had been indemnified, he added.

Mr Harber accused Mr Vlok of the abuse and theft of taxpayers' money and of conducting secrecy over the use of this money.

Mr Vlok said there were "good reasons" as to why the funding of Inkatha could not be done openly — and added that Inkatha was against sanctions and the police were helping them to get their message across.

He conceded that in the past, the police had been involved in party politics, but that now it had distanced itself from politics in the light of President de Klerk's reform speech on February 2 last year.

"But the rally funded by the police came two months later ... Were you defying the State President?" asked Mr Harber.

Mr Vlok again reiterated the point that the rally was aimed at spreading the anti-sanctions message and he was satisfied that the aim was reached.

Mr Harber said he had evidence that the police had funded other organisations apart from Inkatha.

Asked whether this was in fact the case (that other organisations were funded), Mr Vlok said: "Not as far as my department is concerned."

Mr Vlok then asked Mr Harber to provide him with the information before it was published to enable him to investigate it. Mr Harber replied that he had been stopped by Mr Vlok from appearing on television when information to be published had become known to him (Vlok), further retorting: "You also closed my newspaper." (Referring to the suspension of the Weekly Mail under emergency regulations).

Mr Vlok conceded that people had perceived the police to be partial, but insisted that the "era when police took part in party politics is over".

Police projects planned before the "new era" had even been cancelled in order to facilitate this new distanced approach.

"The State President feels strongly that taxpayers' money should not be wasted. The police will make sure it is used judiciously. There were good reasons, on that occa-

sion, it could not be done openly ... We can not do it openly and I prefer it that way," he said.

Asked whether "any heads will roll" over the affair, Mr Vlok said the situation was being "carefully looked into" to see whether there were any laws or regulations broken.

He had placed his trust in the State President and his Cabinet to deal with the matter.

In a heated interview with newspaper journalists on television, Chief Buthelezi angrily denied that he or IFP officials were aware of the government aid.

In other dramatic developments yesterday, renewed calls were made for Mr Vlok's resignation, the Conservative Party called for the entire government to resign, IFP leader Chief Buthelezi referred to the disclosures as "bullsh ...", and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha justified the payments as part of a widespread sanctions-busting campaign.

In Ulundi, an emotional Chief Buthelezi — who was re-elected unanimously as IFP leader at the organisation's national conference — dismissed calls for his resignation by saying anyone who thought the country's future could be decided without his participation should have "their heads read".

Revelations of the government's clandestine funding of the IFP — one of the ANC's main rivals — coincided with renewed claims of a sophisticated police "dirty tricks" campaign to fuel township violence.

The weekly newspaper *New Nation* on Friday claimed that a special security force unit, 5 Recce, had used attackers from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique to carry out attacks, including the bloody Reef train massacres.

Amid fears that the negotiating process could be derailed because of the government's covert support of the IFP, the ANC announced that its national working committee (NWC) would meet today or tomorrow to discuss the repercussions of the scandal.

In Spain, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the IFP had been working with the government to destroy the ANC.

The violence in South Africa was not black-on-black, but a prepared strategy, orchestrated by the security forces, between "this black organisation and the government. That's why they are paying them."

Mr Pik Botha yesterday issued a statement to justify the use of Foreign Affairs funds to sponsor IFP activities.

Following an earlier announcement that he had authorised R250 000 from the Foreign Affairs Special Account to sponsor two Inkatha rallies and Uwusa's anti-sanctions activities, the minister said the government's funding of sanctions-busting organisations had nothing to do with the support of a political goal or ideology.

It was aimed solely at the ending and the prevention of further sanctions.

Mr Botha said his department did, from time to time, in good faith support bona fide attempts by the private sector, academics and a variety of organisations to oppose sanctions.

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Get out of Parliament, Van Tonder tells CP

Political Staff

(304A)

The Boerestaat Party (BSP) has called on the Conservative Party (CP) to resign from Parliament because the right wing could no longer win a majority there.

The call, made in the latest issue of the BSP's newsletter, "Boerestaat Nuusbrief", came from party leader Robert van Tonder.

In the main story, headlined "A call to the CP: Get out of the Cape Parliament", the BSP said the recent repeal of the Population Regis-

star 22/7/91
tration Act had effectively ended the possibility of a right-wing takeover of power through the ballot.

Mr van Tonder said the CP and all right-wing parties and groups together could never win a majority in the "Cape Parliament", because black, Indian and coloured people could no longer be excluded from the previously white voters roll.

The CP, he said, should pull out of Parliament, and work with all other right-wing and Boer groups to reconstitute the Boer Parliament in Pretoria.

Buthelezi offers to quit as leader

Cabinet meets as funds row imperils talks

304A
B/Day 22/7/91

ALLEGATIONS that government donated R5m to Inkatha will dominate an extraordinary three-day Cabinet meeting starting today.

An extended Cabinet, including deputy ministers and provincial administrators, will meet at an undisclosed venue today and tomorrow.

On Wednesday, Cabinet ministers will hold a regular meeting to try to formulate a strategy on the latest scandal, the first to be exposed under the leadership of President F W de Klerk.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday he was sure the disclosures that government had funded Inkatha would form part of the discussions, but there was no agenda.

It was disclosed on Friday that government had given Inkatha R250 000 for two political rallies in the belief that these constituted anti-sanctions activities.

The allocations were made from the R380m secret services budget on the motivation of security policemen and with Foreign Affairs' approval.

ANC President Nelson Mandela said on Saturday government's admission had threatened the peace process, Sapa-Reuter reports. Speaking in Madrid at the start of a six-nation tour he said: "In light of this evidence there can be a complete breakdown in relations between the ANC and the government which might put an end altogether to the peace process."

And ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation would not enter a multi-party conference or any constitutional negotiations until government resolved issues such as violence and its support for Inkatha, LINDEN BIRNS reports.

BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER

However, Niehaus said five working groups set up last month and comprising ANC, Inkatha, government, church and business representatives, would continue drawing up a code of conduct for security forces, political parties and proposals for monitoring groups.

Umhlanga DP MP Kobus Jordaan said yesterday he was certain Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok knew about a further R2m given to the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), which was formed in 1986 to oppose Cosatu. He had evidence that government had been funding Uwusa since 1986 and the total amount disclosed to him was R5m.

He said he had spoken to DP leader Zach de Beer and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo after the Vlok meeting and they had convinced him to continue his questioning. This eventually led to a denial from De Klerk that government was funding any political party or organisation in a partisan fashion.

Vlok refused to comment yesterday, beyond saying he had ordered an investigation into the R5m. He said the funding of Inkatha had happened prior to the investigation De Klerk had ordered in March last year and would not happen again.

De Klerk also refused to comment on the possible setback to negotiations that the revelations presented.

De Klerk was apparently in a rage on Friday when news of the funding was published and tried to contact Mandela.

The funding issue threw Inkatha's 18th conference into turmoil at the weekend.

□ To Page 2

SA to receive top Prague delegation

LINDEN BIRNS

304A

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is to send a high-level delegation, including its prime minister, six cabinet members and at least 35 top business leaders on an official visit to SA in September.

Sources close to the Czechoslovakian consul-general said yesterday the delegation would include representatives from the Czechoslovakian Bank and Prague University. *8/Day 22/7/91*

The delegation, to be led by Prime Minister Marian Calfa, will be the first official ministerial visit by a former East-bloc country to SA.

Last year former Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr, speaking after a visit to Prague, hinted that a visit from Czechoslovakia could be expected.

□ In another development Czech-Slovak Airlines (CSA), the Czechoslovakian national carrier, announced that it hoped to begin scheduled weekly flights between Prague and Johannesburg via Cairo by next April.

A CSA senior representative, Mladen Herzl, is in SA for a month for talks with SAA, the Directorate of Civil Aviation (DCA) and Satour. If negotiations succeed, Herzl will lay the groundwork for establishing a CSA office in Johannesburg.

However, SAA spokesman Leon Els said that SAA did not envisage establishing air links between SA and any former East-bloc east European countries in the short term.

NP to move into townships

By Shareen Singh

3044

Blacks have started joining the National Party in increasing numbers since about April this year, the NP says, and plans are under way to open offices in a few black townships.

NP spokesman for the greater Pretoria region Jogie Boers said the NP would soon open offices in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve because membership in these areas had been increasing rapidly.

However, he could not say how many blacks had joined in his region because "the party does not register people on a racial basis and would

not like to differentiate between black and white".

The Hillbrow branch of the NP, which has a "multiracial" executive committee, says it has a significant number of black members.

Ronnie Ontong, a Pentecostal church minister, said he joined the NP in May this year because he believed in President de Klerk and the NP's policies.

He was also full of praise for Nelson Mandela and said he would have joined the ANC if it did not have communist alliances.

David Mathipa, an estate agent, said he had been an ANC member in his youth but had joined the NP because he supported capitalism.

The secretary of the NP's

Johannesburg region, Juli Coetzer, said many "disillusioned ANC members" were joining the NP, particularly in Hillbrow.

Responding to NP claims, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said "naturally they are free to recruit and open branches anywhere and we don't see it as a threat".

"Our membership as we stated at the congress was 700 000, most of which we managed to recruit in difficult circumstances in a short time since our unbanning."

Mr Macozoma, of Hillbrow, accused the NP of "engaging in propaganda" to try to increase its membership.

"I am a Hillbrow resident and I don't believe our members are joining the NP. If

anything, the ANC branch in Hillbrow is very strong and is growing daily.

"We are actively taking up issues affecting residents in Hillbrow and they believe in the ANC," said Mr Macozoma.

The NP was attracting conservative people who "are their political offspring and their natural allies".

Mr Macozoma said the ANC would like some guarantee from the NP that its recruitment drive would not be accompanied by repression and restriction of free political activity.

He said ANC members in some areas had been harassed by police, who had torn up their ANC membership cards.

'Inkatha^{CT}_{23/7/9} monies not irregular'⁽⁴⁶⁾_{(281) (304)}

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis are consulted on the details of government secret funding only when the Auditor-General, Mr Peter Wronsley, has come across an irregularity.

Disclosing this to Sapa last night, Mr Wronsley added that he had found no irregularities in the recently exposed incidents of secret funding to Inkatha.

He reported to President De Klerk and Mr Du Plessis only when he came across an irregularity in one of six secret accounts.

As for the money for Inkatha from this account, Mr Wronsley said there had been no reason to involve Mr De Klerk or Mr Du Plessis because there had been no irregularity.

The Auditor-General said his department was not interested in whether it had been "a good payment or a bad payment". — Sapa



FUNDS SCANDAL . . . Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi reads newspaper reports on Sunday of government funding of Inkatha.

Anti-sanctions fund 'widespread'

BOTH overt and covert assistance had been supplied on request to a wide spectrum of persons and institutions in South Africa in an attempt to combat sanctions effectively, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

He said in a statement that mass gatherings by an organisation such as Inkatha would have made a significant contribution to the fight against sanctions.

However, he had never discussed financial support for Inkatha with In-

katha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. **CR 23/7/91** **304A** **#5-5A**

The funds Inkatha had received had not come from the Special Account of the South African Police but from funds earmarked by the government for the combating of sanctions.

"The funds were, inter alia, used for the following purposes: Visual anti-sanctions banners, advertisements, transport, hire of stadiums and other facilities. The basis of the support was non party political." — Sapa

In the current financial year, Mr Du Plessis has R380 061 000 to hand out for secret projects — 16 percent more than last year.

According to the procedure set out in the Secret Services Account Act, Mr Du Plessis may, at the request of any minister in charge of one of the five accounts "transfer so much money as may be agreed upon between them".

In the case of other ministers, Mr Du Plessis may make secret funds available on whatever conditions may be decided in consultation "for utilisation for services of a secret nature determined from time to time by (him) and such other minister as being in the national interest".

Of the five accounts, the Special Defence Account stands apart.

With a balance this year of R4,1 billion, it far exceeds Mr Du Plessis's Secret Services Account.

Veiled in infamy after the revelation of millions spent on discredited Civil Co-operation Bureau activities, the bulk of the account is, in fact, to pay for expensive military hardware, research and development.

Of the remaining four, legislation governing three of them — the Foreign Affairs Special Account, the South African Police Special Account and the Security Services Special Account (for Bureau of State Security secret spending) — says the determining factor in using secret funds is "the national interest".

The last one, the Information Service of South Africa Special Account Act, is a bit more specific.

It also refers to "the national interest", but goes further in specifying that secret spending should be directed at "promoting the image of, and disposition towards, the Republic, and averting psychological attacks on the Republic".

● 'Don't favour one political side' — what Pik Botha said five weeks ago, page 12.

ARGUS 23/7/91
**Secret funds:
How the system works**

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Finance Mr Bar-end du Plessis has a pivotal role in who gets to use the government's secret funds, and how, though most project details would be determined at lower levels.

The crucial element in determining legitimate government spending, in the government's view, is whether it is in the "national interest".

These points emerge from legislation introduced between 1967 and 1985 to govern the appropriation, allocation and accounting of millions of rands for secret purposes.

The Inkatha funding scandal has focused attention on the mechanics of the government's secret budget.

The key is the secret services account, established in 1978 in terms of the Secret Services Account Act.

This account, administered by the Department of Finance and presided over by Mr Du Plessis, was set up to feed five other accounts, each of which is administered in terms of its own Act.

They are:

- The Foreign Affairs Special Account (1967).
- The Security Services Special Account (1969).
- The Special Defence Account (1974).
- The Information Service of South Africa Special Account (1979), and
- The South African Police Special Account (1985).

Other ministers whose work falls outside the areas of government activity covered by these accounts may also approach Mr Du Plessis for secret funds.

All secret spending must, by law, be audited by the Auditor General.

FW under fire

Clamour grows to axe senior Cabinet ministers

Political Staff

PRESSURE is mounting on President De Klerk today to dump senior Cabinet ministers involved in the secret Inkatha funds scandal.

Demands are being made on the government to come clean, convene an emergency session of parliament and immediately appoint a judicial inquiry.

As the Cabinet entered the second day of its two-day retreat, sharply worded statements from political parties, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and churches underscored the intense public interest.

President De Klerk will also be deeply concerned about reaction from abroad.

ANC: 'Government not to be trusted'

In a sharply worded statement yesterday, the ANC said the scandal had proved the government could not be trusted to preside over the transition from apartheid to a democracy.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC said the disclosures of secret state funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) underscored the pressing need for an interim government which would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans.

"We challenge President De Klerk and his cabinet to put an end to these sinister practices. The country will not be fobbed off with a second version of the Harms Commission or some other cover-up."

The ANC wants Mr De Klerk to fire Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

The ANC's full National Executive Committee would meet before the month-end to discuss the repercussions of the funding scandal to negotiations and to assess Mr De Klerk's response to its demands.

In Spain, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC held the entire government responsible for the scandal. "The decision by Mr Vlok to resign will be a welcome one, but not enough," Mr Mandela said in Madrid.

PAC cancels Inkatha talks

The Pan Africanist Congress has cancelled talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party on the formation of a patriotic front following disclosures that Inkatha had received secret funding from the government.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke yesterday also ruled out any future contact between the two groups.

"Inkatha must choose either to be part of a CCB as a destabilising agent, or to form part of the democratic forces," Mr Moseneke said.

What the parties say

Leader of the Opposition Dr Andries Treurnicht has demanded the government's resignation.

He said Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's excuse that the R250 000 had been intended to counter sanctions against South Africa was "unconvincing" and a misrepresentation according to the evidence of the policeman involved.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said contradictory government statements on the funding scandal underlined the urgent need for a special parliamentary debate.

"There are totally conflicting stories in an issue that has generated intense public debate and these contradictions must be cleared in the interests of the country. If ever there was a case for a public debate, this is it."

He said President De Klerk had "often spoken of the need to open up controversies 'to the bone' ... and he had better look as if he is doing that this time."

Reaction from overseas

In Washington, the Bush administration has been surprised and embarrassed by the disclosures of secret funding — so soon after the lifting of sanctions and assurances that the US was convinced the government was committed to negotiations in "good faith".

The State Department called on the South African government "to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990 and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

Britain and major European countries have so far remained silent over the scandal, but are carefully watching to see how it unfolds, according to diplomatic sources.

The official comment from the British and European embassies yesterday was that their governments had adopted an attitude of non-interference at this stage, but it was apparent the government's strategy on dealing with the crisis was being keenly anticipated abroad.

A French diplomatic source speculated that the expose would not change his government's position with regard to lifting sanctions against South Africa.

Afrikaans Press speaks up

South Africa's two leading Government-supporting Afrikaans dailies have hinted broadly that President De Klerk should axe members of his cabinet to try to cauterise the Inkatha slush-fund scandal.

National Party sources agreed that Mr De Klerk would have to do something bold and decisive.

Security sources pointed out that Mr Vlok was not more responsible for the funding of Inkatha than Mr De Klerk or any other member of the cabinet, and did not deserve to be a scapegoat.

However, the ultra-loyalist Die Burger of Cape Town, in an editorial yesterday, advised Mr De Klerk to carefully consider whether the "casting" of his cabinet could not be "improved."

The Johannesburg daily Beeld said that the retirement of members of the cabinet might help to "rescue the situation" but that even this would probably not be enough completely to repair the damage done to the government's credibility.

The view of the churches

Churches added to the pressure on the government.

The Anglican Diocese of Cape Town has called for a judicial commission of inquiry to examine whether Mr De Klerk was involved in the decision to fund Inkatha.

The church's Diocesan Council said Mr De Klerk's personal integrity, his ability to control his cabinet and his government's commitment to negotiations were now in question.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has also called for the immediate appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the funding. The SACBC said the commission should inquire into the "State President's complicity and the involvement of members of his government and the security establishment in the management of these funds."

304A (25/11/88) PAGE 23/7/91

What Pik said five weeks ago

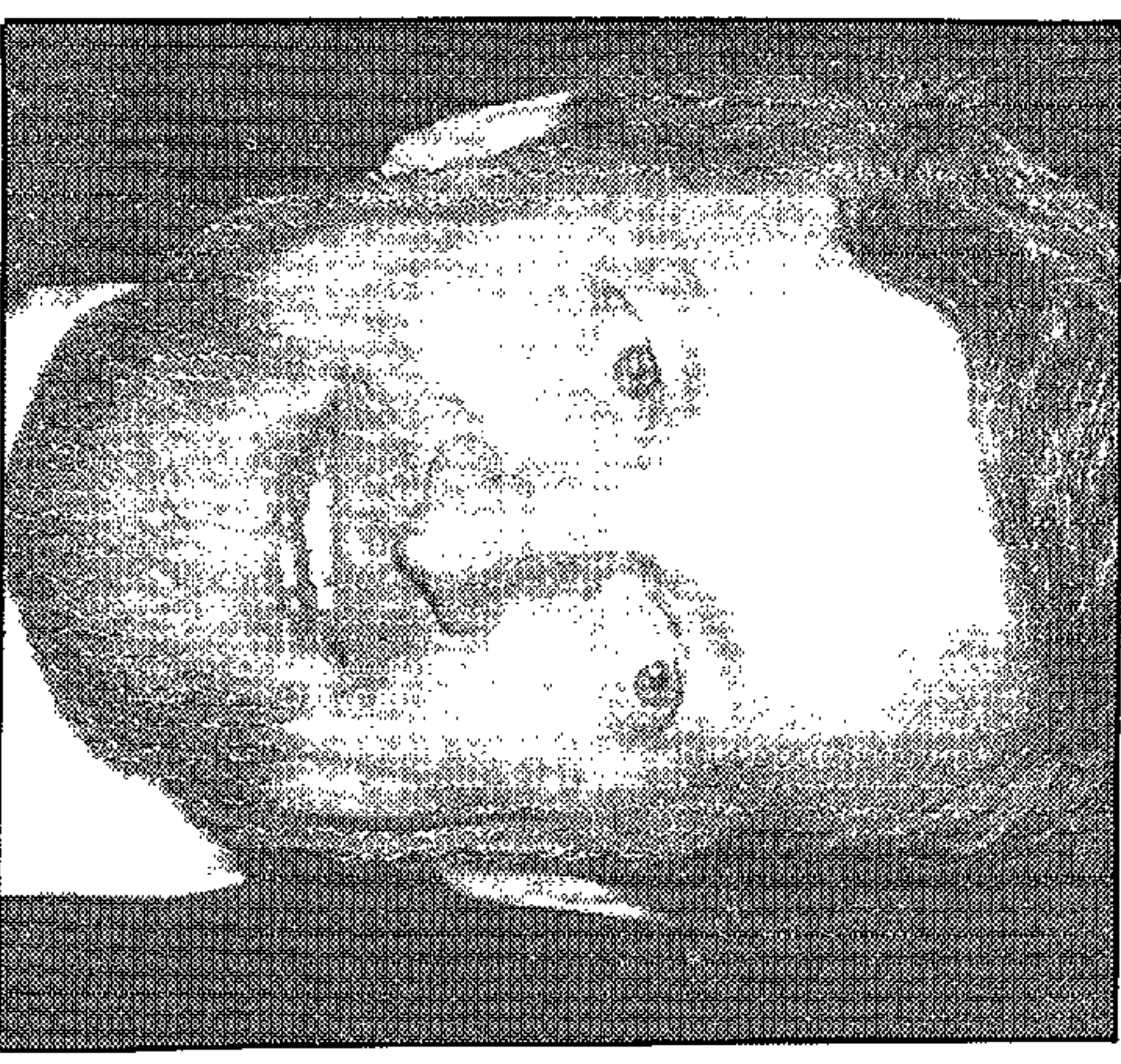
DAVID GREYBE in JOHANNESBURG

GIVING financial support to one chosen political side in South Africa increases the climate of violence, according to Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

He was addressing a media conference five weeks ago, on June 13, after his Australian counterpart, Mr Gareth Evans, had flown out of South Africa at the end of a controversial visit.

Mr Botha criticised Mr Evans's announcement during his trip of a R4 million grant to the African National Congress and other bodies.

He disputed the claim by Mr Evans that the grant was the first time Australia had given money to the



EVANS: He gave the ANC a grant of R4 million.

ANC. It had contributed R15 million before, he said. "I conveyed to him a warning that this kind of action is increasing the climate of violence," Mr Botha told the press conference.

"... There's only one question that must be answered, and that is where is the money going to," he added. "I mean if it is going to the ANC, then it's going to the ANC ..."

"Fact of the matter (is) it is not going to Inkatha. It is not going to the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress). It is not going to any other party, and this is the point I am trying to make.

"This creates a feeling of being left aside, pushed aside, it creates emotions, and emotions creates (sic) violence."

Mr Botha is at present embroiled in the cash for Inkatha controversy, following the disclosure of government funding for Inkatha and its trade union wing, Uvusa.

He admitted at the weekend that he had authorised the channeling of R250 000 of State money, from the Foreign Affairs Special Account, to Inkatha as part of a world-wide anti-sanctions campaign.

Mr Botha added at the media conference following Mr Evans' departure: "We suggested in a friendly way to the Australian government that it was really making a mistake in choosing one party in this country, and to donate to that one party something of the order of 15 million Australian dollars or more.

"I sincerely believe that that one-sidedness and partiality creates in other parties like Inkatha, PAC and others, an impression that the Australian government is taking sides. And I believe the Australian government should not take sides.

"The Australian government should leave the internal scene to the leaders and the parties of South Africa.

"We would never do a thing like that. We would never dream of entering Australia and donating a specific sum of money to an individual party opposing another party because of the reasons that I've mentioned to you."

A journalist asked Mr Botha: "Foreign Minister, you talk about funding. Surely the South African government funds the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) through its payments and spin-off effects to the Kwa-Zulu government?"

"It surprises me that you should use the word surely," Mr Botha answered. "Of course it is not true. It's totally and utterly untrue.

"There is in this country an Auditor-General, as there is in Australia, that goes through the books and the funds of every government and administration of this country, applying very strict financial control.

"Not only is it totally untrue, I can prove that it is untrue." — Sapa



PIK: Don't choose sides, he told Gareth Evans.

Right-wingers lock horns

Own Correspondent 23/7/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The right-wing Boere Weerstandsbeweging yesterday alleged that AWB spokesman Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph was a police agent and called on all right-wingers to withdraw their support for the AWB.

In a statement, BWB leader Mr Andrew Ford claimed Mr Rudolph had, since he was detained last year, been working with the security police to trace and return stolen weapons in the possession of right-wingers. He alleged that since Mr Rudolph's indemnity he had "played into the government's hands" by trying to draw right-wingers into negotiations with the ANC and the government.

In response, Mr Rudolph said he would not discuss Mr Ford or his statements. The BWB leader and his organisation had minimal support and were not important in the fight "against the ANC, SA Communist Party and PAC for repossession of land we have lost", he said.

Bush demand to SA govt

CLEAN UP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and
SIMON BARBER

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk, facing the biggest crisis of his presidency, was yesterday under pressure to come clean on the Inkatha scandal.

While Mr De Klerk and his cabinet remained incommunicado at a secret bushveld retreat yesterday, there were demands to disclose the full extent of the state's secret slush funds and to axe government ministers involved.

In Washington, the Bush administration demanded that Mr De Klerk take all necessary steps to save the negotiation process. A State Department spokesman said the government must "take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

However, he said US confidence in Mr De Klerk had not been shaken, and the scandal would not affect President Bush's lifting of sanctions.

There were also fears that the scandal would set back — if not reverse — prospects for foreign investment. The executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, Mr Wayne Mitchell, said US investors would "sit tight".

Fears of a large scale sell-off by foreign investors sent capital market rates to sharp, higher levels yesterday. Although the sell-off did not materialise, fresh buying dried up and rates remained high.

"The market was totally unnerved by the news and by what could still come out of the scandal," a dealer said.

Political parties across the spectrum, unions, church leaders, civil-rights groups, lawyers and diplomats agreed that only drastic remedial action — and not merely words — would extricate Mr De Klerk. Mr Nelson Mandela, speaking in Madrid, said he held the whole government responsible.

He said Mr Adriaan Vlok's resignation would be welcome, "but it would not be sufficient".

"Although we have demanded his resignation, and that of the defence minister (General Magnus Malan), the political party to which he belongs must be responsible for what is happening."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht called on the cabinet to resign, while Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer called for Parliament to be reconvened to debate the scandal.

Diplomats said yesterday that the row had presented Mr De Klerk with a good opportunity to make a clean break with the P W Botha era by getting rid of some of the securocrats in his government.

They did not accept government explanations for funding Inkatha activities as part of an anti-sanctions drive.

The issue had clearly knocked the government's credibility, and would fuel moves abroad to keep up pressure on Pretoria. The timing of the disclosures had been particularly embarrassing for the Bush administration, one diplomat said.

Rhema Church and International Fellowship of Christian Churches head Mr Ray McCauley yesterday urged the government to end all secrecy involved in its funding operations, saying that disclosures about secret funds and secret security force operations were "extremely damaging to the integrity of President F W de Klerk and the building of trust between political groups".

Inside:

- State 'funded anti-Cosatu campaign'
- Editor to name 'SADF men' in train massacre

See PAGE 2

The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) last night called for inquiries into government funding of Inkatha and allegations implicating the SA Defence Force in recent train massacres, saying Mr De Klerk had to act decisively to save the negotiation process.

Even the conservative Support Police Action Group (Spag) expressed concern at a possible decline in public support and respect of the police in the wake of the row. The government's poor judgement in becoming involved in the clandestine channelling of funds to Inkatha was also questioned by Afrikaans-language newspapers in the pro-government *Nasionale Pers* stable.

Beeld said: "Supporters of the government did not expect it would make its negotiations task even more difficult by shooting itself in the foot."

"The anti-sanctions cloak behind which the government is hiding is very thin," it said, adding that revelations gave credence to allegations that police and Inkatha colluded in township violence.

In a peculiar twist to the Inkatha slush fund row, the former Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, declined to comment on evidence that the security police had channelled funds into the organisation while he was still in charge of its day-to-day running.

"I am not prepared to comment," he said through a spokesperson yesterday.



ON TOUR... The two central figures in the scandal over secret funds for Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe and Mr Adriaan Vlok during a tour of Thokoza last year. Chief Buthe has denied he knew about the cash and Mr Vlok claims he never discussed it with the chief.

R1,5bn spent secretly

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The government has spent more than R1.5 billion in taxpayers' money on secret projects in the past five years.

The allocation rose from R198.2 million in 1987/88 to R220.8m in 1988/89, R275.2m in 1989/90, R327.2m in 1990/91 and R380m in the current financial year.

The money is allocated to the Secret Services Account which provides money to be spent in the "national interest".

1978 to remove the funding of account is to be used for services covert projects from a then-secret special defence account to a fund under control of the Finance Minister.

The fund is administered by the secretary to the Treasury. The Secret Services Account Act provides for payments to be made to special accounts of several government departments, among them Defence, Law and Order and Foreign Affairs.

In terms of the SA Police Special Account Act, established in mid-1985, the money in the department concerned.

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CT 23/7/91



Viewpoint

by DAVID
WELSH

THE most serious potential victim of the Inkatha-gate scandal is State President De Klerk's credibility. In the past he has undertaken to eliminate "dirty tricks", rein in murderous hit squads — "cut things open to the bone" — and drastically limit spending from secret funds.

The evidence now before the public suggests that he did none of these things, or, at least, none of them with sufficient thoroughness.

Frankly, I cannot believe that someone with the State President's acute political antennae knew about the funds being channelled to Inkatha.

I have sufficient faith in him to believe that he has been duped by over-zealous underlings in the security agencies.

Judicial inquiry

Let no one underestimate the seriousness of this affair: it has brought the entire negotiating process into jeopardy; it raises fundamental questions about the National Party government's capacity to inspire trust in the negotiating partners; and it has probably dealt a mortal blow to Inkatha's pretensions to being a major player.

To salvage something out of the wreckage Mr De Klerk needs to do a number of things; accept Mr Vlok's resignation as Minister of Law and Order and, possibly, replace him with Leon Wessels, who is tough, enjoys wide credibility across the political spectrum and has had experience of the portfolio as a deputy-minister.

He must recall Parlia-

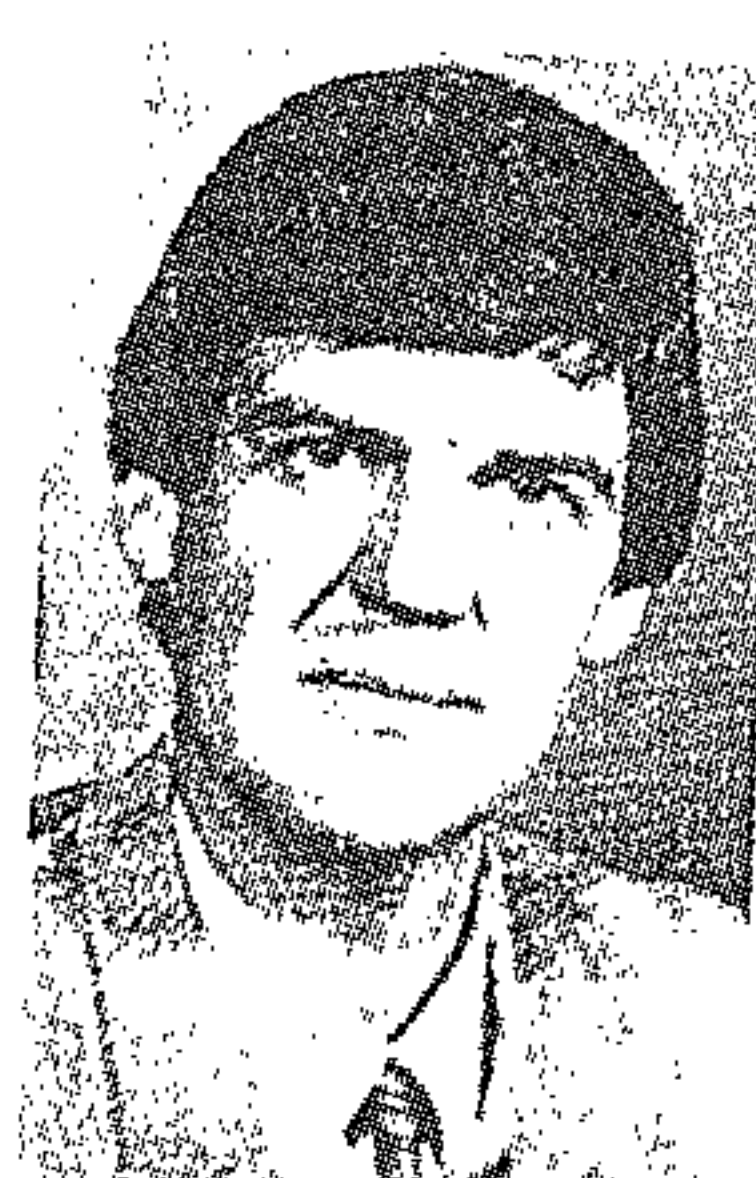
Inkatha-gate: Cabinet has to take bull by the horns



ADRIAAN VLOK: To salvage something out of the wreckage Mr De Klerk needs, among other things, to accept his resignation.

ment immediately so that the whole miserable business can be fully debated.

He must appoint a judicial commission of inquiry, consisting of a judge and two senior advocates of irreproach-



LEON WESSELS: Possible replacement as Minister of Law and Order enjoys wide credibility across the political spectrum.

able integrity, to do what should have been done before, namely "cut things open to the bone", and examine all the evidence alleging partisan behaviour by our security forces.

Mr De Klerk is a sufficiently astute politician

to realise that unless he makes a major gesture, the ANC's accusation that he is a man with a double agenda will stick, with possibly calamitous consequences for the negotiating process.

The ANC is entitled to derive some satisfaction from watching the government squirm.

Its allegations about double agendas, "hit squads" and partisan behaviour in the security agencies have been substantially vindicated.

Its demand for a broad-based interim government to oversee the transition process has also been given an immense fillip, especially since the core of the ANC's demand was its mistrust of the security force's ability to remain neutral.

Ironically, just as the scandal (and what has gone before it) strengthens the argument for an interim government so it makes creating such a government more difficult.

Deny culpability

Mr De Klerk has held out the possibility of a more broadly based government; which the ANC has rejected because of the suspicion that this would merely be a form of "co-optation".

Those suspicions will now be heightened.

The Cabinet may decide, at its *bosberaad*, that it will try to tough it out, denying any collective culpability in wrong-doing and hoping that the storm will pass.

It won't, and if Mr De Klerk is half the statesman I think he is, he will recognise this.

[Professor Welsh teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT.]

Govt and IFP face isolation danger

THE Government and Inkatha Freedom Party could find themselves alienated after the launch of a "patriotic front" of progressive organisations in August.

Indications are that political organisations outside and inside Parliament, including the Democratic Party and Labour Party, would join "patriotic front" convened by the ANC and PAC to oppose and alienate the Government.

The position of the Azanian Peoples Or-

ganisation has been obscured somewhat following information which circulated at the weekend indicating that Azapo would not attend the "patriotic front" talks.

The deputy president of the PAC, Mr Dik-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

● To Page 2

Govt, IFP may be alienated

● From Page 1

gang Moseneke, yesterday confirmed that there was confusion surrounding Azapo's reported withdrawal, but that a "big meeting" between the two movements was being planned.

Moseneke said a meeting which was scheduled between the IFP and PAC for early next month - with regard to the launch of the "patriotic front" - had been called off.

He said the Government had been "less than frank" throughout the period in which the country was engulfed in some of the worst civil violence on record and had conspired with the IFP to subvert the democratic process.

At the end of the IFP's annual general meeting in Ulundi on Sunday, where Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was re-elected leader of the organisation, it was resolved that Inkatha would not enter into a front with the ANC and PAC.

Having taken note of the IFP's position on the front, Moseneke said because of the weekend's revelations of secret funding by the South African Police of Inkatha, the IFP had turned its back on the progressive forces within the country.

"It is regrettable, to say the least, that the IFP has excluded itself from the envisaged PF, moreover the IFP has clearly failed to grasp the most important dynamic of the present day liberation struggle which is the obvious need to unite the oppressed in order to ensure genuine and complete democratisation of our country," Moseneke said.

He said the PAC was reconsidering its participation in a peace summit which was arranged by the churches, following the weekend's revelations of police collusion in the violence in black communities.

"The PAC has always said that the violence against the oppressed is State orchestrated in order to undermine the legitimate struggle of our people," Moseneke said.

UK call for Vlok to quit

LONDON. — The Guardian newspaper, which together with the Weekly Mail broke the news last Friday of security police funding of Inkatha, yesterday called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok. (3041)

In an editorial, the Guardian said that while President F W de Klerk deserved credit for initiating change, this "should not be a blank cheque". (23/7/9)

"He still presides over a regime with a long history of dirty tricks."

The Guardian said the central issues were "the reputation of Mr De Klerk himself which has been very severely damaged, and the threat to any future dialogue".

US urges Govt to act on scandal

Star 23/7/91
304A

The United States last night urged the SA Government to take action against people involved in the scandal over covert State funding for Inkatha.

A spokesman for the State Department, Richard Boucher, said in Washington: "We would call on the SA Government to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990 and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts. We believe the integrity of the negotiating process requires nothing less."

Asked if the scandal had changed Washington's view of President de Klerk's sincerity towards reforms, Mr Boucher said: "Not that I'm aware of."

He said the scandal would have no impact on President Bush's recent decision to lift economic sanctions.

Meanwhile, Hugh Robertson of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the revelations could obstruct South Africa's access to a multibillion-rand loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Aides to some congressmen who support sanctions confirmed that they had been requested to review the Gramm amendment, which restricts US support for IMF loans to South Africa, in order to tighten its provisions.

Mike Siluma of The Star's London Bureau reports that the covert funding of Inkatha yesterday continued to attract British media attention.

The Guardian called on the international community to review recent decisions to relax sanctions.

Pressure was also building on the British government to review its policy towards Pretoria in the light of claims that the SA Government was implicated in fomenting political violence in the townships.

The Guardian, in a lengthy editorial, said: "The credit given to President de Klerk for recognising the overwhelming imperative for change ... should certainly not be a blank cheque."

"(He) still presides over a regime with a long history of dirty tricks, destabilisation and covert thuggery, whose current behaviour now requires much more critical attention."

The Guardian added that the disclosures "provide the first hard proof of suspicions that the South African Government has been trying to construct an anti-ANC alliance which exploits tribal rivalries and encourages a climate of violence".

Referring to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's denial of the source of the funding, The Guardian said: "How can a man who now appears to be naive as well as devious retain any credibility with those (including the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd) who have spoken so highly of him?"

Mr Hurd's office was reluctant to comment on reports of collaboration between Pretoria and the IFP. A spokesman said the Foreign Office regarded the issue as an internal matter.

Clamour for dramatic action follows funding disclosures

Recall Parliament plea

Star 23/1/91
By Esmaré van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius

Pressure mounted yesterday on the Government to come clean on the Inkatha secret funding scandal — and calls were made on President de Klerk to reconvene Parliament for an emergency session, to immediately appoint a commission of inquiry into the covert State funding and to sack two Cabinet Ministers.

The ANC's national working committee (NWC), which held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the repercussions of the scandal, again called for the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Jeopardy

The ANC said disclosures of secret State funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party had jeopardised the entire peace process.

And the United States yesterday urged Pretoria to take action against people involved in the scandal.

State Department deputy spokesman Richard Boucher said: "We call on the Government of South Africa to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990, and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

In its own hard-hitting statement, the ANC said: "The NWC rejects with contempt the hollow double-talk offered by Minister Adrian Vlok and his colleagues to explain away this abuse of



YOU MEAN TO SAY
YOU'RE NOT
THE TOOTH FAIRY ?!!

public funds for blatantly partisan political purposes.

"We are equally alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Buthezi shrugs off his responsibility concerning receipt of Government funds channelled through the security police."

The NWC said the expose underscored the need for an interim government as the Government was clearly unfit to lead the country out of apartheid.

The NWC said the ANC would not be fobbed off with another version of the

Harris Commission, and demanded the institution of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate the full extent of the Government's involvement in violence and secret funding.

Referring to renewed claims of security force involvement in the township violence, the ANC said the shocking allegations about the SADF using "foreign mercenaries to massacre South African citizens" were inextricably linked to the multimillion-rand slush fund set up by the Government to

finance Inkatha.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer called on President de Klerk to convene a special session of Parliament to discuss the crisis following the Government's admission that it had paid R250 000 for 140 Inkatha rallies and R1.5 million to Inkatha's trade union.

The emphasis of the scandal shifted yesterday to Mr de Klerk, with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht saying the President had misled Parliament in April when saying the

Government was not giving any financial support to any political organisation.

And following Mr Vlok's indication that he might resign after the exposure of police involvement in channeling funds to Inkatha, security sources said the Minister was not more responsible than any other Cabinet member — including Mr de Klerk — and did not deserve to be made the scapegoat.

Sources speculated that the Cabinet would choose to make a full declaration of all Government donations to po-

litical organisations.

The two leading Afrikaans newspapers hinted broadly that Cabinet members should be sacked.

In Cape Town, the ultra-rightist Dr Burger advised Mr de Klerk to carefully consider whether the "casting" of his Cabinet could not be "improved".

In Johannesburg, Beeld said the retirement of Cabinet members might help to "rescue the situation" but that even this would probably not be enough to completely repair the damage done.

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration yesterday demanded that Pretoria take all necessary steps to restore the "integrity of the negotiating process" following disclosures of government funding to Inkatha. *B1 Day 23/7/91*

"We call upon the government to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said.

Pretoria must also "take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts".

Asked whether the administration's confidence in President F.W. de Klerk's integrity had been shaken, Boucher replied:

Washington wants 'all necessary steps'

"Not that I'm aware of". *(304A)*

The disclosures would have no impact in terms of the recently lifted Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act sanctions, Boucher said. But he did not say how they might affect administration thinking on other measures still on the books. *(304A)*

The Africa subcommittee of the House foreign affairs committee has scheduled hearings for next week on the sanctions issue. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen is expected to come under heavy attack for having agreed to lift sanctions prematurely. *(304A)*

☐ To Page 2

Cabinet

B1 Day 22/7/91
Delegates meeting outside the capital re-elected Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Inkatha president yesterday after he had offered to step down. Delegates then hoisted him shoulder-high in a demonstration of support.

Buthelezi admitted Inkatha had a bank account at a Durban bank — apart from its Ulundi account — and that it was not unusual for anonymous donations to be deposited in this account.

But he denied dealing with top security

(304A) ☐ From Page 1
police figures in Durban. He also distanced himself from the two rallies government admitted funding. *(304A)*

Addressing Saturday's conference, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said "the payments made to Inkatha were not in support of this organisation's general political activities".

Viljoen said the grants should be interpreted in the light of the specific circumstances at the time they were made.

Pressure mounts on De Klerk

Calls for full disclosure of slush funds

B/day 23/7/91 304A (259) (22)

BILLY PADDOCK

POLITICAL and investor attention yesterday focused on the Cabinet's three-day meeting and how President F W de Klerk would deal with the biggest crisis of his presidency.

Yesterday pressure was mounting for a full disclosure of the vast secret slush funds; a judicial inquiry into the scandal; the resignations of Ministers involved in giving funds to Inkatha; and the reconvening of Parliament for an emergency session.

By late last night there was still no indications from the Cabinet meeting whether any ministerial heads would roll because of the Inkatha funding row.

On Sunday Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was considering resigning and would discuss his position with De Klerk. He said if he was an obstacle to the negotiation process he would resign.

Some foreign diplomats said words were no longer good enough and it was time for De Klerk to act.

He now had the opportunity to break from the NP past of the P W Botha era of securocrats and the policy of total onslaught, one said. Another believed De Klerk had to act speedily and effectively to restore his personal credibility.

A third diplomat said the "hasty reaction" by the Bush administration in lifting sanctions had now caused the administration "a certain amount of embarrassment and strengthened the hands of the pro-sanctions lobby in Congress".

After an emergency meeting of its

National Working Committee yesterday the ANC called for the dismissal of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

In a statement released after the meeting, the organisation said disclosures of state sponsorship of Inkatha posed a grave threat to the peace process.

Another NWC meeting has been called for not later than July 31 to discuss the full implications and the government's response to ANC demands.

"The revelations are a clear indication the De Klerk government has been pursuing a twin-track strategy of posing as committed to peace while waging war against the democratic movement, especially the ANC."

The statement said that shocking revelations about the SADF using "foreign mercenaries to massacre SA citizens" were inextricably linked to the special multi-million rand slush fund set up by government to finance Inkatha to bolster its sagging support.

"The NWC rejects with contempt the hollow double talk offered by Minister Adriaan Vlok and his colleagues to explain away this abuse of public funds for blatantly partisan political purposes."

"We are equally alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Minister Buthelezi shrugs off his responsibility concerning receipt of government funds channelled through the Security Police to a movement

□ To Page 2

Funds

B/day 23/7/91

he leads."

The NWC said the exposé underscored the need for an interim government and said it would not be fobbed off with another version of the Harms Commission.

Revelations of government's covert funding of Inkatha coincided with renewed claims of security force partiality and dirty tricks to destabilise the ANC.

The pro-ANC newspaper New Nation claimed it had evidence of a special security force unit, Recce 5, that used people from Mozambique to carry out attacks on the Reef including many train massacres.

The SADF has denied these claims but the Inkatha scandal has now cast a shadow over all official statements, including government denials that it favours Inkatha over the ANC.

Police will meet New Nation editor

304A (259) (22) □ From Page 1
Zwelake-Sisulu today to discuss the evidence.

Following the report the DP, CP, ANC and certain church leaders also called for the resignation of Gen Malan.

De Klerk's spokesman Casper Venter said there had been no indication whether there would be a government statement on the crisis.

Diplomats said the scandal raised questions about political dirty tricks, raised fears of a state cover-up and prompted the question: "What did De Klerk know and when did he know it?"

They said if he did not know of the clandestine operations, then his control over his government must be doubtful.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

AS THE reeking edifice of apartheid collapses, those at its core are starting to emerge like woodlice from a burning log to seek redemption by telling of what went on inside.

They cannot be stopped, nor should they be. Rather, the process of confession and atonement should be institutionalised. If South Africans are to have a decent future, they must now be exposed to the full horror of their past. The ghastly arcana of the 40-year National Party imperium must be laid bare remorselessly if history is not to repeat itself under new management.

All South Africans must see, in every last harrowing detail, what autocracy breeds: the corruption, the lies, the arrogance, the immoral alliances, the squandering and theft of national treasure, the destruction of lives, and yes, the terror. Let full, dispassionate disclosure become a national project.

And let the secrets of the opposition phalanx be known also, for those too will be an object lesson in how the placing of ends over means, both by the state and its enemies, have debased and corrupted even the most saintly. The fruits of extremism, by whomsoever practised, must be made plain that all may see and recoil.

The alternative is to let the truth seep out drop by drop. The disclosures of police funding for Inkatha may be followed by tomorrow's headline news that a respected clergyman in the anti-apartheid movement participated in kangaroo courts that effectively sentenced men and women to death.

Piecemeal revelations by a Press whose new-found freedom may be only temporary are not enough. At best, the public will grow injured and cynical, persuaded by the daily drumbeat of sensation that what has been happening for so long is standard operating procedure and that there is no better way. To despair is to succumb to more of the same.

Dispensed in little bits, often without proper context, the truth is also subject to politicisation and readily packaged as hate-inducing propaganda for one undemocratic faction

or another.

The ANC has every right to express outrage at the latest disclosures and to accuse the government of lying through its teeth. It is entirely justified in wondering whether the government is sincere about negotiation. But it has no right to demand that its own atrocities be overlooked in the process. Reconciliation requires that all come clean.

The movement is clearly overjoyed that it has been able to capture the "moral high ground". From its new vantage it believes it will be able to exercise more leverage over the government in negotiations while discrediting a principal dis-senter and his following. Tactically speaking, it is probably correct in this analysis.

The exposure of the state's mendacity and double dealing, and the discrediting of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (though why did Inkatha need the money for rallies if, as is constantly alleged, it had always been in Pretoria's pay?) are hugely embarrassing to many who have risked much to stand up for De Klerk and what they believe to be the best interests of a future SA democracy.

President George Bush has been made to look a fool for having determined that the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had been met. If half the stories now appearing are true, the

All in SA must come clean about horrors of the past

SIMON BARBER in Washington

government's "good faith" in agreeing to negotiate must be seen as highly questionable; the contention that it has opened up the political process to full and free participation is unsustainable. Glasnost is not compatible with dirty tricks, let alone with lethal ones.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's admission that his department had a slush fund to counter sanctions renders imbecile Bush's assertion that the dismantling of formal apartheid thus far had less to do with sanctions

than with the government's enlightenment. There is nothing enlightened about turning an apparently sincere opponent of sanctions into the political equivalent of a streetwalker.

From this and more the ANC can only benefit in its pursuit of power. The kindness that the Bush administration and Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, recently showed Buthelezi is now meaningless. Washington was at last beginning to understand that there were more than two sides to the SA equation and to grant official recognition to a third. Now we will be lucky if the majority of congressmen listen to more than one.

The more Americans see of the crude, subterranean gangsterism that operates within the SA government, the more they will simplistically heed the blandishments of the "victim" ANC, ignoring the grim potential that lurks in its ranks as well. Those who have had the guts to worry about the SACP alliance, the thugery of the comrades or the unholy sources of some of the ANC's own income, will scurry away. Who can complain about township defence units under present circumstances?

As for the notion that the ANC and Inkatha should benefit equally from the \$10m Congress set aside last year to "promote democracy", forget it. If last week's agreement between House Africa sub-committee chair-

man Mervyn Dymally and his Republican counterpart Dan Burton has not already been tossed down the memory hole, it soon will be.

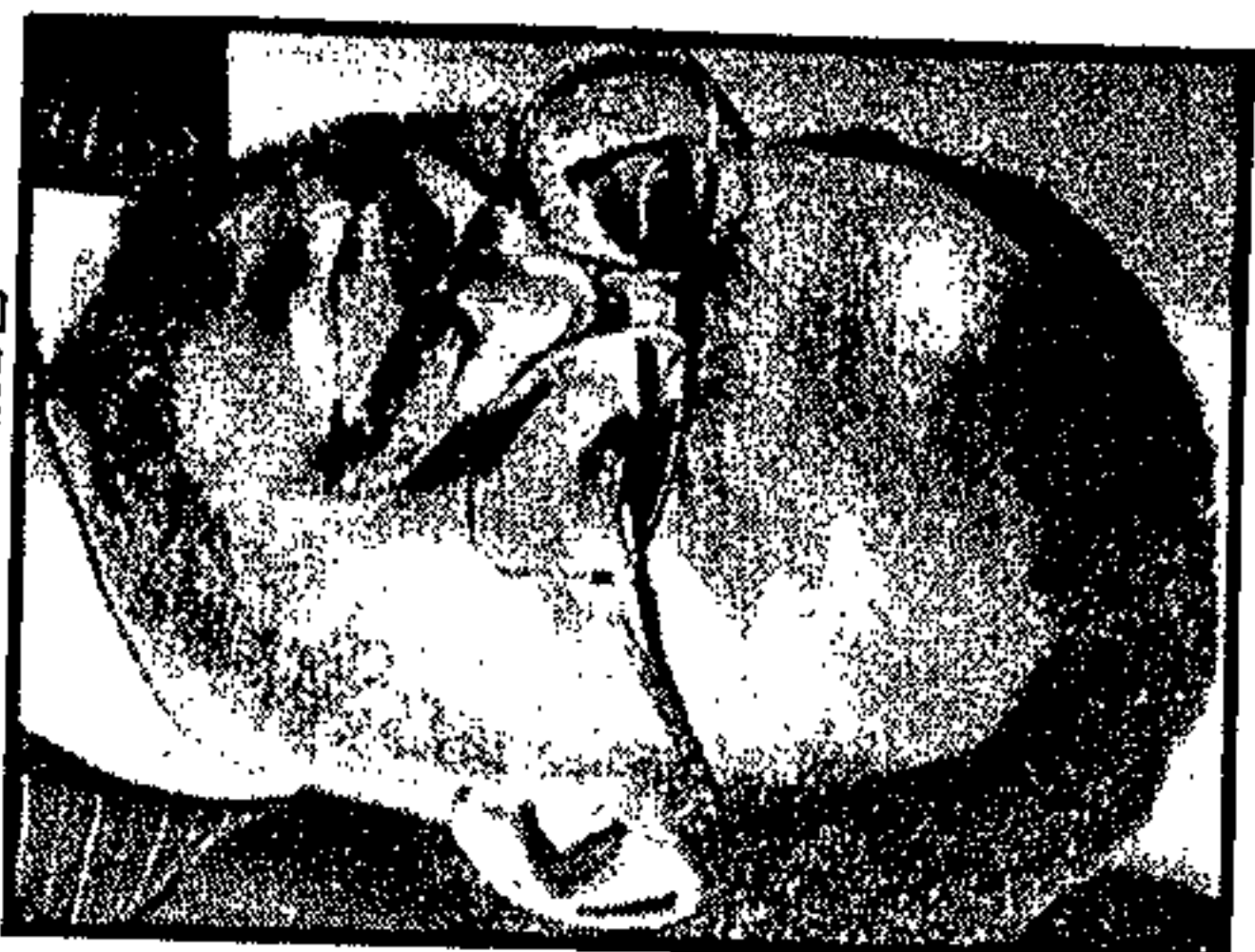
Liberty flows from sound economics. Having run the SA economy into the ground over the past four decades, the government and its creatures have now effectively obliged the rest of the world to let the ANC continue running it into the ground, thus ensuring that for the mass of South Africans freedom will be... an empty shell.

Burnt on the repeal of sanctions, Bush will unlikely feel in much hurry to signal the IMF that the US will support an SA credit application. The administration's commitment to the Gramm Amendment, which obliges the US to veto such an application unless it meets certain conditions, was until now a political aspirin thrown to the sanctioneers to help them get over the demise of the CAAA. Today, it is much more binding. If the ANC says no IMF loans to Pretoria, the Congress will concur, and with Congress not only the president but the international financial community as well.

SA's economic recovery will have to wait until the ANC has obtained more of its unilateral negotiating demands — demands in which major foreign powers will, for their own political reasons, be considerably more likely to acquiesce than heretofore. The prospects for the 40-million unemployed will not improve, further fuelling the violence.

There is no point competing to get back the "moral high ground". De Klerk's hands may be clean, but that is little consolation if the rest of the world has lost confidence in the government he leads. Better to begin by admitting that in SA there is no such thing as "moral high ground" any more. The place has been reduced by years of gross mistreatment and abuse of power to a vast moral swamp in which common criminals cannot even be identified as such any more but are let loose to rampage.

The swamp can be cleared only by opening the record on all sides so all may see and learn from what has happened, and perhaps forgive, understanding at last that the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.



□ BUTHELEZI

Row casts a cloud over Games

By Edward Owen

MADRID — The scandal concerning Inkatha's finances yesterday clouded Nelson Mandela's official visit to Spain — and threatens to keep South Africa out of the Olympics.

"The decision by Mr Vlok to resign will be a welcome one, but not enough," Mr Mandela said in Madrid before flying to Barcelona to meet International Olympic Committee officials at the site of the 1992 Games.

The Spanish government made it clear yesterday after meetings with Mr Mandela that it will recommend to the European Community that no sanctions be lifted until South Africa has a democratic system.

During talks with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Mr Mandela stressed that the total eradication of apartheid still hung in the balance, especially after the Inkatha finance scandal.

Mr Mandela told Mr Ordonez that if one man one vote was not permitted at the next elections, gains by conservative elements could endanger the process of change.

Mr Ordonez said that as well as financially supporting the ANC office in Madrid, the Spanish government has so far given 600 million pesetas (about R15.8 million) in aid to the ANC for health and education programmes.

In Barcelona, Mr Mandela met representatives of the IOC, headed by vice-president Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal.

The meeting was crucial for South Africa since the IOC is due to send out its official invitations to participating countries tomorrow, July 25, exactly a year before the Games open in Barcelona.

Mr Mandela, especially in the wake of the Inkatha scandal, opposes South African participation.

Vlok and Buthelezi are not being unfairly treated, writes Political Editor

Shaun Johnson

Politicians must take the

Star 23/7/91

304A

pain

SOUTH Africa is in the throes of — indeed, is perhaps just at the beginning of — a major scandal that reaches to the top echelons of two of this country's most important political groups, the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi face pressure as never before: if the temperature was red hot by the end of the weekend, it will be white hot before this week is out.

Early indications are — and this can at the moment be judged only by the responses received by the SABC and various newspapers to the extraordinary "Agenda" programme broadcast on Sunday night — that many South Africans have been shocked by the vigour with which Minister Vlok and Chief Minister Buthelezi came under attack. There is a strong feeling that both were somehow

unfairly treated, or the victims of an orchestrated campaign. It would seem that this feeling exists among many who are not necessarily devotees of either Mr Vlok or Mr Buthelezi.

This response is, in my view, the product of two important factors — among others. Firstly, South Africans are simply not used to seeing — on national television — top-level "in-system" politicians being grilled mercilessly. There are countless examples of, say, the African National Congress coming in for hostile treatment, but Ministers and Chief Ministers have been treated, traditionally, with kid gloves. Because of the history of control over broadcasting in this country, we do not assume — as Americans and Britons do — that exposure to hard questioning comes with the job of being a top politician.

It is late in the day, but the

SABC deserves praise for having arranged for these top politicians to face the kind of probing interviews that, for example, Mrs Thatcher regarded as normal from the BBC. Willy-nilly, Messrs Vlok and Buthelezi found themselves embroiled in an important political scandal; it is unusual — but should be commonplace — that they faced up to it almost immediately, and in public.

If the SABC wants to (and is allowed to) pursue this policy of event-driven, no-holds-barred coverage of political developments, we can fully expect the ANC and other groups to find themselves in the hot seat when they deserve to be there. Perhaps then the information-starved television-viewing public will see that the sword cuts both ways, and the result is good for the democratic process — and all of us thereby.

The second factor underlying the initial shock which greeted the

rough time received by the two men is, I believe, a lack of understanding regarding the wider importance of the specific allegations of Government/Inkatha collusion. It goes far beyond a quarter of a million — or indeed five or 10 or a 100 million — rands of taxpayers' money being used for this rally or that, that campaign or this.

The issue of police funding for the IFP has absolutely profound implications for the entire negotiations process, and the future of this country — which hangs on that process.

Negotiations only got under way because two far-sighted men, the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the National Party's FW de Klerk, reached a point at which they could say to their followers that they could do business with one another. There was no meeting of political minds — both will fight tooth and nail to sell differ-

ent policy positions to the voters — but there was fundamental trust in each other's integrity. When negotiations were first mooted, the breakthrough resided in the fact that both sides committed themselves to a fair fight.

Thus the significance of the Weekly Mail's unanswerable revelation that well after February 2 1990 — the day the new rules were declared — a branch of the Government committed a foul.

No matter how hostile one might be towards the ANC, there can surely be no question that the organisation is within its rights to halt the game until the offender is disciplined — and real assurances are given that the incident will not be repeated.

The Government wants to "manage" the process of transition right up until elections are held; can the ANC be blamed for being angry when mismanagement is exposed? And can the

media be blamed for giving no quarter when two Government Ministers have themselves confirmed the principal charge? Major Louis Botha and his chequebook threatened the entire negotiations process. That, purely and simply, is why the Government and Inkatha are having such a rough ride.

The individuals — Mr Vlok and Mr Buthelezi — are not at all the issue here. There was no mean-spirited attempt to "go for them" personally. They hold high office, they wield tremendous power, and they shoulder extraordinary responsibility. Along with all other politicians of whom that can be said, they have a duty to answer when accused — and both the Minister and the Chief Minister deserve praise for having accepted that duty.

Politics is not always pretty. The politicians know that. It is time the public realised it too. □

'It proves Govt can't be trusted'

Star 23/7/91 (3041)
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Inkatha secret funding scandal had proved that the Government could not be trusted to preside over the transition from apartheid to a democracy, the ANC said yesterday.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC said the disclosures of secret State funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party underscored the pressing need for an interim government which would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans.

And, also in response to the scandal, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday cancelled talks with the IFP on the formation of a patriotic front.

The ANC "challenged President de Klerk and his Cabinet to put an end to these sinister practices. The country will not be fobbed off with a second version of the Harms Commission or some other cover-up."

It said Mr de Klerk should comply with six demands to prove his commitment to cleansing his administration and keeping the peace process on track. He should:

- Dismiss Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who "bear direct ministerial responsibilities for the crimes that have been committed".

- Institute a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate "with the utmost rigour" the full extent of Government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activities.

- Publicly dismantle all the special counter-insurgency forces of the SADF and the SAP, "including those composed of foreign mercenaries".

- Open up to public scrutiny the secret fund, in the region of R380 million, that had been budgeted by the Government.

- Give guarantees that all civil servants and other State em-



Centre of the controversy . . . leading British daily The Guardian yesterday questioned the credibility of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the light of his denial of any knowledge of the source of the funding. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok (seen with Chief Buthelezi) reaffirmed that he had never discussed financial support for Inkatha with the KwaZulu leader. Picture: Reuter

ployees who came forward to tell the truth about these covert operations would be immune from prosecution and receive protection.

- Charge and put on trial all police officers and SADF personnel who had been implicated by past commissions of inquiry.

"The ANC and the people of South Africa shall measure the seriousness with which the Government regards the present impasse by its response to these

demands."

The ANC's full national executive committee would meet before the month-end to discuss this response and the repercussions of the funding scandal on negotiations.

The ANC also said it wanted to alert the international community to the danger of lifting sanctions too soon.

"Those who accepted the bonafides of the De Klerk Government as an agency for politi-

cal change should seriously reconsider their position."

Brian Sokutu reports that PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke yesterday ruled out any future contact between his organisation and the IFP.

"Inkatha must choose either to be part of a CCB as a destabilising agent, or to form part of the democratic forces," Mr Moseneke said.

He said the scandal and Inkatha's rejection of a constitu-

ent assembly and formation of a patriotic front "left the PAC with no option but to withdraw from the intended meeting with Inkatha on the patriotic front". It was scheduled for August 16.

The PAC condemned the use of public funds for the furtherance of party-political programmes and said it would "reconsider the value" of the coming church-sponsored peace conference, in which the Government would take part.

AS THE TEENING CURIO of apartheid collapses, those at its core are starting to emerge like woodlice from a burning log to seek redemption by telling of what went on inside.

They cannot be stopped, nor should they be. Rather, the process of confession and atonement should be institutionalised. If South Africans are to have a decent future, they must be exposed to the full horror of their past.

The ghastly arcana of the 40-year National Party imperium must be laid bare remorselessly if history is not to repeat itself under new management.

All South Africans must see, in every last harrowing detail, what autocracy breeds, the corruption, the lies, the arrogance, the immoral alliances, the squandering and theft of national treasure, the destruction of lives and yes, the terror. Let full, dispassionate disclosure become a national project.

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The alternative is to let the truth seep out drop by drop. Today's disclosures of police funding for Inkatha will be followed by tomorrow's headline news that a respected clergyman in the anti-apartheid movement participated in kangaroo courts that effectively sentenced men and women to death.

Piecemeal revelations by a Press the new-found freedom of which may be

No SA conciliation till full moral decay has been exposed



Washington
Letter
by SIMON BARBER

only temporary are not enough. At best, the public will grow inured and cynical, persuaded by the daily drumbeat of sensation that what has been happening for so long is standard operating procedure and that there is no better way. To despair is to succumb to more of the same.

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The ANC has every right to express outrage at the latest disclosures and to accuse the government of lying through its teeth. It is entirely justified in wondering whether the government, as a whole, is sincere about negotiation. On the other hand, it has no right whatsoever to demand that its own atrocities should be overlooked in the process. Reconciliation requires that all come clean.

State's mendacity

The movement is clearly overjoyed that it has been able to capture the 'moral high ground' thanks to documents leaked to the Weekly Mail. From its new vantage it believes it will be able to exercise more leverage over the government in negotiation while discrediting a principal dissenter and his following. Tactically speaking, it is probably correct in this analysis.

The exposure of the State's mendacity and double dealing, and the discrediting of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, are hugely embarrassing to a long list of people who have risked much to stand up for De Klerk and what they believe to be the best interests of a future SA democracy.

President George Bush has been made to look a fool for having determined that the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act have been met. If half the stories appearing are true, the government's "good faith" in agreeing to negotiate must be seen as highly questionable, the contention that it has opened up the political process to full and free participation is unsustainable. Glasnost is not compatible with dirty

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Hollow freedom

From this and more the ANC can only benefit in its pursuit of power. The kindness that the Bush administration and the Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, recently showed Buthelezi is now meaningless. Washington was at last beginning



PIK BOTHA: Admitting to sanctions fund contradicts Bush's claim apartheid was being dismantled because of State's enlightenment.

to understand that there were more than two sides to the SA equation and to grant official recognition to a third. Now we will be lucky if the majority of Congressmen listen to more than one.

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As for the notion that the ANC and Inkatha should benefit equally from the money Congress set aside last year

CT 24/7/91

to 'promote democracy', forget it. If last week's agreement between House Africa subcommittee chairman Mervyn Dymally and his Republican counterpart Dan Burton has not already been tossed down the memory hole, it soon will be.

Liberty flows from sound economics. Having run the SA economy into the ground over the past four decades, the government and its creatures have now effectively obliged the rest of the world to let the ANC continue running it into ground, thus ensuring that for the mass of South Africans freedom will be ... an empty shell.

Burnt on the repeal of the CAAA's sanctions, Bush will unlikely feel in much hurry to signal the IMF that the US will support a South African credit application. The administration's commitment to the Gramm Amendment, which obliges the US director to cast his *de facto* veto against such an application unless it meets certain conditions, was until now a political aspirin thrown to the sanctioneers to help them get over the demise of the CAAA. Today, it is much more binding. If the ANC says no IMF loans to Pretoria, the Congress will concur and with Congress not only the President but the international financial community as well.

Recovery on hold

SA's economic recovery will have to wait until the ANC has obtained more of its unilateral negotiating demands — demands in which major foreign powers will, for their own political reasons, be considerably more likely to acquiesce than heretofore. The prospects for the unemployed will not improve, further fueling the violence.

There is no point competing to get the 'moral high ground' back. Better to begin by admitting that in SA there is no such thing as 'moral high ground' any more. The place has been reduced by years of gross misrule and abuse of power to a vast moral swamp, flat and desolate, in which common criminals cannot even be identified as such any more but are let loose to rampage on the innocent citizenry.

The swamp can only be cleared by opening the record on all sides so that all may see and learn from what has happened and then, perhaps, forgive each other, understanding at last that the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

THE problem with trying to make snap assessments about most cases of political corruption is that, unlike in the standard novel, it's difficult to find the beginning, the middle and the end.

The same is true for the Inkatha funding scandal. Just when it appears one has come to grips with the parameters of the issue, they change ... and grow and grow ...

As new facts, allegations and suspicions emerge, the blame spreads and the fortunes of individual politicians and their organisations take a roller-coaster ride. But even at this early stage, it should be possible to flag some of the winners and losers in the unfolding political drama.

Undoubtedly the biggest losers in the saga so far have been Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Inkatha's union arm, Uwusa. Indeed, Inkatha must rue the day it decided to accept secret payments, for whatever reason, from the government.

By doing so, it confirmed in the minds of its political rivals and the general public an image of Inkatha as the favoured son of white minority government. If this was not bad enough for Inkatha's profile, it agreed to the payments being made into its bank account by the security police.

South African politicians have over the years found it expedient or desirable to get into bed with all sorts of strange bodies — but the security police? Inkatha's most virulent critics could not have contrived to write a more damaging script.

Chief Buthelezi and his senior lieutenants continue to deny that they knew anything about the transactions but the Inkatha leader has done his cause no good by declining to accept a challenge to resign if further documentary evidence can be

De Klerk, Buthelezi — fast losing credibility

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produced to demonstrate the contrary.

Security police documents marked "top secret" that were published during the past week state that he did know about the clandestine payments and, in fact, expressed gratitude for them. Unfortunately for Chief Buthelezi, this is one of those occasions when most observers will find it difficult to understand why the security police, whatever their other faults, would want to misrepresent the situation.

In future, those less well disposed towards Inkatha will continually be tempted to draw on ammunition provided by the latest scandal to dismiss the party as a puppet of Pretoria rather than an significant independent player in its own right.

The other big losers will be President F W de Klerk and his entire government. The slush funds debacle has done a great deal to erode spirit of trust, confidence and goodwill that Mr De Klerk and his post-P W administration has painstakingly built up both at home and abroad since February 2 last year.

The damaging disclosures —

with apparently more to come — have in less than a week robbed the government of much of the momentum, strategic edge and moral high ground it enjoyed over the ANC since its unbanning 18 months ago.

Many of the abusive clichés have come true. The government does have a double agenda, it does speak with a forked tongue, it clearly cannot be trusted to play a neutral role during the crucial transitional phase.

The reputations of a number of government ministers are now apparently beyond rehabilitation.

The ongoing scandal has strengthened the hand of the more radical political groupings and elements within the ANC who have argued against negotiations on the grounds that the government cannot be trusted.

But the ANC leadership, if they play their cards correctly, could also use the leverage provided by the crisis to extract a number of meaningful concessions from the government which could help to level the political playing field in their future encounters.

Aide kept Inkatha 'in dark'

AN assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has taken the blame for keeping the Inkatha leader in the dark about secret police funding of the party.

Mr M Z Khumalo resigned yesterday, claiming he was the only Inkatha member who knew about money channelled into its bank account by the security police.

In a statement read on his behalf, Mr Khumalo issued an appeal all South Africans to give money to Inkatha to help undo the "damage and organisational hardship" Inkatha's planned refund of the grant would cause the party.

In his statement, Mr Khumalo, who has worked under Chief Buthelezi for 15 years, said he did not tell the Inkatha leader about the secret government funding as he knew the Chief would have rejected the scheme "out of hand."

Acknowledging the issue had "hurt" Inkatha, he appealed to Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi for forgiveness, adding that "I hope some time in the future he will appreciate my motivation..."

"I am convinced that in that final mile to meet my Maker I will be met by people who suffered and died in the struggle who will welcome me and escort me through those final gates of eternal life," Mr Khumalo said in his statement.

The three organisations said in a joint statement yesterday that they had already begun consulting their members, and would announce a joint plan of action on Monday.

Cosatu also announced yesterday that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance planned to stage a march in central Pretoria on August 7, in protest against government funding of Inkatha.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, told Mr De Klerk in a letter that the only effective way of restoring any trust and goodwill towards the government was for "heads to roll at cabinet level".

Noting that local and international confidence in the government had been "almost completely destroyed", Mr Oliver said "those responsible for bringing disrepute upon our country must be removed from office".

The South African Council of Churches said after an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday that the government had to take certain steps to avert the "derailment of the peace process".

These were the firing of ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan, an immediate ban on all secret action and the freezing of all secret funds, a full disclosure on past covert activities and the appointment of a commission of inquiry into security force involvement in the violence.

The Labour Party yesterday added its voice to the groundswell of demands for the government to appoint an independent inquiry into the Inkatha funding.

The LP's spokesman on Justice, Mr Luwellyn Landers, said that notwithstanding his party's good relationship with Inkatha, nothing short of a full inquiry "which cuts to the bone this matter" would suffice.

Sapa reports from Umtata that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) said it was not surprised by reports that the government was funding Inkatha because the two were "partners in the perpetuation of apartheid".

Buthelezi's official takes rap as

FVW starts

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
President F.W. de Klerk last night refused to disclose whether any heads would roll as a result of the government's slush fund row — but Inkatha promised to pay back R250 000 in taxpayers' money it had secretly been paid.

In a brief appearance after the government's two-day "bosheraad", Mr De Klerk declined to comment on the secret funds scandal at this stage, but promised that "we will face the press" next Tuesday after a meeting of the State Security Council.

Question mark

Questioned about whether there would be any resignations in the wake of the row, Mr De Klerk responded: "I will be making a statement on Tuesday."

The decision to delay an announcement in response to the crisis may have bought Mr De Klerk some time, but it is unlikely to temper continuing demands that he take decisive action to restore confidence in the government and the negotiation process.

Meanwhile, the resignation of Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr M Z Khumalo, was dismissed by the ANC as "yet another attempt on the part of the government and its proxies to cover up the active involvement of senior Inkatha Freedom Party (members) and the South African government".

And a question mark still hangs over the fate of the R15 million which the police gave Inkatha's labour arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

At a press conference in Pretoria last night, In-



SILENT ...
 President F.W. de Klerk and Mr P.W. Botha speak to the press after the secret cabinet meeting at the weekend. However, Mr De Klerk said he would speak on the Inkatha scandal only next week.

katha officials said the organisation did not always know where its money came from, and that it was up to Uwusa to explain for itself how it planned to handle the secret funds issue.

Demand for the government to take firm action on the Inkatha funding row, and to fire those implicated in the controversy, continued to mount yesterday.

The ANC, the PAC and Azapo have resolved to embark on a joint programme of action to protest against the channelling of funds to Inkatha through the SAP.

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Pik denies he contradicted own warnings

Political Correspondent

MR. P. K. Botha has shot himself in the foot in the ever-widening Inkatha slush fund scandal — but denied yesterday that he contradicted his own warnings.

The Foreign Minister, who at the weekend admitted that he had personally authorised the secret payment of taxpayers' money to Inkatha, only last

month warned that selective funding of political parties could increase the climate of violence.

On June 13 he also dismissed suggestions that government funds went to the Inkatha Freedom Party as "totally and utterly untrue".

Yesterday Mr. Botha attempted to explain away the contradictions by asserting: "We made no contribution to a political party. Inkatha at the

time was a cultural organisation."

Last month Mr. Botha said that Australia's exclusive funding of the ANC was one-sided and partial.

At that time Mr. Botha said: "This creates a feeling of being left aside, pushed aside, it creates emotions, and emotions create violence."

A questioner then said to Mr. Botha: "Foreign Minister, you talk about funding. Surely the South African

Government funds the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) through its payments and spin-off effects to the KwaZulu Government?"

"It surprises me that you should use the word 'surely,'" Mr. Botha answered. "Of course it is not true. It's totally and utterly untrue."

"Not only is it totally untrue, I can prove that it is untrue."

UK media focus on De Klerk

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The UK media spotlight on South Africa switched to President F W de Klerk yesterday, after it was disclosed by the auditor-general that he must have known of secret government funds being channelled to Inkatha.

Several newspapers likened the Inkatha funding scandal to the information scandal of the 1970s, which led to the downfall of prime minister Mr John Vorster.

"The question now looming is the more serious one of whether Mr De Klerk also knew about, and thus sanctioned, collusion between the state security services and Inkatha in the township killings of ANC supporters," said the Independent.

The credibility of Mr De Klerk, several senior cabinet ministers and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi was questioned in newspapers across the political spectrum.

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Inkatha payments 'legal'

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By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was not required to approve funding of secret projects before money was allocated, the Auditor-General, Mr Peter Wronsley, said yesterday.

Under the Secret Services Account Act, President De Klerk had to be consulted only if the Auditor-General had reported irregularities to the Minister of Finance, as had been the case with the CCB.

Reports quoting him as saying that the law required President De Klerk, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and himself to approve all secret projects beforehand were "absolute nonsense", Mr Wronsley said in an interview.

All legal requirements for the payment of R250 000 to Inkatha had been followed,

particularly the signed authorisation by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

"Whether it is was a good or bad project, or whether the money goes down the tubes is outside the scope of my function," Mr Wronsley said.

In a separate statement yesterday, Mr Wronsley said: "Audit does not question government policy. If there is criticism of the use to which properly authorised payments from voted funds is put, the dispute is one for settlement at a political level."

The Department of Foreign Affairs controlled two secret accounts, the Foreign Affairs Special Account and the Information Service of South African Special Account.

He said two payments of R100 000 and R150 000 had been made out of the Infor-

mation Service of South Africa Special Account and these had been approved by Mr Botha "within the categories of services agreed upon between him and the Minister of Finance" as required by the law.

The payments were not made out of the Foreign Affairs Special Account as reported by some sections of the media.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs authorisations in question were verified by Audit. No irregularity was found. In these circumstances, no negative report by Audit was made," Mr Wronsley said in the statement.

Mr Wronsley later said that the President was not involved in the authorisation of these amounts and the minister, in this case Mr Botha, had to authorise the payments, as had been done.

More red faces in government likely, says MP

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Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The government could soon face further embarrassing disclosures of security force involvement in recent political violence.

Mr Kobus Jordaan, the Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, said yesterday that he and others had been investigating allegations and had evidence of the hand of "certain elements of the security forces in black-on-black violence".

He declined to say who the others were, but said they were "a fairly wide group of people".

"We have got very, very good indications — which we are still investigating — and evidence that elements (within the security forces) were actually supplying weapons and training

some of the people and were actively involved in propping up some elements involved in violence," he said.

Mr Jordaan said he would be taking the evidence to the relevant ministers as soon as certain facts had been pinpointed.

"We are piecing the information together."

Mr Jordaan said the evidence he and the group had accumulated had not yet been published in newspapers: "It is our own information."

It had been provided by elements in the government as well as church and private sources, he indicated.

He said it was not clear at this stage whether senior government figures such as Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan were aware of what was going on.

the rack

Pik

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

VETERAN Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha — whose political head has been called for in the secret Inkatha funds scandal — is to face the nation tomorrow night.

But, amid signs that the government is intent on arguing its way out of the crisis, speculation that Mr Botha, the most senior Cabinet minister and the world's second longest serving foreign minister, will quit is being denied by sources close to him.

However, in a tough test of his political credibility, Mr Botha faces a battery of South African and foreign journalists at a press conference tomorrow.

Sources said he would seek to "clarify" issues surrounding the payment of R250 000 from two secret Foreign Affairs accounts to Inkatha.

Meanwhile, President De Klerk has put off facing the public on the scandal until Tuesday next week, after a regular meeting of the State Security Council.

There is speculation that the possibility of further embarrassing revelations this week might have prompted the delay.

But there is deep unease over the president's decision to put off a public statement on the matter.

In his sharpest statement yet on the crisis, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said today President De Klerk was apparently playing games with the future of South Africa.

He called on Mr De Klerk to act more decisively and urgently.

He said: "He has been given an opportunity to rehabilitate his integrity. He does not seem to realise the seriousness of our crisis. He is apparently playing games and he is playing with the future of this country.

"I call on him to act more decisively and urgently," the archbishop said.

It is widely expected that Mr De Klerk is soon to begin preparations for negotiations by withdrawing key ministers from the Cabinet to form a top-flight talks team and there is a view that the Inkatha funds scandal might have given this process additional impetus.

However, in National Party circles, it is not expected on the basis of what is known now that any dramatic steps will be taken by the government.

Signs of resentment

It is understood that the two-day Cabinet *bosberaad* at a secret retreat somewhere in the Transvaal was marked by frank discussion, but there are signs of resentment and even anger in the highest government circles at the outcry over the funds scandal.

There is a feeling that the government is being judged according to conditions in July 1991 for events that occurred — the secret payments in November 1989 and March 1990 — in what the government views as an entirely different context.

However, while the first head has rolled — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant Mr Zakhele Khumalo took the blame for receiving the money without telling his leader and resigned yesterday — demands that government ministers should go remain.

Today, Archbishop Tutu also called for immediate action on demands made by South African church leaders after a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Prove integrity

They said: "In the past we as church leaders have accepted Mr De Klerk's personal integrity. We have to say now that the revelations of the last week have put the onus on Mr De Klerk to prove his integrity."

They demanded:

- The immediate resignation or dismissal of (Law and Order Minister) Mr Adriaan Vlok and (Defence Minister) General Magnus Malan.

- An immediate government ban on all covert action and an immediate freeze on secret funds, to be monitored by auditors and other experts appointed with the backing of all major political groupings, religious bodies and business groups.

- The government immediately disclose fully all past covert activities and give independent auditors and lawyers trusted by the major political groupings and the religious and business communities full access to government records; and that

- The government commits itself to an inquiry into security force involvement in the violence by a commission established by agreement with major political parties, business and religious groups.

Critical West is watching De Klerk

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THE Cabinet is meeting today under critical Western eyes (or in some cases, perhaps baleful glares) to finalise its response to the Inkatha slush-funds scandal.

Sympathetic Western governments, especially those which have campaigned for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, are "annoyed and embarrassed" by this weekend's revelation that the South African Government has secretly funded Inkatha and its affiliate trade union to the tune of at least R1,5 million.

Although much damage has already been done to relations, the Cabinet's decision about how to handle the crisis will be crucial in restoring some confidence, Western embassy sources have said.

Sanctions

The United States government, particularly, is smarting because the disclosures have followed so soon after United States Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen's assertion that he could find no proof of South African Government partiality in the ANC/Inkatha struggle.

He delivered this virtual clean bill of health in defence of the United States administration's very recent decision to lift the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act - against opposition from the black caucus and others in Congress.

Publicly the American government is putting a brave face on it, with an official statement from the State Department that the affair will not affect the decision to lift the CAAA.

Privately, however, American diplomatic sources disclose that the slush-fund scandal has embarrassed and annoyed them.

It has cast doubt on the United States embassy's - and through them the United States administra-



Sympathetic Western governments are annoyed and embarrassed by the South African Government's secret funding of Inkatha and expect bold action from President FW de Klerk to solve the problem - and save their wounded pride.

tion's - political judgment that reform in South Africa is irreversible and that the Government is not in any way behind the violence.

They confirmed impressions from congressional sources in Washington that the controversy would probably delay the lifting of further American sanctions, beyond the CAAA.

"I certainly think you can forget about the Gramm Amendment being lifted for a while," one source said.

The Gramm Amendment is a crucial piece of legislation which effectively prohibits the United States government from approving International Monetary Fund loans to this country.

This could deal a serious blow to the South African Government's plans to stimulate the economy.

Although IMF loans are only available to tide over balance of payments deficits - which South Africa does not currently have - the South African Government was hoping to secure access to loans as a backup before embarking on the next economic upswing.

It could then resort to this loan facility if - or more likely when - the upswing almost inevitably prompted increased imports - and

pressure on the balance of payments surplus.

United States sources also forecast that although the scandal would not affect the lifting of the CAAA, it could retard the actual resumption of United States/South Africa commerce which the lifting makes legally possible.

Like other Western governments, the United States is eagerly waiting to see what the Cabinet has decided to do about the slush fund scandal at its special "bush indaba" this week.

"It needs to be something which shows they understand they have a real credibility problem," one source said.

"Nothing they have done so far suggests they appreciate the scale of the problem.

Credibility

"They don't seem to realise that they are now being seen as an unreliable negotiating partner."

One senior diplomat of another embassy was more blunt, saying that De Klerk would have to fire at least Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to restore domestic and international credibility.

He said that if he did not take bold action De Klerk was in danger of losing his invaluable reputation as a man of integrity.

"There are a lot of people in his administration who follow him against their own inner feelings and people who are actively working against him.

"If he does not take bold action, he will become part of the problem."

One diplomat said that the problem was not so much that the Government had funded Inkatha but that the funding had been channelled through the police - with all its reputation for collusion with Inkatha.

That is what gave the affair its "bad smell".

Although British diplomatic sources are remaining traditionally tight - and stiff - lipped about the affair, political observers agree they have good reason to be extremely unamused.

Not only has Britain been the South African Government's staunchest champion abroad and led the charge against sanctions, it has also identified more closely than most with Inkatha.

It was not too many weeks ago that former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and then British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick were conspicuously hosted by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a banquet in Ulundi.

The German embassy has also been reluctant to say much on the record. The official line conveyed by ambassador Dr Immo Stabreit is that the German government is "concerned" that the affair might be an impediment to negotiations - "our central concern.

"We will be watching the SA Cabinet's response very closely."

Most Western diplomats agree that if the affair has been bad for the South African Government, it has been disastrous for Inkatha and Buthelezi.

Apart from dashing his credibility as an independent force in negotiations, it may also strangle his foreign funding - at just the time when the South African Government will be obliged to be scrupulous about not "bankrolling him".

United States diplomatic sources say the scandal may have jeopardised Inkatha's chances of getting any of the R28 million set aside by the United States government for aid to black South African political parties.

"Can we afford to be seen to be funding Inkatha when the SA Government is doing so?" they asked. - Political Staff.

Buthelezi aide 'accepted cash'

FW stalls on Inkatha funds scandal

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night delayed for another week government's reaction to the Inkatha funding scandal, saying a full statement would be issued only next Tuesday.

However Foreign Minister Pik Botha is to hold a news conference tomorrow on his role in authorising payments of R250 000 to Inkatha.

De Klerk told reporters before he met Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope last night that he first wanted to discuss the issue with the Cabinet today and at "a very important meeting on Monday" — believed to be a scheduled state security council meeting.

De Klerk's announcement of government's silence came in the face of growing calls for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and for a special session of Parliament.

In another development yesterday Inkatha announced the resignation of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal assistant, saying the official had accepted and accounted for the government donations for two Inkatha rallies, but had deliberately not informed Buthelezi of these developments.

Inkatha also announced that it would repay the full R250 000 to Foreign Affairs.

De Klerk said the meeting with Mangope, attended by Botha and Vlok, discussed US President George Bush's concern about the continued detention of political prisoners in Bophuthatswana.

The full Cabinet, plus deputy ministers and provincial administrators met at an

BILLY PADDOCK

undisclosed venue over the past two days. The funding scandal is believed to have topped the agenda.

Buthelezi's assistant, M Z Khumalo, said in a statement he deposited in Inkatha's account two amounts which he knew were from government, but he denied Buthelezi had any knowledge of the money's source.

"I accounted fully for the expenditure of the money to the officer who had handed over the funds to me."

Khumalo added he had worked for Buthelezi for 15 years. "I knew without a doubt that he would have rejected the proposal out of hand, whilst I on the other hand knew that this assistance would be very helpful in promoting these peace rallies."

"I want to apologise very sincerely to my president for having betrayed his trust in not telling him about the source of these funds."

GERALD REILLY reports Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni told a news conference in Pretoria last night the money would be paid back.

Myeni said the Inkatha leadership knew absolutely nothing about the money.

The repayment, he said, would come from Inkatha coffers. "We cannot accommodate or condone this kind of action."

One person (Khumalo), he said, knew about the deal and nobody else. Asked whether he expected this to be believed, Myeni failed to respond.

He said Buthelezi had on another occasion rejected a government offer of money

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

to fight sanctions. Asked why Khumalo was not at the news conference Myeni said Inkatha no longer had control of him.

"In any case he would not want to parade his shame in front of the media."

"We are appalled at what happened and Inkatha would like to see a high level investigation into the whole unfortunate incident," Myeni said.

DP leader Zach de Beer said last night there was a "gross discrepancy" between

Khumalo's statement and a letter from SAP Brig J A Steyn in which he said Buthelezi and KwaZulu Justice Minister Jeffrey Mtetwa expressed their "great thanks and appreciation" for the funds.

"If the private secretary is telling the truth, then Brig Steyn's statement was a bare-faced lie," De Beer said.

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From Page 1



Child unionists . . . young boys said they were "paid" with Uwusa T-shirts for meeting Archbishop Desmond Tutu at Jan Smuts Airport.

Hunt for slush fund 'Deep Throat'

Star 24/7/91

DURBAN — The police have launched a full-scale investigation to find out who leaked the top-secret document regarding secret Government funding for Inkatha.

Informal sources said a top-level investigation was launched late on Thursday. Senior police had learnt that The Guardian and The Weekly Mail were in possession of the documents and bank deposit slips containing details of secret meetings between Inkatha officials and senior police officers as well as a R250 000 sponsor.

Call for sacking of Ministers grows

Star Bureau (304/7)

LONDON — As political pressure continued to mount on Pretoria over its secret funding of Inkatha, The Independent newspaper yesterday added its voice to the call for the dismissal of Ministers involved and the punishment of officials implicated in fomenting violence.

In an editorial, The Independent said there was little doubt that President de Klerk knew that Government money had been channelled to the IFP.

Call for sacking of Ministers grows

Star 24/7/91

Referring to the goodwill shown towards Mr de Klerk in the wake of his political reforms, the newspaper said: "In effect, an ostensibly even-handed reformist government has been helping finance a party bitterly opposed to its chief negotiating partners in the ANC."

The question now looming is the yet more serious one of whether Mr de Klerk knew about, and thus sanctioned, collusion between the state security services and Inkatha in the township killings of ANC supporters.

While the ANC was not "totally innocent", it had not resorted to "random slaughter". Apart from The Independent, both the Financial Times and The Guardian gave considerable coverage to the scandal, but without comment.

In further reaction to the scandal, the issue was raised in the British parliament yesterday. Labour MP Bob Hughes tabled questions on the British government's financial support to the IFP and Pretoria's role in the township violence.

Days of integrity on De Klerk

By Carina le Grange

Disclosures of Government funding for Inkatha bring into question the bona fides of President de Klerk, putting the onus on him to prove his integrity, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Top leaders such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Khoza Mgojo, Dr Frank Chikane, Sheena Duncan and Dr Beyers Naude attended the meeting, which drew up a six-point demand including the immediate resignation of Ministers Adrian Vlok and Magnus Malan.

The president of the inter-faith body, World Conference on Religion and Peace, Dr Gerrie Lubbe, said the WCPR was in full agreement with the SACC statement.

The churches also demanded that a new mechanism — "whether called an interim government or not" — be negotiated between major political groupings to oversee the Government during the negotiation process.

The Government also had to disclose immediately all other past covert activities, commit itself to a commission of inquiry into the security forces, put a ban on all covert action and freeze the use of any secret funds.

Representatives of the WCPR, including Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris and members of the Central Islamic Trust, also attended the meeting.

Approached for comment, Rabbi Harris told The Star that "satisfactory answers to the serious allegations must come from the Government so that a viable level of trustworthiness can be established".

He said he was unsure that in the negotiation process towards a new dispensation, any other politician other than Mr de



Religious concern . . . Dr Frank Chikane, Bishop Khoza Mgojo and Archbishop Desmond Tutu at yesterday's meeting in Johannesburg.

Klerk could play the "crucial role he had made his own".

The SACC emergency meeting came only a day after the Rev Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church, a member of the facilitating committee established at Mr de Klerk's peace summit, said the "crucial peace talks could be harmed by the disclosures".

Yesterday Ron Steele, a Rhema Church official, said in reply to further questions that in view of the perceived closeness between Mr McCauley and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the fault "lies with the Government. Inkatha was too happy to receive".

Pressed on Chief Buthelezi's reactions, Mr Steele said it was not Rhema's policy to criticise everybody, but considering the denial of knowledge over the funds, it "shows lax administration" and that Mr Buthelezi "obviously also has to come clean". Another member of the facilitating committee, NG Kerk as-

essor Professor Johan Heyns, told The Star the Inkatha-police debacle was the "Government's problem" and would not affect the planning of a future peace summit.

Task groups of the facilitating committee will meet tonight for report-backs on, among other things, codes of conduct which have been drawn up for political parties and the security forces.

Dr Naude and Dr Nico Smith, both former NGK members, yesterday issued a joint statement in which they publicly challenged the church to take a stand and consider its responsibility to the Government.

"Can the NGK continue to refuse to criticise the Government on such matters in private?" they asked after having stated that the credibility of the Christian faith was at stake.

NGK leaders were not available for comment yesterday, and it is understood they were at a top-level meeting.

The chairman of the all-white Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk, Dr Fanie Pretorius, said his church would be holding a scheduled meeting today at which he would discuss the request for comment and determine whether a statement should be issued on the disclosures.

A delegation of the ANC's national working committee met senior church leaders of the SACC yesterday.

An SACC statement said the ANC delegation shared their concerns about the implications of the disclosures of Government funding of Inkatha and how this could derail the process of working towards a new order in South Africa.

The church leaders briefed the ANC on its emergency meeting held earlier.

Both organisations recognised the "seriousness of the situation facing South Africa" as a result of the secret funding and expressed their intentions to monitor developments.

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Tip of iceberg, say lawyers

Star 24/7/91

It was "virtually unavoidable" that an inference could be made that President de Klerk and Finance minister Barend du Plessis had knowledge of the Government funding of Inkatha, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers said yesterday.

It was also likely that "what has been revealed is merely the tip of the iceberg", Nadel said.

Nadel added that it was also disturbing that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had claimed he was unaware of the money given to his organisation.



No comment on slush fund . . . President de Klerk with President Lucas Mangope at a photo session last night.

Picture: Sean Woods

FW remains silent on funding scandal

By Helen Grange *Star*
Pretoria Bureau 24/1/91

President de Klerk refused, on meeting a huge press contingent last night, to divulge details of the Government's secret bush conference over the Inkatha funding scandal.

Smiling cordially, Mr de Klerk looked relaxed as he directed the media's attention to the purpose of the press gathering held at Pretoria's state guest house — which was to welcome Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

"I don't want to make any

statements about the issue (of the funding). This would be impolite to Mr Mangope."

He revealed, however, that Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha would hold a television interview tomorrow followed by a press conference.

Mr de Klerk added that he would make a full statement regarding the scandal on Tuesday. There would also be a Cabinet meeting today and an important meeting on Monday with the State Security Council, he said.

Mr Botha and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok

were also present at the state guest house last night, and smiled at the clamouring cameras as they passed.

Mr Botha joked with the media as they waited for Mr de Klerk's arrival.

Mr de Klerk said his meeting with President Mangope had been arranged about a fortnight ago, and among matters being discussed were talks Mr de Klerk had had with President George Bush over political prisoners being held in Bophuthatswana.

"The general problem of the political prisoners has

been raised and we are discussing it as well as other matters of common concern," said Mr de Klerk.

Prisoners in the homeland's Rooigrond prison have been attempting to bring attention to their plight through hunger strikes. They claim they should also be indemnified in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

After waiting nearly an hour, the media contingent, including scores of foreign journalists, sighed with disappointment as President de Klerk ended the press conference cordially.

DP claims 4 other groups got money

Star 24/7/91

304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe

UMHLANGA — Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan, a key figure in disclosures of the secret Government funding scandal, yesterday revealed the names of four organisations — in addition to Inkatha — he believes might also have received money.

Mr Jordaan is the Umhlanga MP and a former senior official at the Department of Constitutional Development.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, Mr Jordaan disclosed the names he had submitted — in parliamentary questions about suspected secret funding — to President de Klerk, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan.

The four organisations are the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa); the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa); National Forum (a moderate alliance consisting mainly of black local councillors); and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) of Dr John Gogotya.

In Parliament, Mr Jordaan asked President de Klerk, Mr Vlok and General Malan whether "certain organisations" had received direct or indirect financial aid from the Government.

In his reply, Mr de Klerk said the matter involved security information which could not be revealed.

Mr Jordaan also referred to a parliamentary question asked by colleague Jannie Momborg regarding possible financial assistance to "cultural or political organisations" in the homelands.

Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers furnished details of some homeland organisations who had been supported by the Government.

But, said Mr Jordaan, no mention was made of five homeland organisations he believed were worthy of investigation.

They were Ximoko Progressive Party, Inyandza in KaNgwane, Intanda ye Sizwe, United Peoples Front, and Dikwentla.

Mr Jordaan also referred to the undermining of Cosatu, the ANC-aligned labour federation.

A US forecaster gives South Africa a poor risk rating, writes Hugh Robertson

Bank on turmoil, not investment

Star 24/7/91.

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24/7/91

A COMPANY which specialises in forecasting risks for American businesses around the world, and which is widely consulted by banks and multinational corporations, has given South Africa a poor risk rating for the next five years.

Political Risk Services says in a report from Washington that the chances of turmoil in the country between now and mid-1996 are "very high" and forecasts mounting troubles for President de Klerk in trying to reconcile the differences between competing black groups.

In their latest survey the company also forecasts a "moderate" degree of turmoil in Zimbabwe in the next five years, with inflation there soaring to 25 percent, and it predicts that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will be ousted in open elections later this year and will be replaced by a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of Frederick Chiluba, a trade unionist.

Political Risk Services, which sells a 50-page report on South Africa for \$295 (about R840), says President de Klerk's inability to

stop fighting between the African National Congress and Inkatha, and the growing restiveness of whites, will challenge his efforts to forge a peaceful transition to multiracial government.

While the South African Government continued to propose and implement major reforms, "the possibility of a stalemate over the terms of the transition and growing organised opposition among whites threaten a peaceful evolution", the report says.

It adds that "increasingly militant statements by ANC officials over continued violence and the Government's role in it indicate the unlikelihood of getting a consensus among black groups".

The report says there is only a 40 percent possibility of a "reformist National Party" being the government in 18 months' time, and only a 40 percent chance of a "pragmatic ANC" coming to power in the next five years, although it does forecast a new government within the next five years.

Inflation will grow to 18 percent between 1992 and 1996, while the growth in the real gross domestic



Kenneth Kaunda... rule ending?

product will be only 1.8 percent in the same period.

Zimbabwe, by contrast, will have an inflation rate of 25 percent between 1992 and 1996, with a four percent growth in its real gross domestic product, and there is a "moderate" chance of turmoil in the long term.

Commenting on President Robert Mugabe's plans for buying white-owned land for redistribution to blacks, the report says: "With the economy continuing to weaken and the youthful and urban population growing, the loss of foreign investment and white agricultural managers could hasten economic deterioration and undermine a stable and pragmatic government."

In Zambia, continuing economic decline coupled with pressure for democratic elections had forced President Kaunda to schedule elections for October.

"He may postpone the elections or use repressive techniques to ensure his victory, but the possibility of widespread violence makes such actions unlikely. Open elections will most likely produce a victory for the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy and lead to a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of a popular labour leader, Frederick Chiluba," the report says.

Political Risk Services do not forecast events in Mozambique, Angola or Namibia at this stage. — Star Bureau. □

Hunt for 'Deep Throat'

(304A) ~~2MB~~
CT 25/4/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

POLICE yesterday launched an all-out drive to find the person, thought to be a disgruntled policeman, who stole the top-secret documents revealing government payments to Inkatha.

Official sources said they believed the person who leaked the documents was a policeman "who seems to have had an axe to grind".

However, it was unclear where the "Deep Throat" was hiding out. "He may be in London," one source said. "An enormous amount of documents has gone." Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that he, Lieutenant-General Louwtjie Erasmus, a legal adviser and a member of the former security police held a meeting with Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber and the paper's legal adviser at the Law and Order ministry in Pretoria.

He said they wanted access to the documents in the Weekly Mail's possession and which might be published in the newspaper tomorrow.

In London two of President FW de Klerk's most sympathetic British newspapers, the Financial Times and the Daily

Telegraph, yesterday called for ministerial resignations following the revelations of Inkatha funding.

"Were Mr De Klerk president of a democracy his position would be in jeopardy," said the Financial Times.

The Daily Telegraph said that "after a long period in which the president has held the moral high ground in South African politics, this latest episode has driven him from it".

It was "never true that the ANC was an innocently injured party, but the can of worms now being opened goes some way towards proving that they were right".

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said South African Foreign Minister

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From page 1

Mr Pik Botha yesterday assured him there had been no connivance in violence by the South African government.

Mr Hurd said he spoke on the phone to Mr Botha and urged that the government be clear and open about what had occurred and that they should make it clear that the old policies had been rejected.

The KwaZulu government yesterday repaid the R250 000 given to it by the South African government. A member of the KwaZulu cabinet, Dr Frank Mdladlose, handed the cheque to Mr Botha.

Well-placed government sources yesterday predicted that, instead of resigning, the ministers at the centre of the row — Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, and Mr Botha — would tough it out.

Mr Botha faces a grilling from newsmen on television tonight.

And a source said Mr Vlok, who briefed foreign diplomats yesterday in a bid to defuse the row, "had acted within government policy" and confidently predicted that "his head will not roll".

The diplomats were told that the "dirty tricks" operations exposed during the past week belonged to a bygone era and that as far as the government was concerned, it had now "come clean" on the issue.

Pressure on government ministers could increase later this week, when the Weekly Mail has promised to publish more of — but not all — the secret documents it has obtained.

Police sources acknowledged that one of their major concerns was that they did not know how to respond to disclosures at this stage because it was unclear how much classified information was being held back by the press.

Mr Harber was unrepentant about the cat-and-mouse game his newspaper has been playing with the authorities.

ANC's demand

He said last night that the paper would be publishing some more "very interesting" documents on the scandal tomorrow but would also be holding some in reserve.

"They are playing a waiting game and so are we," he said.

The ANC said yesterday, after a two-day meeting of its national working committee called to discuss the Inkatha funding, that it was disturbed that "a witchhunt" had been launched for the person who leaked proof of the funding.

The ANC also demanded that the government's secret projects budget of R380 million be frozen immediately and that the covert spending of R1,5 billion over the past five years be made public.

The organisation said it was formulating a programme of action that would express outrage at "the ongoing state-sponsored violence and manipulation of the political process by the incumbent government and its security forces".

A leading figure involved in the slush fund disclosures, Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan, said yesterday that the secret funding of organisations favoured by the government might go much wider than Inkatha and its trade union arm, Uwusa.

He mentioned the Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa), the National Forum (an alliance of "moderate" black councillors), the conservative Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) and the United Municipalities of SA (Umsa).

Spokesmen for Ucasa and Umsa yesterday insisted that they were self-funded.

Meanwhile, a poll by Marketing and Media research in the greater Johannesburg area on Tuesday night showed that 45% of National Party supporters questioned on the Inkatha funding scandal felt that Mr Vlok should be fired.

UK press:

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'Ministers must go'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Two of President F W de Klerk's most supportive British newspapers, the Financial Times and the Daily Telegraph, yesterday called for ministerial resignations following disclosures of South African government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"Were Mr De Klerk president of a democracy," said the Financial Times (FT), Britain's major business newspaper, "his position would be in jeopardy."

While the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC were the acts of a "courageous politician", the FT said, in doing so Mr De Klerk was "being forced to acknowledge pressing political and economic realities."

"It now turns out that at the same time he was funding a secret campaign to boost Mr Mandela's rival. It is unlikely that Mr Mandela will again describe Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity."

But, said the FT, Mr De Klerk remained "as essential to South Africa's transition to democracy as Mr Mandela himself". The FT suggested a number of measures Mr De Klerk should take to get the stalled negotiations off the ground:

- "End an alliance (with Inkatha) which has already done considerable harm to South Africa."

- "Urgently set about reforming the security services. This should begin with the dismissal of Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok."

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former hit squad policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee yesterday claimed that the KwaZulu police chief, Major-General Jac Buchner, played a pivotal role in the secret operations of the security forces over the past decade and more.

Mr Coetzee, who went into exile in late 1989 following his claims about the security police farm, Vlakplaas, said that Military Intelligence and the security police had for years worked jointly in planning covert operations.

Mr Coetzee agreed with claims by other former security force members about recent township killings, such as the assault on a Soweto-bound train in September last year. He said the reason the assailants remained silent was that they did not speak Zulu.

- "Appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the Inkatha affair."

- "Give way to long-standing demands for an independent investigation of the allegations of the involvement of the security forces in township violence."

The Daily Telegraph said that "after a long period in which the president has held the moral high ground in South African politics, this latest episode has driven him from it."

"(Tuesday's) resignation of Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr M Z Khumalo, and the announcement that Inkatha will repay R250 000 to the government, will not be enough to cauterise the wounds that have been opened in the political process."

"At the very least some ministerial resignations seem essential."

Fund mastermind's other project

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Financial Mail disclosed yesterday that South Africa's ambassador to France, Mr Marc Burger, named as a key figure in the Inkatha funding affair, had masterminded another secret project to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

Mr Burger is a former Foreign Affairs chief director and controlled the department's secret funds — the same fund used to channel R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallies.

Last year Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha prevailed upon the magazine not to publish details of the project at that stage. The Financial Mail reported that Mr Botha said publicity on the government's involvement in the project would have crippled SA's coal exports. It did not elaborate on how such publicity would have affected the exports.

Mr Botha had said the project had been abandoned after careful consideration and promised he would go public once the danger of sanctions had subsided.

FW faces big repair job

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MICHAEL MORRIS and
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
Political Staff

AN overhaul of the management of secret government funds and steps to re-establish trust in the security forces are expected to be announced by President De Klerk next week in a strategy to repair the damage caused by the Inkatha funds scandal.

Reaffirming confidence in the negotiation process is among the government's chief concerns as it prepares to face the world over its involvement in the R1.75-million payout to Inkatha and the linked United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Resignations are not being excluded, but the government is arguing that it has committed no irregularities and that the secret payments were defensible given the conditions at the time.

"These actions belong to a different era. We should see them in the light of a different era in our lives," said one source.

Top-level sources said President De Klerk's decision to delay a response until next Tuesday was an indication of the seriousness with which the matter was being addressed.

He was conducting his own investigation of the funding and allegations of security-force collusion in the violence as the basis for far-reaching steps to restore confidence in the negotiation process.

Public's mood

There was deep concern in the government about the effect of the crisis on constitutional talks and on the public's mood.

Reports raise the prospect of an special all-party parliamentary committee keeping an eye on secret funds. This could be one of the measures Mr De Klerk has in mind.

A source said his response would involve a "comprehensive approach" encompassing not merely the Inkatha funds scandal, but wider issues that were negatively affecting negotiations.

His decision to wait until Tuesday was not an attempt to evade the issue, but an indication of how seriously it was being taken.

World attention focuses on Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha at a long-awaited Press conference in Johannesburg today to explain his role in the funding.

Mr Botha will face scores of local and foreign journalists at a Press conference at the SABC head office in Auckland Park. The conference, to start at 3pm, will be screened on TVI's news programme Agenda tonight.

Mr Botha, whose explanations of the clandestine slush-fund controversy have been met with much scepticism, will become the second Cabinet minister to face the Press. On Sunday Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok was grilled over the SAP's role in covert operations by Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber.

The issues

Among issues which could be raised are:

- Which organisations — such as trade unions, cultural and political groups, churches, academic institutes and other think tanks — have been paid from the slush fund?

- How much has been paid to organisations?

- Is the funding continuing?

- Which other government organs, other than the police, have been used to channel funds?

- Which Cabinet ministers and civil servants were aware of the slush fund and took part in decision-making on how taxpayers' money would be spent?

- Did Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden repeatedly warn Mr Botha that the exposure of the fund would have major repercussions?

- Was the present Ambassador to France, Mr Marc Burger, the middleman who controlled the slush fund?

An unrepentant Mr Botha told diplomats at a confidential briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday that the government would not apologise for fighting sanctions, as it had, and funding to the IFP.

The funding to Inkatha, he said, was used for food, buses and banners.

Mr Botha revealed that police consulted the Auditor-General about funding for the IFP but were referred to the Department of Foreign Affairs, which authorised the payments.

Violence is 'on way out'

AUTHOR, poet and political scientist Mr Stephen Chan says the tide of violence is receding in Southern Africa - except in parts of South Africa.

He sees this as the beginning of a new era of peace and reconstruction which would get going within the next few years.

In an interview this week he said that although violence was likely to continue in specific areas of South Africa for some time to come, profound changes in the frontline states were likely to benefit this country during and after its transition.

Chan, an academic of Chinese descent who specialises in affairs of the frontline states, is a political analyst with a difference - he not only examines tough political, economic and diplomatic

As violence and political conflict continue to bring confusion and fear to South Africans, a leading specialist in Southern Africa's international relations has brought a message of hope. He told Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the light he sees at the end of our tunnel.

questions, but as a poet he also looks into the souls of countries and their peoples.

He envisages changes in the power structure as well as economic and trade links of key frontline states that are set for further development towards multiparty democracy.

This is likely to bring in its wake new trading and economic links with South Africa.

Chan expects important changes, including economic development, in some of the frontline states after their coming elections.

In Zambia, now in-

involved in elections, Chan sees a possibility that President Kaunda will be voted out of power.

Chan found during his travels in the frontline states that there were fears of economic domination by South Africa. He says all eyes will be on South Africa's economic links with the United States and Japan.

With help from South Africa, Zambia's ailing economy could be turned around.

Chan believes South African hopes of a joint security pact between South Africa and the states of Southern Africa

may be little more than a pipedream at this stage.

Any moves towards joint defence systems would have to be shelved for years to come.

On the issue of violence in South Africa, Chan said his early impression was that violence in specific areas may continue for some time, possibly until the mid-90s.

"All kinds of forces are unleashed now and people have to find their positions in the new South Africa. You are looking at the birth and growth of a new civil society."

However, in such a situation instruments from within South African society could play a major role for peace. Institutions such as Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies could help to transform a culture of violence to a culture focused on mediation.

304A SOWETAN 25/7/91

SA gets poor risk rating by US firm

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WASHINGTON - A company which specialises in forecasting risks for American businesses around the world, and which is widely consulted by banks and multinational corporations, has given South Africa a poor risk rating for the next five years.

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Political Risk Services, which sells a 50-page report on South Africa for about R825, says De Klerk's inability to stop fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, and the growing restiveness of whites, will challenge his efforts to forge a peaceful

By HUGH ROBERTON
Washington Bureau

transition to multiracial government.

While the South African Government continues to propose and implement major reforms, "the possibility of a stalemate over the terms of the transition and growing organised opposition among whites threaten a peaceful evolution," the report says.

It adds that "increasingly militant statements by ANC officials over continued violence and the Government's role in it indicate the unlikelihood of getting a consensus among black groups".

Report

The report says there is only a 40 percent possibility of a "reformist National Party" being the government in 18 months' time and only a 40 percent chance of a "pragmatic ANC" coming to power in the next five years, although it does forecast a new government within the next five years.

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In Zambia, continuing economic decline coupled with pressure for democratic elections had forced Kaunda to schedule elections for October.

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"Open elections will most likely produce a victory for the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy and lead to a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of a popular labour leader, Frederick Chiluba," the report says.

Political Risk Services does not forecast events in Mozambique, Angola or Namibia at this stage.

Turning the spotlight on the massacres

By Tony Heard

AN ENORMOUS row has, understandably, broken out over the secret government funding of Inkatha and its trade union.

But the more outrageous allegations of recent days have not received the same public attention. They concern more important issues than geniec bank receipts and public admissions of covert financial support.

They concern mass killings. More specifically, they are allegations of the cold-blooded murder of citizens — using public funds, and carried out by agents acting, at some level, for the government.

In past years, civil rights lawyers and activists have amassed vast tomes of allegations against the police and military authorities; enough to light huge bonfires in Union Buildings.

In these matters, there is little reason to believe that there is any substantial change since FW de Klerk took power.

The official response has been, variously, to dismiss the allegations; to put the onus on the complainants to do all the detective work themselves and lay specific charges (as if political murder falls outside the immedi-

ate scope of the police); or pass them off as part of the "old book" of South African history, happily now closed.

The government has in the past set loose indefatigable police bloodhounds for its investigations; bloodhounds such as General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, now appointed to investigate the train massacres and other allegations.

The whole nation will surely be filled with confidence.

If a mere few cases were at issue, the official response would be more understandable. But thousands of people have died and a cascade of allegations faces the police and military.

The most recent came at the weekend, with charges by former SADF operative, Sergeant Felix Ndime, that SADF special forces murdered six commuters on a Johannesburg-bound train in Soweto last year.

The records are available for all to see. In the annual survey of the South African Institute of Race Relations which in the 1989/90 issue carried nearly three pages on "assassination units".

There are allegations about secret recee bases, Vlakplaas, and other murky places; about the murders of David Webster, Anton Lubowski, the



Tony Heard

Mkenges, not to mention the earlier but equally alarming murders of Richard Turner in Durban and Ruth First in Maputo.

The allegations go on and on. If the burden of evidence does not impress the government, it is blind, deaf, dumb and stupid.

The government, of course, in a striking show of public relations, shut itself off from the country in a bosheraad — while the clamour grows. And the press is told on Monday that it must await Barend du Plessis's comments on secret funds

— "until Tuesday".

The government gravely ponders calls to reconvene parliament, a parliament that represents a fraction of the people.

It appoints toothless commissions, severely limiting their terms of reference in case something really dangerous crops up. It tolerates the whisking away of incriminating document by state officials; it dismisses serious and current allegations as part of an "old era". Really?

The response of the De Klerk government has been defensive, evasive, disgraceful — on a par with that of the PW Botha government at the height of the Information Scandal in the late 1970s.

Yet some people still credit De Klerk with having been "duped by over-zealous underlings", and "badly let down". This is generous; almost generous enough to make the state president out to be an over-trusting fool.

The truth is that De Klerk has thousands of civil servants, he has secret services and he has all the means at the disposal of a powerful president to find out what's going on under his own nose. He has no excuse to plead ignorance.

Rather, I fear, the nation should

conclude that De Klerk is rapidly descending to the level of P.W. Botha.

This follows a season of hope when nice things were, justifiably, said about him by opponents. De Klerk about himself — not rightwing rogues, nor the increasingly irrelevant Vlok and Malan — is becoming the problem. He had plenty of time to right the Botha era wrongs, and he did not do so.

EVERYTHING that has happened vindicates the ultimatum of the ANC to the government that it should fire two ministers and end the violence or face the future without negotiations.

Nelson Mandela continues to walk tall and dignified around the capitals of the world.

De Klerk's image looks awful. It is time for this minority government to resign; to hand over to a credible, independent interim government to run the country until non-racial elections put a proper democratic government in power.

The government's sincerity and credibility are in shreds. The people have endured its 43 destructive years in power for too long. They have every right to say: now go!

(Tony Heard is a former editor of the Cape Times)

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3048

Back to step one as trust takes knock

Star 25/7/91

(3044)

PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations — it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase — came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding "obstacles" to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was volatile, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could be expected only once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party — in fact, if not in name.

In the event, the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horse-trading which would shape our future.

Constitution Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen, while carrying about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overarching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously. The scene was set.

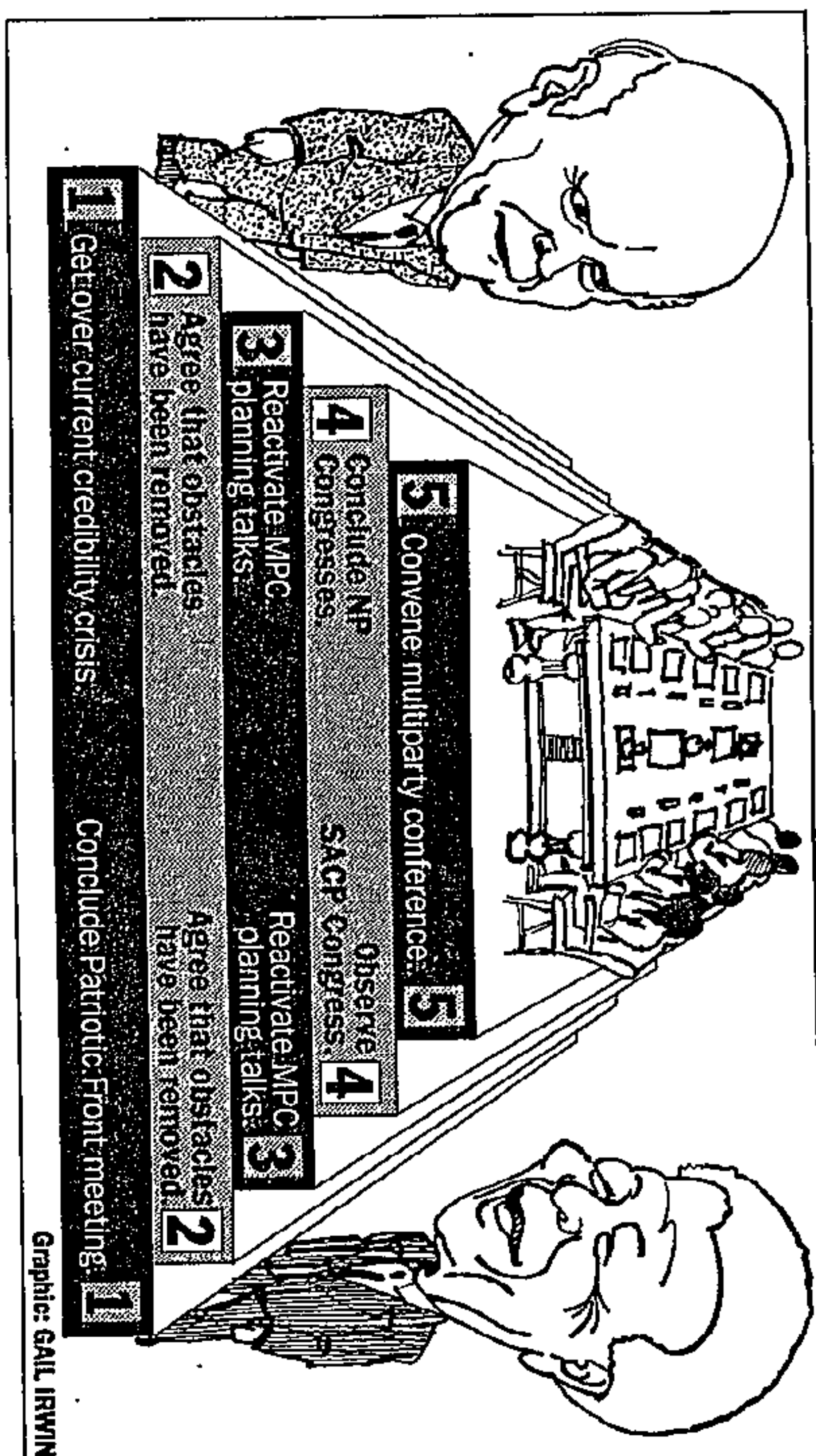
The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Govern-

ment funding for Inkatha was exposed and — in one of the ironic twists that characterise South African politics — it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiations process relies on the political survival of Mr Mandela, so an unsullied Mr de Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy title in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.



It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference (MPC). For the moment, the Government's is steeper, and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate". Then it must compromise

to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles" to negotiations have been cleared. Then the planning talks for the conference must be reactivated — the ANC has been refusing to take part since March. Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the talks can begin and lead, eventually, to elections.

For its part, the ANC must conclude its "patriotic front" conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by "Inkathagate" — the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively.)

The ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles. It must reactivate MPC planning talks without losing face, and, finally, it must see through — as an observer — the SA Communist Party's first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the conference.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift — that

is to say, harden or soften — their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC national working committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview with The Star only days before "Inkathagate" broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out some detail. It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Mr Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timely convening of the MPC ("the last facet of talks about talks — it could happen before the end of the year") and its potential as a forum for bringing about a constitution-making body.

"If the patriotic front takes place in August," he said, "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the multiparty conference together. If that is so, one can expect another two or three months to arrange the necessary practicalities."

He believed, then, that there was "a sort of agreement" between the Government and the ANC that there are three major players (NP, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party) as a departure point for deciding attendance at the conference. Further, Mr Meyer had this to say about the Government's rejection of the ANC call for an interim government to super-

use the transition period. "We will probably have to find compromises, but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government? I imagine they won't want to give in from their side. Somewhere we will have to find each other."

"The idea of an interim government is not as far as we are concerned, because that will simply mean that we will have to abolish the existing Constitution. We can't do that — it would create a vacuum."

On each of these points, the balance of power has shifted in the last week. The shift certainly need not be permanent, but the fluidity of the situation is palpable.

The Government may have to revise its optimism about a quick start to the MPC — only days ago Mr Mandela said he doubted it could happen this year — and it will certainly face a campaign from the ANC to "denote" Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi from the Government's conceptual triumvirate of key players.

And crucially, the ANC's argument on the interim government issue has been greatly strengthened by the proof of Government one-sidedness at least as far as the Inkatha funding saga is concerned.

Negotiations, extraordinarily given the disasters which have befallen them, survive. But it is now clear that the unexpected is going to be the norm — and the best that politicians or observers can do is to identify the essential elements of that process, not predict when and how they will unfold. □

Turkish harbour project revealed

Funding of Inkatha 'part of govt policy'

BID 25/7/91
304A

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok did not offer to resign at the Cabinet's meeting this week, nor was he asked to do so, top government sources said yesterday.

A senior source said Vlok had not acted unilaterally in authorising the allocation of government funds to Inkatha, but was carrying out government policy.

However, he was in the Cabinet at the invitation of President F W de Klerk and his future within it rested with De Klerk.

Meanwhile, the Financial Mail (FM) disclosed yesterday that SA's Ambassador to France Marc Burger had masterminded another secret project, to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

Burger is a former Foreign Affairs chief director and controlled the department's secret funds — the same fund used to channel R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallies.

Last year Foreign Minister Pik Botha prevailed upon the magazine not to publish details of the project at that stage. The FM reported that Botha said publicity on government's involvement in the project would have crippled SA's coal exports. It did not elaborate on how such publicity would have affected the exports.

Botha had said the project had been abandoned after careful consideration and promised he would go public once the danger of sanctions had subsided.

It is believed meanwhile that government's decision not to comment formally on the Inkatha funding issue until next week was taken because of uncertainty over possible further disclosures.

BILLY PADDOCK

De Klerk announced on Tuesday that government would not comment apart from a TV interview and news conference by Botha today.

A government source said the state security council would meet on Monday to assess how much government should disclose and the full implications any disclosures would have for "internal and national security".

In another development late yesterday Botha met foreign diplomats in Pretoria to brief them on the scandal that has shaken government's credibility.

Indications within government circles yesterday were that it would try to ride out the controversy.

Botha was expected to tell them no funding had taken place since March last year.

Meanwhile British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said Botha yesterday assured him there had been no connivance in violence by the SA government.

Hurd said he spoke on the phone to Botha and urged him that the government be clear and open about what had occurred and that they make it clear that the old policies had been rejected.

Labour's shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman said the revelations had thrown a very worrying light on the good faith of the SA government and its negotiations with the ANC.

It would be folly to lift sanctions precipitously while the good faith of the government remained in doubt, he said.

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

BID 25/7/91

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kötze confirmed that he, Lt-Gen Louwtjie Erasmus, a legal adviser and a member of the former security police held a meeting with Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber and the paper's legal adviser on Tuesday at the Law and Order ministry in Pretoria.

He said they wanted access to the documents in the Weekly Mail's possession and which may be published in the newspaper tomorrow.

Kötze said the R1.5m contributed to the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) had come from the Special Police Fund. He did not know if this was a separate amount from that disclosed in the FM as having been controlled by Burger.

He said Vlok had authorised the R1.5m spending on Uwusa since 1986 to "combat labour unrest, intimidation and other illegal acts on the labour front. The Minister wanted to cultivate a culture of respect for

the law".

Uwusa was launched on May Day 1986 in Natal, allegedly with the help of government funds, amid widespread fears of violence following the banning of Cosatu May Day rallies in the province.

Security police Maj Louis Botha, who wrote the memorandum requesting funds for Inkatha, was present at the launch. And 17 trains and free buses were arranged to transport the 80 000 people Inkatha predicted would attend.

Meanwhile, conservative township political organisations yesterday denied suggestions that they received money from government to promote their activities.

Spokesmen for the United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) and the Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa), both of which represent township councillors, insisted they were self-funded.

From Page 1

US donation 'must not fuel SA power struggle'

Biday 25/7/91

WASHINGTON — An SA consultancy hired by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to assess the needs of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party has warned foreign donors not to meddle in the organisations' power struggle.

Zille Shandler Associates, in a private report prepared for USAID in May, cautioned that "it could be highly controversial inside SA if funds allocated by the US Congress were utilised to build the support base of any party in the contest for political power".

The firm was brought in to study how the ANC and IFP might most effectively use proceeds of the \$10m Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last year to "encourage negotiations" in SA.

USAID and the US embassy asked the consultants to recommend ways in which the ANC and IFP might spend the funds, with an upper limit of R12.9m for the ANC and R11.9m for IFP. The firm was not asked to study either party's needs in terms of their current finances.

On the basis of interviews with party officials and independent analysts, it found that both the ANC and IFP were sorely lacking in skilled personnel and organisational ability.

The ANC, in particular, was "limi-

SIMON BARBER

ted by severe human resource constraints which undermine the organisation's capacity to engage in the negotiation process" while the IFP had at least gained some experience through the Natal Indaba.

The report argued that the US should focus most of its funding to the ANC on helping the organisation establish its negotiation task force, which should receive R7.6m.

The consultants recommended a maximum IFP grant of R9.25m to move the national headquarters from Ulundi to Durban and to help establish 30 regional branches, which were necessary to help the party reach out from its Natal base.

The package has been frozen since December by congressional Republicans opposed to funding the ANC.

On the basis of the report, USAID and the State Department recently offered a compromise under which the ANC and IFP would receive "in kind" contributions worth \$4.5m and \$2.5m respectively with the remainder going to the SA Council of Churches and the US National Endowment for Democracy.

By law, agreement must be reached by September 31, or the funds will cease to be available.

State bugged our office — Idasa

3049 GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Idasa yesterday blamed agents of the state for planting two bugging devices in its Hatfield, Pretoria office.

The organisation's Pretoria director Ivor Jenkins said two bugging devices were found in light fittings in the main conference room used by a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the Black Sash and the ANC.

Jenkins said it was believed they had been there for more than a year. Biday

He said no complaint had yet been lodged with police. An SAP spokesman said police had no knowledge of the bugs but said any complaint would be investigated. 25/7/91

Jenkins said the bugs constituted interference in the free political process and brought government's commitment to open political discussion into question.

He questioned why such clandestine activities were necessary when South Africans had been told "the security establishment had all but folded and we can all now look forward together to the new SA".

"It was this kind of double agenda which caused so many South Africans to doubt the integrity of the NP," he said.

Fire and thunder at Boksburg Council battle

(304A)

Star 25/7/91

By Brendan Templeton

Boksburg councillors hurled threats, insults and impassioned moral viewpoints across the council floor at each other last night in a battle royale over an R80 000 court case.

At stake is the right of disgraced NP councillor Gerrie Wolmarans to hold his council position — the CP-dominated management committee wants him removed and has spent R80 000 in legal costs trying to achieve this.

Mr Wolmarans was last year found guilty of posing as a lawyer in the Randfontein Magistrate's court and was fined R1 000. Shortly afterwards he was expelled from the council.

Incensed, Mr Wolmarans challenged the expulsion in the Rand Supreme Court and won.

But the CP councillors are still baying for justice and for blood — they want to appeal against the finding at the cost of a further R60 000.

Ranked against them are the beleaguered NP councillors who have only seven representatives on the council against the CP's 11. The NP caucus believes Mr Wolmarans has already been punished, that justice has been done, and that taking the matter on appeal would be a waste of ratepayers' money because the appeal would be turned down.

"When a man has taken that path (of deception), he does not stop," the CP contingent vehemently argued.

CP councillor and Chief Whip Andries du Toit said Boksburg's only Jewish councillor, Issy Kramer (NP), need not worry that he would find Mr Wolmaran's head on his chair — a veiled reference to an incident

last year when a severed pig's head wrapped in a Star of David flag was put on Mr Kramer's council chair.

Mayor TJ Ferreira (CP) — a former traffic officer — ordered Mr du Toit ordered him to retract the statement.

NP Chief Whip Chris Smith thundered that the Management Committee was not empowered to take the case to appeal — that had to be decided by the council.

He threatened to take legal action to force those councillors, who voted that the case go ahead, to pay for the costs themselves. The CP caucus pooh-poohed him and said there were plenty of businessmen in the city who felt strongly enough to pay for the case.

In the end the CP held the day — it was voted to go ahead with the appeal and that Mr Wolmaran be suspended for the duration.

Hugh Robertson in Washington reveals an SA link to the Intra-Contra affair

A tale of two security scandals

304A

Star 25/1/91

POLITICAL scandals share many characteristics, among them the fact that one murky disclosure tends to lead to many more. But rarely have two scandals borne such a fraternal resemblance to one another as the Intra-Contra funding scandal and the Intra-Contra affair in the US.

They may be more closely related than most people think and, as each unfolds, some of the same personalities might make their way through the probing limelight of both — for that is a possibility that presents itself as progress continues in the US investigation.

Sources involved in the investigation, for instance, have disclosed that one of the circuitous routes used by elements in the US security establishment to funnel illegal arms to Iran and switch the proceeds back to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, ran through South Africa.

So far not much has emerged publicly about the South African connection, but the morsel that has emerged suggests that for the South African route to have been effective the South African security establishment must have known and approved of it all. And even though the world is familiar with the chronic defects

of sight and hearing which afflict so many members of the South African Cabinet, such a traffic in arms and money probably could not have taken place without their knowledge too.

What is striking about both scandals is the involvement of the security establishment in both countries. As was the case in South Africa, the US initiative to secretly fund a political life of a manipulate the political life of a country came from the National Security Council and, as the latest confessions have shown, from the Central Intelligence Agency.

For all practical purposes, elements in the security establishment in both countries were surreptitiously calling the tune in foreign and domestic policy.

But it is here that the similarities come to an abrupt and revealing end. In the US the security establishment knew they could not obtain the political and constitutional approval they needed for their manipulative scheme, but daringly went ahead without it.

In South Africa they had no such problems. Political support for an equally manipulative secret scheme was all too readily given by the politicians at the top. The South African politicians were

willing accomplices.

The US scandal broke, and within weeks it was under intensive scrutiny by the elected representatives of the people. Within months the first prosecution — of Colonel Oliver North — began in public. And for more than four years the matter has been probed by an independent investigator with full judicial powers, as well as by a federal grand jury.

And now, as President Bush attempts to get an apparently honourable and capable man, Robert Gates, appointed head of the CIA, the Senate is to probe the matter again after a CIA subordinate's confession to having had knowledge of the Iran-Contra trade-off.

His confession, in court, apparently does not implicate Mr Gates. But so protective is the Senate of the constitutional powers of the people, and so wary is this energetic democracy of those who wield secret powers on its behalf, that the Senate has elected to question Mr Gates anyway — if for no other reason than to quell public doubt.

It is in this exhaustive probing by three separate bodies that the South African link to America's scandal seems likely to emerge more fully, a link inevitably be-

tween the security services of two very different countries.

One takes the rights of its citizens and the integrity of its constitution seriously and is willing to act forcefully to prove the fact to all who may doubt it.

The other is headed by a government which proclaims its desire to negotiate "in good faith" a constitution that would guarantee fair play and uphold high standards of government — but which is willing to sacrifice both for its own devious ends.

How is the one country now to approach the other? What are Pik Botha's political peers to make of him when next he comes here proclaiming his love for constitutional democracy? What is President Bush to say when he is asked again to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi? What way should Congress vote if there is a bid to toughen the remaining sanctions against South Africa? How seriously should Mr de Klerk's commitment to negotiations "in good faith" be taken in America?

To Mr Vlok, the matter might now be closed. But to a great many Americans — including movers and shakers in Washington — it has probably just begun to open. — Star Bureau. □

Back to step one as

Star 25/7/91

304A

PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations — it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase — came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding "obstacles" to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was voluble, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could be expected only once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party — in fact, if not in name.

In the event, the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horse-trading which would shape our future.

Constitution Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen, while carping about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overarching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously. The scene was set.

The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Govern-

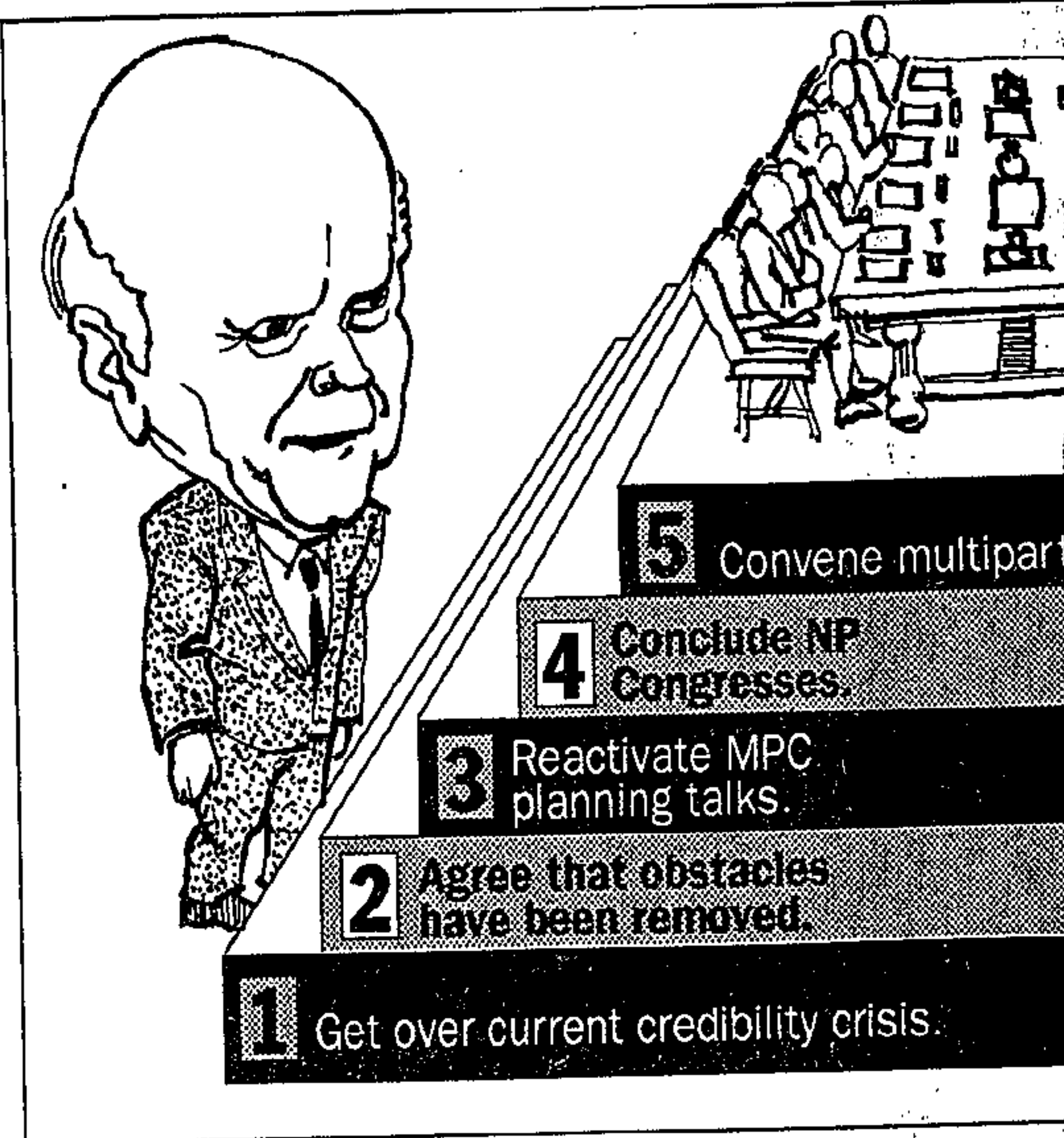
Before July, South Africans were told that real negotiations would get under way once the ANC's conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we appear to be back to square one. Star political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

ment funding for Inkatha was exposed and — in one of the ironic twists that characterise South African politics — it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiations process relies on the political survival of Mr Mandela, so an unsullied Mr de Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy tithe in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.



It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference (MPC). For the moment, the Government's is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate". Then it must compromise

to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

Then the planning talks for the conference must be reactivated — the ANC has been refusing to take part since March. Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the talks can begin and lead, eventually, to elections.

For its part, the ANC must

By PETER PRINGLE
in Moscow

Army seen as saviour as c

AS PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev appeared to be ready to force a doctrinal split in the Communist Party at today's plenum of the central committee, hardliners, including a deputy defence minister, have suggested that only the armed forces can save the Soviet Union from chaos.

put forward his own programme for discarding Marxism-Leninism in favour of what one report called "human democratic socialism".

At the same time, a group of 12 communist hardliners, in a front-page newspaper appeal,

and the navy ... will prevent fratricidal war and the destruction of the motherland."

Speculation increased this week that Mr Gorbachev would use the meeting to make a personal break with past party policy, and thereby ally himself

said Mr Yeltsin had made a "deplorable and unconstitutional" move in issuing a decree banning all grassroots political organisations in government offices and factories.

The decree, which will come into force within two weeks un-

BUT THERE IS SUPPORT FROM AMERICA

RAMSAY MILNE
in NEW YORK

NEW YORK. — While it may be illegal for a government to subsidise one political party against another, the South African government's secret funding of Inkatha "is not an offence that sunders the human conscience," says the conservative columnist William J. Buckley.

In what is the strongest support for the government's actions yet expressed publicly in the US, Mr Buckley said Americans were not in a position to take offence at the idea of financing what might be considered the better political alternative. "We spent much of the 1950s doing just that," he said.

White South Africans wishing to scrap apartheid were faced on the one hand by the ANC, which he described as "an insurrectionary movement dominated by men com-

mitted to communist doctrine and methods, who refused to abjure the use of force and terrorism to achieve their goals" and Inkatha, which he described as "not properly insurrectionary but totally opposed to apartheid."

In slipping some money to Inkatha, the government was supporting a domestic force which forswore violence, communism and boycotts, and to the extent "the extremists in the ANC" are set back, he added, "the prospects for a peaceful end to apartheid are increased."

Mr. Buckley concluded: "That the South African government, striving to end apartheid, should simultaneously seek to reinforce the more stable of the anti-apartheid black groups is not an offence that sunders the human conscience."

"What it did was illegal. But hardly evil."

THE PIK BOTHA PRESS CONFERENCE...

I'll do it again!

We are not trying to destroy the ANC

ESMARE van der MERWE
in JOHANNESBURG

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday conceded that the Government's credibility had been damaged by the secret slush fund scandal, but defiantly denied that the Government had done anything wrong.

He said he would continue to use Government funds under his control to back anti-sanctions organisations.

"I am dead against sanctions. And I will use rallies of Inkatha, of the DP, not the AWB — to further the anti-sanctions campaign."

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Botha insisted that the clandestine funding of Inkatha and its associated trade union, Uvusa, had been part of an anti-sanctions campaign and was not intended "to destroy the ANC".

He vehemently objected to the "unfair" storm of protest over the taxpayers' money paid to ANC rivals, and said the ANC had received millions of rands from its backers — which had not been declared and "with which they (the ANC) burnt people with petrol and tyres".

But in a remarkable admission, Mr Botha conceded that the government had colluded with Inkatha.

Asked how he expected anti-apartheid groups to ever negotiate with the government again in view of the government's repeated denials that it was not in collusion with Inkatha, he said: "We never said that we were not in collusion with Inkatha. We said we were not in collusion in the violence, in instigating the violence."

Mr Botha faced about 100 foreign and local journalists during a recording yesterday afternoon of the SABC's news programme *Agenda*, screened on television last night.

He responded aggressively to probing questions and failed to answer specifically on several issues.

He said the State President had not been aware of the covert funding of the IFP. "President de Klerk was not aware, but the system did not require him to be aware."

He said Mr de Klerk's image remained unshaken despite unfair criticism.

Mr Botha hinted that Mr de Klerk might next week announce new measures to ensure control over secret funds.

Asked whether it was a mistake to have funded ANC rivals even after the ANC's unbanning, Mr Botha said: "The ANC was also secretly being funded... President de Klerk never said in unbanning the ANC that he was going to capitate and hand this whole country over and the government administration would come to a halt."

He said the R1.5 million paid by the government to Uvusa had "probably" come from the SAP and had started "a long time ago".

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had given notice six months ago that the funding would cease, and the last payment would be made at the end of this month.

Pressed again on which State department had paid Uvusa, Mr Botha merely said the Minister of Finance allocated funds to Ministers and departments on "sensitive matters".



Pik Botha's *Agenda* press conference, with Calle Long. It was broadcast last night on TV1.



Pik Botha, in full cry.

30448
26/7/91

UPI

Secret R100m spent to fight Swapo

3048 217

By BARRY STREEK

THE government spent "well over R100 million" in secret funds to finance political parties opposed to Swapo in the pre-independence elections in Namibia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

His department had used more than R80m over the past five or six years to fight sanctions and had spent R5m in secret funds in projects of a sensitive nature for the same purpose.

Mr Botha said at a press conference, at which he was questioned by local and international journalists, that at times his department had been forced to operate secretly.

He also disclosed that his department had used "South African front organisations — and there are many" to bring foreign guests to the country so that they could "see the truth".

He named the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance as one of seven parties in Namibia to have received assistance.

"We were against Swapo, we were at war at times with Swapo. And then Swapo won the election and we accepted that; we congratulated them and then we said the time had come to reconcile and look at Southern Africa in a wider spectrum; and work for peace."

Mr Botha said he did not have the exact figures but South Africa had spent "well over" R100m in Namibia.

A spokesman for the Campaign for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Hit Squads, Mr

Hannes Senekal, said last night: "In view of the disclosure that more than R100m was given to Swapo's opponents the whole Lubowski affair should be seen in a different light."

In Windhoek, reports Sapa, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman Mr Dirk Mudge said the revelation that South Africa contributed to the DTA's election campaign "believes me and the DTA of the burden of having to keep something secret which to our thinking need not be kept secret".

Secret funds

Interim govt demand from ANC

KINGSTON, Jamaica. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday demanded the formation of an interim government of national unity in South Africa, following the Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Mandela did not say who should compose the interim government.

"We demand the creation of an interim government of national unity that enjoys the confidence of all South African people," he told the Jamaican parliament.

The main task of the new government, Mr Mandela said, would be to do away with apartheid completely.

Saying that apartheid could not oversee its own demise, he added: "The transitional government should preside over negotiations, and the transition should culminate in the election of a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage to write a new constitution."

He said disclosures had supported the ANC's long-standing claim that the government supported political violence.

Mr Mandela described Inkatha as the "organisation that has been most active in politically motivated violence". Much of the black-on-black violence in South Africa in recent months had pitted Inkatha backers against ANC supporters. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

to Inkatha row

R1,5m went to Inkatha union

By BARRY STREEK

THE police gave the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers' Union of South Africa R1,54 million in secret funds over the past four years — despite a categorical assurance in 1988 by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok that the police did not interfere in trade union activities.

And Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said last night that his department had funded two Inkatha rallies at a cost of R250 000 at the request of the police, who in fact channelled the money to Inkatha. The auditor-general, Mr Peter Wronsley,

confirmed in a statement yesterday that the police had used secret funds, which had been transferred to them by Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, to finance Uwusa.

Uwusa was launched by Inkatha in May 1986 after Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who spoke at its launch, attacked Cosatu for political poaching.

Mr Wronsley said the police first applied for secret funds for Uwusa on September 12, 1986, but the first payment was only finally approved by Mr Vlok on September 18 the following year.

Subsequent payments were made annually until the cessation of this funding during the current financial year.

Payments to Uwusa totalled R1 549 135,12 over this period.

The payments were in terms of the special account in terms of a provision which provided that funds could be "utilised for such services of a confidential nature as the Minister of Law and Order may approve as being in the national interest, and for expenses connected with such services".

However, Mr Vlok denied in 1988 that there was a police campaign against unions and said the police did not interfere in bona fide activities.

Mr Botha said the police had approached the auditor-general about the funding of the two rallies, but he had indicated that because

they were dealing with sanctions, the Department of Foreign Affairs secret funds should be used.

"That is how I got into this mess," he said. Mr Botha also said Mr Vlok was not responsible for the creation and he had given six months' notice to ending the funding long before the recent controversy developed.

London's Guardian newspaper said yesterday that the South African security police collaborated with Inkatha to set up the Uwusa in opposition to Cosatu.

It said a secret document it had obtained spoke of collaboration between Inkatha and the security police in the management and control of Uwusa in an operation code-named "Project Omega".

R100m WORE

3041 250 416 CT 26/7/91

Pik admits to more

payoffs

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A DEFIANT Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night brushed aside the public outcry over the Inkatha slush fund scandal and admitted that the government secretly bankrolled anti-Swapo parties to the tune of "well over R100 million" during the Namibian elections.

A fiery and unrepentant Mr Botha lashed out at media reports dealing with the Inkatha secret funding row and declared: "If I must do it again, I will do it again — exactly like this."

and foreign journalists on the SABC-TV's "Agenda" programme last night, Mr Botha dismissed all suggestions that taxpayers' money had been abused by secretly funding Inkatha and its "union arm, Uvusa. He said he had not considered resigning as a result of the row and refused to acknowledge that the funding of Inkatha was a mistake. "I am not feeling sorry about it and I am not apologising for it," he said defiantly.

However, he believed President F W de Klerk could announce important reforms to the administration of secret funds when he holds a press conference next Tuesday.

Mr Botha said the government would need funds for at least counter-espionage activities but added: "Maybe we should change the law in view of changed circumstances."

When Mr Botha was asked why it took so long for the government to



admit to secret funding in a "new South Africa", he said that while he had operated within the law it was possible that Mr De Klerk might change the law.

Turning to another case involving the use of taxpayers' money for secret projects, Mr Botha admitted that he had played "a prominent role" in getting cabinet approval for a plan to

channel over R100 million to seven political parties in Namibia in a bid to stop Swapo winning the November 1989 independence elections.

"I did not like Swapo. We were at war with Swapo," he said. After the lively debate, Mr Botha ducked questions about whether the government would consider funding

PIQUED

PIK ...

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was

unrepentant when he faced the press over the Inkatha funding scandal

yesterday. He angrily defended funding Inkatha, saying: "I must do again, I do it again — exactly like this."

Inkatha during a general election in South Africa.

He also disclosed that the Department of Foreign Affairs had spent more than R80 million over the past five or six years to "fight sanctions" and another R5 million in secret funds for "sensitive projects" in this area.

To page 5

R1,5m FOR INKATHA UNION
See PAGE 5

→ Cont.

Botha faces the press

At one stage during the keenly awaited encounter with the press, Mr Botha did concede that the government's image may have been "dented" as a result of the Inkatha funding scandal.

But he immediately added that the government would continue on its programme of reform as before.

"I believe that Mr De Klerk's integrity is above board. He has done nothing to deserve derogatory remarks about him.

"I have full faith in major governments of the world" that they would not detract from the fundamental issues — one man, one vote and the end of apartheid.

Mr Botha complained that the government was being judged in July 1991 on circumstances prevailing in a different, hostile era.

"Some people seem to forget how cold the winter was now that summer is approaching and what we did to make the country survive that winter."

Mr Botha said that the funds given to Inkatha did not propagate it as a political party and submitted that the secret channelling of public funds to Inkatha had not been done for political purposes.

"No funds flowed to Inkatha as a political party to keep its political purposes going," he said.

This appeared to contradict the acknowledgment made by his cabinet colleague, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who said on SABC-TV's Sunday night "Agenda" programme that the supplying of state money to Inkatha for "anti-sanctions and anti-violence" purposes could have "a spin-off to the advantage of Inkatha".

At the end of the lively session during which he frequently clashed with reporters, Mr Botha remarked: "I wish we could continue."

The Democratic Party's deputy spokesman on law and order, Mr Jan van Eck, said last night: "The government's lack of repentance as expressed by Mr Botha and its justification of political partiality is final proof that this government and its security forces cannot be trusted with the transition period."

"Mr Botha's performance was a circus during which he showed no understanding whatsoever of the government's political bias and misuse of taxpayers' money to boost anti-ANC organisations," he said.

● Meanwhile, the Weekly Mail newspaper which uncovered the Inkatha scandal last week, reports in today's edition that Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok "lied" when he said on television on Sunday that "each and every cent" of taxpayers' money had been accounted for in the clandestine funding operation.

Secret police documents in possession of the newspaper showed that Mr Vlok had been so worried about the money given to Inkatha's union wing, Uwusa, that he asked for an internal inquiry, Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said last night.

"This inquiry found that Uwusa had not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them," he said.

CT 26/7/91

BY NOW most South Africans are aware that the De Klerk administration is in some kind of trouble which is undermining its ability to function effectively at home and abroad.

Perceptions of what kind of trouble and of its seriousness vary greatly.

My own feeling is that President De Klerk has a very serious problem indeed. This time he really does not have much choice. He has to do as he promised and cut open the cancer of clandestine operations "to the bone" — whatever the risk of mutiny in the security forces and rebellion on the Right.

Why is this so? It is because, despite everything the cynics like to say, trust and credibility are at the heart of the business of politics.

We are not talking about absolute trust, which is sadly rare at any level in human affairs, but about a working level of mutual confidence that leaders are negotiating in good

faith and seriously intend to meet their commitments and undertakings. Without this no negotiation of any kind can get off the ground.

Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are indispensable men at this point. Chances of successful negotiations rest on a continuing relationship of trust between them.

This relationship has been under strain because of the ANC's conviction that the De Klerk government, despite hand-on-heart disavowals, has been mounting a campaign of destabilisation against them while secretly using public funds to back their political opponents.

The corrosive suspicion is that military intelligence and the security police have been stirring up black-on-black violence and even employing Special Forces to do so. Solid documentary proof has not been forthcoming. But it may be produced at any moment. Mr De Klerk may be about to step on a series of political landmines.

He is learning the hard way that the huge clandestine culture which he inherited from his predecessor cannot co-exist with a newspaper Press and television which are even halfway free. One or the other must give way.

Mr De Klerk no doubt rues the day he allowed the SADF to mount a

Will F W De Klerk do what he has to do?

CT 26/7/91.

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Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

tice of secret funding of covert actions under firm control and reducing it to the minimum essential for State Security. In a dangerous world, most people accept that all countries must have an intelligence service. Mr De Klerk's assurance was widely accepted.

Now, caught in a political trap, Mr De Klerk may essay an attempt at damage limitation, announcing some impressive-sounding measures, and then seek to "close the book" on the clandestine culture "once and for all". This kind of limited exercise may take some of the heat off him on the short term, as will a promise to scrap the State Security Council and set up all-party monitoring of the intelligence establishment.

But it will avail little in the longer-run. Much more will ultimately be necessary to restore an atmosphere of confidence in which negotiations can prosper. The whole sordid story of clandestine operations will first have to be brought into the open, robbing the scandal of its explosive potential. But Mr De Klerk needs to move quickly. I would not be surprised if at this moment they are burning confidential files at the Castle.

Anything less than complete disclosure will place Mr De Klerk at a sore disadvantage in his future dealings with the ANC. He will lack authority and credibility on the international stage. He will never know what startling new revelations are about to blow up in his face.

Mr De Klerk, let us hope, will do what he has to do. Yet I fear he will not.

cover-up of the CCB scandal, running rings around the Harms Com-

mission. He must be sorry that he did not act more firmly then to take control of the SADF and its clandestine arm.

Yet his National Party has gained greatly from the township violence, whoever is responsible for it, because the middle-classes in all groups have taken fright at this spectacle of savagery and have rushed into the arms of the NP government.

The ANC's increasingly insistent claims of State involvement in the battle between Inkatha and the ANC have been indignantly denied and these denials have usually been accepted. But now that it is shown beyond doubt that in at least one important instance — the funding of Inkatha rallies — the charge is true, Mr De Klerk's credibility is at naught.

The whole range of incredible allegations — State involvement in train massacres, AK-47 attacks on taxi queues, CCB-style assassinations etc — suddenly assumes a new complexion. It begins to look as if many of these horrifying charges might just be true.

Mr De Klerk's problem is that he assured Parliament in March last year that he was bringing the prac-

Payment withheld because finances were in shambles

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The financial affairs of the Inkatha-backed union, Uwusa, were in such a shambles that Auditor-General Mr Peter Wronsley ordered the police to withhold one of the monthly payments to the union.

Uwusa is set to receive the final payment of the R1,5 million funding of the union by the police at the end of this month.

In reply to inquiries with regard to the police funding of Uwusa, Mr Wronsley said no irregularities were detected in the spending of the R1,5 million from the police but the internal finances of the union appeared to be in disarray.

"The decision to stop the subsidy made on May 16 this year was largely dictated by an evident collapse of Uwusa's internal financial control system and audit is satisfied that the interests of the State were protected as far as possible by the cessation," he said.

Mr Wronsley said all the money from the police had been properly authorised and accounted for and no irregularities were detected at that level.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said in a statement on Friday that he accepted that the union's "broader financial affairs" had not been regulated by acceptable ac-

counting procedures.

An in-depth police investigation into the financial affairs of Uwusa found that the union could not be supported without exorbitant expenditure and that since the police were not prepared to fund it in toto, it was decided to terminate all financial responsibility at the end of July, he said.

He criticised a report in the Weekly Mail on Friday which branded him a "liar" for claiming that every cent of the police funds had been accounted for.

The "so-called lies" referred to by the newspaper arose from its access to documentation reflecting his concern at the management of Uwusa's finances in general, and not the contribution from the police, Mr Vlok said.

"Police funds were used for specific, fixed and predetermined expenditures such as office accommodation, vehicle leasing and maintenance, fuel costs, telephone rentals, contributions rallies, salaries, etc."

● Mr Vlok said on Saturday he would consider resigning if he was an obstacle to peace in South Africa but not over the role he played in the Inkatha funding scandal.

● Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said he would not resign over the scandal and thereby yield to "radical elements".

R100 m funds to fight Swapo

(3044)
Aug 26/7/91

ALAN DUNN
and
ESTHER WAUGH

SOUTH Africa secretly slipped a number of Namibian political parties "well over" R100-million to compete against Swapo in the independence process.

This was disclosed at the press conference yesterday by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who revealed also that his government had funded the Namibian independence celebrations and the demobilisation of Swapo's returning armed forces.

He admitted that South African government departments had used slush funds to back about seven political parties against Swapo.

"We didn't like Swapo. We were against Swapo. We were at war at times with Swapo and they with us," he said.

But he said after the Press conference that between R5 and R6-million of tax payer's money had been spent on Namibia's elaborate independence celebrations on March 21 last year.

The government had also spent about R12-million on demobilising the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan).

"Swapo had millions. We never provided to the parties perhaps one quarter, one tenth of what Swapo had available and some of those parties approached us saying they had no way to acquire money."

He said that the South African government was approached by party officials in the second tier government, which had been abandoned in terms of United Nations Res-

We were at war with them, and they with us . . .

olution 435, for support against Swapo. They had complained bitterly saying they had hoped to stay in their positions until their was elections and a new Namibian government.

Mr Botha said he and his

colleagues had persuaded them to drop their objections to this. "They then came back and said how can you have a democracy with Swapo coming into the territory with millions, and millions, and millions . . ."

Mr Botha could not provide a list of the parties involved. "We never subverted independence, we contributed towards the independence of Namibia," he said.

On which department was behind the funding, Mr Botha said: "What happened was this — very department were allocated a certain task." The party, his department was allocated farred very badly in the elections.

"In a quiet way, in a secret way we assisted them," he

said. It involved not only the printing of posters. A lot of money went into training, education and democracy. "My department was in charge of that exercise," he said but it had known about it.

"The sum was considerable, well over R100-million," Mr Botha disclosed.

Mr Botha denied the government was using similar tactics in South Africa, against the African National Congress.

They must apologise to FW, says Conservative Treurnicht

(304A)

ARG 26/7/84

CABINET Ministers who knew about the Government's funding of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) must apologise to President FW de Klerk for having made him tell lies, according to Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

In a telephone interview with The Star last night, Dr Treurnicht said when President de Klerk was asked in Parliament whether the government was involved in any

clandestine funding of political parties he categorically said that was not the case.

Dr Treurnicht, who said he would today call on President de Klerk to investigate the matter further, said those members of the Cabinet who knew about the IFP's secret funding had to apologise to President de Klerk for having made him lie. He said it did not reflect well on the country if the Head of State was made to tell lies.

ANC spokesman Gill Mar-

cus yesterday appealed to the Government to "have enough respect for people's lives not to deliberately escalate the violence in an attempt to divert attention from the current funding scandal".

Reacting to Mr Botha's press conference, Miss Marcus said the Government was whitewashing the scandal. She added that Mr Botha "must have been acting in deceit" if it was true President de Klerk did know about the funding.

ARG 26/7/91

Pik's defiance slammed

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE government has been slammed for trying to brazen out the storm over the Inkatha funds scandal and has drawn fresh fire over admissions that it gave more than R100 million in secret aid to Swapo opponents in the Namibian election.

Anger, indignation and deep concern have been expressed in the wake of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's aggressively defiant performance on TV last night.

Political parties and groupings across a broad spectrum today renewed demands for President De Klerk to disclose fully all the government's secret dealings, to dismiss ministers responsible and to provide guarantees to end secret political collusion.

Reports from Washington indicate that the government's responses so far have failed to expunge the dismay and disappointment of some of its most ardent supporters in the United States.

British bankers have warned that they will be wary of underwriting any South African loan issue unless Mr De Klerk acts decisively to correct the damage.

Mr John Leape, head of the London School of Economics' Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance, noted that the damage to South Africa's credibility was such that the country would need to move swiftly towards an interim government.

'Mr Botha has damned himself'

Matching sentiments have been expressed in South Africa.

The ANC said the scandal — and the new revelations — emphasised the need for an interim government.

Spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said: "You cannot trust (the present government) to conduct themselves in a manner that inspires confidence."

She added: "Mr Botha has damned himself and it's quite clear that the government has adopted a no-holds-barred policy against all its opponents."

"The whole thing is totally unacceptable. The issue is not whether Mr Botha goes, because in terms of direct responsibility, both (Defence Minister General Magnus) Malan and (Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan) Vlok have blood on their hands."

"We are saying Malan and Vlok should resign immediately and steps must be taken to instal an interim government because that's the only salvation for our country."

'Caught with their pants down'

PAC spokesman Ms Patricia de Lille said the government was "caught with their pants down" and that the revelations "have vindicated the PAC's position that the government would go to any lengths to keep power".

"They are illegitimate and cannot be trusted with anything," she said.

Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman Mr Colin Eglon said today: "Mr Botha's aggressive and unconvincing defence of his own department's anti-sanctions activities together with his admission that the government gave a further R100 million of South African taxpayers' money to Namibian parties at a time when the government was supposed to be a neutral administration implementing Resolution 435 still skirts the fundamental issue, which is the government's and especially the security force's political collusion with parties and organisations in South Africa."

He added: "On the basis of the government's past performance, the admissions which are being wrung out of Cabinet ministers

and the mistrust the government's behaviour has created, it is clear that the present National Party government is incapable of steering South Africa through the difficult period of transition."

Dale Lautenbach reports from Windhoek that Namibia's Minister of Information Mr Hideo Hamutenya said the disclosure confirmed what Swapo had suspected all along. "Our complaints (about South African support to Swapo's opposition) were always contemptuously dismissed. Now things are unfolding."

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA which was one of the parties in Namibia to receive South African money, reacted dismissively to Mr Botha's disclosure saying "people are all suffering guilty consciences in South Africa".

● 'I'll do it again' — page 17

Picking up the pieces after 'Inkathagate'

Sowetan 26/7/91



PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations - it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase - came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding "obstacles" to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was voluble, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could only be expected once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party, in fact if not in name.

In the event the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horsetrading which would shape our future.

Prisoners

Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, while carping about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overarching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously. The scene was ready, and set.

The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Government funding for Inkatha was



Before July, South Africans were told real negotiations would get under way once the ANC conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we seem to be back to square one. Sowetan political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

exposed and - in one of the startlingly ironic twists that characterise South African politics - it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

Scandal

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and the ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiation process relies on the political survival of Mandela, so an unsullied De Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy tithe in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the

damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference.

For the moment, the Government's is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate".

Then it must compromise to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

Elections

Then the planning talks for the MPC must be reactivated - the ANC has been refusing to participate since March.

Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the MPC can begin, and lead eventually to elections.

For its part, the ANC must conclude its "patriotic front" conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by "Inkathagate" - the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively).

Then the ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles. Then it must reactivate MPC planning talks without losing face and finally it must see through - as an observer - its ally the SA Communist Party's first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the MPC.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this,

and is without question the country's top political priority.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift - that is to say, harden or soften - their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC National Working Committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview only days before "Inkathagate" broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out the Government's thinking in some detail.

It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timeous convening of the MPC ("the last facet of talks about talks - it could happen before the end of the year") and its potential as a forum for bringing about an eventual constitution-making body.

Logistics

"If the patriotic front takes place in August," he said, "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the MPC together. If that is so, then one can expect another two or three months thereafter to arrange the necessary practicalities."

He believed, then, that there was "a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (National Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party)" as a departure point for deciding attendance at the MPC.

Further, he had this to say

* To next page

There's no longer time to watch 'Dallas' — AWB

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will launch an all-out membership drive on October 10 at a parade where the organisation will exhibit its paratroopers, motorcycle brigade and cavalry, according to AWB commandant-general, Servaas de Wet.

Addressing about 1 500 people in the Pretoria City Hall this week, the former police colonel told the meeting that South Africa was on the verge of a civil war. He said whites who were watching "Dallas" on TV rather than attending the meeting were "hensoppers".

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche exhorted the audience to "make a date" with him for revolution the day the Government handed over power to the African National Congress. *Sowetan 26/7/91*

Discussing the Inkatha secret funding debacle, TerreBlanche said the Government was a fraud and should resign.

He said President FW de Klerk would within the next few weeks accede to the formation of an interim government consisting of the National Party, the ANC, Inkatha and homeland leaders.

De Wet said the AWB would found a Volksleer (army) at the October 10 exhibition.

Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who was warmly welcomed by the audience, said the ANC had not bothered to constitute itself as a political party because it knew the Government would abdicate power to it.

Rudolph pleaded for rightwing unity, saying AWB stood for "Almal Weer Bymekaar".

He said the NP, ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and the SA Communist Party were enemies of the white man.

"Affirmative action" meant the slaughtering of the white man, he warned. - Sapa.

Pik

Sowetan
26/7/91

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'We would have done same for ANC if ...'

Govt gave Swapo's enemies R100-m

defiant

THE Government colluded with Inkatha by sponsoring anti-sanctions rallies and if the ANC held similar rallies the Government would sponsor them too, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Botha said the Government had channelled "well over a hundred million rand" to political parties in

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Namibia that were opposed to Swapo because Pretoria "didn't like" Swapo.

At the same time, Botha indicated that President FW de Klerk could end the present row over the secret funding of Inkatha by abolishing certain legislation, saying it was no

● To Page 2

What do you think of Pik Botha's explanations?

Telephone DJ Tim Modise and share your opinion with the nation on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback show between 5 and 6pm today.

The hotline number is 714-8063.



PIK BOTHA

Pik fights back
Sowetan
26/7/91

● From Page 1

longer necessary as sanctions were being lifted. However, Botha said the Government - which has been condemned by the world for its human rights abuses and undemocratic and racist practices - did more than fund anti-Swapo organisations.

"The Government was "teaching them democracy".

Botha said the Government had never attempted to subvert the independence (not the election process) of Namibia but contributed to the independence.

"With all respects, I played a prominent role in that. And Swapo knows it. We didn't like Swapo, we were against Swapo. We were at war at times with Swapo and they with us," Botha said.

He did not see the similarity between supporting forces in Namibia that were opposed to Swapo and colluding with Inkatha, which is opposed to the ANC in South Africa.

"I did not say we did not collude with Inkatha. We did not collude with Inkatha in the violence," he said.

Speaking at a Press conference filmed for television, Botha said the money which the Government channelled to Inkatha's trade union, the United Workers Union of South Africa, had probably come from police funds.

Botha cleverly diverted the current crisis away from clandestine support for Inkatha and gave a passionate account of his love for the country and his "hated for apartheid".

He said that in "five or six years" his department had spent R80 million on combating sanctions, which he claimed black people were opposed to because they had suffered the most from

BEHIND THE SECRET FUNDS SCANDAL

THE scandal over secret state funding for Inkatha has developed rapidly into a make or break situation for President F.W. de Klerk, undermining his relationship with black leaders and threatening the prospects for negotiations.

The make, says Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), is that De Klerk has been afforded the opportunity to rid his government of the security hawks who have no intention of surrendering to black rule.

The break, he adds, could be that De Klerk is personally so contaminated by the scandal that it leads to a fresh lapse into repression by the National Party.

A week ago De Klerk was riding the crest of a wave. American trade and investment sanctions had been lifted, South Africa was readmitted into the Olympic movement and other international bodies controlling sporting codes, and the government appeared to hold the initiative against the African National Congress.

This week De Klerk and his cabinet were hunkered down at a secret venue in the Transvaal veld, considering ways of extricating themselves from a scandal that seemed to have struck them like a bolt of bushveld lightning.

The Sunday Times called last Friday "the day the bubble burst".

A huge change has occurred in a matter of days. Western governments are reconsidering their generous appraisal of De Klerk as a true reformer who deserves their support.

Time for FW to show his integrity...

Revelations of secret government funding of Inkatha have undermined President F.W. de Klerk's image as a reformer — and may jeopardise the negotiations process, reports **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

With De Klerk's international game plan in the balance, much depends on how he responds to the crisis and whether more revelations follow.

The US government is privately embarrassed that the scandal broke a week after President George Bush lifted sanctions. Commonwealth nations are holding off a decision on whether to lift sanctions, and the visits of three Western leaders — Canada's Brian Mulroney, Britain's John Major and Austria's Bob Hawke — are in the balance.

Despite Foreign Minister P.W. Botha's claims to ambassadors this week that there is no crisis, public opinion has been shaken. Until Friday the government's denial of collusion with Inkatha in the violence were believed by the public, at home and overseas. The publication by *The Weekly Mail* of internal security police documents pushed the long-standing allegations of security force/Inkatha collusion into a different category. Put simply, the government was caught red-handed.

The all-important question is how much De Klerk knew. The Inkatha scandal is not just about the misuse of taxpayers' money, as several observers have pointed out. It is about trust. That trust, which the ANC has bestowed on the NP, is critical for the success of negotiations.

If De Klerk personally authorised and knew about the expenditure of money for Inkatha to counter the ANC and Co-satu, he would have done it within days of Nelson Mandela's emerging from prison and graciously declaring him to be a "man of integrity".

Whatever the facts of De Klerk's involvement — and the ANC has not called for his resignation — the pres-



FW de Klerk ... make-or-break situation has a huge job on his hands to recoup the goodwill and trust that he had established in the past 18 months.

There have been a number of calls for De Klerk to act speedily and fire some of his most senior cabinet colleagues.

The jobs of at least three senior ministers are on the line: Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok, whose security police were responsible for the secret funds; Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who bears responsibility for the death squads; and Foreign Minister P.W. Botha, who authorised the payment of R250 000 to Inkatha.

If the scandal results in a purge of the hawks, it will have served a hugely beneficial purpose. If it takes De Klerk down with it, the entire peace process could be jeopardised.

MANGOPE TO BLAME FOR DELAYED NEGOTIATIONS, SAYS PIK

Weekly Mail Reporters

www.2617-118191
PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is holding up the removal of obstacles to negotiations between the government and the African National Congress by refusing to release political prisoners in his jails.

This emerged from the briefing Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave to ambassadors in Pretoria on Wednesday.

According to the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum, there are 166 po-

litical prisoners in Bophuthatswana, 138 of them former members of the national guard who participated in the 1988 attempted coup in the homeland.

The remaining 28 are ANC activists and residents of the Braklaagte community who have been resisting incorporation into the territory.

Mangope held a meeting with FW de Klerk on Tuesday evening after the president returned from the two-day *bos-beraad* (bush conference) with

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his cabinet to discuss the Inkatha funding crisis.

Botha told the ambassadors that Mangope was "not disposed to be helpful" on the matter.

He said he had phoned ANC president Nelson Mandela in Spain to ask for his assistance in securing the release of the prisoners. However, Mandela had replied that Mangope was the problem of the South African government.

Star 26/7/91 364A 2347

Peace talks go on despite crisis

By Carina le Grange

Peace talks remain on track despite the crisis surrounding revelations of the Government's secret funding of Inkatha.

Representatives of the major players — the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — have faced each other for the first since the debacle was revealed.

The representatives, as well as leading business and religious leaders, attended the

meeting of the National Peace Initiative's preparatory committee at Barlow Park in Sandton on Wednesday night.

Government members included the Deputy Ministers of Law and Order and of Constitutional Development, Johan Scheepers and Roelf Meyer.

Also attending were ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad and Jayandra Naidoo of Cosatu.

From the IFP, chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and executive officials Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos were present.

Among religious and business

leaders, Dr Frank Chikane, Dr Louw Alberts, Professor Johan Heyns, National African Federated Chambers of Commerce president Dr Sam Motsuanyane, Anglo American's Bobby Godsell and Dr Theuns Eloff of the Business Consultative Movement attended.

A statement after the meeting said broad consensus was reached on matters relating to the "current violence and the vital need for ongoing dialogue and urgent action".

"Some of the issues dealt with include a permanent peace commission."

It made no mention of the funding scandal, although some members have expressed fears for the fate of the National Peace Initiative following the revelations.

The statement — to which all parties are bound — said the working groups had reported back on, among other things, codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces.

It added that the committee — "which came into being as a result of delicate shuttle diplomacy by businessmen and churchmen" — would meet again on August 14.

... and for the ANC to run with the ball

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Inkatha scandal has given fresh impetus to African National Congress calls for an interim government and the movement is intent on building an alliance of all anti-apartheid forces around the call.

The scandal has passed the political initiative back to the ANC which is already running hard with the ball towards the National Party's goal line.

"We are now going to dictate terms on the national political scene," said ANC National Working Committee (NWC) member Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

However, far from slowing the negotiations, ANC officials want to push to get an all-party congress, the lynchpin in the negotiations, moving as soon as possible.

The newly elected NWC, at its first meeting this week, issued a list of six demands, including the dismissals of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok; a multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence; and the opening to public scrutiny of the government's R380-million slush fund.

If President FW de Klerk does not go far towards meeting these when he makes his statement on the crisis on Tuesday next week, there will be

strong moves at an emergency meeting of the full National Executive Committee next week to break off all contact with the government.

"The situation has become very urgent," says Lekota. "We in the ANC don't think we can continue seriously to discuss these things with the government. A formula must now be established that enjoys the confidence of all. We are going to push for an interim government now."

"There can be no continuation of the process of negotiation without the establishment of an interim government."

"The demand that there should be an interim government was predicated on precisely the fact that we were concerned that unless there was an interim government, the National Party would use its monopoly on power as a leverage to influence the political process in the country."

"They have been doing precisely that by funding Inkatha, turning it into a colossus on the political scene. They made it impossible for anyone to proceed without Inkatha. These revelations have in fact punctured that whole situation."

Lekota points out that at the same time as the government was funding Inkatha and its supporters, there were other homeland leaders who took a positive



Common alliance... National Working Committee member Patrick Lekota

attitude towards the ANC, for which they were penalised by being denied monies from Pretoria.

"Transkei's a case in point. While the government was squeezing those ones who don't agree with its policy, it was in fact channeling huge sums of money in the direction of those that supported it."

He said there was also the suspicion that the government was involved in

supporting killer squads such as the Three Million Gang in Kroonstad with both arms and money.

"The question is, how much money was fed into those instances?"

Lekota says it is the ANC's view that the all-party congress should get moving as soon as possible.

"Nationally, all democratically minded organisations should move towards a common alliance, at least around the principal demand that there should be an interim government and make the demand a non-negotiable principle now."

Other ANC sources said the hope was that this alliance would include liberal groups such as the Democratic Party and the homeland parties, with which the movement has been in contact.

Though these parties do not support a constituent assembly — the demand around which a patriotic front conference has been called — the uniting of forces around the demand for an interim government is likely to be much broader and will take a higher priority at this point.

The ANC has, meanwhile, offered an amnesty to people who participated in township and other atrocities if the government is willing to make a call on them all to come forward and come clean.

Defiant Pik Botha insists: I'm right

Star 26/7/91

(3041) (377)

● From Page 1

had been taken yesterday, Mr Botha said "now summer's coming, few people remember how bitter the cold was and who did what to make it possible for this country to survive that winter".

He added: "It has never bothered my conscience when I have worked for the removal of apartheid, for the creation of jobs for blacks, for the economic growth of this country and I have not the slightest doubt that that is what I'm doing."

Asked if he considered resigning, he replied:

"Not for this reason — there might be others."

Asked what the Government would do to repair the damage to its image, he said: "The only thing that has happened is that it was revealed what happened 18 months ago. Not a single negative element was revealed indicating that this Government had any other idea than to bring about a new South Africa ..."

He said there was nothing wrong with using front organisations to invite foreigners to South Africa.

"We did it, and under

similar circumstances, I will do exactly the same."

Mr Botha conceded that the top-secret security police document written by Major Louis Botha was authentic and that the police's motivation for the request that the Government should pay R250 000 for two IFP rallies had been political -- to boost Inkatha and to undermine the ANC.

However, this had not been the motivation by the police to his department, which had paid for the rallies because it would have had an anti-sanctions message.

Inkatha scandal jeopardises loans

Star 26/7/91

By Neil Behrmann

vate placements.

304A

LONDON — The scandal surrounding government funding of Inkatha is creating uncertainty about the long-awaited first public South African loan issue since the 1985 debt moratorium.

A South African Deutsche-mark issue is due to be placed in the Northern Hemisphere in September or October, say bankers and an announcement is imminent.

There is no official confirmation at this stage, but the lead manager for the issue is believed to be Deutsche Bank and the rumoured amount of the issue is Dm100 million to Dm200 million (R250 million).

The Inkatha scandal, however, is a major setback for South Africa in international financial markets, say bankers.

Banks will be wary of underwriting any South African issue, unless President FW de Klerk acts decisively to repair the damage.

They fear that they will be forced to delay the public issue.

Such is the damage to the Government's credibility that SA will need to move swiftly towards an interim government, says Jonathan Leape, head of the London School of Economics Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance.

South Africa has raised \$342 million (R1 billion) so far this year, mainly through pri-

While international borrowings are 37 percent higher in real terms than amounts raised in the whole of 1990, and impressive when compared with virtually zero borrowings in the years 1986 to 1989, there are no grounds for complacency, he says.

Borrowings amount to only 0,2 percent of gross domestic product. This is on a par with the inflows of 1977, the lowest amount raised in any year before the 1985 standstill.

In order to return to the levels of international borrowing achieved in the period 1972 to 1976 when the inflows averaged at 2,6 percent of gross domestic product annually, South Africa would need to borrow \$2,8 billion a year, says Mr Leape.

This is almost ten times the amount achieved in the first half of 1991.

Even in the improved conditions this year, borrowers succeeded in rolling over less than half of the bond debt that matured.

Borrowing costs continue to be high, with the yield on issues between 2,4 percent to 2,8 percent above US government bonds.

Banks have sold South African issues mainly to retail investors.

"International institutions are yet to play a significant role," says Mr Leape.

This must stop, says Chalker

Star 26/9/91

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The British government yesterday strongly urged President de Klerk to nullify the main threats to South Africa's future, which it said were coming from the extreme Left and Right within the country.

Police funding of political parties in South Africa must stop, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker said in Cambridge.

Whitehall sources last

night said the British government did not want to interfere or tell Mr de Klerk what to do.

Britain's primary concern was that all parties continued the process towards peaceful constitutional negotiations.

● The European Community is likely to delay significant discussion on the lifting of sanctions following disclosures in South Africa of secret payments to Inkatha, ac-

cording to sources in Britain. It will also take pressure off Denmark to withdraw its veto against lifting EC sanctions. The scandal has also put paid to Britain's hopes of settling the sanctions issue once and for all at the Commonwealth conference in October. The British Foreign Office regards it as the worst crisis to hit SA since reform began. — Star Bureau-Sapa.

...could set back relations
with Harare, says DP MP Peter Soal

Zimbabweans stop smiling at 'Comrade FW'

Star 26/7/91

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I GOT back from Zimbabwe this week having spent nine days speaking to government figures — including Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira — business people, diplomats, academics and journalists. While I was in Harare, I witnessed a disturbing turn-around in attitudes towards South Africa, as a direct result of the revelations about secret police funding for Inkatha.

I arrived before the scandal broke. From my early meetings, I picked up a great deal of interest in political developments in South Africa, and a distinct softening of attitudes towards our country. President Robert Mugabe had expressed his admiration for Nelson Mandela, and acknowledged the courage and the decisive role played by President de Klerk.

As a measure of this changing emphasis, I was told that the descriptive terms used on Zimbabwean television reports should not be underestimated.

Newscasters now refer neutrally to "the South African Government" — they've dropped the "apartheid regime" usage of the past decade — and Mr de Klerk has been introduced on at least one memorable occasion as "Comrade de Klerk".

It was my impression, after hours and hours of discussions with Zimbabweans — both high-ranking and less elevated — that the Zimbabwe delegation to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting scheduled for Harare in October might well support a call for the lifting of sanctions.

There was, in these meetings early last week, a desire for closer contact with South Africa, and a determination to be part of any increased trading pattern with this country.

My informants said there were still strong links with South Africa, and expressed an eagerness to share in the regional economic development which will take place once the tensions in the sub-continent have been reduced.

I found that businessmen and Ministers alike did not want to miss out on any opportunities which may present themselves once the "new South Africa" is in place. There was awareness of the need to co-operate in matters of a regional nature — for example, transport, communications and electricity generation.

They felt the potential for economic growth and co-operation was good, and should be exploited.

I came out of these meetings



Before the scandal ... Peter Soal with Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira

enthused: It seemed to me that we were close to an historic breakthrough in our future relations with Zimbabwe, the most important of our neighbours and our biggest trading partner in Africa.

But then came the so-called "Inkathagate" revelations. I can't be sure that this was the sole reason, but I suddenly found that a prearranged meeting with the Minister of State Security did not come off. I was given the "don't call us, we'll call you" treatment. The conciliatory spirit began to give way, before my eyes, to old-style suspicion about Pretoria's motives.

There was a bomb blast in the Sheraton Hotel on Saturday morning — and, immediately, the old suspicions about South African skulduggery were revived. Even President Mugabe referred to the fact that in the past, it would have been "assumed" that Pretoria's agents were responsible.

Suddenly, Zimbabweans were not so sure that the Nats were not still up to their old tricks. The stimulating atmosphere of trust and optimism was not destroyed, but began to be replaced by caution and circumspection.

In my opinion, and I am sad to have to say this, the consequences of the Inkatha payments will be considerable — and could affect developments in the entire region. All those involved in negotiations with the National Party will be suspicious of their motives.

This is just one reason why it is imperative that the Government respond to the demands by the various organisations as decisively as possible in order to restore a measure of credibility.

No one wants to return to the bad old days, but the South African Government is going to have to work harder to prove its bonafides. □

THE FUNDING SCANDAL — 1

FM 26/7/91

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ANOTHER FOREIGN AFFAIR

The ambassador to France, former Foreign Affairs chief director Marc Burger, was the man who controlled the Foreign Affairs slush funds which have now landed the De Klerk administration in its biggest political crisis.

The *FM* has also learnt that Burger was the middleman from whom the SA Police requested R250 000 to sponsor two Inkatha rallies as well as R1,5m for Inkatha's trade union, Uwusa.

For the past seven years, before his assignment in France, Burger headed the department's planning division whose role was to keep close watch on impending sanctions moves. In an interview in the November 30 issue of the *FM* last year, Burger called his section the "odd-jobs brigade."

Since the news of Inkatha's funding by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's men leaked out last week, there has been increasing pressure on De Klerk to axe both Vlok and Foreign Minister Pik Botha from the Cabinet. Pretoria may be forced to disclose more projects which have been secretly funded.

One of the projects which came to the attention of the *FM* last year was a top-secret plan masterminded by Burger to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

When the *FM* made informal inquiries about this, we were called to Pretoria by Botha. Also present in his East Wing office at the Union Buildings was Botha's former press attaché, Pieter Swanepoel, who has since been appointed SA's ambassador to Portugal.

During the interview Botha admitted that the project had been in the planning stages but that it was cancelled after careful consideration. Botha also confirmed Burger's role in the Turkey project and said Burger had been a trusted official who had been playing an invaluable role in fighting sanctions.

Botha added that disclosure of the project at that stage would have been extremely harmful to SA (and its allies who had been involved). He said that if the news leaked out it would have had a crippling effect on SA's coal exports. Botha asked the *FM* to delay publication of the article and promised that he would personally go on record about the matter when the danger of sanctions had subsided.

After last weekend's disclosures, the *FM* now feels that publication of this information is in the public interest.

Foreign Affairs sources have told the *FM* that Botha had been warned by his Director-General, Neil van Heerden, and senior deputy DG Herbert Beukes, of the political perils that a slush fund could create for Botha.

While most senior officials in the department vaguely knew about the secret fund, and that Burger had been the man controlling it, it is accepted that people like Van Heerden and Beukes had no knowledge of what was actually planned by the "odd-jobs brigade."



Burger

The slush funds are apparently not part of the Department of Foreign Affairs budget, which is controlled by Van Heerden.

Burger last year scoffed at the idea that his planning section was an anti-sanctions outfit.

"We dealt with problem areas and priorities. We made it up as we went along," he said.

Burger, who earlier this week attended a wreath-laying ceremony at Delville Wood for fallen SA soldiers, was not available for comment on Tuesday. The *FM* was told he was on leave somewhere in Germany.

The *FM* also faxed questions to Botha, who attended the Cabinet *boseraad* to discuss the crisis, but at the time of going to press there had been no response from the Minister's office. Van Heerden is abroad.

Eddie Botha

THE FUNDING SCANDAL — 2

MORE WORMS?

A final break with the past, including the sacking of Cabinet Ministers more partial to the P W Botha era than the transition to democracy, is possibly all that will save President F W de Klerk's reform initiative in the face of the Inkatha funding scandal.

Just how far he is prepared to go to limit the damage and restore some shine to government's battered image was being discussed by Cabinet and senior officials at a crisis conference near Pretoria as the *FM* went to press.

It is clear that only dramatic and unprecedented action is likely to restore domestic and international confidence in De Klerk's ability to manage the transition process successfully.

The focus is not so much on the existence of secret funds — R380m in the current Budget and R1,5bn over the past five years — but on their abuse by the supposedly impartial SA Police to benefit Inkatha politically, along with its trade union arm, Uwusa.

Allegations of SAP collusion with Inkatha in a wide range of actions, including townships violence, have inevitably gained credi-

bility. New suspicion has been aroused over the use of the funds to finance other clandestine operations.

Given the secrecy of the operations and almost unrestricted powers of senior officials to use funds available to them, assurances by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley that the payment of money to Inkatha and Uwusa was not, technically, irregular, makes little difference. As Wronsley himself points out, an audit cannot judge policy.

As far as possible without endangering national security, De Klerk must now show what the money was — and is — being used for, and must get rid of Ministers and officials who abused it.

Apart from predictable reactions from the extremes of the political spectrum, suggestions on what De Klerk should do to limit the damage focus on three areas:

☐ Ask for the resignations of the Ministers involved;



☐ Recall parliament to debate the matter; and

☐ Appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate all aspects of the use of secret funds and allegations of partisan action by the security forces.

Even the NP's Cape mouthpiece *Die Burger* — probably the most conservative of all the Nasionale Pers newspapers — has been unusually critical in suggesting that

"some retirements" from Cabinet are desirable in an effort to restore government's credibility.

The newspaper says it is also necessary to give clear assurances that the misuse of secret funds has ended and that steps have been taken to prevent a recurrence.

Credibility gap

Canadian academic and internationally respected SA-watcher Heribert Adam, now teaching at UCT's business school, says that to recover some credibility and limit the damage, De Klerk must come clean rather than let only snippets of information leak out. "It is essential to state quite clearly what has been done rather than leave it to the press to discover it. De Klerk must also give a further undertaking not to allow State money to be used for partisan purposes."

The "professionalisation" of the police must be seen to be happening — and not simply spoken about — from the top down. Adam believes it is perhaps necessary to create a new police force untarnished by the past.

He says the crisis will severely damage Inkatha's international image because it will be "seen to be in the pocket of the State." But he doubts the scandal will have any significant negative impact on government's white supporters whom, he says, "almost expect it to undertake secret projects like this."

It will reinforce the ANC's belief that almost all allegations of collusion between the State and anti-ANC groups are true. Internationally, governments that have gone out of their way to support De Klerk will be embarrassed and future contacts are likely to be "far more cautious."

Adam agrees that the scandal is the most serious crisis De Klerk has faced since taking power in 1989. It has reinforced the perception of a conflict between *system* and *struggle* — at a time when SA should be developing a multiparty style of politics that will be important to future success.

UCT political scientist David Welsh believes it unlikely that De Klerk knew what was happening and was "duped by overzealous underlings in the security agencies." However, the scandal shows he did not limit clandestine operations and spending from secret funds to the extent that he said he would — and his credibility is now on the line.

To limit the damage Welsh suggests that De Klerk should accept Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's resignation and possibly replace him with Deputy Foreign Minister (and Vlok's former deputy) Leon Wessels, who is tough and has wide political credibility.

Welsh says De Klerk is sufficiently astute to realise that only a major gesture will counter the ANC's accusation of government negotiating with a double agenda.

Ironically, De Klerk passed up a number of opportunities in parliament this year to come clean on secret funds to Inkatha and

Uwusa. He would have been able to manage the release of the information rather than have it splashed as a newspaper exposé — and there's little doubt that the damage would have been far more limited than is now the case.

DP MP Kobus Jordaan first heard of the funding last year and tried to contact Vlok to discuss the issue. Vlok didn't respond. In March he put formal questions in parliament to Vlok, De Klerk and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, but was fobbed off with similar noncommittal replies.

The following month he again questioned De Klerk who referred to his previous reply but added that it was "not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation."

On May 2, in the debate in parliament on the President's Budget vote, Jordaan said that despite De Klerk's earlier assurances of police impartiality, he was not "completely convinced" this was happening.

"Why do I say this? In the second half of last year, when the violence between Inkatha and the ANC was at its worst, I received information backed by indisputable proof, including the names of those persons involved, that the police were closely involved with financial and organisational support to Inkatha's trade union, Uwusa."

De Klerk did not respond in his reply to the debate. Jordaan believes that if government had come clean at the time, and admitted support for Inkatha and Uwusa, but made it clear that all clandestine help to political, cultural and trade union groups had ended, it could have avoided a crisis as severe as the one it now faces.

He says government's actions fuel suspicion of a split between hawks and doves in the Cabinet and give credibility to the argument that the hawks are backing De Klerk's reform agenda only to relieve foreign pressure on SA — after which they will continue suppressing opposition within the country.

Jordaan, like David Welsh, says De Klerk can limit the damage by calling a special session of parliament to debate the matter fully and appointing a judicial commission of inquiry to probe all aspects of secret funding.

He adds that the crisis shows government can't handle the transitional process on its own. He proposes the formation of an interim administration of national unity. "De Klerk must build confidence and trust if SA is to be governed sensibly in the future. This will not be possible unless there is a successful transition," says Jordaan.

De Klerk has the added problem of convincing a sceptical world that all clandestine operations have been stopped. Jordaan says he wishes he could believe this to be true. He believes the scandal has damaged De Klerk personally, both domestically and overseas, and that it is imperative that he comes clean.

"I'm convinced that he wasn't aware of some of the things that were happening — and that those he was aware of, he didn't know how to deal with."

Jordaan says the uniform replies to his questions in parliament point to a Cabinet discussion of the issue at the time and, by implication, knowledge of what happened and a joint decision not to disclose the facts.

INKATHA RESPONSE

CLAIMING THE RAP

Inkatha officials and members at Ulundi may have shown support for their president Mangosuthu Buthelezi by loudly rejecting his offer to stand down because of the funds scandal, but the implications of the exposé and subsequent revelations by senior SA government Ministers were still reverberating through the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)'s organisational structures later in the week.

Tuesday's apparent confession by one of Buthelezi's personal assistants, M Z Khumalo, that he was responsible for accepting R250 000 from the security police without Buthelezi's knowledge, is unlikely to reduce



Buthelezi

the damage. Some Inkatha members privately admit to being embarrassed by what they consider an unprofessional cover-up.

Some, who do not want to be named at this stage, say that they are seriously considering leaving the organisation, perhaps

even to join the ANC.

The view among some members of the Inkatha Institute is that both the amount paid to the organisation and its source are not cause for serious concern.

Instead, they are alarmed at the way the IFP and Buthelezi responded to the accusations, feeling the party needs some serious coaching in public relations. It seems clear that few people accept that Buthelezi could not have been aware of the payments into IFP bank accounts in Durban.

Buthelezi's offer to refund the money to the Department of Foreign Affairs must also be regarded as a cynical and pointless exercise, especially as it was linked to a public appeal for help in the repayment. No mention was made of whether the IFP would also repay the R1,5m that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said was given to the IFP-linked United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa).

At Tuesday's IFP press conference — which released Khumalo's statement, but which he did not attend — spokesmen said Uwusa was not part of Inkatha and they did not know where its funds came from.

It was also stated that Buthelezi and IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose were signing affidavits denying any knowledge of the funding and accusing the SAP's Major Louis Botha of being a liar.

Continue /

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Uwasa leaders had gone to ground earlier in the week, as had most senior IFP officials. After a brief tour of Natal trouble spot Mpumalanga on Monday, Buthelezi reportedly spent Tuesday in a Cabinet meeting.

IFP members at the press conference contradicted themselves over the nature of their Durban account, first saying it was specifically for disaster funds, then that it was also for general funds. They claimed that Khumalo was solely responsible for removing the R250 000 from the account to spend on rally banners and similar items, though they could not explain why he had sole signing power over a major IFP account.

Worrying spin-offs in the wake of the scandal include apparently unprovoked attacks on former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, now independent of IFP and KwaZulu politics and running the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Dhlomo was criticised from Ulundi for his "return to politics" and for the possibility that his non-aligned institute could fund the ANC and PAC-proposed patriotic front.

Dhlomo made it quite clear that the institute would not, and in terms of its constitution could not, fund the Patriotic Front. He also said he was surprised that he was being singled out for criticism, saying the IFP and its leaders had enough problems of their own without "manufacturing enemies where they do not exist."

FM 26/7/91
THE SECRET FUNDS SCANDAL

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The unbearable grimace

The phrase used by the Bush administration in response to the Inkatha secret funding revelations goes to the heart of the matter — Pretoria needs to take all necessary steps to restore the “integrity of the negotiating process.”

If this is done the scandal will abate, though it is difficult to see how it can do so as long as Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and some others are retained in the Cabinet. But he is not the sole “obstacle to negotiations.”

The intention of placing secret funds within the Department of Finance for redistribution in the “national interest” to other departments, was to remove the stain of the Information scandal which linked national leaders to such matters as greed, lying and, possibly, murder. P W Botha, it may be recalled, opened his period of misrule with a promise of clean administration. Such funds would from then on be subject to greater, though never total, public scrutiny.

Now, after all these years, again we have large and unknown amounts of public money applied for dubious purposes by senior politicians who have deliberately misled the public.

However much has been channelled to Inkatha and its affiliates — not more than R1,5m, Vlok has declared — is obviously small in comparison to the total stashed away in the Secret Services Account since 1978. About R1,5bn is believed involved. But who really knows how much, or whether the eyes of responsible Ministers were not averted when signing?

In the process the Nationalists have once again embarrassed their friends and given comfort to their enemies even in the hour of their defeat. The whole cumbersome equipage of the anti-apartheid movement — that dying cottage industry, most had hoped — is on the road again. Various anti-sanctions foundations and figures will have the provenance of their funds questioned anew.

It was indeed “premature” to believe that the Nats had changed their spots.

But the loss of international credibility is nothing to what has been lost at home. The point about the funding of the Inkatha rallies — and the Inkatha union — is not that they spread the word of conciliation and made the case for restoring broken trade, sport and cultural links; but that they *prima facie* triggered unparalleled black-on-black violence in which at least elements of the police have been less than neutral. This came after February 2 1990 and in the face of constant denials of government support for Inkatha or the involvement of a Third Force.

Moreover, by their folly, both the Nats and Inkatha have contrived to marginalise Gatsha Buthelezi, if not turn him into an Abel Muzorewa.

So things have been made much worse. Neither F W de Klerk nor Buthelezi had better plan a trip abroad soon. Leaked documents, accusations and counter-accusations, discredited faces in public . . . Why can't our leaders be more honest? The question arises time and again.

In order to reinstate the integrity of the negotiating process the following needs to be done:

□ There must be a sincere accounting for the uses to which the secret R1,5bn has been put — and the extent to which government has also financed the ANC revealed.

This means more than the dismissal of Vlok, Magnus Malan or even Pik Botha from the Cabinet. The responsibility for the mess lies with De Klerk and he should use parliament to explain himself. Anything less would mean that government could find itself in the position of convening multiparty talks to which no-one, except perhaps Inkatha, will come. The Nationalists will simply have to accept that they will be going into those talks in a far weaker position than only a week ago.

The alternative response — a cover-up, or an attempt to brazen it through — will mean an indefinite postponement of constitutional talks and the likelihood that the IMF funding needed to underpin economic recovery will simply not be forthcoming;

□ The multiparty talks themselves, when and if they occur, will need participants untainted by the financial, mental and moral slush that has become the Nationalists' habitat; participants who will also not be blind to the shortcomings of the ANC-SACP alliance. Here the Democratic Party has an opportunity to play a role disproportionate to its size — as the voice of liberalism, in manners and markets, it can mediate on behalf of a wide constituency from a position of unquestionable integrity; and

□ Not least, reform must continue at a cracking pace. De Klerk has said often enough that this is his mandate and — particularly if constitutional talks aimed at giving blacks the vote are delayed by either side — a great deal of work

remains to be done. The point about reform is not just that it is right — it is practical. We need it to become a more free society and prosperous economy. And we need it soon, before the damage is irreparable.

Whoever comes to rule in the years ahead will have to deal with millions of unemployed and ill-educated. As this reality hits home — the “New SA” could be a pretty nasty place — it will be all too easy to blame the *ancien régime* for all the ills of the streets.

Reform, at least, should be the one thing for which De Klerk never has to apologise. ■



Independent monitoring of secret funds is expected

PETER FABRICIUS

AG 27/7/91 Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Some form of independent monitoring of government secret funds is likely to be announced next week by President De Klerk in an attempt to restore shattered confidence after the Inkatha slush funds scandal.

Senior government sources cautioned yesterday that Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha's unrepentant "I'd do it again" stance on national television this week should not be taken as a precursor of how Mr. De Klerk will perform when he addresses the nation on the controversy on Tuesday.

Although the sources do not expect Mr. De Klerk to fire any cabinet ministers directly involved in the scandal, they also forecast that he will not simply endorse what Mr. Botha and Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok have said and done.

Mr. Botha's tough stance on TV has pleased many white South Africans, but it has also provoked sharp criticism and has not answered wider questions — internationally and domestically — about the government's political abuse of secret funds.

Senior government sources have divulged that Mr. Botha's remarks were consistent with the cabinet strategy worked out this week — but they say that Mr. De Klerk would strike a different note.

■ Turn to page 3

Monitoring of funds

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From page 1

"We feel that in the funding of Inkatha all the legal obligations were honoured and, from that point of view, was defensible in the perspective of the time. We feel we can sweat that one out.

"But, at the same time, it is indicative of a bigger problem — the need to bring the spending of secret funds under stricter control," the source said.

One possibility that had been considered by the cabinet this week was an all-party parlia-

mentary committee to monitor secret funding but the sources would not be drawn on the exact nature of the mechanism Mr. De Klerk will announce.

Mr. De Klerk is not expected to make an announcement on measures to ensure security force impartiality as this was being dealt with by the church/business peace initiative

■ Another slush fund scandal breaks — see page 3.

■ How will Mr. De Klerk handle the crisis — see pages 20 and 21.

Vlok ponders response to Mail's 'he lied' claim

ARG 27

91
ALAN DUNN

Political Staff

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has consulted President De Klerk and was still considering his response today to a public accusation that he lied in the "Inkathagate" row.

He was cloistered in his office at Wachthuis, Pretoria, with aides and advisers most of Friday afternoon and into the night.

They were calculating how best to react to the Weekly Mail's charge that he had lied when he said on television on Sunday that "every cent" of secret funds given the Inkatha-

linked United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) had been accounted for and that no taxpayers' money had been wasted.

Evidence, the newspaper reported, pointed to Uwusa's finances being in chaos where financial control was impossible.

Confidantes said his view was that the Weekly Mail, which broke the "Inkathagate" affair last week involving covert police backing for Inkatha and Uwusa, had "overplayed its hand" this time.

It is known Mr Vlok spent some hours at the Union Buildings discussing the latest report and the week-old row with Mr De Klerk.

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De Klerk faces grave credibility crisis

From facing page

He also urged the establishment of an independent commission or agency to monitor government action and to ensure impartiality in regard to internal political organisations.

MAGNUS MALAN:

ALTHOUGH Defence Minister Magnus Malan has not been linked with the Inkatha funding scandal, his image and credibility have been severely dented by the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) scandal.

Some analysts think he can hardly survive politically if Mr Vlok's head is to roll as a result of the new funding scandal.

Like Mr Vlok, General Malan has been held politically re-

sponsible for many alleged misdeeds of the security establishment. The two Ministers have repeatedly been singled out for attack by critics of the government who demanded their resignation or dismissal.

Among the latest to call for their resignation or dismissal are church leaders who also demanded an immediate government ban this week on all covert action and an immediate freeze on secret State funds.

The churchmen also urged the government to commit itself to an official inquiry into security force involvement in the current violence. They proposed that a commission be set up by agreement with major

political parties, business and religious groups.

A further storm erupted this week around General Malan's role in the security establishment as a result of allegations of SADF involvement in a brutal train massacre near Soweto in September last year.

Two leading British newspapers and a Johannesburg paper carried reports alleging South African military intelligence involvement in the massacre and security police funding for Inkatha.

The allegations — dismissed by an SADF spokesman as "absolute lies" — resulted in the appointment of a high-ranking police officer, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, to investigate.

Top men in the Cabinet have yet to tell the story about funds

WHOSE heads — if any — will roll when President De Klerk faces the world on Tuesday to respond to the mounting storm around the Inkatha funds scandal?

His dilemma may be more serious than meets the eye. Some political analysts say he faces a choice between a collapse of the constitutional process and drastic action — including dismissal of some Cabinet Ministers — to gain control of an untenable situation.

A worst scenario envisaged for Mr De Klerk is one in which it transpires the leaks of secret police documents about government funding to Inkatha were engineered by right-wing elements inside the security establishment.

On the other hand, it is argued he may come to grips with the situation and repair the government's dented image to some extent by tough action to gain visible control over the security establishment.

However, such action will be more difficult for him after Foreign Minister Pik Botha's defiant and aggressive defence this week of the secret funds for Inkatha and of the larger secret funds of more than R100-million for anti-Swapo parties in the Namibian election.

Any stand now by Mr De Klerk against the secret funding of selected political groupings from taxpayers' money will be seen as a repudiation of Mr Pik Botha's "I'll do it again" argument which is reported to have dismayed and disappointed some of South Africa's friends abroad.

And without a repudiation or dismissal of Mr Botha, Mr De Klerk will be exposed to criticism that he is in favour of government action that could undermine the democratic process.

Two key issues on which a response is awaited from Mr De Klerk are:

● The Inkatha funds scandal and the Namibian millions; and

● The row about the current violence and alleged security establishment involvement in conflict between warring groups, especially Inkatha and the African National Congress.

Mr De Klerk is likely to try everything possible to rescue his Ministers, but critical circumstances and mounting pressures on his own position and the very survival of his gov-

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE discusses the pressures and the options.

ernment and its reform initiatives could dictate his action.

Ministers over whom a political shadow has fallen after the funds scandal and other recent events include:

ADRIAAN VLOK:

HE IS at the centre of the storm and if the heads of any Cabinet Ministers are to roll, his is likely to be the first.

It is Mr Vlok, as Minister of Law and Order, who is being held accountable for police actions in channeling state funds to Inkatha.

His handling of the affair so far has been unconvincing and smacks of a cover-up typical of government responses during the early stages of the Information scandal.

Mr Vlok this weekend stands publicly accused of having lied when he said on SABC-TV last Sunday "each and every cent" of taxpayers' money had been accounted for.

The accusation, based on alleged secret police documents, was made by the Weekly Mail which made further disclosures on Friday about the secret state funding of Inkatha's union wing, the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa).

Mr Vlok has so far not responded, but ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said a response was being prepared and the Minister would "consider his options".

A serious turn of events for Mr Vlok is a disclosure indicating the first possible link between the secret State funding and violence involving Inkatha supporters.

An alleged secret police document dated October 17, 1989, described Uwusa as "a project under control of the South African Police".

Secret papers also revealed the police force had cooperated with Inkatha in 1986 to set up the anti-sanctions Uwusa, widely accused of violence against rival pro-ANC labour groups. According to the newspaper's editor Mr An-

ton Harber, the documents revealed that an internal inquiry requested by Mr Vlok had found Uwusa had not kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for "any of the funds given to them".

PIK BOTHA:

FOREIGN MINISTER Mr Pik Botha has emerged as the king-pin in the secret State funding of selected political parties and groupings with taxpayers' money.

Significantly, Mr Botha, while arguing the secret project to channel money to Inkatha was a scheme from a bygone era, defiantly admitted and defended the government's secret funding of anti-Swapo parties to the tune of more than R100-million in the United Nations-supervised Namibian elections.

Mr Botha's disclosures and his defiant stand in defence of the Inkatha slush fund and the Namibian project has exposed himself and the De Klerk government to damaging accusations of sabotaging the democratic process in South Africa.

He has also left the government wide open to accusations of still adhering to undemocratic philosophies and practices of the "total onslaught" era of P W Botha and his predecessors.

After an initial denial, Mr Botha admitted last weekend he had authorised the channeling of R250 000 of state money from the Foreign Affairs special account to Inkatha.

His justification of the project on the grounds that it was part of an anti-sanctions drive worse than this week amid controversy about his own further disclosure of the huge secret funding of anti-Swapo parties, and disclosures about R1,5-million of taxpayers' money donated to Uwusa.

BAREND du PLESSIS:

AS A KEY MAN behind the controlling mechanism for government spending, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis

cannot escape responsibility for the use of secret State funds.

Like his predecessor Senator Owen Horwood at the time of the Information scandal, Mr Du Plessis can be held accountable for the spending of taxpayers' money. In any official inquiry or investigation into specific expenditure, he and the Auditor-General would be key witnesses.

Mr Du Plessis, therefore, has a pivotal role in decisions on how and by whom secret State funds are to be used. However, the finer details of secret State projects are likely to be determined at lower levels of the bureaucracy.

The official yardstick in decisions on such spending is whether it is "in the national interest" — a criterion regarded by critics of the system as a potential cloak for corrupt governments to hide a multitude of sins.

Mr Du Plessis's precise role in the Inkatha funding scandal is not known so far, but Foreign Minister Botha has given assurances the funding was strictly in accordance with existing legislation.

The key to procedures for tapping taxpayers' money from secret funds is the Secret Services Account, established in 1978 in terms of the Secret Services Account Act.

This account is presided over by Mr Du Plessis and is administered by his department of finance. It was set up to feed five other accounts, each of which is administered in terms of its own Act.

They are: the Foreign Affairs Special Account (1967), the Security Services Special Account (1969), the Special Defence Account (1974), the Information Service of SA Special Account (1979) and the SA Police Special Account (1985).

All secret spending must, by law, be audited by the Auditor-General.

Mr Colin Eglin, chairman of the Democratic Party's caucus, has called for fundamental changes in the law dealing with secret funds.

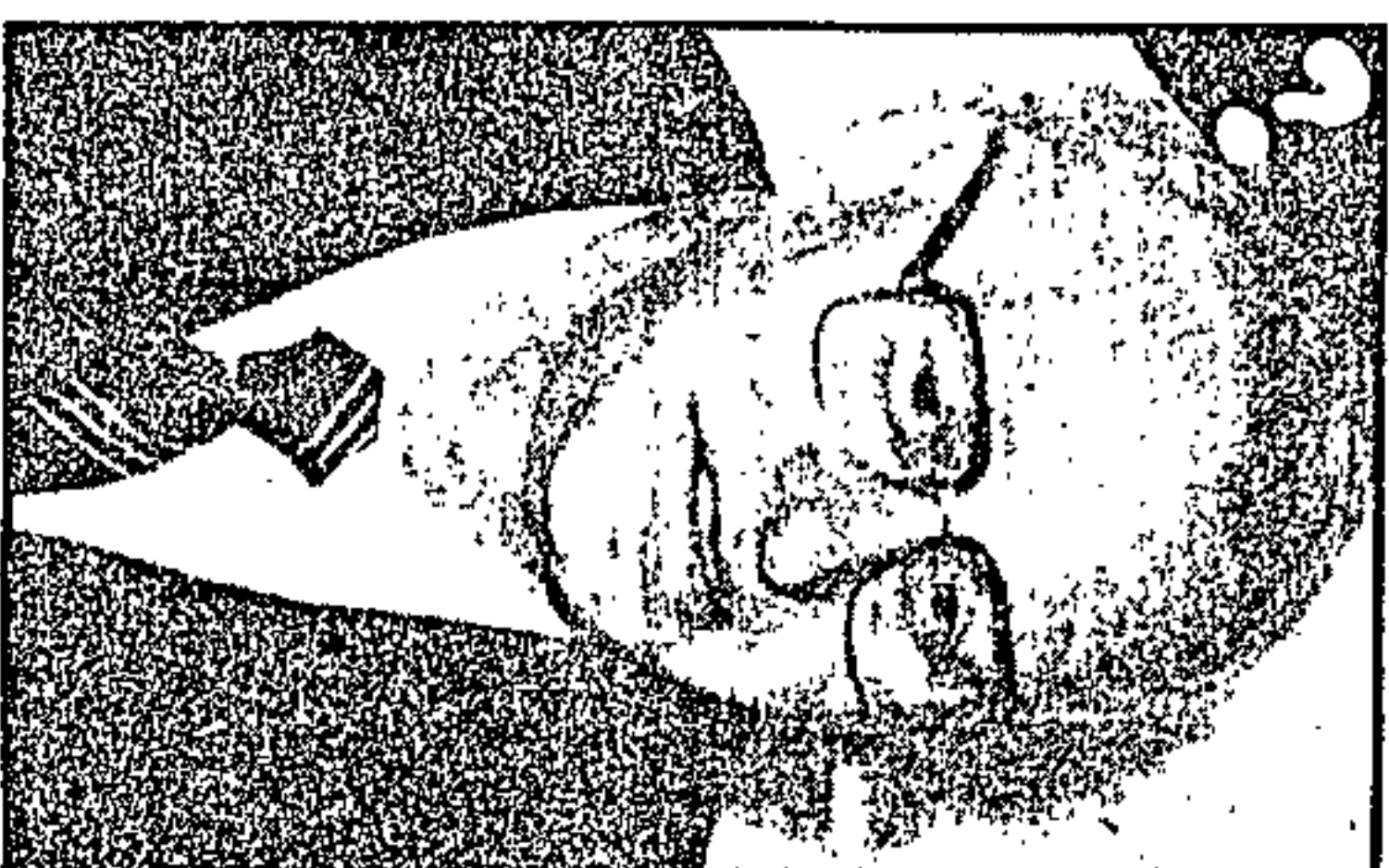
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IN A WEEK OF MAJOR POLITICAL CRISIS, WHAT WILL STATE PRESIDENT

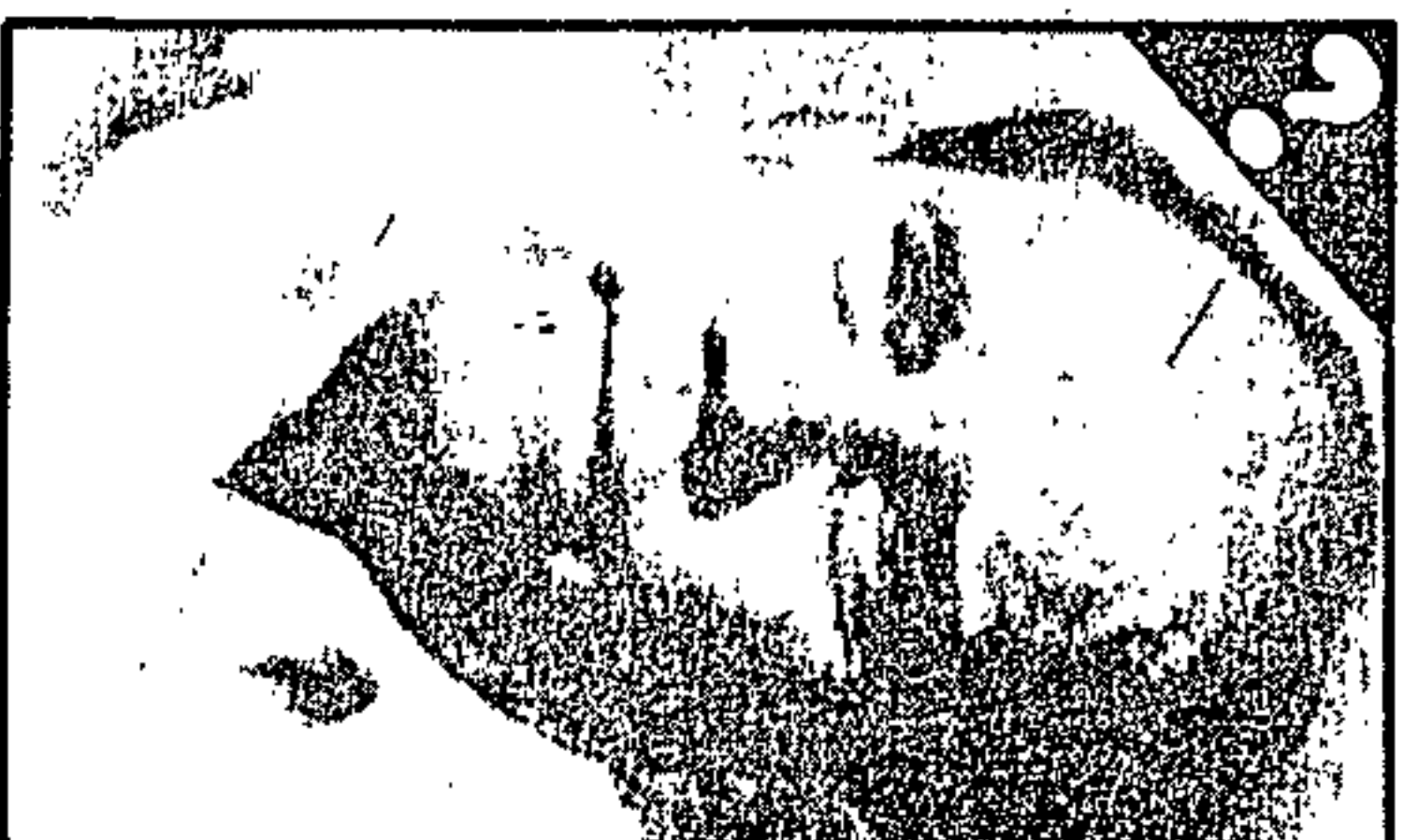
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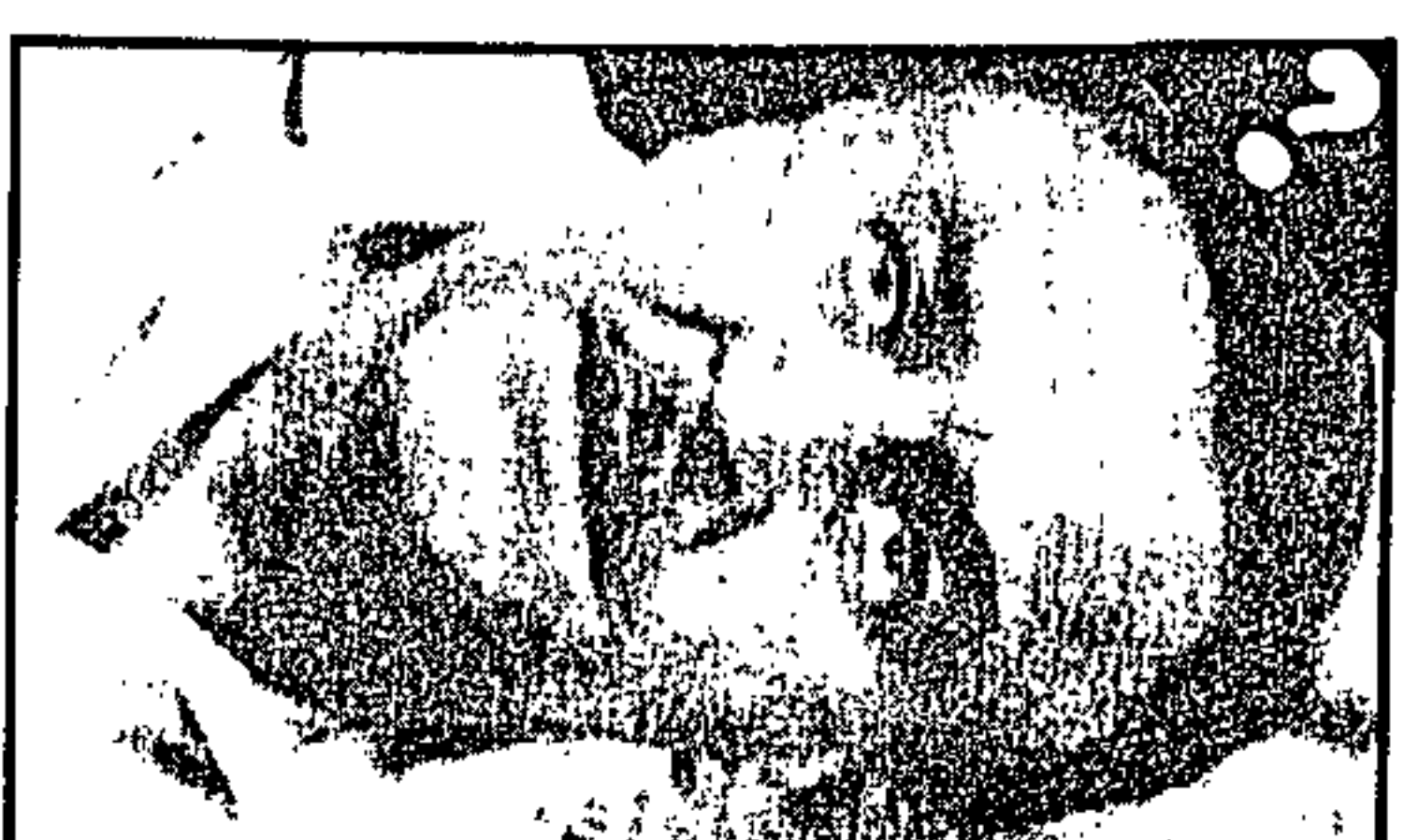
De Klerk faces grave crisis of credibility



MIR ADRIAAN VLOK



GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN



MIR PIK BOTHA



MIR BAREND DU PLESSIS

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

FW's performance will be crucial

TUESDAY's announcements by President De Klerk on how the government intends assuring the country that shady activities and hidden strategies are to stop will be critical to the negotiation process.

The ANC needs a strong, credible and trustworthy partner (as much as the government does), mainly to be able to show negotiations — and their products — are credible and durable.

Clearly three things the Inkatha funds scandal has managed to do are to weaken the National Party, to erode its credibility and to cast doubt on its trustworthiness.

The government knows it and seems set to respond accordingly.

But, damaging and perilous though the saga may be, there is something to be gained from it.

In the first place it has sharpened everyone's awareness of the grave dangers of secret meddling and manipulation, and has highlighted the delicacy of the political negotiations South Africa has embarked on.

If these things were taken for granted in the past, there is no doubt they will be taken far more seriously from now on, and by all parties to the fray.

It would probably be too much to expect either the ANC or the government to fully trust the other — but there must clearly be the deepest possible trust in the process itself.

Hopefully another positive result will be wider acknowledgement of the role of the Press.

Mr Nelson Mandela, who often complains that the ANC faces a hostile Press, must be chuckling at the rough ride President De Klerk is being given.

The lesson for both men, and others, is that democracy (even if we have yet to achieve it)



A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa by **MICHAEL MORRIS** and **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN** (right) of the Political Staff

and a free, vigilant Press, go together like love and marriage. A free Press is a vital foundation of political democracy precisely because it is so effective a means of constantly calling politicians to account.

For the Nationalists (and probably the country, in the long term), there is possibly another useful consequence of the debate.

This is that the party is bound to be far more cautious in its approach to alliance-forming.

Many Nats have long considered Inkatha a natural ally and, indeed, this view probably still features as a possibility in negotiation strategy.

But instead of merely drifting into what is essentially an ethnically based partnership, there is likely to be a thorough reassessment of the potential gains and losses.

On the other hand, one of the biggest risks for

the NP is that the so-called moderate masses in the coloured, black and Indian communities who might have been warming to President De Klerk's new-look party have been disaffected — and it will take a lot to rekindle their interest.

All of these things depend to some extent on what Mr De Klerk says on Tuesday.

It will be one of the most important performances of his presidency, and his career.

□□□□□

Politicians are forever getting it in the neck, but it's no wonder that at least some of them have such a poor reputation.

A recent puzzle illustrates the point.

The Campaign for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Hit Squads — which is based in the northern areas — sent personally addressed questionnaires to MPs in all three Houses during the past session of parliament to prod them into backing the cause.

The tenor of the half-dozen questions was a protest against the government's attitude to the outcry over the Civil Co-operation Bureau death squad claims.

But no sooner had the questionnaires landed on MPs' desks than a fake version, replete with forged signatures, popped up too.

The fake version substituted "State hit squads" throughout with "ANC moordbendes". A rather feeble effort to confuse parliamentarians, one would have thought.

But — while the NP caucus refused en bloc to respond and only one CP MP answered — more than a dozen honourable members from the House of Delegates and House of Representatives went the whole hog, returning both the genuine article and the fake, dutifully ticked.

It was a billion says ex-agent

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JOHANNESBURG. —

Funding of at least one-billion rands was spent by the South African government on its anti-Swapo campaign in Namibia and it managed to manipulate the political situation right under the nose of the United Nations.

This was asserted by former SADF consultant, Mr Nico Basson, at an international Press conference yesterday.

"The South African government didn't give a damn about its international agreement concerning Resolution 435," said Mr Basson. "I myself was paid R1 million in a year to launch an anti-Swapo press strategy under the code name Operation Agree 309/1 of January 26 1989."

Approached for verification of the operation, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "Mr Basson's very serious allegations need thorough investigation and we will not neglect to do this. However, Minister Pik Botha does not want to comment further on the funding issue until the State President makes his speech next week."

Mr Basson came forward in March this year claiming to be an undercover SADF agent whose consultancy promoted the image of the SADF.

PAT DEVEREAUX

Weekend Argus Correspondent

"I would say that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance party was funded 65 percent by the South Africans and received about R73 million. Other less significant parties were funded by a front organisation, Narnib Foundation.

"The DTA is still getting funds. Not as much as before but enough to sustain them for the next elections," he said.

Mr Basson said the SADF played a major role in the Namibian campaign and the Foreign Affairs Department was the next most involved. He added that Military Intelligence had infiltrated throughout, even through the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag).

The former SADF major claimed that the SADF was aware that the Swapo April 1 incursion was intended to be peaceful but got permission from the UN to intervene and shot returning insurgents, many in the back.

Mr Basson said some funding was used for educating "ethnic battalions", disinformation campaigns, researching the attitude of voters, smear campaigns against influential people such as Namibian

newspaper editor Ms Gwen Lister, Swapo lawyer Anton Lubowski, Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, and others.

"The SABC played a major role in distorting radio broadcasts from other countries such as Moscow and broadcast its own propaganda instead.

He said that three regions of the SADF's clandestine Civil Co-operation Bureau were involved in Namibia including Mozambican region under Major Piet Botes and Namibian region under Major Staal Burger.

Mr Basson, 35, says he did his national service in 1975 and went to Potchestroom University between 1976 and 1979 before rejoining the SADF and as strategist and lecturer in communications.

He claims he created his millionaire job for himself after submitting a proposal to General Kat Liebenberg. It was accepted by General Janine Geldenhuys "with whom he was close in 1985".

"But I became disillusioned. The government claimed internationally to have accepted Resolution 435 but then I discovered the DTA was a mas-

sive South African parastatal structure.

"Then Anton Lubowski, who I had become friendly with, was killed."

He said he would expose more if he was guaranteed indemnity from persecution by State President F W de Klerk.

His aim, he said, was to have a clean government so that South Africa could get on with the transition process without any hidden agendas.

Mr Basson, who recently initiated the "Soldiers of Peace" organisation, also claimed that he knew of about "40 people in the system who want to come out with what they know, but they're hesitating because they're scared."

Mr Basson backed claims by former SADF members Felix Ndumene and Carlitos Joao Maria's that they had been abducted across the border to join the SADF.

He said the army recruited people, especially youths, outside the country and they were trained in game reserves. He said they were then sent to specific areas to start paramilitary units, protect hostels and start violence.

Mr Basson said he believed there were people within the system who now want to change it and the SADF could expect more bombshells from ex-soldiers.

An SADF spokesman said



□ **TURNED SOLDIER:** Nico Basson, a former major in the South African Defence Force, tills the media of alleged government disinformation covert actions locally and in Namibia. He has founded a group called Soldiers For Peace, for disenchanted security force members

from Pretoria of Mr Basson's an orchestrated campaign to allegations: "The status of the SADF is such that the force does not react to rubbish."

Later, the spokesman added: "Mr Basson seems to be part of His motive are open to question."

27/7/91



Mr Jan van Eck ~~344~~ 3011A

Death threat to Van Eck

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck has had a death threat from an anonymous caller to his home.

The call was taken by his wife, Eunice.

Mr Van Eck said: "The man, who spoke English with a strong Afrikaans accent, told her: 'Tell Van Eck to start running. I'm going to kill the son of a bitch'.

"I am taking it very seriously and I am taking precautions. It is upsetting, but one should probably expect it."

He added that he did not think the caller was a "crank". From his wife's account, the caller "sounded determined".

Mrs Van Eck reported the threat to police.



Mr Pik Botha ... buying trouble?

Treurnicht lashes Botha

PRETORIA. — Foreign

Affairs Minister Mr Pik

Botha was being both arrogant and provocative when he said financial donations of over R100 million to Namibian political organisations "would be given again", Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Friday.

"The credibility of the government concerning the question of financial support of political parties and organisations is in the process of being destroyed," Dr Treurnicht said in a statement released in Pretoria.

Reacting to Thursday's television interview in which an unrepentant Mr Botha said of the government's secret funding of Inkatha, its trade union wing Uvusa and political parties in Namibia that he would "do it again", Dr Treurnicht said the State President and several cabinet ministers were in a serious crisis of confidence.

He said the ruse of combating sanctions had been a smokescreen.

"It is clear that the R100 million given to anti-Swapo organisations has nothing to do with the combating of sanctions.

"In any other western country a government would, under such circumstances, be obliged

DALE LAUTENBACH

Argus Africa News Service and Sapa

to resign. Does this government have the moral courage to do so?"

Conservative Party chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said Mr Botha had neglected to answer properly a question concerning the government's clandestine funding of Namibian political parties when he was asked to do so in Parliament in 1990.

Mr Hage Geingob, Prime Minister of Namibia, reacted angrily to Mr Botha's disclosure that R100 million had been pumped into the Namibian election to fight against Swapo.

"South Africa and the United Nations were duty bound to respect the impartiality clause of the UN plan," said Mr Geingob. South Africa had failed to do this and the United Nations, too, had failed because the South African funding had gone undetected.

"The UN became so neutral that they became anti-Swapo and did not see through this chicanery."

He said South Africa's actions were also in contravention of the New York Accords, the tripartite agreement signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the region as

part of the acceptance of the peace plan for Namibia.

Mr Geingob angrily denounced allegations from Mr Botha and Namibian opposition parties that secret funds had poured into Swapo coffers for the election.

He said it was no secret that Swapo had spent R55 million on its election campaign. It was also no secret that the liberation committee of the Organisation of African Unity had given R15 million.

"Swapo never received a single cent (during the election campaign) from any western country," said Mr Geingob.

As to the same network being used to provide funds to Unita for the Angolan election, Mr Geingob said he did not think South Africa "that stupid".

Mr Andreas Shipanga, former leader of the now-defunct Swapo-D party which was established by Swapo dissidents in the late '70s, said his party "might or might not" have received money from South Africa.

His party, which failed to win a seat in the National Assembly, had received money from unknown donors. Sums that were "not too big and also not too small just arrived" in

the Swapo-D account out of the blue, he said.

Asked for figures, Mr Shipanga said "maybe R250 000, R400 000".

The National Party in Namibia denied it received any funding from the South African government to support the electoral campaign of its historical clone in Namibia.

"My party never received a single cent," said NP leader and member of the National Assembly Mr Kosie Pretorius. "We didn't see eye to eye (with the South African government) on Resolution 435."

It is widely believed that the Namib Foundation, chaired by Nationalist Mr Jan de Wet, received substantial sums of money from South Africa and funded the Action Christian National umbrella in alliance with the Deutsche Action Party.

However, Mr Pretorius said the NP itself had nothing to do with the foundation.

The National Patriotic Front of Namibia (NPF) with its leader, Mr Moses Katjionunga, as the party's sole representative in the National Assembly, "might have" received money from South Africa, according to Press spokesman Mr Benjamin Mabuku.

"It's quite possible, we had open accounts and we appealed everywhere ... in Namibia, in South Africa. If they put money in our account, well and good and we're grateful."

Slush fund: Govt may sue Weekly Mail

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE government may take the Weekly Mail to court following the publication yesterday of a fresh round of damaging allegations in the secret slush fund scandal.

And the editor of Weekly Mail, Mr Anton Harber, last night responded: "We are happy to test Mr Vlok's honesty in court."

A new storm has broken out in government circles over the newspaper branding Mr Vlok "a liar" following the minister's claim on television that secretly-allocated taxpayers' money had been accounted for.

Mr Vlok spent much of yesterday huddled with senior advisers, but a promised statement on the row did not materialise last night.

All that Mr Vlok's spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, would say was: "We reserve the right to sue the Weekly Mail."

Mr Harber said Mr Vlok "is on very weak ground — the court case will turn into a commission of inquiry".

"If Mr Vlok wants to sue, then it's a case of 'I'll see you in court'," he said.

The Weekly Mail also said that five senior Inkatha officials — including Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — knew about the Inkatha slush fund.

An Inkatha spokesman in Ulundi said yesterday that the organisation would not be responding to the fresh allegations at this stage.

In other developments surrounding the government's secret funding scandal yesterday:

● A former army officer, Mr Nico Basson, said yesterday that the SADF staged fights between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the leader of Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, in an attempt to show that the DTA leader was anti-South African. On Thursday, Mr Botha

admitted that secret money had been channelled to the DTA during the election campaign against Swapo.

● ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said on British television yesterday that the ANC would continue negotiations with the South African government provided it demonstrated it was serious about change.

● SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo said the disclosures of secret funds had brought negotiations closer to breakdown than ever before.

In other reaction to the scandal, the Conservative Party accused Mr Pik Botha of arrogantly fudging answers he gave to Parliament in 1990 about the government's secret funding of Namibian political parties.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux yesterday noted he had asked Mr Botha on March 27 last year whether South Africa helped political parties contesting the Namibian elections.

'Skirts issue'

He said the minister had replied a follows: "According to available information, all Namibian parties which participated in the election received funds from sources outside Namibia. Namibia became independent on March 21, 1990 and it will serve no purpose to try to identify donors and associate them with parties."

The chairman of the Democratic Party caucus, Mr Colin Eglon, said that the disclosure that over R100 million in taxpayers' money went to anti-Swapo parties at a time when South Africa was supposed to be a neutral administration of Namibia in terms of UN Resolution 435 "still skirts the fundamental issue".

The crux of the scandal was the government's political collusion — and specially police collusion — with political parties and other organisations inside South Africa.

By ANTHONY JONES

Mudge-Pik fights 'staged'

JOHANNESBURG. — The SADF staged fights between South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and the leader of Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance Mr Dirk Mudge in an attempt to show the DTA leader was anti-South African, disillusioned former defence force officer Mr Nico Basson alleged in Johannesburg yesterday.

At a press conference to outline government funding of political parties in Namibia in the run-up to the independence elections, Mr Basson said the SADF had been the main party in attempts to discredit Swapo.

The SADF spread a rumour that a Swapo incursion was planned for April 1 when it learnt Swapo soldiers

would be trying to return to Namibia peacefully, until they got permission from the UN to intervene.

Stories about Swapo detainees had been blown out of proportion to discredit the organisation. The campaign was so successful it brought down the party's support from 80% to 50%, Mr Basson claimed.

The DTA had a total budget of R72 million of which the South African government provided R65 million, Mr Basson alleged.

● A tersely worded statement from an SADF spokesman in Pretoria said about Mr Basson's allegations: "The status of the SADF is such that the force does not react to rubbish."

— Sapa (304A) (254) (221)

■ II have already known, the

By BARRY STREEK

TAXPAYERS are contributing an average of R281,79 each in the current financial year to South Africa's secret funds.

They also paid an average of more than R74,14 each to seven anti-Swapo political parties in Namibia during the pre-independence elections.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament on March 27 this year that there were 1 348 752 individual taxpayers in South Africa in the 1990 tax year.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, admitted at a

Slush fund: R281 per taxpayer

press conference this week that "well over" R100 million was given to seven political parties in Namibia during the pre-independence elections — which works out at a cost of well over R74,14 per individual taxpayer.

This year's budget makes provision for R380 061 000 for secret services, R52,8 million more than the previous year, for "augmentation of the secret services account to finance secret services undertaken by state departments" —

which means that it cost each taxpayer an average of R281,79.

● In another development in the secret funding scandal, a former army officer who was involved in covert operations in Namibia before independence claimed that the SADF had been at the forefront of attempts to discredit Swapo, Sapa reports.

Mr Nico Basson alleged that SADF involvement in Namibia was "about 80%" of the SA government's involvement. The next-most-involved department was Foreign Affairs, he said.

● Slush fund: Govt may sue — Page 2

FW de KLERK DO? TAKE DECISIVE ACTION —

OR TRY TO BRAZEN IT OUT?

WHAT we are seeing today is South Africa trapped in a destructive cul-de-sac, a victim of the continuation of the well-worn System versus Struggle dialectic, of reciprocal fear and suspicion, political gamesmanship and self-serving stereotypes.

Many benefit from keeping the silver ball of apartheid in play in the South African pinball machine. Observe the flashing media lights. Listen to the clangs and whistles of charge and counter-charge.

Don't look at South Africa's real problems. Ignore the continuing violence and the crime rate. Pay no attention to the crisis in education or the frightening rate of unemployment.

The game of political pinball is a lot more fun and a lot more profitable. (The destructiveness of this pinball gamesmanship is seen clearly in the controversies over re-admission of South African sport to world competition. Does anybody speak for the men and women who actually play sport?)

Revelations about the South African government's slush fund and its complicity in supporting Inkatha is further evidence that the country's problems cannot be solved at the same level as they were created.

Mr De Klerk has to now realise that he cannot manage the process of negotiation using the same manipulative behavioural tricks the National Party has employed in parliamentary election campaigns.

A new open-systems and collaborative approach is required. South Africa's future cannot be negotiated by power politics and horse trading. Society has to first be reconstituted along a developmental evolutionary spiral. Neither white monolithic nor black mass democratic models are able to deal with South Africa's complexities.

At the same time, the African National Congress has to get its holier-than-thou celebrations over with as soon as possible. It has to accept that future revaluations could create in its executive embarrassments similar to those now being experienced by Mr De Klerk.

THE ANC is itself weighed down by champions of an older order, a repressive, punitive and failed ideology that is becoming as quaint and out-dated as Zulu assegais.

Mr De Klerk cannot jettison his historical baggage until Mr Nelson Mandela jettisons his. Mr Mandela cannot free himself from the Communist Party and his radicalised cadres until Mr De Klerk turns his back on the total onslaught industry.

Yet Mr De Klerk understands only too well what the threat is from his political and military right wing. And Mr Mandela quite clearly recognises the danger posed by his violent and undisciplined left. The draconian dance continues. The country suffers.

Replay of old political game — but it could have benefits



American problem-solving expert **DR DON BECK** says the row over government funding of Inkatha has a deeper message than political pinball. He is a director of the National Values Centre in Denton, Texas, and specialises in complex societal change. His work has taken him to the Soviet Union and China and he is on his 39th visit to South Africa in 10 years.

South Africa has to find the models for accommodating and balancing three powerful, polarising and pervasive mosaics — historical Zulu hegemony, the Afrikaner volk's impulse for cultural survival and urban black economic aspirations.

Attempts to isolate or eliminate any one of these elements from the South African formula will invite the Beirut scenario.

Neither the National Party, Inkatha nor the ANC can, on its own, achieve that delicate balance. To claim otherwise would be self-delusion and arrogance, yet these human qualities unfortunately have a long history in Africa.

But what if South Africans were to say collectively: "Enough is enough"? If the people give the lead, will the leaders follow? What if the real goal were to become the creation of a healthy, dynamic society?

This should supersede other lesser objectives such as elimination of the remnants of apart-

heid, the liberation of the black majority, the protection of white First World privilege or the victory of free market capitalism over command economy socialism and Marxism, or vice versa.

A "healthy" South Africa would focus instead on meeting the needs of people at different developmental levels, the protection of a fragile and threatened environment, the containment of dangerous diseases, the mobilisation of resources to save the whole of Africa and the forging of dynamic models for the management of change within the crucible which is South Africa.

Such a fresh start would require a quantum leap in thinking about problem resolution. Examples of this new paradigm are already emerging.

Note the early successes of the Middelburg Community Forum (Transvaal), where a Conservative Party town council has been brought into constructive and dynamic interaction with township communities. Watch carefully the creative approaches to peace on the part of the business and religious communities.

Mr Mandela's recent moderate statements suggest an openness to a more co-operative and less adversarial approach. Perhaps the slush fund exposé and its aftermath will provide a fresh opportunity for straight talk among all parties involved.

If the world wishes to assist in the creation of a healthy South Africa, it should contribute to a clearing house fund to be used systematically and responsibly in housing, education, job creation and health care.

The exposure of, and controversy over, the South African government's attempt to create a more equitable power balance between the IFP and the ANC might be a blessing in disguise.

If the scandal is seen only as a victory for the ANC in the public relations game, the important lessons will be lost in the colourful lights of the political pinball game.

But if it serves to discredit the levels of thinking in which all the parties are equally involved then a healthy South Africa might become a reality.

Inkatha scandal: what FW may do

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk, in an attempt to restore shattered confidence after the Inkatha slush funds scandal, is expected next week to announce some form of independent monitoring of government secret funds.

- More reports on Page 2.
- Editorial on Page 12.
- Our Moral Crisis, Page 13.

Senior government sources cautioned yesterday that Foreign Minister Pik Botha's unrepentant "I'd do it again" stance on national television this week should not be taken as a precursor of how Mr de Klerk will perform when he addresses the nation on the controversy on Tuesday.

Although the sources do not expect Mr de Klerk to fire any Cabinet Ministers directly involved in the scandal, they also forecast that he will not simply endorse what Mr Botha and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok have said and done.

Mr Botha's tough stance on TV has pleased many white South Africans, but it has also provoked sharp criticism and has not answered wider questions — internationally and domestically — about the Government's political abuse of secret funds.

Strategy

Senior government sources have divulged that Mr Botha's remarks were consistent with the Cabinet strategy worked out this week — but that Mr de Klerk would strike a different note.

"We feel that in the funding of Inkatha all the legal obligations were honoured and from that point of view was defensible in the perspective of the time. So we feel we can sweat that one out.

"But at the same time it is indicative of a bigger problem — the need to bring the spending of secret funds under stricter control," the source said.

The Auditor-General had confirmed this week that there was nothing legally wrong in the way

● TO PAGE 2.

Funds row

● FROM PAGE 1...

secret funds had been spent on Inkatha. However, the problem lay in the the political purpose for which the secret funds were spent.

The Government felt it was necessary to introduce mechanisms to ensure that it received "some fairly objective advice as to what constitutes an acceptable project".

The sources said the principle that Government should control secret funds was well established throughout the world.

But in South Africa where political views were so diametrically opposed and the political terrain was so sensitive, "one has to be especially careful".

The Government felt there was a need to "get a bit of distance" between the Minister controlling the secret funds and the decision as to how they were spent.

Mr de Klerk had taken a step in this direction last year when he decided to bring secret funds under stricter Cabinet control in the wake of the hit-squad scandal.

The source would not be drawn on the exact nature of such a mechanism.

There will be keen interest to see whether Mr de Klerk's announcement meets the growing demand for guarantees that the Government will really use secret funds in the national interest rather

than for party-political purposes.

Meanwhile, strong signs are emerging that the Inkatha funding scandal has strengthened the ANC's campaign for an interim government.

Yesterday the centrist Democratic Party — which has hitherto opposed calls for an interim Government — called for an all-party government of national unity during the period of transition.

The call was made by Colin Eglon, chairman of the DP caucus. So far the DP has favoured a transitional commission which would merely advise the present Government during the interim period.

Mr Eglon said that Mr Botha's defence was "aggressive yet unconvincing".

"It still skirts the fundamental issue — and that is the Government's political collusion, and especially police collusion, with political parties and other organisations inside South Africa."

It was now clear that the National Party was incapable of steering SA through the transition period.

He said Mr de Klerk should also announce other steps to rectify the problem, such as:

- A total disclosure of all the Government's political involvement.
- Fundamental changes in the law dealing with secret funds.
- An independent commission or agency to monitor Government action to ensure it acted impartially.



Reunited... a relief

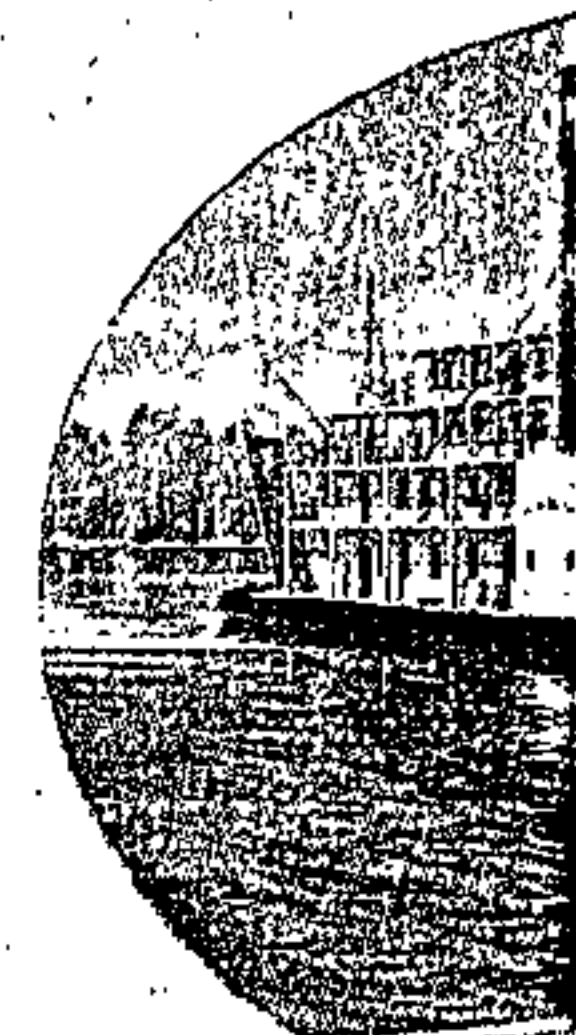
Snatched

A five-year old girl, k when her mother's car was returned home 25 later and the robber shot the police.

Anje Pretorius was in seat of the car waiting mother to lock the gate home in Brentwood, Beno a man jumped in and dro 7.45 am.

According to her mot bel, she looked up to see

REDI
CLASSIC



Our crisis of

WE stand at a moral crossroad in this country after Minister Pik Botha's televised press conference.

Although President de Klerk has yet to speak on the Inkatha funding furore, the public assumes it has heard the Government's core response — and now has to decide whether that Government has explained, and vindicated itself.

This judgment has to be set against the assumptions many made after President de Klerk's February 1990 breakthrough speech. He seemed then to be saying that from then on we would have a free and fair political process. Everyone with a constituency, "including my own party", would compete with each other as equals.

And each would raise funds from whatever sources they could manage to convince to support their platforms. Government would no longer interfere with or distort that process by exploiting its position as the Government.

This was widely welcomed as the most statesmanlike and courageous step ever taken by a white South African premier, but it is difficult to reconcile, logically or morally, with Mr Botha's interview.

The Government, it seems, has an understanding of neutrality and fairness different to what would be considered the norm. To justify this sweeping — and frightening — statement, it is necessary to plough through some of the specific and labyrinthine elements of the "Inkathagate" saga.

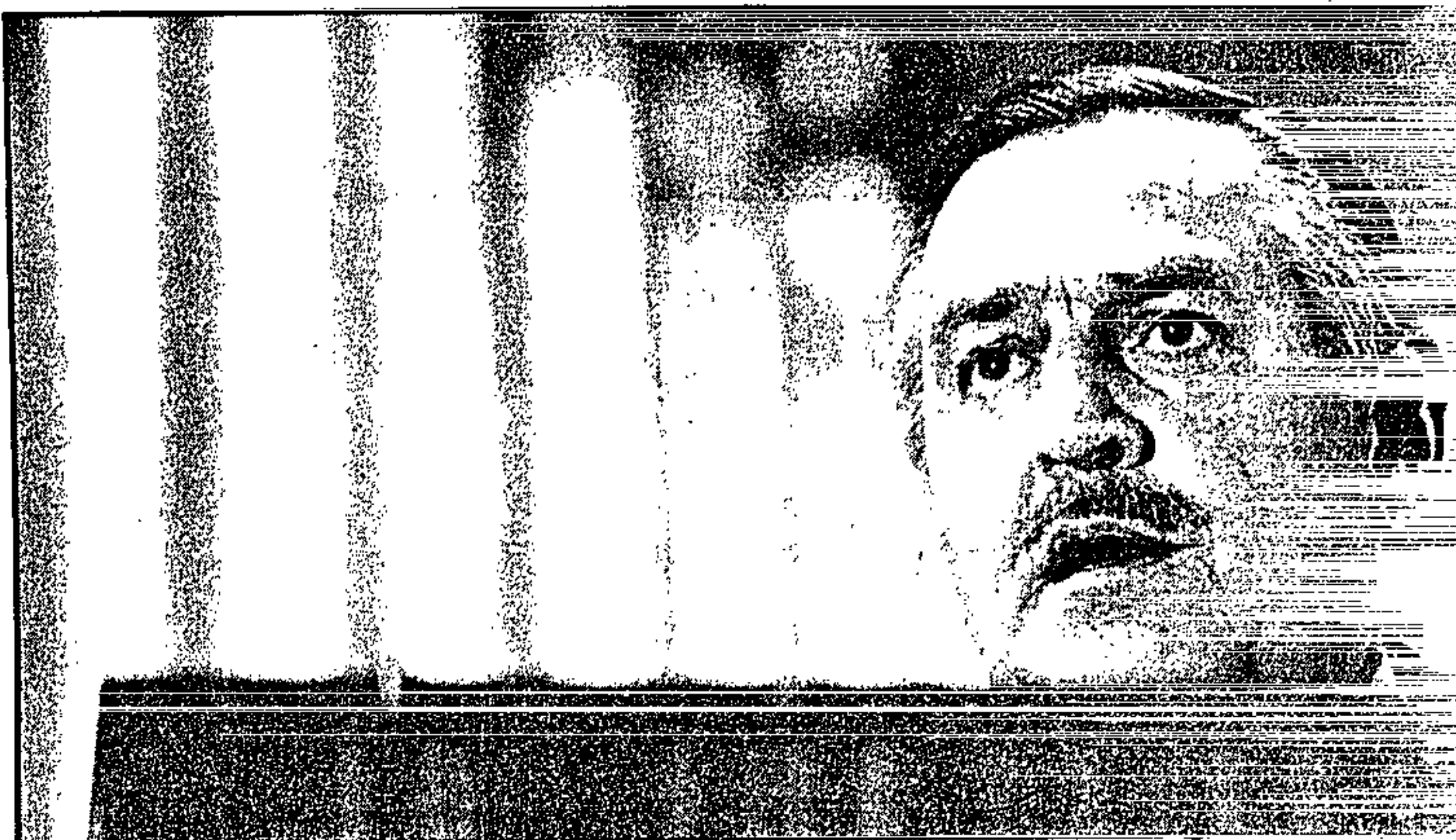
□ First and least importantly, there is Mr Botha's rebuttal of the allegation that he contradicted himself when he told journalists last month that the Government did not fund Inkatha through the kwaZulu administration; and subsequently confirmed that he had personally authorised secret Government funds for Inkatha rallies.

His rebuttal is technically correct, but even the SABC was moved to remark that it seemed like pretty fine hair-splitting. If there was nothing to hide, surely, Mr Botha would have responded to the earlier question by saying: "No, we do not strictly speaking fund Inkatha through our grants to the kwaZulu government. However, we have funded them in their anti-sanctions activities." Instead, he rounded on the questioner with vehemence, saying: "That's absolutely untrue".

□ On the broader issue though, the insistence that the funding of Inkatha and Uvusa did not further their political aims against those of their opponents tests credulity.

Beyond the displays of sophistry, it is a matter of record that Mr Botha concedes the original SAP motivation for bankrolling the rallies with taxpayers' money was to shore up Inkatha's flagging support vis a vis the ANC. Sanctions were mentioned only once at the two rallies in question.

Mr Botha now admits that his earlier justification that Inkatha was then a "cultural organisation"



NOT ENOUGH: Pik Botha is a master at swashbuckling his way through issues. His bombastic style may

Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON argues foul

tion" and not a political party is "not a very good reason". The immediate problem here is that he admits the police originally suggested the aid for party-political purposes, and condemns this, but says by the time the proposal got to him, it was for anti-sanctions. Did the police then deceive him, and if so, what is he going to do about it?

Mr Botha says "we did not pay to further their political objectives. We paid for buses, flags, banners, food, toilets, to help them have a big meeting." Suffice it to note that big meetings are, of course, precisely how political parties further their objectives.

□ His statement that there was "no violence, no rivalry" between Inkatha and ANC supporters at the time of the rally almost defies comprehension. At the time of the second rally in March 1990, more than 4 000 people had died as a result of such "violence and rivalry".

□ The "anti-sanctions" catch-all explanation is also highly dubious. It seems logical that if you legalise political parties, you legalise their policies — no matter how much you might disagree with them. Since February 2 1990 the ANC has been legal, and has promoted sanctions as one of its policies. The National Party and all other

parties can and have campaigned against this vociferously, as is their right. It is another matter entirely, however, when that same National Party, wearing its Government hat, says that this policy is a special case — and can therefore be campaigned against with the use of secret funds to which ANC supporters of course have contributed considerably.

□ Under pressure, Mr Botha adds other clauses to the political rule-book. Inkatha "needed support for the rally to propagate anti-socialism and anti-sanctions..." he says. But socialism, like sanctions, is a political policy we have to live with and vote against, if we so wish, like any other.

ANTI-SANCTIONS: You surely cannot use the public's money because you think some policy is wrong. Many of the people who are doing the paying — and had no say in voting Mr Botha into office — disagree with him.

Political parties have a right to promote them, and the people will have to decide whether to support them or not. You surely cannot use the public's money because you think those policies are wrong. Many of the people who are doing the paying — and had no say in putting Mr Botha in office — disagree with him.

□ Then, Mr Botha says all this belonged to the "old era". But the second Inkatha rally took place well after the De Klerk speech and the Mandela release, when we were all basking naively in the glow of new-found trust and reconciliation. If there was

nothing wrong with the funding, why did the Government not say: "We are funding this rally, and we are proud to do so for the following reasons"? Even more damaging to the Government's "that-was-then-but-this-is-now" dismissal of the funding revelations is the astounding fact that Uvusa still hasn't received its last cheque from the taxpayers' account. Mr Botha says you need time to "wind down" these projects. Why? One didn't notice the Government giving the ANC time to "wind down" its armed struggle.

□ Mr Botha argues that the amounts involved were minuscule. Not to the average South African they aren't, but what matters is the principle. And, on the assumption that if the Weekly Mail had not happened upon a certain document, we would never have known about it, how can we accept that this was the only funding of this sort?

□ Mr Botha claimed the Government skulduggery was justified at that stage in 1990 because sanctions were still in place. Well, many sanctions are still in place here and now in 1991, and simple logic dictates that the Government therefore still believes it is justified in using public funds for clandestine "anti-sanctions" and as a corollary anti-ANC purposes. It can continue right up until the last sanction is lifted. If the experience of Namibia is anything to go by, that will be well after "free and fair" elections.

□ Then there is Mr Botha's complaint that the ANC received multi-millions, and "that created in the minds of Inkatha severe emotion. They felt that they also have a contribution to make to the SA political scene... and they also needed funds... to do a proper job."

Point one: the ANC received millions because people voluntarily decided its cause worthy of support — in the international market-place it is better than Inkatha's.

Point two: If the Government believes it is its right to use public funds because a political group "feels it can contribute then it must surely open our ears to the AWB, or to Azapo, or to the Marxist Workers' Tendency. All of them are quite rational about their lack of resources, and convinced they can make a contribution. The implication is the decision taken because it suited the Government.

□ Mr Botha concedes that perception has arisen — because of "reprehensible" unsolved murders and the like — that SA Police have not been impartial, and are accused of collusion with Inkatha. It is unfortunate he says, that "Inkathagate" served to heighten this perception. The Cabinet is made up of intelligent people — they have perceived the danger. Why the secret cash handouts (a suitcase according to one report) if there was nothing to be ashamed of? Inkatha was ashamed, a loyal functionary signed and the money paid him.

□ Moreover why, if all the money was so admirably dealt with — and we have the Auditor-General's word on this — President de Klerk said to about to announce a major overhaul of the way in which secret funds are administered?

□ Then there is the pretty worrying, and unexpected Namibia factor. Mr Botha admits that at least 100 million taxpayers' rands were "quietly, secretly" to parties Pretoria's choice during the

Cont:->

is of morality



Swashbuckling his way through issues. His bombastic style may be powerful, but it was not enough to clear the air and restart negotiations.

JOHNSON argues foul is fair and fair is foul in Inkathagate

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□ Moreover why, if all the money was so admirably dealt with — and we have the Auditor-General's word on this — is President de Klerk said to be about to announce a major overhaul of the way in which these secret funds are administered?

□ Then there is the profoundly worrying, and unexpected, Namibia factor. Mr Botha airily admits that at least 100 million taxpayers' rands were given "quietly, secretly" to parties of Pretoria's choice during the UN-

supervised independence elections. Why secretly, if there was nothing wrong with it? What does the average Soweto or northern suburbs taxpayer think of the fact that they helped to bankroll the DTA without being told, or asked their opinion?

Mr Botha complains that Swapo had "millions and millions, bought T-shirts, paid people on payrolls and did what they like," and asks: "How can you talk of a democratic election in those circumstances?" But that is precisely democracy. And if public funds could be used to exercise party-political choice in that election, who is to say Pretoria won't feel justified in doing the same, "quietly and secretly" in our own elections?

Mr Botha said by way of angry reassurance to a journalist: "We didn't like Swapo. We were against Swapo, my friend ... We were at war at times with Swapo and they with us."

Could "ANC" not be substituted with great ease for "Swapo" in that sentence?

□ But after all the arguments about timing, "eras", "summers" and "winters", one fact stands out like a lone peak on a clear horizon: at a time when the negotiation process is dependent on the re-establishment of trust between the key players,

the Government stands accused of not being neutral.

This question was put to Mr Botha: "The perception is that the Government, after repeated and constant denials that it was not in collusion with Inkatha, has by your own admission been involved in funding Inkatha. How do you expect people to negotiate with you again?"

His answer stands for the historical record: "We never said that we are not in collusion with Inkatha. We said we were not in collusion in the violence, in instigating the violence."

He was pressed further: "Your Government has accepted that a month after declaring open political activity in this country, you were secretly funding one of the parties in the country. Do you acknowledge that was a mistake?"

His answer: "President de Klerk never said in unbanning the ANC that he was going to capitulate and hand over this whole country and the Government administration would come to a halt. He said the Government administration and good government would continue and ... I need more time to argue with you ..."

It seems he did, because the conclusion is that "good government" in Pretoria's definition means favouring (or funding)

one party, because it does not like another's policies. Good government surely means allowing everyone to put their cases fairly to the voters — in the end it is up to them to decide who to "hand over the country" to, not Mr de Klerk or Mr Botha.

Mr Botha might not believe it, but the majority of journalists are not interested in "denigrating" the Government. They are convinced a Government, with its integrity intact, is essential to a peaceful settlement. But genuine questions have arisen, and they have not been answered satisfactorily. Until they are, it is likely that we will not achieve our peaceful settlement because key participants will not be convinced of fair play.

Mr Botha may be a master at swashbuckling his way through issues, and his bombastic style may be powerful. But it was not enough to clear the air and restart negotiations. Rather, it has launched us into "Ollie North politics". This is a condition, well known in the US, whereby if someone repeats that he did things in good faith, he forgets to consider the possibility that they were wrong. People throughout history have made mistakes in the absolute conviction that what they were right. The danger is that morality is then overwhelmed by emotion. We have reason to fear for our morality, and therefore for our peace process.

The charge is: the Government is accused of interfering with the free process of politics.

To rescue the situation comprehensively, President de Klerk will have to concede this on Tuesday and provide the absolute assurance it will not recur. Otherwise we as a nation face terrible trouble — again.

FUNDING: If R100 million of public funds was used to exercise party-political choice in the Namibian election, who is to say Pretoria won't feel justified in doing the same, "quietly and secretly" in our own elections?

Yet again we fall for Government's tricks

IS ANYONE really surprised at the funding of Inkatha?

Hindsight is an exact science, but in truth we ought only to have been amazed had the reverse been true.

This is a government which has ruled South Africa since 1948 by fair means or foul:

- Have we forgotten the packing of the Senate to remove Coloureds from the Voters' Roll?
- The Special Branch which became the Security Police?
- Spies at universities?
- Detention without trial?
- Have we forgotten the Information Scandal?
- Have we forgotten so quickly the CCB?

Don't make me laugh. Go back to 1978 when P W Botha became Prime Minister, promising clean administration.

Just ask yourself how many organisations and people you have doubted since then. Just as your instincts told you at the time, they were probably fronts, or Government funded, or plants.

Like the punter, seduced on the corner by the three-card-trick, we fall for it every time.

A new Nat takes over, promising that this time, it will be different.

Like the punter, we believe him, only to be mugged a moment later. When will we learn?

Keep the next stage of the mugging, by the way. That's when the card-sharp picks you up, dusts you

Notebook

(304A)

CHRIS GIBBONS



off, and tells you that your assailant was, in fact, the media. If it hadn't been for the scummy reporters, none of this would have happened.

Fall for that cheap line just once more, and you deserve to lose every cent you own.

Shoot the messenger as often as you please, but it will not alter the bad new people one iota. Continue to play the three-card-trick and you will continue to get mugged.

The National Party Government is incorrigible. It has been in power too long. Nor does it care what you think.

You will not see a single head roll for this outrage. Mark my words — not one. You will be told that this was all Government policy. Either against sanctions or for a peace message, depending on which Minister is speaking from which hastily cob- bled-together statement.

Say what you will about Inkatha, which received the funds. As quickly as possible, it acknowledged and distanced itself from the wrongdoing.

Swiftly, and some would say cyn-

ically, it dispatched the hapless Zakhele Khumalo, fingered as the fall guy.

Chief Buthelezi has signed an affidavit, distancing himself as far as possible from the money.

The filthy lucre itself has been handed back.

This may not be enough, but it is a light-year ahead of the Nats.

But Inkatha is playing by the rules, while by contrast, the Nats are giving you the finger.

Their supporters are also floating a nasty and vicious suggestion. Play all of this down, forget about it, because it will seriously derail the peace process.

Blitzing the De Klerk/Mandela relationship, the only game in town, over some silly sum of money for Inkatha, is just not worth it. You journalists, take note.

Well, sorry, forget it.

That relationship is already deeply strained, over the matter of a six-year stretch in the slammer for Mrs Mandela.

If the Appeal Court rules against her, we could have the odd spectacle of a President in the Union Buildings and the First Lady in Pretoria Central.

What about a trade-off? You ignore my slush fund and I'll sort out your kidnap.

No, the ANC says it will submit to the courts, Inkatha has done its cauterising. Now the Nats must take their medicine.

Wrong notions of democracy spawn corruption

Star 27/7/91.

The controversy surrounding the Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party suggests that there is a serious misunderstanding among political leaders of what democracy is about. Some political leaders seem to think that democracy is about wielding political power and hence they go to extremes, even corrupt extremes, to fight for political power.

They are prepared to cheat, lie, kill and discredit in order to gain political power.

As long as this is the perception of democracy then of course we shall not be spared opportunistic and corrupt politicians.

As I understand it democracy is really about ensuring that the majority of citizens are able to participate in the government of their country.

Convince

In fact democracy is about limiting the power of politicians and governments so that they are unable to override the will of the citizens.

Political parties that happen to gain power and form the government do so because they managed to convince the majority of voters that they had viable policies.

It is voters who are the ultimate judges in this regard.

Similarly, parties that do not gain power remain with the assurance that even though they do not govern, they participate fully in government and they stand an equal chance of governing next time round.

Through
My Eyes
(304A)
OSCAR
DHLOMO



It is for this reason that some of us are ardently working for the promotion of multi-partyism in post-apartheid South Africa.

Before there is an understanding of this simple fact about democracy, it is unlikely that we will have many political leaders of integrity and it is unlikely that we will have a peaceful and stable transition to post-apartheid South Africa.

Resist

Our political leaders must also be assisted to learn to put the interests of the country above those of their parties or their persons.

When all the key figures in the present political scandal have vanished from the political scene, there will still be a country called South Africa crying out for clean, efficient and democratic government.

In another sense, that is why it is important that whatever happens as a result of this political scandal, the key players in the process of political transition, like the ANC and the National Party, should strenuously resist the temptations to call off the talks that will bring us closer to post-apartheid South Africa.

Post-apartheid South Africa, provided it is democratic, will ultimately save us from this political corruption.

Who will safeguard the negotiations?

304A

By KALLIE ERASMUS, lecturer in the Department of Development Studies at Unisa.

IS IT possible for the Nationalist government to become accountable to all South Africans?

All governments are responsible for their actions and in a democracy can be made to pay for their mistakes. This is what accountability, an element of democracy, means.

A government must properly report back to the people on its actions and, for it to be accountable, there must be mechanisms and procedures to hold the government responsible for those actions.

The view that democracy is "a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people" is widely supported in South Africa. It forms the essence of the society which President De Klerk claims to envisage for this country.

His opponents, however, maintain that the negotiation process is threatened by the lack of government accountability.

Elsewhere, governments are accountable to all the people who can use the law, elections and parliamentary procedures to challenge, censure or oust the government. What then of South Africa where the majority is still disenfranchised?

The acknowledgement by the government that the present constitution is discriminatory and its commitment to the negotiation of

a democratic constitution, had major implications for its accountability.

Previously the government could claim that South Africa was a parliamentary democracy which was fully accountable to the voters of the country by maintaining laws denying the franchise to the majority.

The extension of democratic rights to all South Africans means both the dismantling of apartheid and the construction of a "new" South Africa.

However, abolishing discriminatory laws has not meant a new constitution and progress with negotiations has also not fundamentally changed the way South Africa is governed.

The ANC insists on an interim government to oversee the negotiation process. Others call for external supervision of the process as in Zimbabwe and Namibia. To date, the government has refused all attempts to submit its actions to any form of supervision.

Circumstances seem to suggest that there is good reason to question the good faith of the government. After an initial acceptance – also by the ANC – of De Klerk as a "good guy" and a belief that this was not just another NP government, disillusionment has set in.

It is also thought that the NP

will rely heavily on its experience of retaining power.

If the NP government retains its present position of power during the transition without effective supervision, the consequences could be disastrous. The massive state structures and enormous financial resources at its disposal could be used to undermine the emergence of an effective democracy.

Already there are rumours that the government is manipulating the political process. Newspapers allege security force involvement in the ongoing violence, the government has used public funds to support Inkatha and Uxusa, and it has delayed the removal of obstacles in the way of negotiations.

The government is being asked to establish a system of government accountability for the transitional period. A system where the government is not responsible for judging whether its own actions are right or wrong, honest or not. It must be a system where the government cannot be both player and referee – and touch judge.

The government's outright refusal to agree to these requests is the strongest possible justification for the establishment of some form of interim supervision of its actions.

The future belongs to all the people of South Africa. They have paid dearly for that future. Nobody, particularly not a National Party government, can be allowed to frustrate the people.

Ministers are unlikely to quit

THE three ministers whose heads have been demanded in the Inkathagate scandal, Pik Botha, Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, will definitely stay on in their cabinet posts — a situation which could worsen relations between the government and ANC, writes Alf Ries, political editor of *Die Burger*.

Not one of the three has plans to resign while there is also no indication State President FW de Klerk will axe them.

ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki this week reiterated the organisation's call to have

the three sacked.

Mbeki warned that failure to take action against the three would place the "constitutional process" in jeopardy.

It is expected in political circles that De Klerk will probably not change his cabinet on Tuesday in a bid to defuse the Inkathagate storm. He will probably do it later.

Defence Minister Malan, whose resignation has been demanded following allegation of SADF involvement in train killings, as well as Law and Order Minister Vlok, said bluntly in interviews they

would not resign.

This follows Foreign Minister Botha's recent statement on television that he would not resign.

Malan said: "I will not leave the State President in the lurch at a time when there is so much pressure on the government. In any case, I will not allow radical elements to prescribe to me."

"I have never given orders for deeds that bothered my conscience or broke the laws of the country."

Malan said the "wild allegations" against him, the SADF and the gov-

ernment come from "leftist radical" newspapers.

"I challenge those involved to lay charges about the allegations with police so it could be investigated properly. Why are those who make the allegations protected?"

Malan said it appeared newspapers already believed the ANC was the future government.

Vlok said if he was an obstacle to a peaceful and safe South Africa he might resign.

"The present debate, however, compels me to say it could not justifiably be expected from me to resign," he said. — Sapa

3044

28/7/91

THE negotiations process has suffered a severe knock this week following revelations that the government channelled secret funds to the Inkatha Freedom Party in order to undermine the popularity of the ANC.

Reports have revealed that not only Inkatha received generous handouts of taxpayers cash from the slush fund, but a hotch potch of conservatives - homeland leaders, community organisations and marginal political parties - also benefited.

In all, the government finds itself in an increasingly unfavourable position.

However, most political observers are agreed that the damage done to the negotiations process is not irreparable.

What the scandal has done is to cast a dark question mark on the cabinet's credibility, and for the first time since February 2, on the repudiation of State President FW de Klerk.

At the same time the ANC's hand has been strengthened.

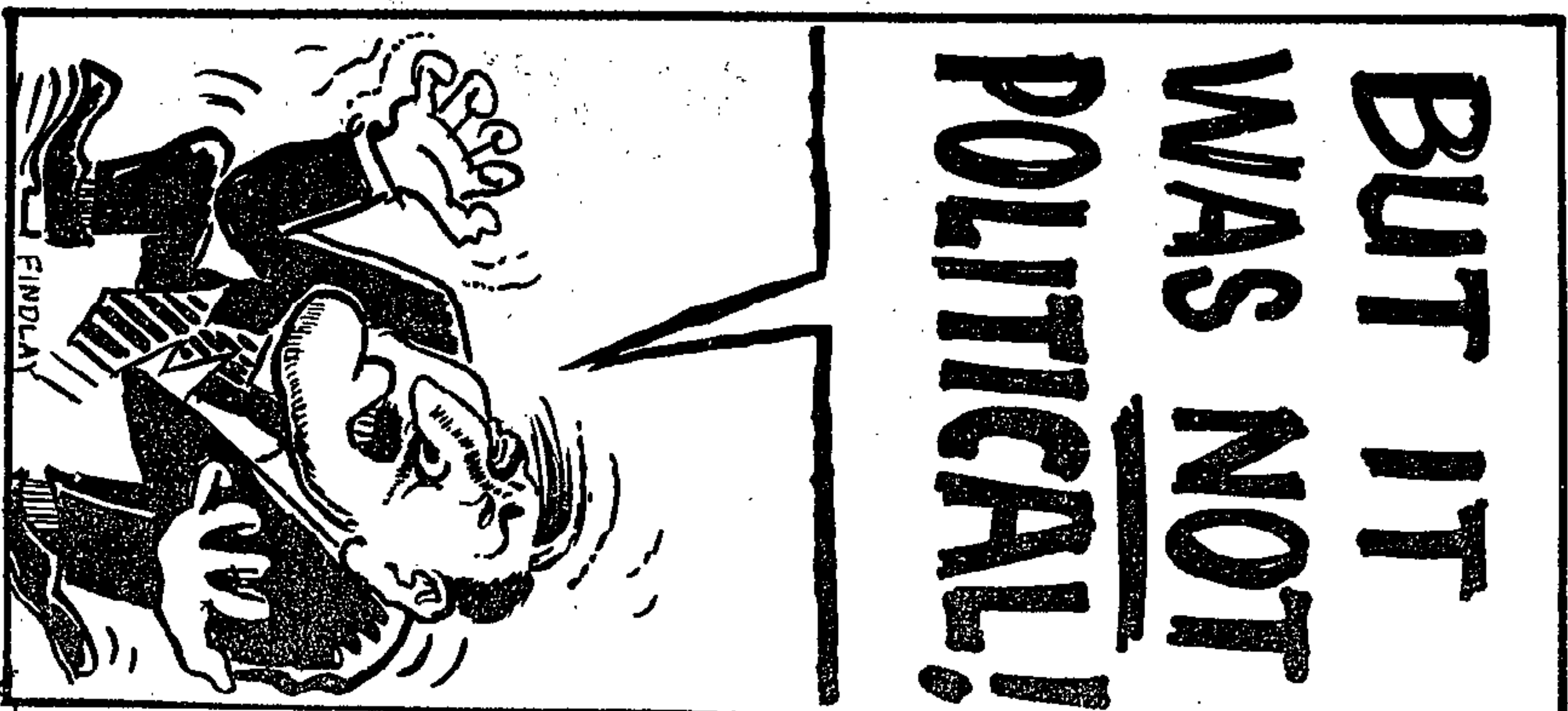
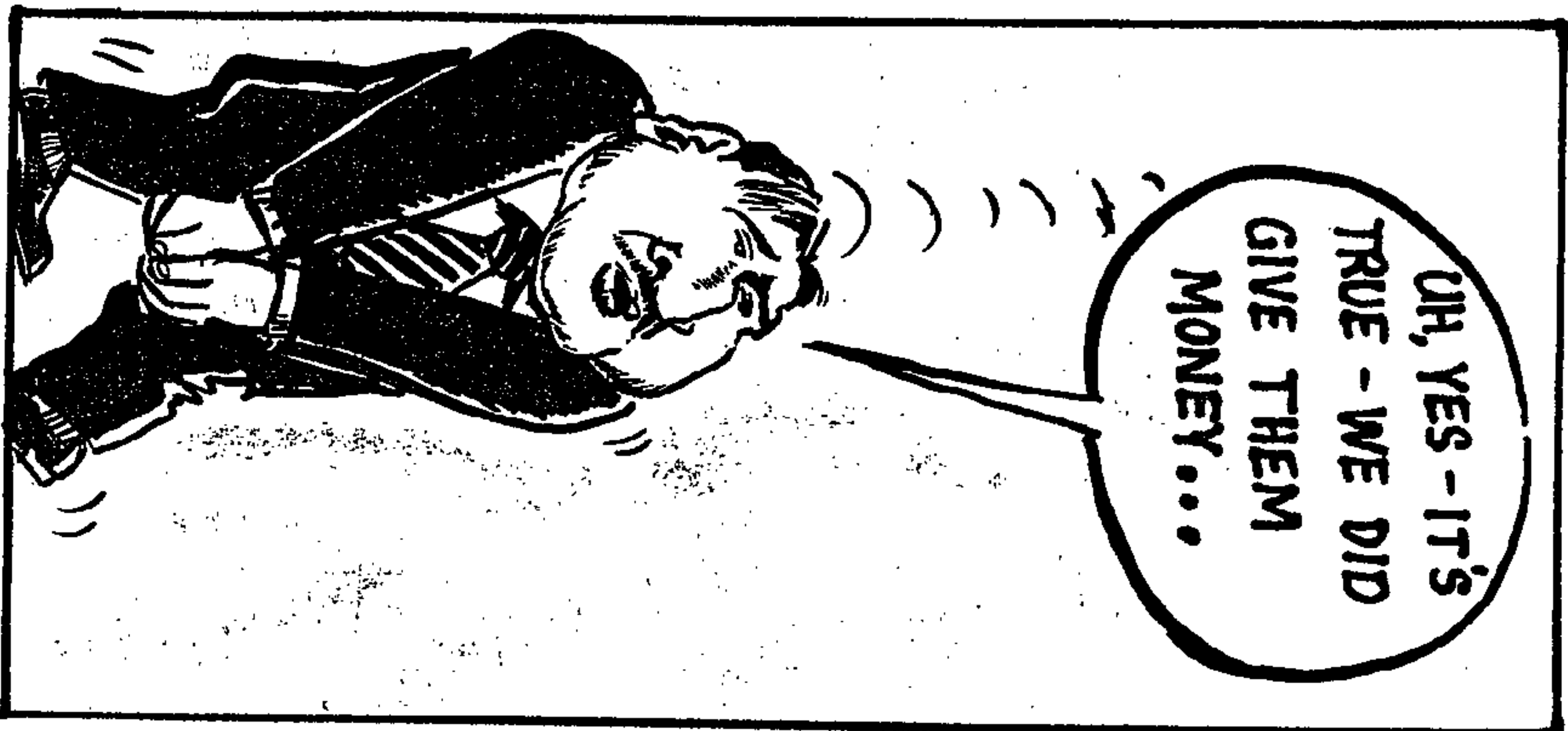
In essence the scandal exposed the government's two-pronged secret effort to undermine the ANC - post February 2.

Documents published reveal a security police-endorsed strategy to whittle away the ANC's support by presenting conservative 'homeland' leaders as "credible" rivals. In the urban areas quasi-political organisations like the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) and the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa (Ucasa) were also being paid to play to a prepared script.

It is understandable that the accused have denied receiving government money to subvert the ANC. They have been stripped naked by the affair.

Even more revealing has been the up-and-down performance of Foreign Minister Pik Botha. His shift from galeforce denials to intimate confession have been a revelation to hardened observers. It seems a serious exercise in damage control lies ahead for the government. Pretoria will have to move fast to win back the ANC's confidence.

The ANC, meanwhile, will demand the government cease its secret operations against it. This time, sources suggest,



Truth, whole truth,

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The ANC, meanwhile, will demand the government cease its secret operations against it. This time, sources suggest, verbal undertakings from De Klerk will not be accepted in good faith. The ANC will want quite a bit more than this.

It seems the ANC is to step up pressure on the government to sack both Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, particularly Vlok whose security police paid Inkatha,

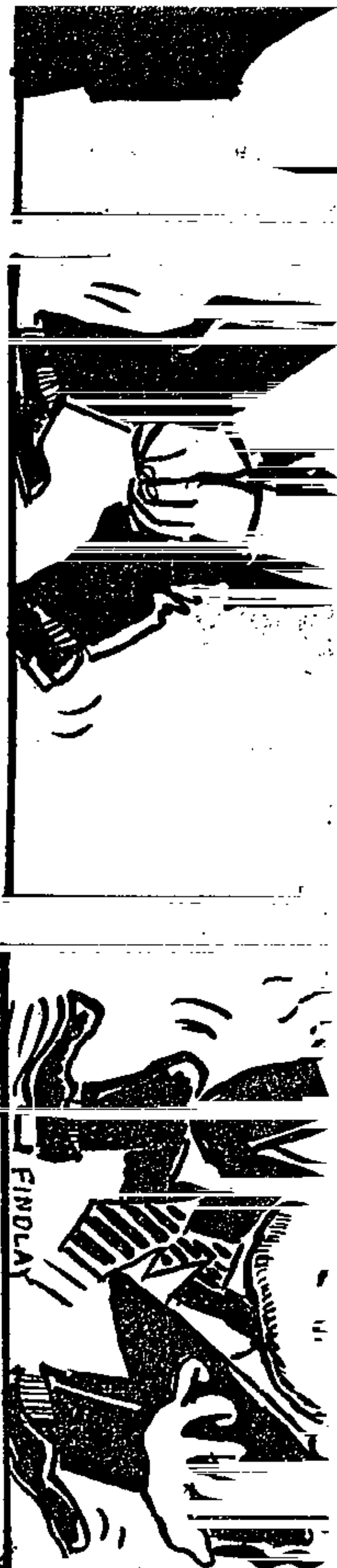
University of Stellenbosch academic Jannie Gagiano says it is fair for the ANC to demand the government fire all the Ministers involved.

However, national director of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Dr Saths Cooper, was less forgiving. He suggested that "the ANC wants to negotiate with De Klerk" — come what may.

Cooper says the ANC is so blindly committed to negotiating that it will ignore the scandal.

This, he says, will be especially so if the fragile talks about talks are jeopardised, or if De Klerk's position is threatened.

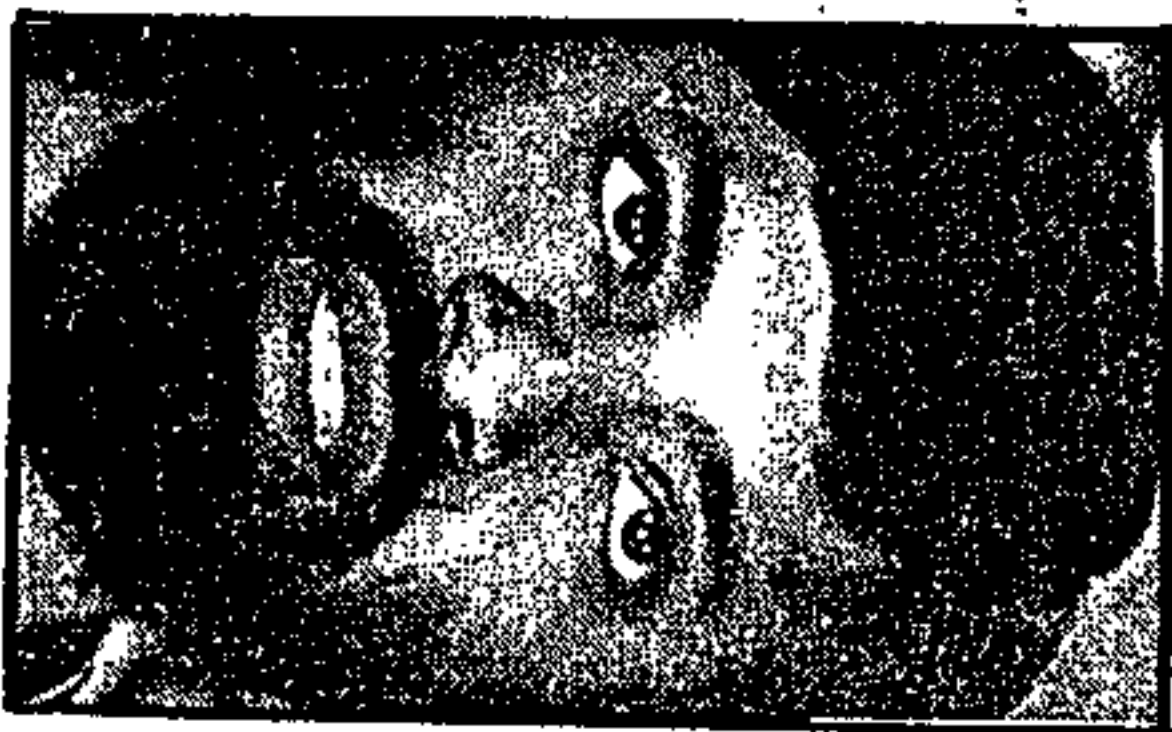
He suggests the ANC firmly believes that without De Klerk, "there are no negotiations".



Truth, whole truth, nothing about truth



Nelson Mandela



Saths Cooper

Gagiano agrees that the ANC is out to bolster De Klerk's bargaining power.

Yet he cautioned the ANC against "overplaying" its already strong hand.

He suggested the ANC should desist from taking to the streets if its demands for the dismissal of the two Ministers is not met.

Security Police cash scam won't deter ANC

Gagiano suggests that the ANC "play it cool" to show the outside world it is reasonable.

He says: "The government is hoping the ANC will do something that will project them as unreasonable."

In the wake of the revelations, the government will likely again hit the concessions trail with a vengeance, starting with the speedy release of all political prisoners.

This could well include prisoners being held in Bophuthatswana. Already this week it is known that Botha has been on the phone to Nelson Mandela who is overseas.

He apparently merely wanted to "clarify the question of prisoners" in Bophuthatswana. Botha also says he made the call to Mandela "just before" he had met Bop president Lucas Man-

gope in Pretoria.

De Klerk will be extremely concerned about the impact of the scandal abroad. His friends in the US and Britain have been leaning on him, requesting that he "comes clean".

Meanwhile De Klerk is facing yet more questions: To what extent was he aware of the operations? Did he approve the actions?

It seems that if he was indeed aware of the campaign, then the ANC will be forced to review its place at the table.

Gagiano and Cooper both agree that the ANC's demand for a neutral arbiter to oversee the establishment of an interim government has never been more compelling.

"Even the West no longer sees De Klerk as being politically neutral," says Gagiano.



F.W. de Klerk ... reputation in question.

De Klerk under intense pressure

C/pres 28/7/91 304A 257

STATE President FW de Klerk is expected to make a major announcement on Tuesday concerning the Inkathagate scandal.

De Klerk is under intense pressure both locally and internationally to make a clean breast of the government's involvement in the Inkatha slush fund which was used to undermine the ANC.

De Klerk is expected to announce measures that will allay fears of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and other extra-parliamentary organisations and the international community that the government is sincere in its reform initiatives.

In particular, De Klerk will have to reassure the ANC, its major negotiating partner at the moment, that the government does not have a double agenda of talking peace while at the same time conducting covert measures against it.

Compounding the government's problems are fresh allegations that not only Inkatha was secretly funded to undermine the ANC but several other organisations like the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) and the Urban Councils of South Africa (Ucasa).

Sapa reports that as attitudes harden, the ANC has called on the State President to take "specific and definite steps" to demonstrate his government's good faith in getting constitutional negotiations going.

Calling for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan in Cambridge on Friday, the ANC's Thabo Mbeki said: "We are waiting for De Klerk's statement on Tuesday, but it is critical. Both of them have been involved not only in the funding, but also in the violence."

A FORMER cabinet minister has asked the Mfengu people of the Eastern Cape to forgive him for their forced removal — at gunpoint — from land granted to them in trust by Queen Victoria.

Dr Piet Koornhof, former Minister of Co-operation and Development and past ambassador to Washington, said he had "always" opposed forced removals and had stopped more than 18 of them in defiance of a government policy which he "knew all along was wrong".

These included removals from Crossroads near Cape Town and Alexandra near Sandton.

Speaking from his Stellenbosch home this week, Dr Koornhof said his decisions had provoked "tremendous opposition on the inside". He had received death threats and was called a "kaffirboetie" and a "liberal" by colleagues.

"When I became the minister in charge, it soon became clear that a policy of separate-but-equal was not going to work," he said.

"But when I inherited the department in September 1978, a lot of decisions about what we then called 'consolidation', had already been made.

"Of course it caused hardship — that's why I could not support the policy. It called for great sacrifices from black and white people.

"White farmers did not want to sell the land on which their forefathers were buried and blacks did not want to move off land on which they had settled hundreds of years before.

"Of course, one feels sad if one has been responsible for suffering.

"One asks for pardon and forgiveness. I was merely carrying out decisions made in Parliament. I am more sorry than anyone else," he said.

Dr Koornhof's plea for forgiveness comes at a time when representatives of the 4 000-strong Mfengu (Fingo) tribe are seeking Supreme Court intervention for the return of their land.

In papers lodged in the South Eastern Cape Division of the Supreme Court on May 7, 14 Mfengu community leaders have demanded that the SA Development Trust and 22 others — including 19 white farmers — return their land to them and asked the court to expunge the name of the State from the title deeds of other farms on "their" land.

The 8 000ha of fertile coastal farmland — 150km west of Port Elizabeth near the Storms River — was granted to the tribe in 1837 by Queen Victoria through Sir George Grey, as a reward for services rendered during the Frontier Wars against the Xhosa in the early 1800s.

TODAY, 6 000ha of the land on which the Mfengu lived for 140 years is in the hands of 19 white farmers.

They bought it at an average price of R229 a hectare — with 100 percent government loans — in 1983.

The land is currently valued at R5 000 a hectare.

Portions of the land were registered in the name of the Moravian Mission Church superintendent and others in the name of the Civil Commissioner for Uitenhage, to be held in trust on behalf of the tribe and their descendants after it had been surveyed from 1841 to 1858.

In terms of the 1913 Land Act, a large portion of the area was set aside for exclusive occupation by blacks. The Land Act of 1936 vested nominal ownership of the land in the hands of the SA Native Trust, forerunner of the SA Development Trust.

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Fourteen years after one of apartheid's most notorious forced removals, former Cabinet Minister Piet Koornhof speaks of the hurt and hardship that it caused



The Mfengu people have become a cause celebre in the national row over land claims. EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN investigates...

Legally, the trust was obliged to honour the original Mfengu claim to the land. But in keeping with government policy at the time, indigenous peoples were moved from "black spots" neighbouring white areas and resettled in homelands.

The Constitutional Amendment Bill consolidating the land from which the Mfengu had been removed into "white" South Africa was passed after an all-night sitting of Parliament on June 12 1982.

The Bill made no reference to the land being held in trust for the tribe and within six months of the "Mfengu Land Grab", the government was able to sell to white farmers who moved on to their farms in January 1983.

The farmers were restricted from selling their farms without ministerial consent for 10 years.

For this "excision" of the Mfengu land, and to maintain the 13:83 black/white ratio of land, an area of comparable size near Queenstown was later set aside for occupation by "blacks" (not specifically the Mfengu).

The sale of their land to white

farmers was the final blow for the Mfengu. Their eviction came in the early hours on a December morning in 1977.

More than 500 men, women and children were loaded on to trucks by members of the security forces and moved more than 450km to a desolate area of the Ciskei, known as Elukhanyweni — the place of light — near Keiskammahock.

The Mfengu were paid no compensation for their land, livestock or crops. They were paid a one-off lump sum of R200 000 — an average of R429 a family — as compensation for their homes which were later demolished.

A PORTION of the remaining 2 000ha is still owned by the government and another by the Moravian Church. The church, which claims it has always honoured the trust, has also bought additional land in the area outside the trust portion.

The chairman of the Moravian Church of South Africa's board, Mr Martin Wessels, recently travelled to Europe to discuss

the issue with church leaders.

The former German parent of the church apparently transferred the Moravian Mission land held in trust for the Mfengu to the South African Moravian Church for an administrative fee of £1. Mr Wessels said the transfer honoured the Mfengu trust clause.

But the church is seeking legal opinion over the ownership of the land to establish exactly who the descendants of the original Mfengu tribesmen are. Mr Wessels said most Mfengu were members of the Moravian congregation.

He said the land was granted in trust "in perpetuity" and it had

to be established if the Moravian Church could ever legally hand the deeds of the land over to the tribe.

"We are willing to make land available to house about 50 families temporarily until the matter is settled, but we do not want a squatter settlement," he said.

"The church does not question that we hold some of the land in trust for the Mfengu people, but it is a very complicated issue. I don't know why church land was excluded from the black spot from which the Mfengu were evicted," he said.

Some of the church-owned land was rented to a farming company in 1976 on a 20-year

RIGHT: Ex-Minister and ambassador Piet Koornhof: "One asks for pardon and forgiveness ..."

LEFT: The reality of removals — a woman and child wait to be trucked away to foreign fields

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Income from the has been used by maintain the nearby mission-coloured township in which Mr Wessels' some descendants tribesmen live.

"But this has been established beyond all of inter-marriage other factors," he said.

This week, Mr Wessels said they had no Moravian Church, when moral and to their land claim.

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Some of the church-owned land was rented to a farming company in 1976 on a 20-year

lease.

Income from this transaction has been used by the church to maintain municipal services at the nearby mission-administered coloured township of Clarkson, in which Mr Wessels believes some descendants of Mfengu tribesmen live.

"But this has been difficult to establish beyond doubt because of inter-marriage and various other factors," he said.

This week, Mfengu leaders said they had no quarrel with the Moravian Church, which had given moral and financial support to their land claims.

With the help of additional loans of up to three or four times the original purchase price, the white farmers have transformed the area into the "New Zealand" of South Africa, producing the country's highest dairy yield.

refuse to call themselves parties but nonetheless act as such — must be required to keep fully audited accounts and membership lists that are open to public scrutiny on demand.

Third, all political organisations must be obliged to select their office holders, from the lowest grassroots convention delegate to senior leadership, through open election in accordance with an established and publicly promulgated set of rules

major actors seem ready to pay. Nobody, from the government to the SACP, wants to be accountable. They would rather connive in the shadows. Like gangsters.

And, regrettably, much of the outside world seems only too willing to play along. Try asking the US Agency for International Development for a full and detailed breakdown of who in South Africa has received its largesse and how the money was spent.

PLANS by some farmers to sell their land at enormous profits prompted the Mfengu community to seek relief from the Supreme Court.

They claim the farms cannot be sold, even after expiry of the 10-year ministerial "consent-to-sell" clause, because the present owners are not the rightful ones.

A Mfengu delegation — including Moravian Church vice-chairman Bernard Lottring and led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu — recently met President FW de Klerk, Deputy Minister of Education and Development Piet Marais and Deputy Minister of Agriculture Tobie Meyer in Pretoria to plead their case.

This was the first time since the 1977 evictions that Mfengu leaders have been granted an audience by the government.

Five years after the removals, Dr Koornhof refused to receive an Mfengu delegation which travelled to Parliament to discuss the tribe's grievances. He said at the time that since they had been moved to the Ciskei, they would have to approach that government.

This week, he said he had never been vindictive in his approach.

"If I did not see people, it was because I was bound by law. Money had changed hands, land was allocated ... etc," he said.

Questioned about the legality of the removals, Dr Koornhof said: "If a situation arose in which there were legal implications, I was not told."

LAST month, tribal leaders received an assurance from the state attorney that applications for ministerial consent to sell any of the farms would be held in abeyance until the matter was resolved.

The white farmers — some of whom have claimed also to be "victims" of government policy — have formed a committee, headed by Mr Hugo Meyer, to defend their right to their farms.

Mr Meyer would not discuss the matter this week because it was *sub judice*.

Mfengu community leaders said if the land was returned to the tribe, some members would be settled in a township which would have to be created while others would farm.

But a quick solution to their land battle seems unlikely.

A Cape Town conveyancer predicted that the case could drag on for at least two years, with both sides filing claims and counter-claims "for months on end".

The Mfengus, it is clear, are still a long way from being home and dry.

Interim government

THE National Party is set to accede to a key ANC demand for an interim government following revelations of Inkatha funding.

Senior government members are openly conceding their image has taken a massive knock from the "Inkathagate" revelations.

They expect that President FW de Klerk will on Tuesday.

● Come clean on all past government funding to so-called "moderate" black political groupings and announce an immediate end to all such funding.

● Announce a dramatic scaling-down of all secret funding and reiterate that all future secret projects will be subject to Cabinet control.

● Increase the powers of the auditor-general, and through him Parliament, to scrutinise remaining secret funds.

These steps, they hope, will go some way to restoring confidence in the negotiating process.

However, government members now believe that real confidence in the security forces will only be re-established once a multi-party conference agrees on mechanisms to ensure joint control and supervision of the police and military.

Government spokesmen still reject the term "interim government", favouring

De Klerk agrees after Inkatha cash scandal forces a decision

By MIKE ROBERTSON, Political Correspondent

instead "transitional arrangements".

But, in the wake of the "Inkathagate" crisis, the kind of arrangements they are envisaging as necessary to restore confidence in the security forces makes meaningless the insistence that there is a difference between the two terms.

Progress

Proposals are being worked on to ensure:

● Effective joint control of the executive rather than mere broadening of Cabinet membership that has been proposed in the past.

● The appointment of members of the ANC and other opposition parties to key positions in the public service, the police and the military.

Underpinning this will be the standing commission on violence, and re-

gional peace secretariats. Despite the "Inkathagate" crisis, the church peace initiative has continued to make considerable progress.

Representatives of all major political parties involved in the process met this week and are reported to be close to finalising agreements on codes of conduct for police and political parties.

The working committee dealing with socio-economic upliftment has still some way to go before completing its report, but there is general agreement that by September it should be possible to convene another peace summit at which all political parties could publicly endorse the agreements.

As the "Inkathagate" scandal unfolded this week, President De Klerk is understood to have held lengthy meetings with all

ministers and officials involved in the control of secret funds.

Government members said they expected Mr De Klerk to follow on Foreign Minister P. W. Botha's revelation that more than R100-million was given to anti-Swapo parties in Namibia by making a clean breast of funding internal political organisations.

Repeal

He is expected to defend this funding on the grounds that the situation in which South Africa found itself prior to February 2 last year demanded special measures.

However, as these circumstances have changed, government members expect him to announce the dramatic scaling down of secret projects.

Mr Botha alluded to this

on the TV programme *Agenda* when he said that he had operated secret funds in terms of legislation passed in Parliament. "Maybe we should repeal the Bill. We should change the law in view of the changed circumstances. It is just possible President De Klerk might think in this direction."

He also said that President De Klerk would look at widening the powers of the auditor-general to enable him to report more fully on secret accounts.

Morality

At the moment the auditor-general's ability to report on secret funds is limited "to the extent that the Minister of Finance, in consultation with the State President and the auditor-general, may determine".

In other developments:

● Democratic Party Justice spokesman Dave Dalling said yesterday that the auditor-general was limited to reporting that proper procedures were followed in dispensing special funds.

Claims by Mr Botha and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok that the auditor-general's auditing of funds that went to Inkatha

and its union affiliate Uvusa was proof that taxpayers' money was wasted were an attempt at obfuscation, Mr Dalling said.

By MARTIN WELZ

"The auditor-general has no power to audit the beneficiaries of the recipients, in the case of those of Inkatha Uvusa," he said. "The integrity of such an audit is clearly, therefore, less than perfect. It is outside the scope of his duty to Africa."

report or pass it to the Minister of Finance. Last month, on the morality of the decision he had decided to cancel otherwise of the disbursement of money in any special case."

Conservative Pa in Ciskei — after "careful leader Andries Treurnicht of all the facts" — announced yesterday that he had laid the government's funding of Inkatha proceedings and reports from Uvusa and Namibian political parties before the State Attorney and a senior in the Transvaal had been made. The decision had been made. The decision was based partly on court cases, some of which were the basis of the decision.

Probe

The advocate-general, the Sunday Times was empowered to investigate from publishing by a Rand suspected improper spending order in June.

Dr Treurnicht said, "It's time the Sunday Times will ing of public money. The court why it should be had asked the advocate-general to publish the story."

general, whose office had been stolen and an established after the Inkathagate scandal, to investigate it had now managed to replace funded with public money since 1986.

SECRET contributions for Inkatha. Secret funding for the DTA. Secret cash for front groups to fight sanctions. Now that such secrets are out, the South African government's automatic response is to defend itself with the rage of a wounded innocent.

The response might just pass muster if the government can actually prove its innocence but, after 40 years of National Party misrule, the jury will vote to convict every time. As they like to say over here, the toothpaste is not going to go back in the tube.

A better idea is to work out constructive ways of using the toothpaste now that it is all over the floor. The most obvious place to start would be an honest assessment of how it got there in the first place.

It got there because South Africa is not an open society.

For two generations a predatory state apparatus has kept itself in power by shielding itself from public accountability with lies, censorship, corruption and, more often than not, brute force. This is commonly known as gangsterism.

WHEN the rule of law breaks down, gangsterism breeds more gangsterism as opposition movements themselves become no better than the hoodlums they seek to replace. Under such circumstances, the question South Africans need to ask themselves first is not "Who shall govern?" but "How shall we break the vicious cycle of depravity?"

Reasserting the rule of law is the most obvious answer.

Another is to make the whole process of government and the natural competition for power as transparent as it can possibly be. Indeed, this is one area in which South Africa could well afford to practice a certain extremism.

To begin with, all contributions — whether in cash or kind, from inside or outside the country, to a political or philanthropic person, entity or publication — must be a matter of public record.

Second, all political parties — including those who refuse to call themselves parties but nonetheless act as such — must be required to keep fully audited accounts and membership lists that are open to public scrutiny on demand.

Third, all political organisations must be obliged to select their office holders, from the lowliest grassroots convention delegate to senior leadership, through open election in accordance with an established and publicly promulgated set of rules



SIMON BARBER's Washington Diary

(304A) S/Times 28/7/91

whose violation may be challenged in court.

Fourth, all "secret" government funding must be subject to scrutiny not only by an auditor but by a parliamentary committee whose regularly rotating membership comprises representatives of all seated parties.

Precedent can be found for much of this in American practice, at both the federal and state levels. Federal law requires detailed financial disclosure statements from all senators and congressmen. New York obliges charities to place their sources of funding on record at the state capital.

The Internal Revenue Service makes available the returns of tax-exempt non-profit organisations. Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, representatives of foreign interests must file public statements of their income and activities twice a year.

ANYBODY in the US who aspires to public life or to receive and spend other people's resources — which might be an apt description of what public life is all about — must expect to surrender at least part of his privacy. That is not only the price but a necessary condition of democracy.

Thus far it is not a price many of South Africa's major actors seem ready to pay. Nobody, from the government to the SACP, wants to be accountable. They would rather connive in the shadows. Like gangsters.

And, regrettably, much of the outside world seems only too willing to play along. Try asking the US Agency for International Development for a full and detailed breakdown of who in South Africa has received its largesse and how the money was spent.

Inkatha lashes out at FNB

South Africa CT 29/7/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Inkatha yesterday threatened to take more than R3bn in Kwazulu government business away from First National Bank after accusing the bank of not exercising sufficient control over information on account holders.

Inkatha central committee member Mr Musa Myeni said FNB should investigate the leaking of confidential details about its clients' accounts.

He was responding to a Sunday Times report that the R250 000 Inkatha repaid to the SA government last week came from a R1.3m account

set up for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's personal use.

However, FNB has denied it leaked any information on personal accounts.

FNB senior general manager Mr Jimmy McKenzie said the bank had never made public any information on personal accounts. "We guard these accounts jealously and divulge information only on a court order. We hotly deny that we gave information to anyone."

Mr Myeni had said the apparent failure on the part of the bank to take appropriate "security measures" to

guarantee confidentiality could cost it clients in the Kwazulu government. Inkatha and Inkatha-supporting business fraternities.

The Kwazulu government deposited "well over R3bn a year" with FNB, Mr Myeni said, adding that "this could be business lost to the bank unless it comes clean on this apparent collusion between some of its staffers and anti-Inkatha journalists".

Mr McKenzie said if Chief Buthelezi had had a problem with the FNB, "he would have phoned me. If there is evidence of any staff member col-

luding with any party, that person will be dismissed."

Inkatha repaid the R250 000 following the row over disclosures that the government channelled the amount to the organisation to pay for anti-sanctions rallies.

An Inkatha spokesman confirmed to the Sunday Times that the money was withdrawn from Chief Buthelezi's account and deposited in an Inkatha account before being handed over to Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The spokesman also confirmed that the R1.3m Buthelezi account was set up for personal use with funds provided by "international friends".

Revolt On Tax

Cosatu call as FW prepares reply

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CT 29/7/91

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) is to mobilise for a nationwide general strike over the Inkatha-funding scandal.

Yesterday Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said employers would also be approached to stop paying PAYE tax on behalf of workers, while a mass campaign to boycott all taxes, including VAT, was also on the cards. A separate Cosatu statement said this strategy would continue until "we are satisfied that our money is no longer being used to kill workers and their families".

The move by Cosatu was announced after the union's fourth congress in Johannesburg, as the focus shifts to tomorrow's official response by the government on the secret funding controversy.

President F W de Klerk is expected to announce changes in the control and supervision of secret funding, but no cabinet heads are expected to roll.

The Ministers of Law and Order and Defence, Mr Adrian Vlok and General Magnus Malan, both said over the weekend that they would not resign because of the controversy.

Mr De Klerk is also unlikely to fire them.

Instead, he is expected to reiterate that both ministers and the government officials not only operated within the law, as approved by Parliament, but also in terms of government policy at the time.

He is also likely to emphasise that the secret funds were established in the pre-February 2, 1990 era and were necessary to fight sanctions.

But he is expected to announce an end to secret funding of organisations like the Inkatha Freedom Party and

the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uvusa).

Addressing a news briefing at the end of the three-day Cosatu congress, Mr Naidoo said detailed plans for the general strike will be drawn up by Cosatu's central executive committee.

ANC pressure

He said negotiations on a new constitution had to be reviewed urgently in the light of the latest Inkathagate revelations.

In further developments yesterday, ● The ANC turned up the pressure, warning that negotiations have been seriously endangered.

In a statement the ANC, SACP and Cosatu said senior government officials' reaction to the situation had been "evasive" and they seemed not to understand the extent to which they had endangered a peaceful resolution to South Africa's problems.

"Our people will be watching De Klerk's performance very carefully. De Klerk will be judged in terms of his response to the demands which have been made by a wide range of forces," the alliance statement said.

The demands include the dismissal of Mr Vlok and General Malan, a multi-party commission to investigate government involvement in violence and the secret funding of political activity, and the public dismantling of all SAP and SADF special counter-insurgency forces.

● Dr Andries Treurnicht announced yesterday that his Conservative Party is to ask the advocate-general to investigate the government's slush fund activities.

"We will also be requesting the advocate-general to investigate all other covert projects funded with public monies since 1986," he said. — Sapa, Own Correspondents and Political Staff

CP 291.7/91
**'Whites reject
one-man one-vote'**

JOHANNESBURG. — Most whites would reject one-man, one-vote elections, Market Research Africa (MRA) has concluded after finding that two out of three urban white adults opposed a universal franchise.

MRA chairman Mr Clive Corder said that whites' apprehension about changing political circumstances was underlined by the finding that even the better educated resisted one-man, one-vote.

(304A)

Secret funds: Rally planned

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MANY organisations and individuals, including the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, are to reply to President De Klerk's moves on secret funding at rally in the City Hall tomorrow.

The need for an interim government is also on the agenda, according to a spokesman for the organisers, Imam Ali Gierdien.

He said Archbishop Desmond Tutu would be the main speaker and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party, the ANC and religious organisations would be represented at the lunchtime meeting.

The PAC said today the South African government remained tainted in spite of last night's television appearance by Mr De Klerk.

PAC national spokesman Mr Barney Desai said: "We do not accept that the police and the SA Defence Force are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country."

He said Mr De Klerk's plans to bring blacks into the cabinet was an attempt to "co-opt pliable blacks to rubber-stamp decisions made by his existing all-white cabinet".

He called on South Africans to demand the immediate convening of an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Inkatha scandal shrugged off

SVEN LUNSCHÉ

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha scandal should not alter the timetable for lifting Australian sanctions, Australian opposition politician Mr Alexander Downer, the shadow Minister for Trade and Trade Negotiations, said at a Press conference hosted by the South African Chamber of Business.

He said the scandal was a domestic political matter.

He said that the Australian government's policy on sanctions would be determined by the meeting of Commonwealth nations in Harare in October.

He added, however, that Australia exerted a significant influence at Commonwealth meetings and would play a major role in guiding group policy.

"I do not think the scandal will have any bearing on the timing of the end to sanctions."

He said there was no popular support for sanctions in Australia, but rejected the notion that they were implemented to give Australia a trade advantage.

"Lifting sanctions will undoubtedly increase competitive pressure on some of our mineral exporters, but that has never been the real reason for sanctions," he said.

He said the Australian opposition parties — the Liberal Party and the National Party — saw no need to "strangle the local economy and contribute to political instability" through sanctions.

Mr Downer, who's visit will be followed by an Australian trade mission later this year, added: "South Africa will be a very valuable ally in our campaign to break down the subsidies and barriers of the European Community's agricultural policies."

It's a cover-up lie — Azapo after major's confession



Mr Pierre Cronje

Political Staff

POLITICAL parties have expressed scepticism at the confession of Major Louis Botha, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's "honourable" policeman, that he lied in a top-secret report to his security police superiors.

Major Botha issued a statement at the weekend saying his report, in which he had described Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's emotional gratitude for R250 000 of government money paid for

two Inkatha rallies, had been incorrect.

He said he had never spoken to Chief Buthelezi about the secret funds and had never had confidential discussions with the chief as described in detail in his 10-page report to security headquarters on February 13 last year.

He had, instead, dealt with Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Zakhele Khumalo, who resigned last week.

But in his report, Major Botha gave details of, among others, a 90-minute discussion with Chief Buthelezi as well as a telephone discussion after the

release of Mr Nelson Mandela from jail in February last year.

The document even quoted Chief Buthelezi directly.

The Democratic Party's Mr Pierre Cronje said yesterday that Major Botha's weekend statement was "absolute rubbish".

"As efficient as I know the security police to be, Major Botha would have been debriefed fully after the scandal broke," Mr Cronje said.

"If he had never spoken to Chief Buthelezi he would have said so and Adriaan Vlok would have told us so immediately

and the whole debacle would have been defused.

"They have obviously decided that his future is less important than that of his superiors."

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "How can anyone believe this cover-up story?"

"Major Botha is obviously telling a lie. His sudden turnaround must be seen against the background of a group of conspirators who have come together urgently to find a way in which they can limit and control the damage. No one will be impressed by what he is saying now."

Secrets: FV calls in security chiefs

304P 252 PHS 11495 29/7/91

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk today chaired a meeting of the State Security Council in Pretoria to discuss secret projects against the background of the "Inkathagate" controversy.

This was in preparation for a statement he has promised to make tomorrow on secret funds and allegations of the involvement of security forces in political action and violence.

Nationalist politicians today expected Mr De Klerk to announce that secret projects would be cut back.

But they did not expect him to propose stricter parliamentary control over such projects in the form of an all-party committee. If this was done, the MPs said, the projects would no longer be secret.

Hopes of 'damage control'

There is considerable regret in the party about the political initiative Mr De Klerk has lost locally through the scandal and the prestige he has lost overseas.

His followers are pinning high hopes on him being able to do effective "damage control" when he speaks tomorrow afternoon.

A top Nationalist spokesman said today the controversy in fact made an all-party conference on constitutional negotiations more urgent.

Statutory members of the State Security Council are the ministers of defence, law and order, foreign affairs, finance and justice and their departmental heads, as well as top members of the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

Various Ministers are co-opted from time to time according to the matters being dealt with by the council.

At present the only co-opted minister is Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr Viljoen said today that he did not think the Inkatha controversy should delay the all-party conference and the negotiation process in general.

He thought it had in fact underlined the urgent need for an all-party conference "as soon as possible".

This was where possible differences of opinion or problems should be dealt with.

Interim government rejected

Dr Viljoen also rejected speculation that the government would now, in view of the disclosures about secret projects, be willing to give in to a key ANC demand — for an interim government.

He said the government continued to oppose the ANC demand that it should abdicate power for some unspecified form of government. Good government based on the present constitution was needed until the negotiation process had been completed and a new constitution drawn up.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Venezuela that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has questioned the South African government's commitment to talks aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the nation's problems.

● See page 4.

"Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate that crime against humanity called apartheid," he said.

Mr Mandela accused the De Klerk government of fuelling the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha while at the same time publicly committing itself to negotiations with the ANC.

He blamed the government for the current wave of violence that has claimed hundreds of lives. But he added that South Africans "have the capacity, the patience and the morale to destroy apartheid in our lifetime".

Coalition is the only solution - political expert

304A
Sowetan
29/7/91

THE only possible solution to the "Inkathagate" scandal is the immediate formation of a coalition government involving all interested parties including the Government and all liberation movements such as the ANC and the PAC.

This is the view of political scientist and expert on white politics, Professor Willem Kleynhans.

In an interview with *Sowetan* yesterday, Kleynhans said disclosures of Government funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party had ruined the Government's effort of bringing about a new South Africa.

"The Government is responsible for this mess. And the negative effects are 100 percent more than what the Information Scandal did to South Africa some years back. The damage is irreparable," he said.

Conference

The time-table which President FW de Klerk had for a multiparty conference to pave the way for the drawing up of a new constitution had been upset and relations between the Government/Inkatha and the ANC had been "bedeviled" by the recent disclosures, said Kleynhans.

He added: "The only possible solution to this mess is for the leaders of all interested groups, including the Government, ANC, PAC, SACP, DP and Inkatha to come together and form a caretaker govern-

FOCUS

By MONK



NKOMO

ment. The CP will not agree to this coalition government.

"All these organisations must now have a say in the running of the country. They must share the responsibility and help uproot all covert operations and freeze the use of secret funds.

"This might help resolve the crisis."

Kleynhans said the Government was 100 percent to blame for secretly funding the IFP and blamed the authorities for ruining chances of the formation of black political parties which could be instrumental to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic society in South Africa.

The political scientist said he

expected the Government to play down the scandal and say, among other things, that the secret funding was to facilitate negotiations.

Asked if Cabinet Ministers, Mr Adriaan Vlok or General Magnus Malan, would resign as a result of the secret funding and allegations of security force involvement in attacks on black civilians, Kleynhans said the Government had a history of undemocratic principles.

"In societies where democracy was a norm, those responsible would quit. But I know. This Government will not do the honourable thing to sack Ministers responsible for the mess. The Cabinet is going to remain intact."

Iceberg

Kleynhans warned that the recent disclosures could be a tip of the iceberg and said more scandals could follow.

The drawing up of a new constitution, said Kleynhans, was now totally out of the question.

"There is not a slightest chance that the new constitution will be ready by 1994 when elections will be held."

The present constitution would still be in place despite De Klerk's promise recently that blacks would be included in the next election of a new government, said Kleynhans.

"I am despondent and more of a prophet of doom than ever before. We are on the threshold of a bloody confrontation. I am



PRESIDENT DE KLERK

pessimistic. I fear for the worst," the Afrikaner professor added.

Kleynhans accused the Government of having delivered "a mortal blow" to the IFP's efforts to start a political party - a vital instrument towards the formation of a stable government.

"This is a vehicle needed whereby blacks would have a say in the decision-making processes in this country. All efforts by the IFP have been ruined by the Government.

"The US and British governments will realise that they were naive to believe De Klerk when he told them recently that he had an answer to South Africa's problems.

"I wonder what they are saying now," said Kleynhans.

Solidarity holds Cabinet together

Sowetan 29/7/91

IF the South African Government were to use the Inkatha funds scandal to demonstrate its commitment to democracy, more than one Ministerial head would roll.

Two academics from the University of South Africa, one specialising in public administration and the other in political science, fervently agree on this point - but having a view to South Africa's history - both entertain strong doubts that this will happen.

Says Professor Donavon Marais of Unisa's Department of Public Administration:

Crisis

"If the ideal rule of collective Cabinet responsibility to the public were followed, a crisis should result in the entire Cabinet resigning or those responsible to be outvoted in Parliament.

"Of course, this does not happen in reality, but in Britain for instance, it is expected that a Minister who commits a foul should resign immediately, and this has often been the fate of British politicians. It is a strongly rooted tradition in Britain."

Unfortunately, South Africa had no such tradition and, if one looked back in time at how the National Party Government has reacted to scandals, the tendency was simply to "stick it out".

Unisa's Professor Dan Kriek of the political science department goes further to say that Ministers in the National Party Government have traditionally been unshakeable in their unity and confidentiality in times of trouble.

"Whether it was a joint decision by Cabinet or a decision by only a few Ministers to fund Inkatha, everyone will take

If a Minister in the British Cabinet embarrasses the government, he or she is likely to be urged to resign. This reflects the principle of government responsibility to its electorate. But what are the chances that this principle will be followed in South Africa.

SOWETAN Correspondent

a share of the blame, including the State President.

"This is a positive thing because, even if it wasn't a Cabinet decision, it was an executive act of Government."

Nevertheless, if the Government were to show any example of its commitment to democratic principles, this would be an opportune moment to do so by firing "a number of Ministers" - at least Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, both of whom had already admitted knowing of the covert police funding.

Addressing the State's secret fund, the origin of the R1,75 million spent on Inkatha, Marais feels strongly that this was a misuse of funds which cannot be justified by the Government's claim that Inkatha was not yet a political party and the purpose of the funding was to oppose sanctions.

Basis

"It is problematic when secret funds are used to support competing groups - and although Inkatha was not a political party at the time, to some extent, it functioned as one.

"On what basis can one justify using taxpayers money to promote one political group?"

Marais avoids the question of whether it was right or wrong for the police to fund Inkatha or the merits of funding any other party political.

"I cannot answer this as an academic. It is a political question."

However, what both Marais and Kriek do agree on is that secret State funds are a "necessary evil".

"It is rather idealistic to think any government in the world doesn't make use of a secret fund. And even if this was so, there is no guarantee that the future government would not establish one.

"What is important, though, is the control instituted over its use.

Channels

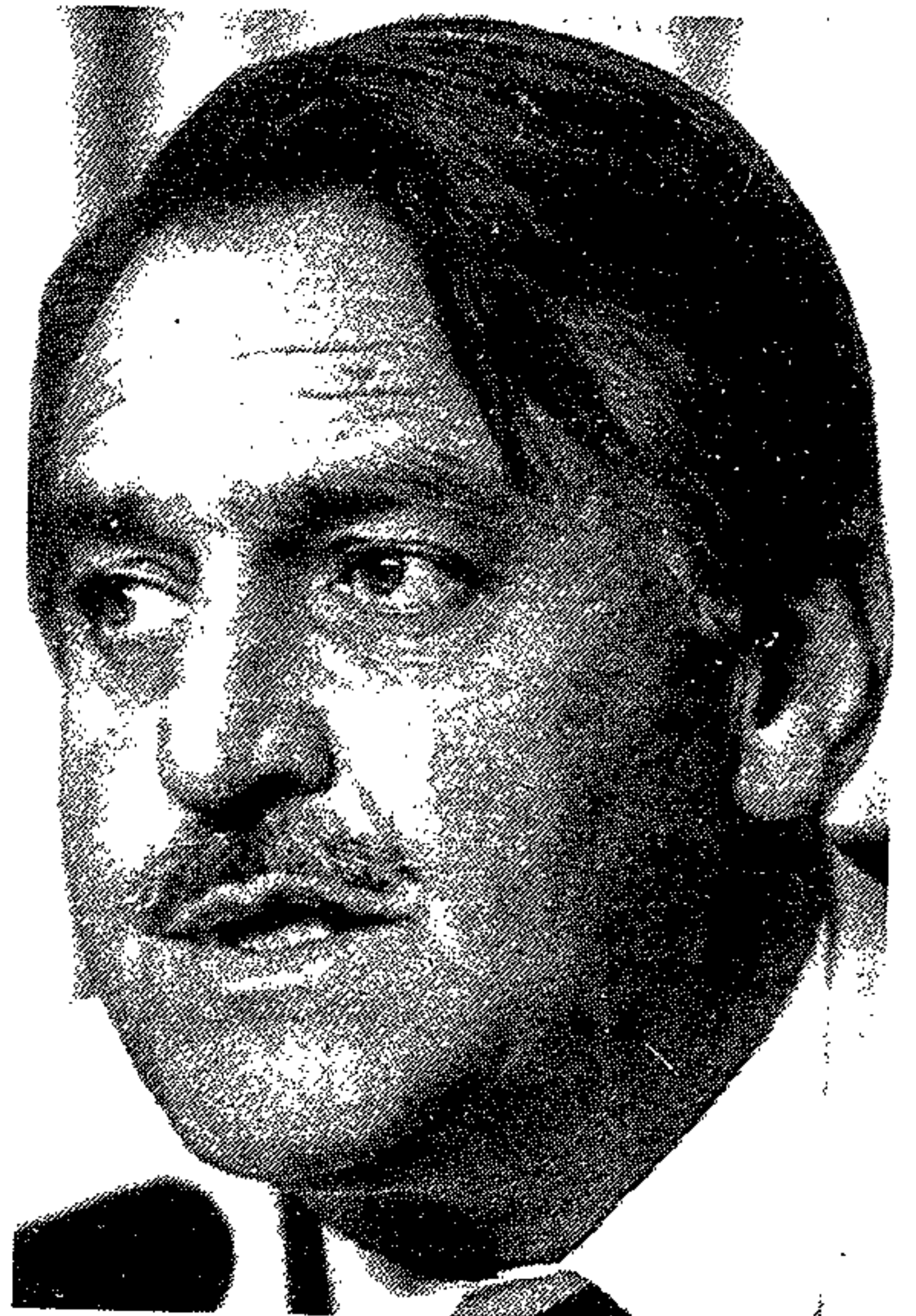
"There are a number of channels a department Minister would have to go through before secret funds could be approved.

"If there was full control, no money should be spent without the approval of Parliament," says Marais.

Marais will not speculate on whether in fact this is the case in the present Government.

"Despite what many outsiders may say, one wouldn't know whether the use of secret funding would be voted on collectively - or exactly what channels are used."

"This reflects another strong government tradi-



Pik Botha admitted knowing of the funds.

tion - one of not talking outside of the Cabinet.

"Ministers don't divulge information on this kind of thing. There is a history of confidentiality."

Although the last State President, Mr PW Botha, instituted Cabinet committees to jointly vote on issues - in order to incorporate all Government Ministers in parliamentary decisions - it was not clear yet about

whether De Klerk was using the same formula.

But whoever has knowledge of the spending of secret funds, it is to some extent a collective decision - and therefore collective responsibility must result, says Kriek.

"And it is important to flush out at least some of the Ministers responsible for the current funding scandal in order to set a precedent for democracy in South Africa."

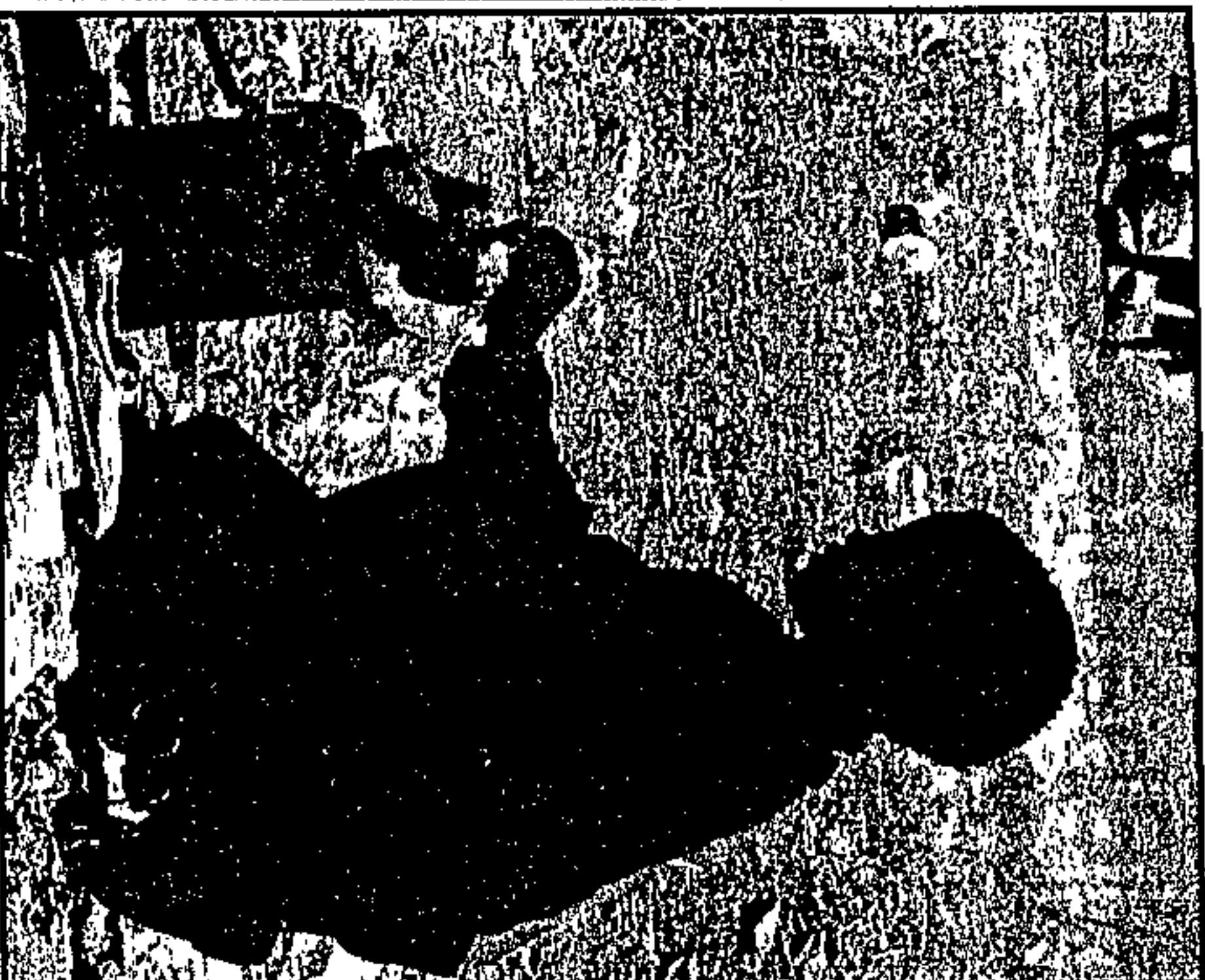
Swetl share control, demand for transitional arrangement

Soweto 24/7/91.

3048

Government 'yes' to ANC demand for transitional arrangement

Too hot for comfort



Anything to beat the late winter chill... A Dobsonville, Soweto, youngster was caught by Sowetan photographer Sello Motsepe making fire to escape yesterday's cold weather. However, the cold was not the worst of his fears as he fled from his fire immediately after the picture was taken.

Crisis

scandal.

It was revealed that secret State funds had been channelled to the Inkatha Freedom Party through the security police.

The crisis has also renewed calls for the resignation or dismissal of at least Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adriaan Vlok, who said last week during a television debate that he was considering his position.

The possibility of Vlok handing in his resignation during today's

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Security Council - a Cabinet committee - meeting has been strengthened by Mr. Roelf Meyer yesterday ruled out the possibility of the present constitutional arrangement being dumped.

Government could, however, create some form of joint decision-making mechanism in the executive of the country, he said, and referred to a statement which State President F.W. de Klerk

made in Parliament earlier this year.

"Negotiating partners outside of the Government would have a say inside Parliament, but what would be unacceptable would be a form of co-option," Meyer said.

Meyer stressed that the ideal platform to create a transitional arrangement would be an all-party conference or a multi-party conference and this should be held as soon as

● To Page 2



MEYER

Join the swing to Bell's - your No.1 choice

Resign now,

Cosatu tells

Government

Goverment 24/7/91

304A

BY DON SEOKANE

COSATU has called for the immediate resignation of the Government and an urgent review of the negotiations process.

These were among the resolutions taken by the 1,25 million-member federation at its national conference in Johannesburg at the weekend.

On the "Inkathagate" scandal, Cosatu said security police set up United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) with the sole purpose of trying to destroy Cosatu and the unionisation of workers in the country.

Cosatu disclosed that some employers have supported or have been implicated in the actions of Inkatha, Uwusa and the security forces.

The names of the companies would only be revealed at a later stage.

War

"A meeting with Saccola, the State, Seifsa and the Chamber of Mines will be held to discuss their relationship with the federation," Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo said.

The secret war being

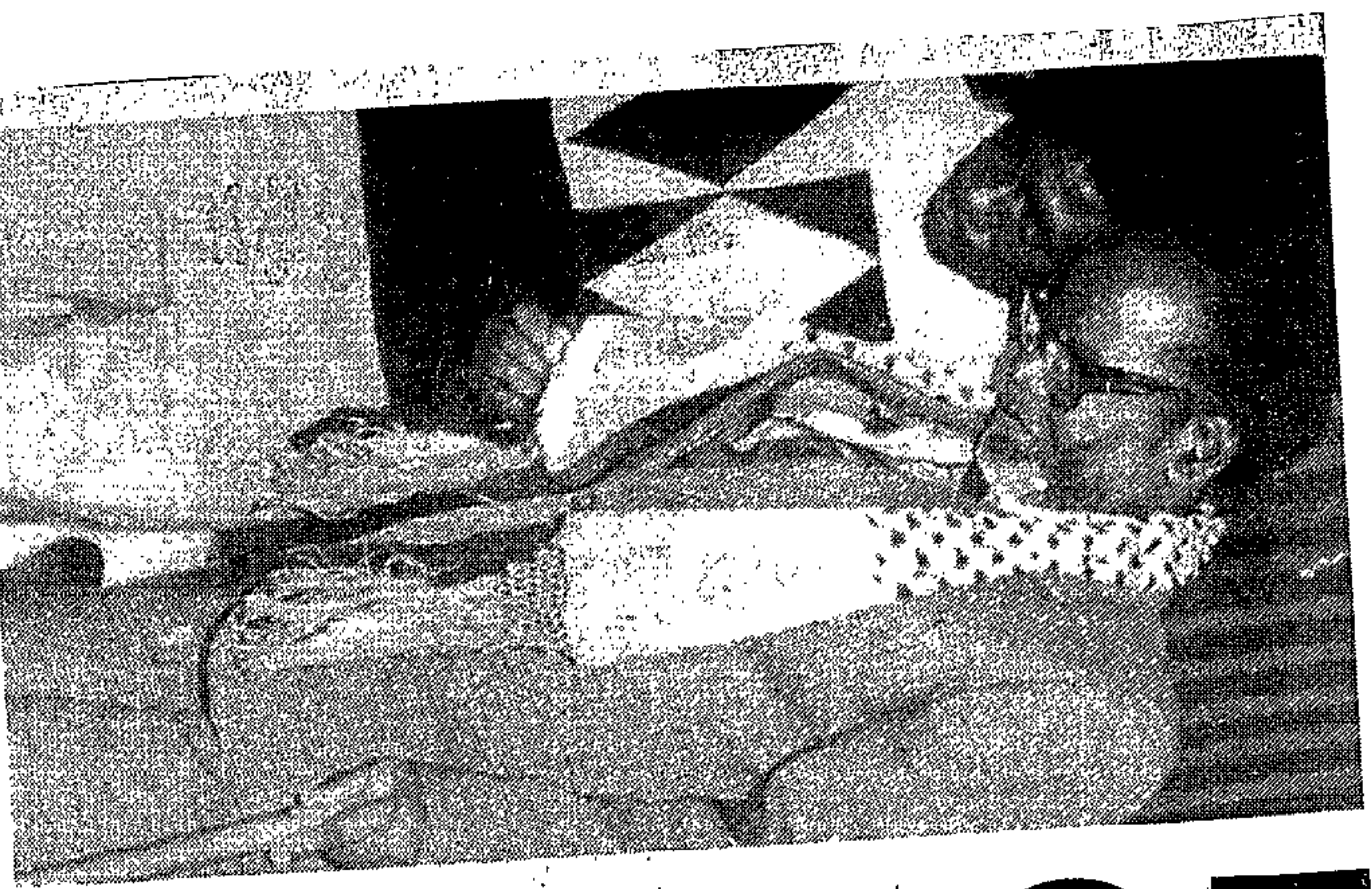
conducted by the Government had now placed the whole negotiations in jeopardy, necessitating an urgent review of the negotiations process.

"The Government cannot be trusted to rule this country in a way that will allow peaceful development to democracy."

"We therefore demand the resignation of the Government and the installation of an interim government with immediate effect," said Naidoo.

He added that congress supported the negotiation process.

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo pictured at the Cosatu conference.



Ministers' heads unlikely to roll

IF THE South African Government were to use the Inkatha funds scandal to demonstrate its commitment to democracy, more than one ministerial head would roll.

Two academics from the University of South Africa, one specialising in public administration and the other in political science, fervently agree on this point — but having a view to South Africa's history, both entertain strong doubts that this will happen.

Says Professor Donavon Marais of Unisa's department of public administration: "If the ideal rule of collective Cabinet responsibility to the public were followed, a crisis should result

in the entire Cabinet resigning or those responsible to be ousted in Parliament.

"Of course, this does not happen in reality. But in Britain, for instance, it is expected that a Minister who commits a foul should resign immediately, and this has often been the fate of British politicians. It is a strongly rooted tradition in Britain."

Unfortunately, South Africa had no such tradition, and if one looked back in time at how the National Party Government had reacted to scandals, the tendency was simply to "stick it out".

Unisa's Professor Dan Kriek of the political science depart-

ment goes further to say that Ministers in the National Party Government have traditionally been unshakable in their unity and confidentiality in times of trouble.

"Whether it was a joint decision by Cabinet or a decision by only a few Ministers to fund Inkatha, everyone will take a share of the blame, including the State President. This is a positive thing, because even if it wasn't a Cabinet decision, it was an executive act of Government."

Nevertheless, if the Government were to show any example of its commitment to democratic principles, this would be an opportune moment to do so

If a Minister in the British Cabinet embarrasses the government, he or she is likely to be urged to resign. This reflects the principle of government responsibility to its electorate. But what are the chances of this principle being followed in South Africa? HELEN GRANGE reports.

by firing "a number of Ministers" — at least Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Foreign Affairs Minister P. W. Botha, both of whom had already admitted knowing of the covert police funding.

Addressing the State's secret fund — the origin of the R1,75 million spent on Inkatha — Professor Marais feels strongly that this was a misuse

of funds which cannot be justified by the Government's claim that Inkatha was not yet a political party and that the purpose of the funding was to oppose sanctions.

"It is problematic when secret funds are used to support competing groups — and although Inkatha was not a political party at the time, to some extent it functioned as one. On

what basis can one justify using taxpayers' money to promote one political group?"

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However, what both professors Marais and Kriek do agree on is that secret State funds are a "necessary evil".

"It is rather idealistic to think any government in the world doesn't make use of a secret fund."

"What is important, though, is the control instituted over its use. There are a number of

channels a department Minister would have to go through before secret funds could be approved. If there were full control, no money should be spent without the approval of Parliament," said Professor Marais.

He would not speculate on whether this was the case in the present Government. "Despite what many outsiders may say, one wouldn't know whether the use of secret funding would be voted on collectively — or executed what channels are used."

"This reflects another strong Government tradition — one of not talking outside of the Cabinet. Ministers don't divulge information on this kind of thing. There is a history of confidence."

Although the previous President, P. W. Botha, instituted Cabinet committees to vote jointly on issues — in order to incorporate all Ministers in parliamentary decisions — it was not yet clear whether Mr de Klerk was using the same formula.

But whoever had knowledge of the spending of secret funds, it was to some extent a collective decision — and therefore collective responsibility must result, said Professor Kriek.

"And it is important to finish out at least some of the Ministers responsible for the current funding scandal in order to set a precedent for democracy in South Africa," he added. □

Govt denies giving in to interim rule

Star 29/7/91
By Peter Fabricius
and Esmaré van der Merwe

Senior Government sources last night dismissed suggestions that the Inkatha funds scandal had forced the Government to give in to ANC demands for an interim government.

"Practically speaking, an interim government means abolishing the present Government and replacing it with a new one, and that's not acceptable," one said.

The sources said that even the idea of outside groups being given a joint say in the control of the security forces was still "very sensitive" and had probably not been discussed.

Representatives of the Government, ANC and Inkatha, meeting under the auspices of the joint church/business peace initiative, had come close to agreement last week on a code of conduct for security forces.

But this was not the same as overall responsibility for the security forces. The participants in the joint church/business initiative were also discussing the possibility of independent monitoring of peace agreements.

However, this would also not necessarily entail joint

control of security forces.

The sources stressed that the possibility of joint control of the security forces could only be discussed at the multiparty conference which the Government hopes will take place as soon as possible.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu said yesterday the secret funding scandal had seriously endangered the negotiation process.

After an emergency meeting to discuss the implications of the secret funding, the three organisations said: "The latest revelations underline the fact that the present Government cannot supervise the process of transition."

"We call on all South Africans of whatever political persuasion to unite behind the call for an interim government of national unity."

At the emergency meeting, the SACP and Cosatu also backed the earlier demands by the ANC for President de Klerk to prove his sincerity in negotiations by taking decisive action on the funding scandal.

The Democratic Party has hardened its position by calling for a government of unity.

● More reports — Page 2

Commitment to negotiations questioned

Star 29/7/91

VALENCIA (Venezuela) — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday questioned the Government's commitment to talks with the ANC.

Referring to the Government's funding of Inkatha, he told a packed auditorium that he was not sure he could trust the administration of President de Klerk.

"Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate that crime... apartheid."

He accused the Government of fuelling the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha while at the same time publicly committing it to negotiations with the ANC.

He blamed the Government for the current wave of violence but added that South Africans "have the capacity, we have the patience, we have the morale to destroy apartheid in our lifetime".

In Cuba at the weekend, he reiterated the ANC's demand for an interim government. "What we have been saying all along, that the Government cannot be a player and referee at the same time, has been fully corroborated." — Sapa-Reuter.

CP to appeal to Adv-G

The Conservative Party is to place the Government's slush fund activities before the Advocate-General for his investigation and a report, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement yesterday. (304A)

"We will also be requesting the Advocate-General to investigate all other covert projects funded with public monies since 1986. Skr 29/7/91

"The CP believes this could be the most important test of the efficacy and power of the office of the Advocate-General to date."

Any honourable Western government would have resigned. — Sapa.

Ex-ambassador slams Pik's reply

Bl Day 29/7/91
GOVERNMENT will have to act swiftly and effectively to re-establish trust after the Inkatha funding scandal, says SA Foundation director and former SA ambassador to the UN Kurt Von Schirnding.

In an interview he described his former boss, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, as totally unconvincing when he explained his role in the Inkatha funding on TV last week.

He said the latest "unfortunate disclosures" had resulted in a lack of trust in government's good faith.

Joint control over the management of government's secret funds was required. One possibility was to give parliamentary parties control over expenditure of funds.

He said his recent trip to eastern Europe, Austria and France had convinced him that government's first priority should be to end township violence.

"Most governments are waiting to see what will happen in a post-apartheid SA before they are prepared to encourage investment in SA. This applies even more to businessmen who want to know that their investment is safe," he said.

Von Schirnding said that while President F W De Klerk's credibility had taken

a knock internationally over the scandal, this was not so extensive as to completely undermine the positive sentiment fostered over the past two years.

Meanwhile, Natal police yesterday refused to answer questions on security policeman Maj Louis Botha's weekend statement which denied Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew about government's donations of R250 000 to his organisation, TANYA LEVY reports.

Botha said a memorandum he wrote might have created an incorrect impression that Buthelezi thanked him personally for the money. Botha said he had in fact communicated with Buthelezi's personal assistant Zakhele Khumalo, who he deduced was acting on Buthelezi's behalf. Khumalo resigned from Inkatha last week, saying he had not informed Buthelezi.

Sapa reports Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan ruled out resigning over the slush fund scandal on Saturday, saying he would not yield to demands by "radical elements". He also denied giving orders for deeds which violated the law.

Most SA whites resist votes for all

Bl Day 29/7/91
TANIA LEVY

MOST whites would reject the introduction of one-man, one-vote elections, Market Research Africa (MRA) has concluded after finding that two out of three urban white adults opposed a universal franchise.

MRA chairman and MD Clive Corder said in a statement at the weekend that whites' apprehension about changing political circumstances was underlined by the finding that even the better educated resisted one-man, one-vote.

As many as three out of five university graduates surveyed said they were opposed to introducing a universal franchise in SA.

About 70% of those without matric rejected the idea.

MRA also found that two out of five white adults surveyed were concerned about possible redistribution of wealth.

Concern was particularly high among those with a monthly income of more than R8 000 and whites with post-matric qualifications.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



SA

British delegates that Africa/London Africa could be marginalised in international politics, warned last night. To remain on the agenda, South Africa had to get its act together.

Dr Stabbert said: "Of course it had to be a success, but this means the question as to whether it is a success or not is a success."

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SA could be marginalised in international affairs, warns Stabbert

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ANC Viewpoint

By TREVOR MANUEL

304A

30/7/91

National Party is not trustworthy or fit to govern

304A

30/7/91

RECENT exposures of government funding of Inkatha, Uvusa and groups opposed to Swapo has highlighted the abuse of taxpayers' money and state interference in the democratic process.

However, the character and scope of violent destabilisation of our society by forces sponsored by the State has received scant attention.

The ANC and other organisations have long insisted that the National Party has a double agenda.

A public commitment to negotiations and a peaceful transition to a democratic order have masked a secret strategy to load the political process heavily in the National Party's favour.

Written proof supports claims

A well-timed and controlled tide of violence has been unleashed on the country. This violence has sought to weaken all those forces but most particularly the ANC, which has consistently fought against apartheid.

It has been used to strengthen those forces in the black community which can be lined up on the side of the National Party.

The mounting catalogue of evidence suggesting police partiality, police collusion with and support for Inkatha, the involvement in killings by hit squads linked to the police and army, the singular lack of success in bringing the culprits to book and a host of other factors inevitably met with the same response from the government and sections of the media — provide us with the proof!

Notwithstanding the fact that the SAP acts as accused, investigator, prosecutor and judge; notwithstanding the fact that so much evidence had already been accumulated to make out a most damning case and notwithstanding the cult of secrecy and subterfuge which surrounds government ministries, written irrefutable proof has now emerged which supports claims made in the past.

Funds for reign of terror

But still the government aggressively denies that anything is amiss. Mr Pik Botha cynically argues that he would do it again.

Among the many, many questions which therefore have arisen we might again ask, what we are to make of massive financial support to a trade union that has never undertaken any actions on behalf of its members or conducted a single campaign?

Is the reasonable conclusion not to be drawn that such money funded and enabled the "rooidoekes", who are surely Uvusa "members" or "supporters" — to import and unleash their reign of terror on the communities in the Transvaal?

What conclusions must we draw from the fact that there was a massive increase in violence after the two Inkatha rallies funded by the government?

Who paid for the busing (and other expenses) into the Transvaal of thousands of men from Natal for Inkatha rallies which were nearly always followed by bloodletting in the Transvaal?

Interference in Namibia

Where, by whom and for what purposes is the nearly R400 m in the Secret Services Account used?

When will General Ronnie van der Westhuisen and his Security Police, so efficient in the past in dealing with anti-apartheid forces, solve some of the hideous acts of indiscriminate killings and assassination of numerous political activists?

Does Mr Pik Botha really want us to believe that the government, at Cabinet level, would approve interference in the political process in Namibia but that they have not and do not intend doing the same in South Africa?

Further, are we expected to believe that such interference would be limited to financial assistance only and not also to the myriad destabilisation tactics witnessed in South Africa, Namibia and other neighbouring countries?

The wealth of evidence, the recent revelations and the government's inability and unwillingness to openly and honestly provide credible answers to these and many other questions must lead to the inevitable conclusion that it has used means most foul to subvert the democratic process to keep its hands on the levers of control during and beyond the transition period.

Restore trust by dismissals

The government has flung the trust and good faith that so many both at home and abroad placed in it back in their faces. It has shown itself unfit to supervise a transition to peace and democracy.

The government and the country are in a crisis and negotiations are balanced precariously on the brink of collapse.

The trust and confidence of all South Africans and the peoples and governments of the world must be restored by the dismissal of ministers Malan and Vlok.

A multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence must be established and the R380 m Secret Service Account must be opened to public scrutiny.

In a democratic country a scandal of far lesser proportions would have brought down the government.

In South Africa, where the government rules illegitimately with the mandate of a small white minority, we rely on extra-parliamentary measures such as mass action and sanctions to make our point.

Consensus on interim government

Until we have travelled irreversibly down the road towards a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, these pressures must be maintained.

There is, both at home and abroad, increasing consensus on the need for an interim government which can exercise control over the security forces, the civil service, the state-controlled media and all other government institutions during the process of transition.

Funds scandal: Boycott called

(304A) (251) (114) (38)
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP) have called for an immediate boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV region in response to the government slush-fund scandal.

The boycott, which came into effect yesterday, is aimed at all white-owned businesses in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto, the East Rand and the far East Rand.

The three organisations said the boycott would be monitored "without enforcement and policing", and reviewed periodically.

The statement said the call for the boycott was sparked by the recent disclosure of "clandestine funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Ufesa by the security police". CT 30/7/91

NEW



MINISTER OF HOUSING
Magnus Malan



CORRECTIONAL SERVICES AND BUDGET...
Adriaan Vlok

Malan, Vlok lose posts in reshuffle

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

GENERAL Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, and Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, have been axed from their positions.

In a dramatic midnight statement, President F W de Klerk announced that the two controversial ministers have been relieved of their portfolios.

They will, however, remain in the cabinet.

General Malan will become Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry as well as Minister of Housing and Works in the House of Assembly.

Mr Vlok will become Minister of Correctional Services, putting him in charge of prisons, and Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly.

The new Minister of Defence is Mr Roelf Meyer, currently the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Information Services.

He will also have a new portfolio, Communication, and will be responsible for the South African Communication Services, formerly known as the Bureau for Information.

The new Minister of Law and Order is Mr Hennis Kriel, who is currently the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

The giant parastatal Armscor has been severed of its defence connections and will in future fall under the Minister of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises.



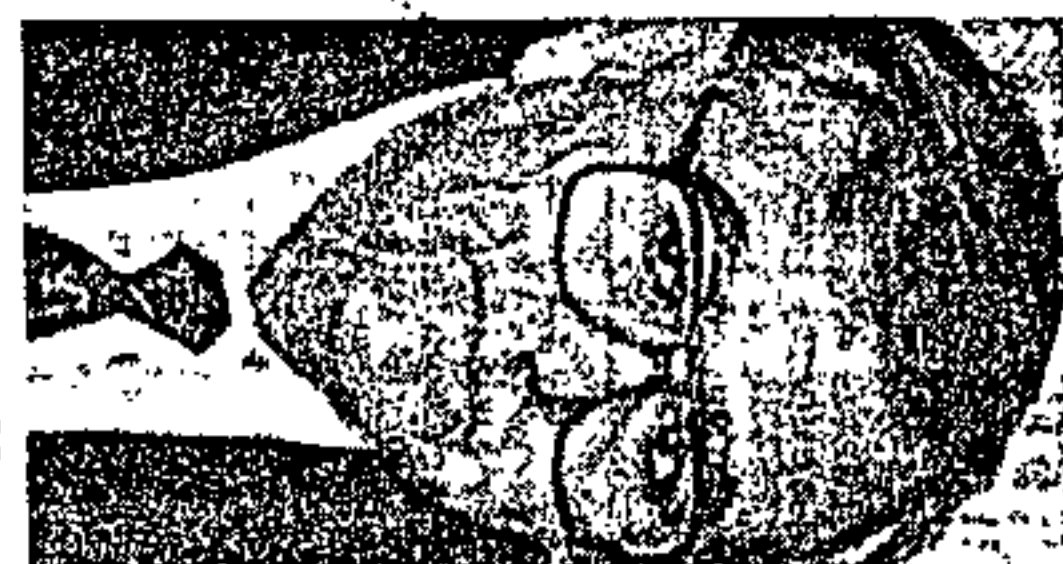
OUT...
Piet Claes



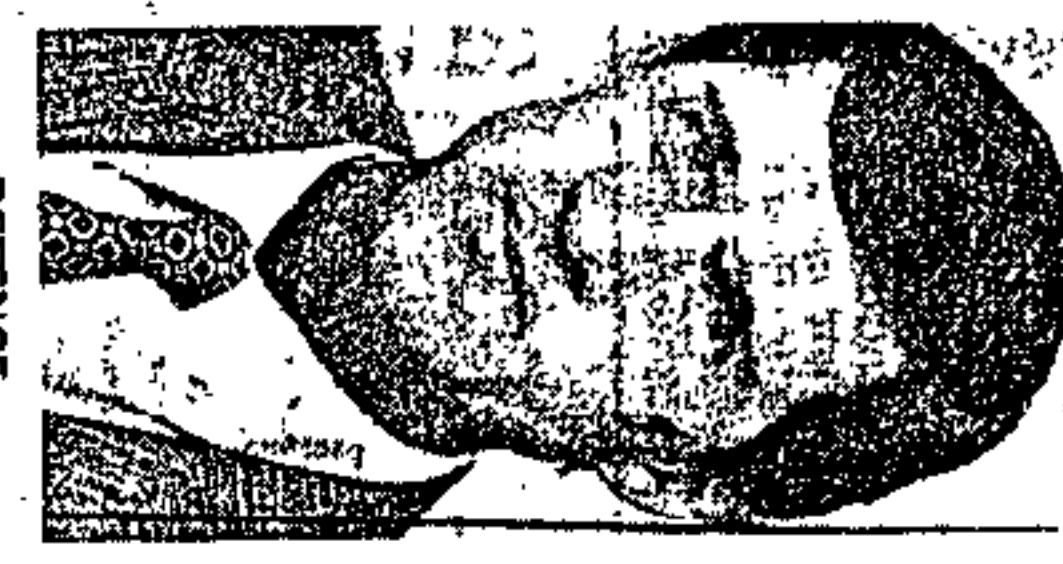
OUT...
Gert Koeze



NP POST...
Stoffel van der Merwe



LAW AND ORDER...
Hennis Kriel



DEFENCE...
Roelf Meyer

ist of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises.

Three other ministers, Mr Sam de Beer, Mr Leon Wessels and Mr Piet Marais, have been promoted into the cabinet.

Mr De Beer, the Minister of Budget, Welfare, Housing and Works in the House of Assembly, is the new Minister of Education and Training.

Mr Wessels, currently Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the new Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, and of Local Government in the House of Assembly.

Mr Marais, at present Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, has been appointed Minister for Administration, with responsibility for the Commission for Administration as well as Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly.

The shock cabinet reshuffle follows the resignation yesterday of the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Mr Gert Koeze.

the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Claes, and the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mr Koeze is to remain MP for Malmesbury and Dr Van der Merwe MP for Helderberg, but Mr Claes is to resign as MP for the marginal Virginia seat, which he held with a 47-vote majority in 1988 and which could go to the Conservative Party in the by-election to fill the vacancy.

Dr Van der Merwe has been appointed to the key position of head of the National Party's negotiations team.

The demotion of Mr Vlok and of General Malan comes in the wake of widespread calls for their dismissal following the scandal over the secret funding of Inkatha and its trade union affiliate, and allegations of Defence Force involvement in violence.

Although Mr De Klerk has stopped short of firing the two ministers, the two departments

the defence force and the police — will now have completely new political leaders, who will undoubtedly have been given the mandate to ensure that they are transformed into neutral security agencies during the transition and negotiations process.

Three new deputy ministers have been appointed. The former Labour Party national secretary, Mr Ahe Willems, who joined the NP earlier this year, has been made Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning.

The MP for Sunnyside, Mr Fanus Schoeman, has been appointed the Deputy Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly, while the nominated MP, Mr Renier Schoeman, who is currently head of the NP's information service, has been appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The new ministers and deputy ministers are to be sworn in on August 30.

Mr De Klerk said in his statement that in view of the retirement of the three ministers he had also decided to make other changes in the composition of the cabinet.

"The work load of a number of senior ministers is being moderately lightened, in some cases due to the increasing demands placed on them by the negotiating process, and in other cases due to the scope of their duties."

Other changes announced by Mr De Klerk last night were:

● DR GERRIT VILJOEN, the Minister of Constitutional Development, is to take over the development of local management models from Mr Kriel's old department.

● DR PIET WEGGEMOED takes over Posts and Telecommunications from Dr Dawie de Villiers. The portfolio has been designated Transport and Posts and Telecommunications, but once two separate companies — SA Post Office and Telecom — have been established, the intention is to transfer them to the Minister of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, who is Dr De Villiers.

● MR KOBIE COETSEE will remain Minister of Justice and chairman of the House of Assembly Ministers' Council.

● MR AMIE VENTER has been exempted from his responsibility for the Commission for Administration.

● MR THEO ALANT remains Deputy Minister of Finance, relinquishes the portfolio of National Education, and becomes Deputy Minister of National Intelligence.

● MR DANIE SCHUTTE remains Deputy Minister of Justice, but will get the Education and Training portfolio while he will no longer be Deputy Minister of Correctional Services.

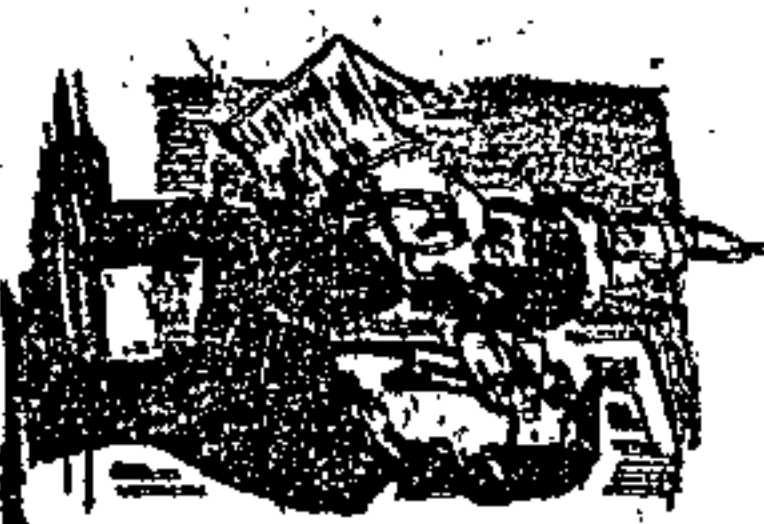
● MR ANDRE FOURIE will be Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

● DR TERTIUS DELPORT will no longer be Deputy Minister for Provincial Affairs but will assist Dr Viljoen as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

● MR JOHAN SCHEEPERS, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, will also be Deputy Minister of Development Aid.

Inside:
DE KLERK
WILL HAVE
TO TAKE
FURTHER
STEPS
See PAGE 5

Crack of dawn



"Now that Gert Koeze's resigned, F W should make Pik Botha Minister of Water Affairs so he can keep better control of the slush."

De Klerk will have to take further steps

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has responded to growing pressure to clean up the government's act by sidelining his two security ministers.

However, Mr De Klerk will still have to announce further decisive steps to defuse his worst political crisis yet when he faces the nation on television tonight.

Apart from the measures announced last night, Mr De Klerk is expected to promise reforms to legislation governing the use of secret funds and could reveal the names of a number of organisations that have benefited from the government's slush funds in the past.

He could also announce the scaling down or ending of some dirty tricks projects but government sources have ruled out a complete disclosure or multi-party control of secret projects in future.

As Mr De Klerk was huddled with his advisers in a crucial State Security Council meeting yesterday, opposition organi-

sations issued a fresh wave of demands and announced wide-ranging steps to put pressure on the government to clean up its act following the Inkatha controversy.

The ANC's national executive committee will meet tomorrow to draft a comprehensive plan of action to protest the government's subversion of the democratic process and respond to Mr De Klerk's long-awaited announcement.

'Coalition'

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said the NEC may decide to call on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to cut short his South American tour should Mr De Klerk's response be considered inadequate.

In Cape Town more than 90 political, religious, business, worker and student organisations yesterday banded together in a "fledgling coalition" to protest against the government's selective funding of political organisations and its role in "fomenting violence".

And in Johannesburg, the ANC/SACP-

Cosatu alliance in the Witwatersrand announced an immediate consumer boycott for the region aimed at "all white shops in general and big business in particular".

Cosatu announced at its congress that it had already decided to organise a nationwide general strike and a mass tax boycott to protest the Inkatha funding scandal.

The Western Cape campaign has the support of bodies like the ANC, the SACP, the PAC, the DF, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, the Western Province Council of Churches, the Muslim Judicial Council, the South African Union of Jewish Students, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the Call of Islam, the Western Cape Civics Association, the Western Cape Traders' Association, the Black Sash, the Civil Rights League, Cosas, Nusas, the Muslim Youth Movement and the SA Commercial and Allied Workers Union.

Individuals supporting the initiative include the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Professor Jakes Gerwel and Mr Franklin Sonn.

281 3047 118

Manuel calls for 'control' of forces

CT 30/7/91
By PETER DENNEHY

MEMBERS of the security forces should be placed under independent control, Western Cape ANC leader Mr Trevor Manuel told over 300 students at Stellenbosch University yesterday.

He was speaking at a Nusas-organised public meeting about the recent scandal regarding collusion between the security police and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Asked whether negotiations with an opponent who cheated and lied should not be abandoned, Mr Manuel responded that the negotiation process was in fact in the interests of those who were oppressed.

"It is not in De Klerk's interests to introduce democracy here," he said. "We could turn our backs on the process and walk away, but would that be right?"

DP MP Mr Jan van Eck, who spoke at the same meeting, was asked who he thought had leaked the documents that had given rise to the scandal.

"I don't know," he confessed. "There may be people within the security forces who don't like the negotiation process. Or it might be people with consciences that are bothering them."

CT 30/7/91

Smash all barriers —Dhlomo

SOUTH Africans needed to join an urgent campaign to search for ways of reaching a multi-party democracy and national reconciliation.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy said this in an address in Durban to the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa.

He said black South Africans could dismantle much of the barrier between whites and blacks if they demonstrated they understood the fear and uncertainty at the root of many whites' reluctance to share equally.

"We can travel down the path of negotiated peaceful transition demonstrating by example that a nonracial society holds no terrors for those presently in a position of privilege," he said.

Dhlomo said a post-apartheid South Africa had to be seen to be a more attractive place to live and work in.

He highlighted the need for accountability, saying "recent events

surrounding the Government's abuse of public funds underline the importance of accountability in any democracy worthy of the name".

Democratisation demanded South Africans unlearn all the experiences of past decades, with the country's leaders showing the way.

"Those leaders who are not prepared to reach out to erstwhile enemies or to make compromises in search of a win-win solution to our socio-political problems, will fail to make the transition to post-apartheid South Africa."

Dhlomo ascribed much of the violence in the country to the absence of a democratic culture conducive to political tolerance and freedom of association.

He hoped the time would come when South African leaders would realise that their failure to promote and encourage political tolerance had become one of the biggest stumbling blocks to democracy. - Sapa.

Sowetan 20/7/91

Mild-mannered Vlok and abrasive Malan

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE style of the two security Ministers who have been demoted have always differed considerably.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, 53, the Minister of Law and Order who has been in the post since 1986, is known as a mild-mannered man, eager to please.

General Magnus Malan, 61, who has been Minister of Defence since 1980, is more of a political bull in a china shop, and an abrasive politician.

He was chief of the SADF from 1976 to 1980. He was a protege of former president Mr P W Botha and as a politician he has retained the style of a general used to giving the orders.

The two men had one thing in common: their intense loyalty to the police force and the defence force. This led to criticism that they went too far in trying to protect their departments against criticism and that there were cover-ups.

While there were ANC al-

legations of police involvement or complicity in the current violence and assistance being given to Inkatha, Mr Vlok maintained that the police as a force were not participating and were not the cause of violence.

The government has been willing to investigate some incidents but allegations have continued.

Mr Vlok has recently stated that the creation of an apolitical police force is the ideal and that measures which have involved the police in party political matters have been removed.

Mr Vlok has maintained that he was willing to reconsider his position if he was an impediment to negotiations.

What finally cost him his job was the disclosure that the police had channelled state funds to Inkatha and to the trade union Uwusa.

His handling of the affair was unconvincing and smacked of a cover-up similar to the earlier stages of

(30414)
ARGUS 30/7/91
the 1978 Information scandal.

General Malan has usually been defiant in the face of allegations of "dirty tricks" operations by the SADF.

For long his attitude was that the country was involved in a low-intensity war situation and the special circumstances demanded special methods.

He also often seemed to be used by the government to make sharp attacks on the ANC while other government leaders such as President De Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen maintained a more reasonable attitude.

It appeared as if General Malan has a political role to play to show some Nationalist supporters that the government had not become "soft" on the ANC.

Since last year his image has been severely dented by disclosures about the "dirty tricks" operations of the shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau in the defence force and his admission that he had for long not known about this.

Cabinet — in and out

304th AUG 30/7/91

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

PRESIDENT de Klerk has axed Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok amid a crescendo of demands for their heads, dramatically relegating them to lesser cabinet posts.

His surprise, comprehensive shuffle was his opening shot in response to global calls for "bold and decisive" action in the wake of revelations of government slush funds for Inkatha.

The rest of his reaction is expected at a news conference tonight at the President's residence in Church Street which is to be televised live from 6pm.

Mr de Klerk, clearly wanting to repair the government's bruised credibility following the Inkathagate disclosures, handed General Malan the Ministry of Water Affairs and Forestry, and (white) Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

Mr Vlok becomes Minister of Correctional Services and of the (white) Budget in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

Deputy Minister Roelf

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, whose head was also sought in the Inkathagate affairs because the funds came from his department's anti-sanctions slush fund, remains untouched.

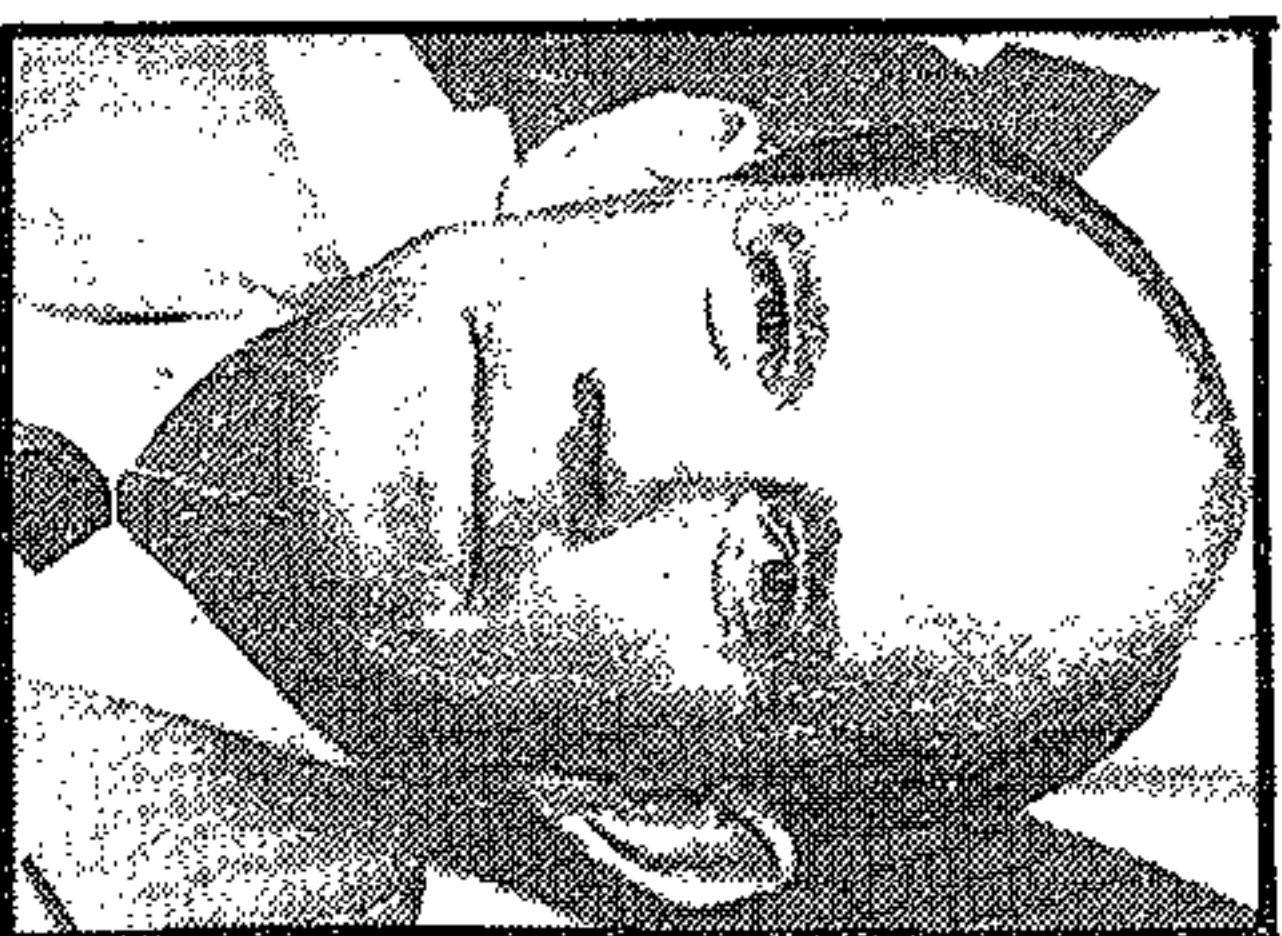
So does Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Posts and Telecommunications are to be transferred from Dr Dawie de Villiers to Dr Piet Welgemoed, the recently appointed Minister of Transport.

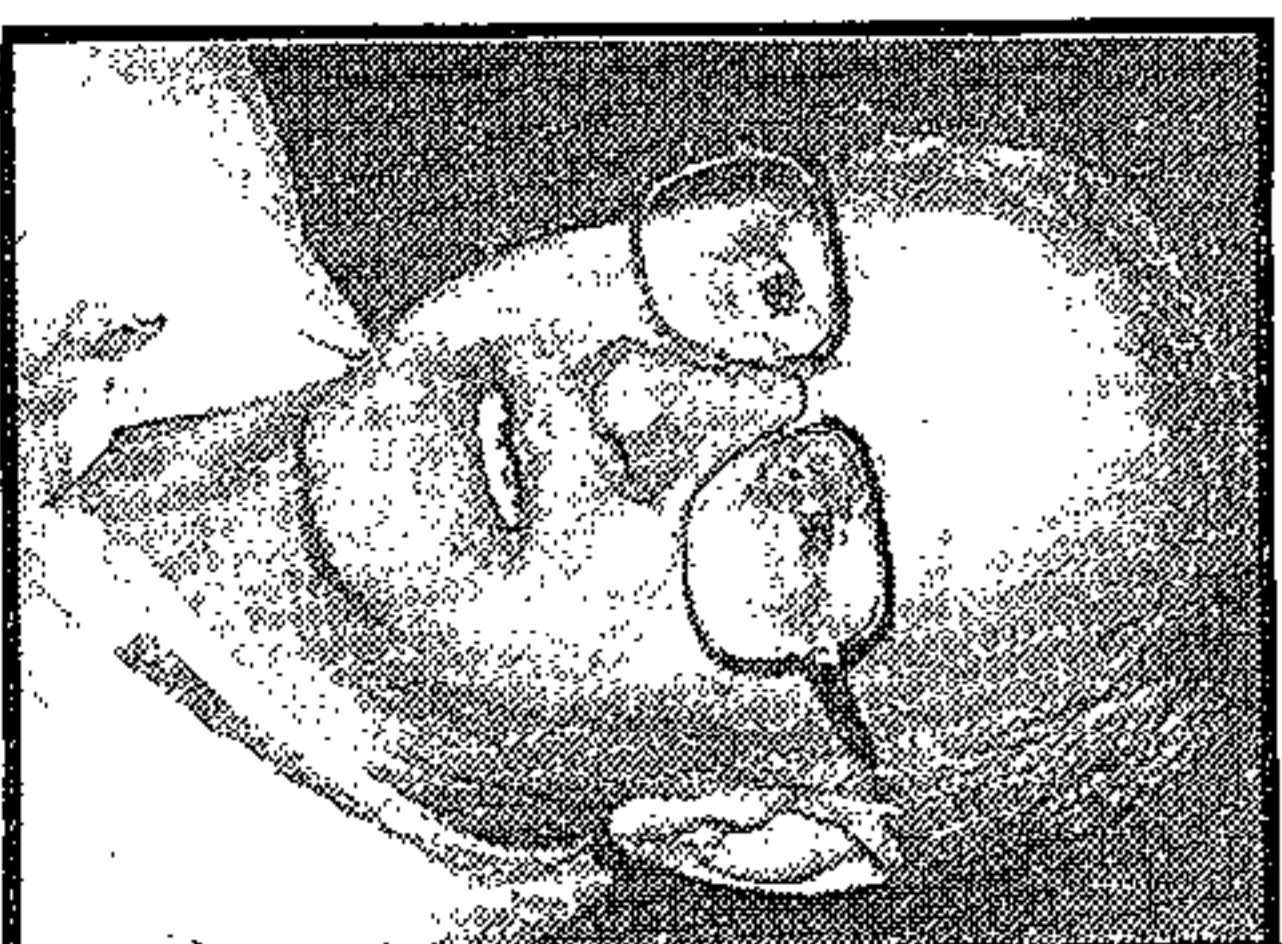
"As soon as the two separate operating companies, ie, the SA Post Office and Telkom have been established and are effectively operative," Mr de Klerk said, "the intention is to transfer the responsibility for these two enterprises to the Minister of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, Dr de Villiers."

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee will relinquish Correctional Services, retaining the chairmanship of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly.

Dr Rina Venter adds to her responsibilities as Minister for National Health by taking charge of white welfare.



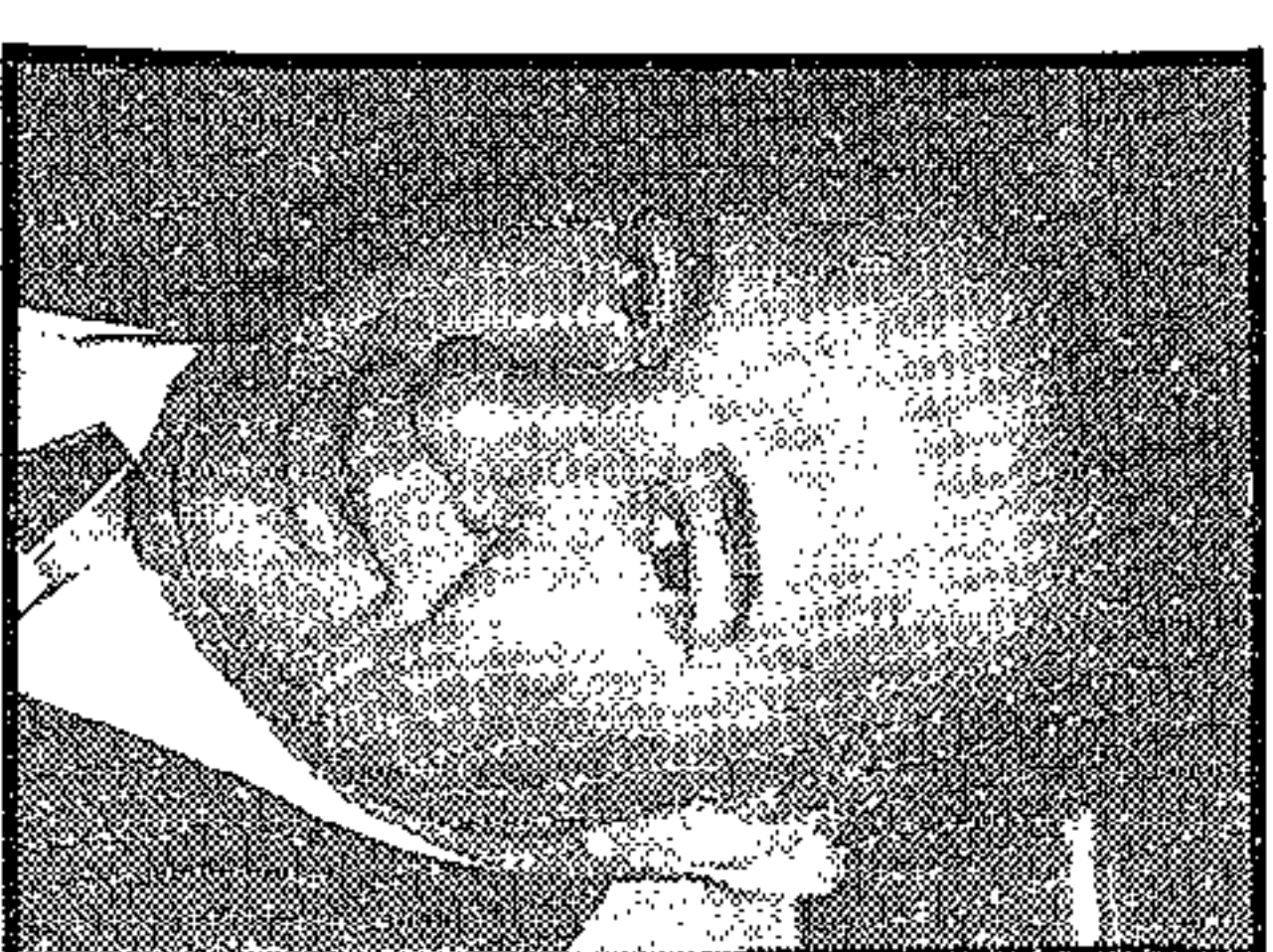
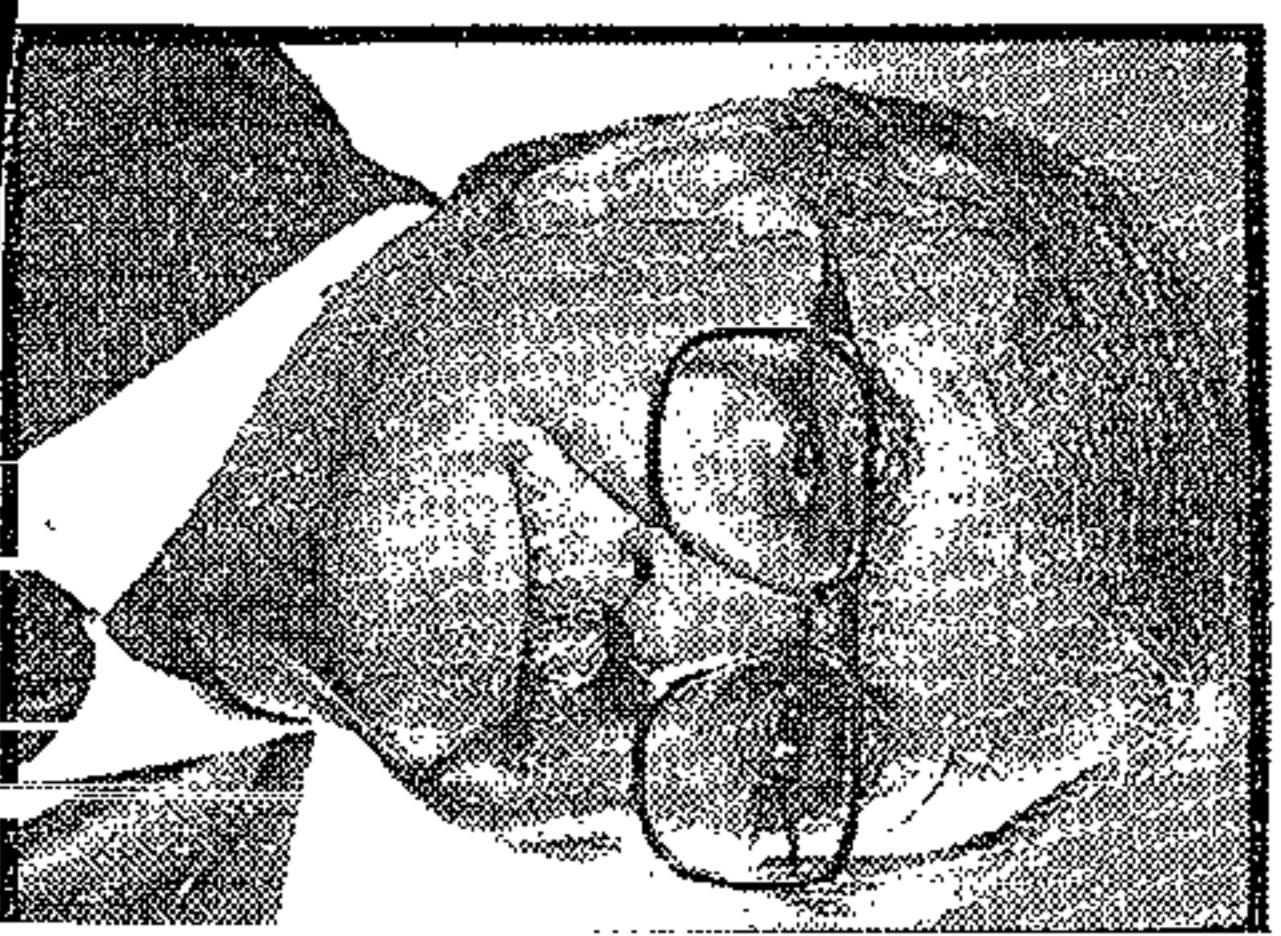
General Magnus Malan, becomes Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.



Mr Adriaan Vlok, becomes Minister of Correctional Services.



Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, replaces General Malan, also taking on Communication.



The Argus

135th YEAR: FOUNDED 1857

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Now's the time for Vlok and Malan to go

ADMISSIONS about secret government payments to Inkatha could hardly have come at a less propitious moment. Just when reform was beginning to pay off — with sanctions being lifted, sports boycotts lapsing, international acceptance of South

THE Argus called for the axing of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan in an editorial on Tuesday, July 23.

The new line-up

THE new Cabinet as it will stand on August 30 after State President F W de Klerk's announcement of a reshuffle following resignations:

Mr F W de Klerk — State President

Mr Pik Botha — Foreign Affairs

Mr Gerrit Viljoen — Constitutional Development

General Magnus Malan — Housing and Works, Water Affairs and Forestry

Dr Dawie de Villiers — Economic Coordination and Public Enterprises

Mr Kobie Coetsee — Justice and Chairman of the Minis-

Mr. Meyer replaces General. Ma-
lan, taking on Communication
as well.

Planning Minister Hernus
Kriel takes over the tricky
Law and Order portfolio from
Mr Vlok.

Minister of Education and
Culture Piet Clase is to retire
and leave politics.

Minister of Water Affairs
and Forestry Gert Kotze re-
tires from the Cabinet, but re-
tains his seat as MP for
Malmesbury.

Education and Training
Minister Dr Stoffel van der
Merwe loses the black educa-
tion portfolio. He resigns
from the cabinet on Septem-
ber 1 to prepare the National
Party for negotiations, and
control the marketing and ex-
pansion of the party. Dr van
der Merwe remains the MP
for Helderkruijn.

This was Mr de Klerk's
first major move towards a
separation between the gov-
ernment and the NP, position-
ing the party for the negotia-
tions ahead on a new South
Africa.

Deputy Minister Piet Mar-
ais replaces Mr Clase to take
charge of white education,
and will be in charge of the
Public Service as Minister for
Administration from August
30. Mr Arnie Venter had that
portfolio.

Also boosted to cabinet sta-
tus is "own affairs" Minister
Sam de Beer, promoted to
Minister of Education and
Training in place of Dr van
der Merwe.

Another cabinet newcomer
is Deputy Foreign Affairs
Minister Leon Wessels, who
slots into Mr Kriel's former
position as Minister of Plan-
ning, Provincial Affairs and
National Housing. He further
gets (white) Local Govern-
ment in the Ministers' Coun-
cil, House of Assembly.

As regards Agriculture, Mr
de Klerk said in a midnight
announcement, "a process of
rationalisation is presently in
progress but it is the inten-
tion in the course of time to
place the responsibility for
Armcor with the Minister of
Economic Co-ordination and
Public Enterprises (Dr de
Villiers)."

Pretoria East MP, Dr Theo
Alant, presently Deputy Min-
ister of Finance, loses Nation-
al Education but gains the
National Intelligence Service
as Deputy Minister.

Coloured MP Mr Abe Wil-
liams is appointed Deputy
Minister of National Educa-
tion and of Planning.

Deputy Justice Minister
Danie Schutte has Education
and Training added to his
load.

Deputy Minister Tertius
Delpoit will relinquish Pro-
vincial Affairs and will assist
Dr Viljoen as Deputy Minis-
ter of Constitutional Develop-
ment, replacing Mr Meyer.

Law and Order Deputy
Minister Johan Scheepers
takes on Development Aid
too.

Sunnyside MP Fanus
Schoeman becomes Deputy
Minister of National Health
and of white health and
welfare.

Mr Renier Schoeman be-
comes Deputy Minister of
Foreign Affairs.

The new ministers and dep-
uties will be sworn in on Au-
gust 30.

Mr Clase, who is also to
step down from his seat of
Virginia in the Free State,
said: "It is a privilege to be
able to decide to leave this
field for reasons of one's own.
There comes a time in every-
one's life when the decision
has to be made to share more
time with one's family. Such
a time has now come for me
and this is the only reason

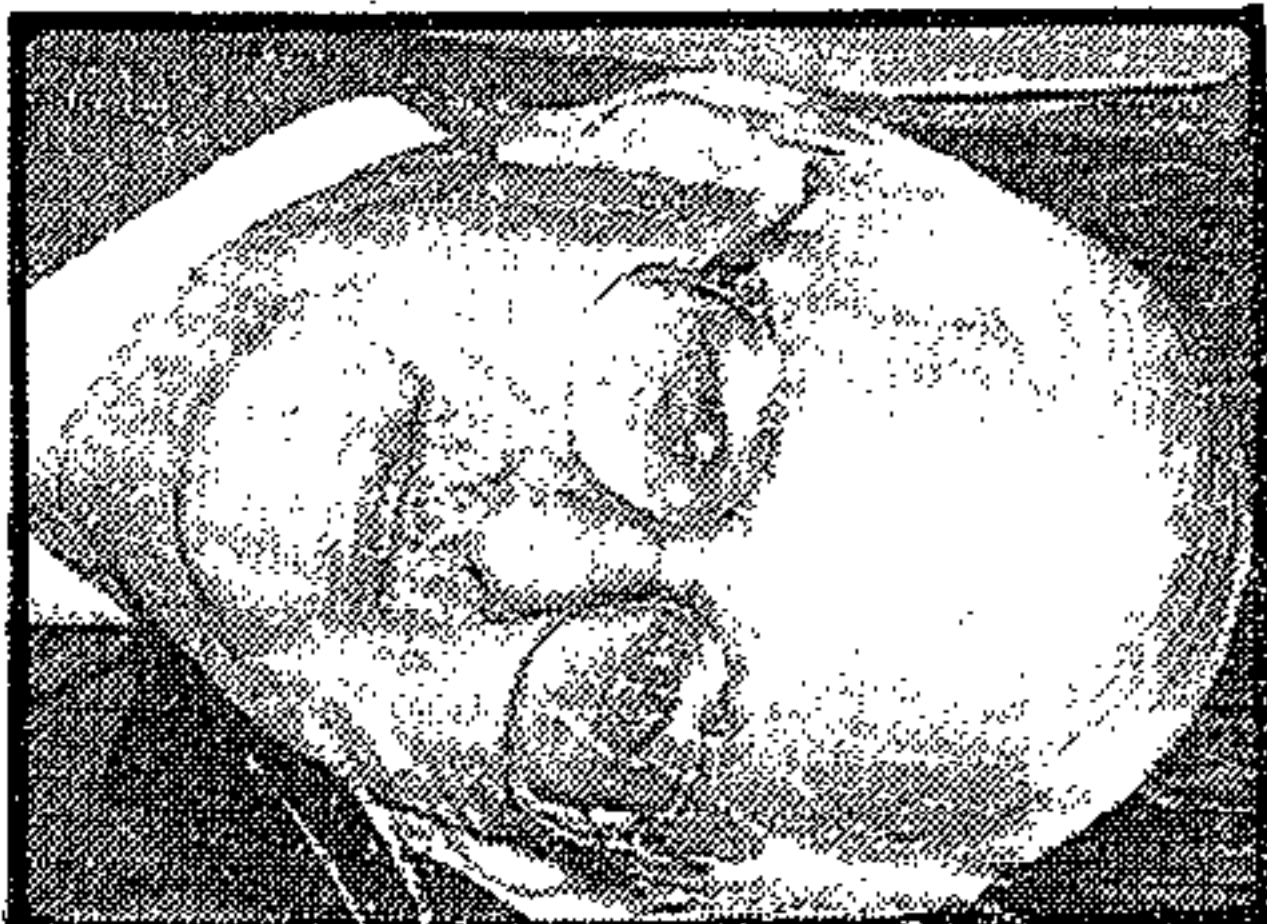
Planning Minister Hernus
Kriel, takes over Law and Or-
der portfolio from Mr Vlok.



Minister of Water Affairs and
Forestry Gert Kotze retires
but retains seat as MP for
Malmesbury.



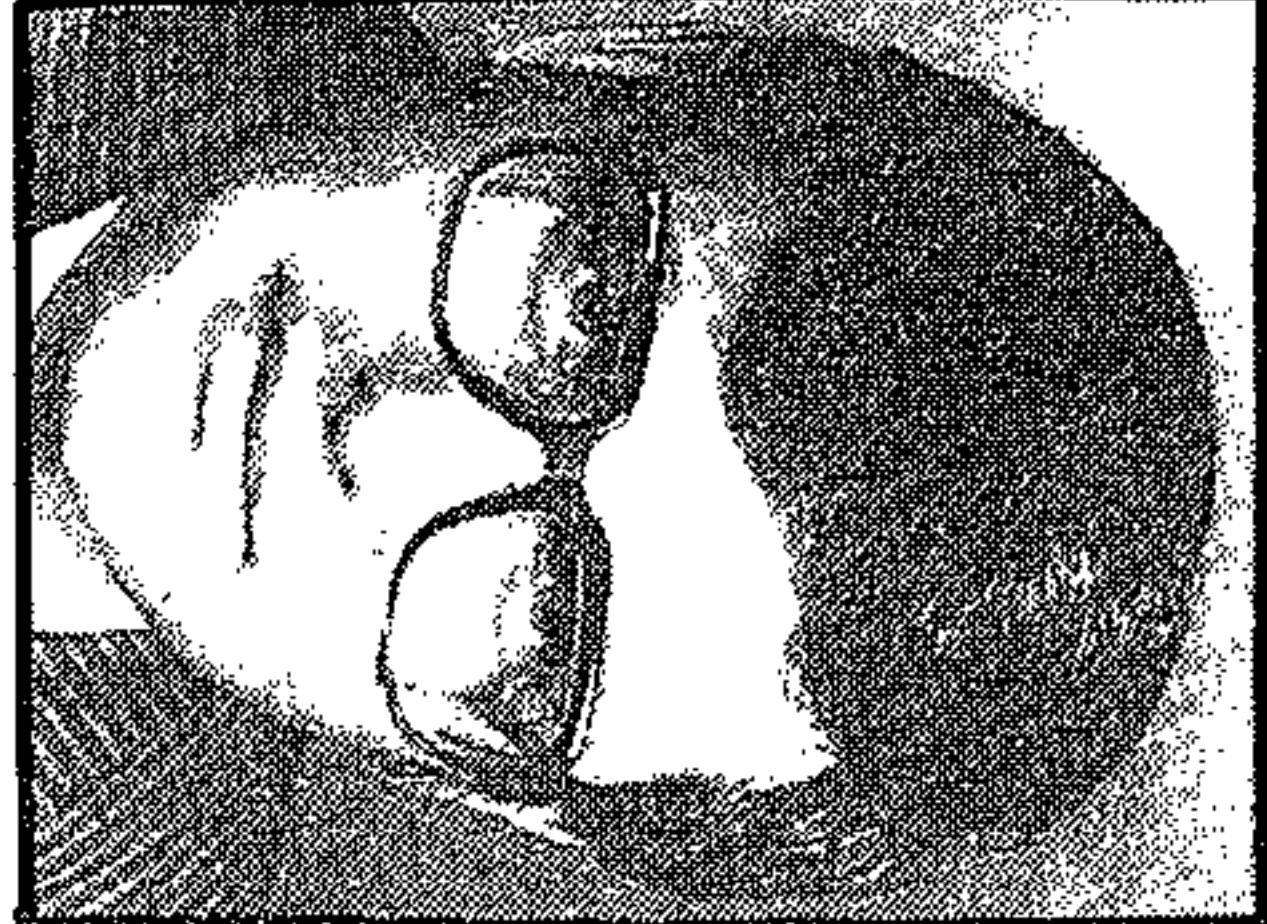
Minister of Education and
Culture Piet Clase, to retire
and leave politics.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen, remains un-
changed as Minister of Con-
stitutional Development



Mr Abe Williams becomes
Deputy Minister of National
Education and of Planning.



Dr Piet Welgemoed, Minister
of Transport, acquires Posts
and Telecommunications



Deputy Foreign Affairs Minis-
ter Leon Wessels, becomes
Minister of Planning, Pro-
vincial Affairs and National
Housing.

and motivation for my
decision."
He said he had discussed
his resignation with Mr de
Klerk and with the NP's Free
State leader, Mr Koble Coet-

Justice Minister Koble Coet-
see relinquishes Correctional
Services, retains chairman-
ship of the Ministers' Council,
House of Assembly.

see, some months ago.
"I lay down the reins, a
convinced Nationalist, firm in
the conviction that the future
of this country is in good
hands," said Mr Clase, who

Education and Training Min-
ister Dr Stoffel van der
Merwe resigns to prepare the
NP for negotiations. Remains
MP for Helderkruijn.

has not been considered an
enthusiastic supporter of the
bold De Klerk reforms.
Mr Kotze said he was retir-
ing from the cabinet "in order
to spend more time on family

ters' Council.

Mr Adrian Vlok — Correctional Services and the Budget
Mr Hernus Kriel — Law and Order
Mr Piet Welgemoed — Transport and Posts and
Telecommunications

Mr Sam de Beer — Education and Training
Dr Rina Venter — National Health and Health Services
and Welfare

Mr Roelf Meyer — Defence and Communications
Mr Leon Wessels — Planning, Provincial Affairs, Nation-
al Housing
and Local Government

Mr Piet Marais — Administration, Education and Culture
Mr Barend du Plessis — Finance
Mr Eli Louw — Manpower

Mr Eugene Louw — Home Affairs
Mr Org Marais — Trade, Industry and Tourism
Mr George Bartlett — Mineral and Energy Affairs

Mr Jacob de Villiers — Development Aid, Public Works
and Land
Affairs

Mr Louis Pienaar — National Education and Environ-
ment Affairs

Deputy Ministers
Mr Wynand Breyenbach — Defence
Mr Jac van Wyk — Finance, Water Affairs and Land
Affairs

Dr Theo Alant — Finance and of the National Intel-
ligence Service

Mr Abe Williams — National Education, and Planning
Mr Andre Fourie — Provincial Affairs and National
Housing

Mr Danie Schutte — Justice, and Education and Training
Dr Tertius Delpoit — Constitutional Development

Mr Johan Scheepers — Law and Order, and Development
Aid

Mr Tobie Meyer — Agriculture and Agricultural Devel-
opment (House of
Assembly)

Mr David Graaf — Trade, and Industry and Tourism
Mr Fanus Schoeman — Health Services and Welfare
(House of
Assembly)

Mr Renier Schoeman — Foreign Affairs

and farming matters".
Dr van der Merwe said his
new assignment was not only
of cardinal importance to the
NP, but it would also serve
the broader interests of South
Africa.
"For this reason, I am
pleased to accept this assign-
ment although it will require
sacrifices from both myself
and my family," he said.



How FV sacked Vlok, Malan

5544 (2) 115
August 20/7/91

Night of the long knives as President acts against key ministers

Chances of negotiation brighter now

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved to improve the atmosphere for negotiations by demoting two of his controversial ministers against the background of the Inkathagate controversy.

He is expected to follow this up with announcements on secret projects late this afternoon.

Playing his cards close to his chest as usual, Mr De Klerk has surprised his followers with the Cabinet reshuffle.

How the new Cabinet looks — page 17.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, while remaining in the Cabinet, have been given fairly minor portfolios.

Some of their Nationalist colleagues saw this as merely a face-saving move by the president to avoid them being humiliated too much following ANC demands that they be fired.

The two were suddenly called to the president's official residence on Sunday to be told their fate.

General Malan is known as an abrasive politician who often appears to be used by the government to attack the ANC. A former head of the Defence Force, he was a protégé of former president P.W. Botha, who appointed him to the Cabinet.

Mr Vlok is known as a mild-mannered man who maintained that he was dedicated to improving the image of the police force, but in the end it appeared that he did not have strict control over his department.

Many "dirty tricks" allegations against the police remain unresolved.

Mr De Klerk is clearly sensitive about the effect that allegations and disclosures about secret projects and the involvement of security forces in violence can have on the negotiation process.

He has therefore moved to contain the damage at this stage and to ease the way to negotiations.

An especially bad impression was created by the fact that the police channelled money to Inkatha and the trade union Uxusa.

In what is also seen as a good move among Nationalists, he has taken Dr Stoffel van der Merwe out of the Cabinet to make him head of communications of the National Party in preparation for negotiations.

Dr Van der Merwe is seen as an able communicator who has had much to do with exploratory moves to start negotiations.

With his Cabinet reshuffle Mr De Klerk has given in to demands from his own ranks that more promising, younger politicians such as Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Piet Marais and Mr Leon Wessels must be given a chance.

The one embarrassment to Mr De Klerk at this stage is the resignation of the "own affairs" Minister of Education, Mr Piet Clase, because he had only a 47 majority in his Free State constituency in the last general election and the CP is now bound to win the seat.

On the other hand Mr Clase was becoming an embarrassment to the government because he appeared to be unable to keep up with moves towards open schools.



DEMOTED:

Mr Adriaan Vlok is switched from law and order minister to take over correctional services.

ANC cautious, PAC says it's disgraceful

Political Staff

THERE has been mixed reaction across the political spectrum, ranging from caution and approval to outright indignation that Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan had been shifted in the Cabinet and not expelled.

ANC deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu said: "It's not easy to say what we will do one way or the other. To remove them (the ministers) is something, but the situation is rather complex and requires to be examined."

The ANC's national working committee meets in Johannesburg today and the full national executive committee tomorrow.

Mr Mzonke Jacobs, Western Cape head of the ANC Youth League, said the YL had not demanded the ministers' reshuffle but their removal.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said it was disgraceful that although ministers guilty of nefarious practices were no longer in their former positions, they were still in the Cabinet.

On the far right there was also dissatisfaction.

Conservative Party deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said President De Klerk had given in to African National Congress demands.

He described the Cabinet reshuffle as "panicky". Bits and

pieces of portfolios had been assigned in ways which did not fit.

Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party said General Malan and Mr Vlok had probably been kept in the Cabinet to keep the NP intact and prevent by-elections.

Their successors, Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Hernus Kriel, were untried in this field — but at least they were not "tainted with the dirty tricks of the past."

Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga Mr Kobus Jordaan, another key player in the drama, said Mr De Klerk had made "an excellent move" and had shown his loyalty to "people with good service".

Labour Party leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, described the reshuffle as a panic reaction.

The axings showed President De Klerk accepted that the country had no faith in the two ministers, the national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, said.

Reacting from Geneva, where he is to testify before the UN High Commission on Apartheid today, Mr Currin said the moves suggested President De Klerk took the latest developments in the country seriously.

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were called suddenly to Libertas, President De Klerk's official residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of what Mr De Klerk planned to tell them. The ministers had been part of his team at the Union Buildings on Friday, planning his much-awaited news conference tonight on the Inkathagate row.

They had no idea they would be key elements of today's strategy.

There was no sign of demotion. Mr Vlok, under the most fire for the police's role in funding two Inkatha rallies and the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uxusa), had no signal from the bush conference of Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and provincial administrators last Monday and Tuesday that he was about to be shifted.

To his aides, it was Mr Vlok going about business as usual — with no hint of dramatic moves around the corner.

His aides judged him to be "serious but confident", and painstakingly helped him plan a response on Saturday to accusations in the Press that he had lied when he had said on television a few days previously that every cent spent on Uxusa had been accounted for.

General Malan and Mr Vlok apparently met Mr De Klerk separately after the telephone calls on Sunday, not seeing each other at the Bryntirion mansion. It is not known how many others involved in the shuffle drove through the gates of Libertas to hear their fates that afternoon.

Two veteran survivors

Both outgoing security ministers, who had become specific targets of repeated calls for government heads to roll, kept their awful secrets until yesterday afternoon — after attending a lengthy State Security Council meeting which discussed Mr De Klerk's announcements tonight.

They then told their staffs. Mr Vlok first informed police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, his personal staff, and the generals at police headquarters, Wachthuis.

Aides to both men were shocked. They thought their ministers were again about to weather the storm. Both were veteran survivors by now.

General Malan has long been seen as a burden to Mr De Klerk and his reformist ways — a relic of the old South Africa. The new Cabinet clearly suggests that the era of the securocrats who directed the "total onslaught" approach under Mr P.W. Botha is finally at an end.

Mr De Klerk has in the past moved to bring intelligence and security operations more directly under Cabinet control.

Last night General Malan took fate with his chin high and some humour: "I've beaten the Reds. Now I join the Greens" (his role as Water Affairs and Forestry chief).

'Gave everything to SA'

The cause was always greater than the person, noted the defence minister of almost 11 years.

"The military successes of the SADF in the late 80s in southern Angola paved the way for the present political dispensation in South Africa."

General Malan said Armscor had through its achievements guaranteed South Africa's political independence through these stormy years.

"I gave them everything in the interests of security. Now I've been called to serve in another capacity. I will do so with devotion. A good man (Mr Roelf Meyer) succeeds me. I will help him where I can."

Among the stunned listeners as Mr Vlok told his immediate staff yesterday was Brigadier Leon Mellet, his well-known spokesman.

"I've worked with him ever since he became a deputy minister when the 1984 unrest broke out, and this is like the breakdown of a marriage."

"He has done wonders for the country. Since the day he took over he hasn't stopped working, day and night, setting a perfect example to the police."

"He was always on the ground with his men. He was never an armchair minister. I worked very hard for him because I believed in him."

FW faces the nation today

Political Staff and Sapa

PRESIDENT De Klerk faces the nation this evening on the Inkatha funding scandal.

In a Press conference to be televised live from the presidency in Pretoria at 6pm he will explain his stance on the allegations which have rocked the government.

Yesterday the State Security Council gave him a briefing on the security situation.

It is understood that the meeting was attended by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, was said to have prepared a report for the SSC on how the public and the international community were reacting to the exposé and on responses to specific options open to the government.

In addition, the SSC is thought to have seen departmental reports on funding which may become future embarrassments, given the likelihood of further "grudge" leaks to the media.

More revelations on 'Inkathagate'

Sowetan 30/7/91

Sowetan Foreign Staff

LONDON - Millionaire zoo-owner John Aspinall and Australian media magnate Kerry Packer last year set up a secret trust fund for Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to London's *Independent on Sunday* newspaper.

This is the latest shock revelation in a series made by overseas newspapers as the "Inkathagate" scandal continues to grow.

The newspaper quotes secret bank records, obtained in Johannesburg, as showing that the cash is being used to repay slush funds channeled into Inkatha by the South African Government.

Fund

The newspaper claims that on September 11 last year Aspinall and Packer, not previously known to have taken an interest in South African politics, were the major contributors to the opening trust fund, with other, unnamed, supporters.

The fund is solely in Buthelezi's name at the First National Bank, Ulundi. There is no Inkatha control over the account, which is numbered 4529040806.

A withdrawal was made from the account on Tuesday to reimburse the Government for its donations after sensational disclosures of support for In-

katha by Pretoria and the security police.

Neither Aspinall nor Packer were available for comment at the weekend, but it is doubtful whether anything either could say would defuse the shock, dismay and sensation which "Inkathagate" has caused in Britain.

Scandal

The story continued to preoccupy large sections of the British weekend Press, with the *Independent on Sunday* devoting a further full page inside to a detailed account of Buthelezi "at bay" over the scandal.

It also repeated allegations of a growing anti-ANC plot, predicting that further revelations on finance and violence are likely.

The newspaper lists the alleged use and bankrolling of Inkatha by the police and Government, provocations of the ANC by Zulu warriors, an "ambitious dirty tricks campaign", reportedly run by the army to help Inkatha foment violence between blacks and discredit the ANC, the commuter train killings, official funding of Uwusa, police hit squads operating in KwaZulu, and army plans to manipulate the forthcoming Angola elections, as evidence of a

mammoth conspiracy between Pretoria and Inkatha.

In similar vein, *The Observer* reports "De Klerk's fall from grace" at considerable length. It regards the President's decision to free Nelson Mandela as possibly "part of the political skulduggery", and dismisses out of hand claims that neither Buthelezi nor De Klerk knew of the secret funding of Inkatha.

The Sunday Times says it was "almost like the old days in Pretoria last week as liberals screamed foul and shifty-looking white government ministers desperately tried to explain away a scandal about secret funds used to undermine black organisations".

Sinister

After 18 months of being regarded as the "Afrikaans nice guy", De Klerk, the paper adds, was suddenly accused of being "a double-dealing, old-style South African politician".

At best he had allowed a sinister government-funded campaign against the ANC, at worst he may have orchestrated it.

The Sunday Telegraph devotes a lengthy report to Mr Oscar Dhlomo's advice to De Klerk on surviving the scandal.

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Govt should first quit - callers

Sowetan 30/7/91

THE National Party Government cannot form an interim government alone but "progressive" liberation movements should meet the Government after it had resigned to decide on the issue.

Callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show discussed the issue with DJ Tim Modise yesterday.

Thami Mcerwa of Soweto said an interim government should not

consist of either the government or the liberation movements of a particular country.

"A neutral and impartial party will be nominated to manage the country's affairs while a new constitution is being discussed.

"The Government must resign and as a political party sit down with liberation movements to decide on the new constitution," he

said.

Shandu from Tembisa supported him. He said the all-party conference proposed by the Government would give the "homeland puppets" a say in the issue.

He, however, said organisations like the PAC and Azapo who are not keen on the interim government should give the ANC's call a chance.

Christopher of Soweto said liberation movements

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



should together with the Government form an interim government and should be voted in by the whole population.

Joe from Tembisa suggested the OAU and United Nations should oversee the transition which would be discussed by the PAC, ANC and Azapo while excluding Inkatha.

Peter from Kagiso said he did not understand why the ANC had to push for an interim government while other liberation movements were having reservations about it.

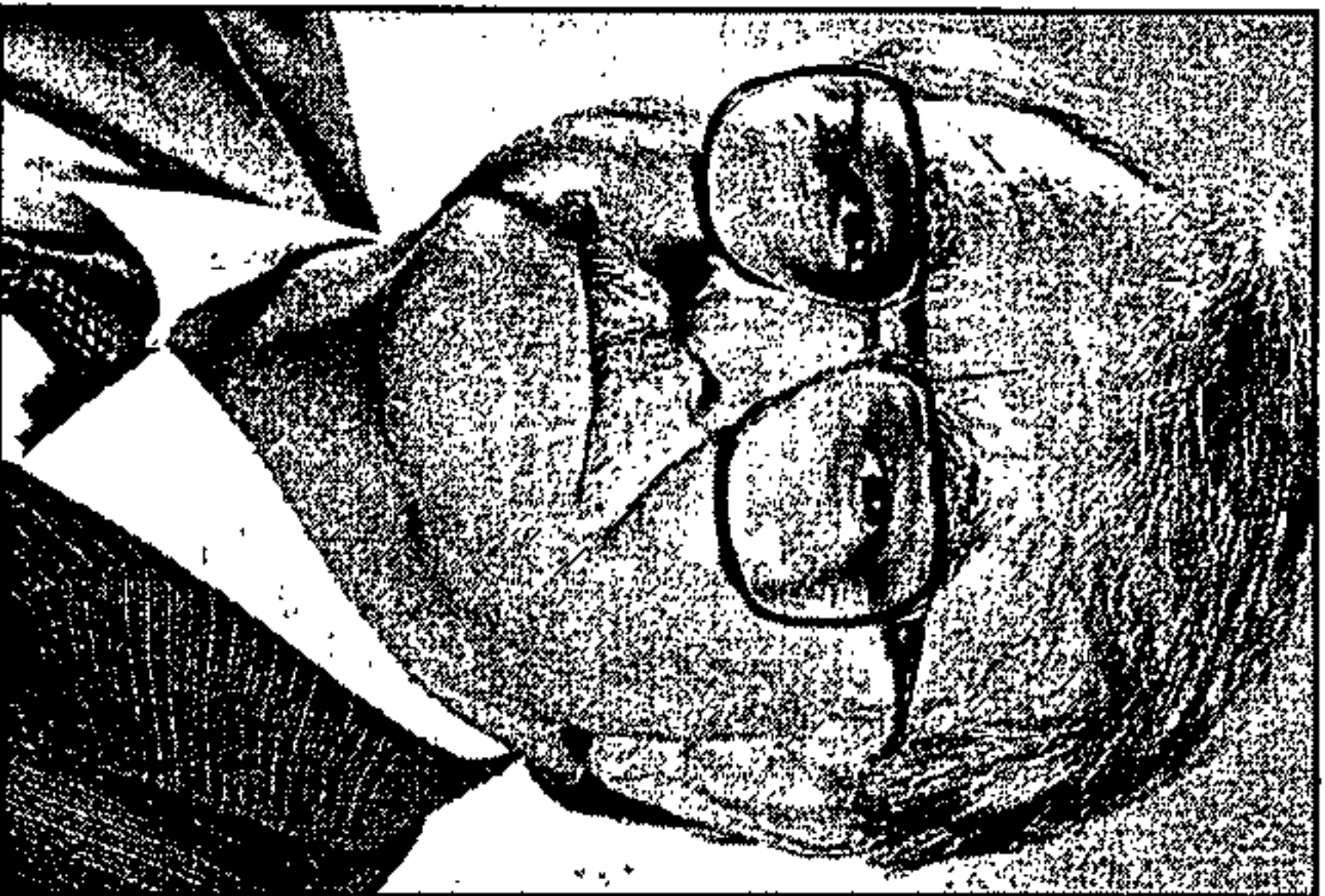
He suggested they all get together in a consultative conference to reach consensus and work on the finer details of the issue.

● Cabinet shuffle should help repair Government credibility



● Three NP verligtes get key posts in run-up to negotiations

FW sidelines Malan, Vlok

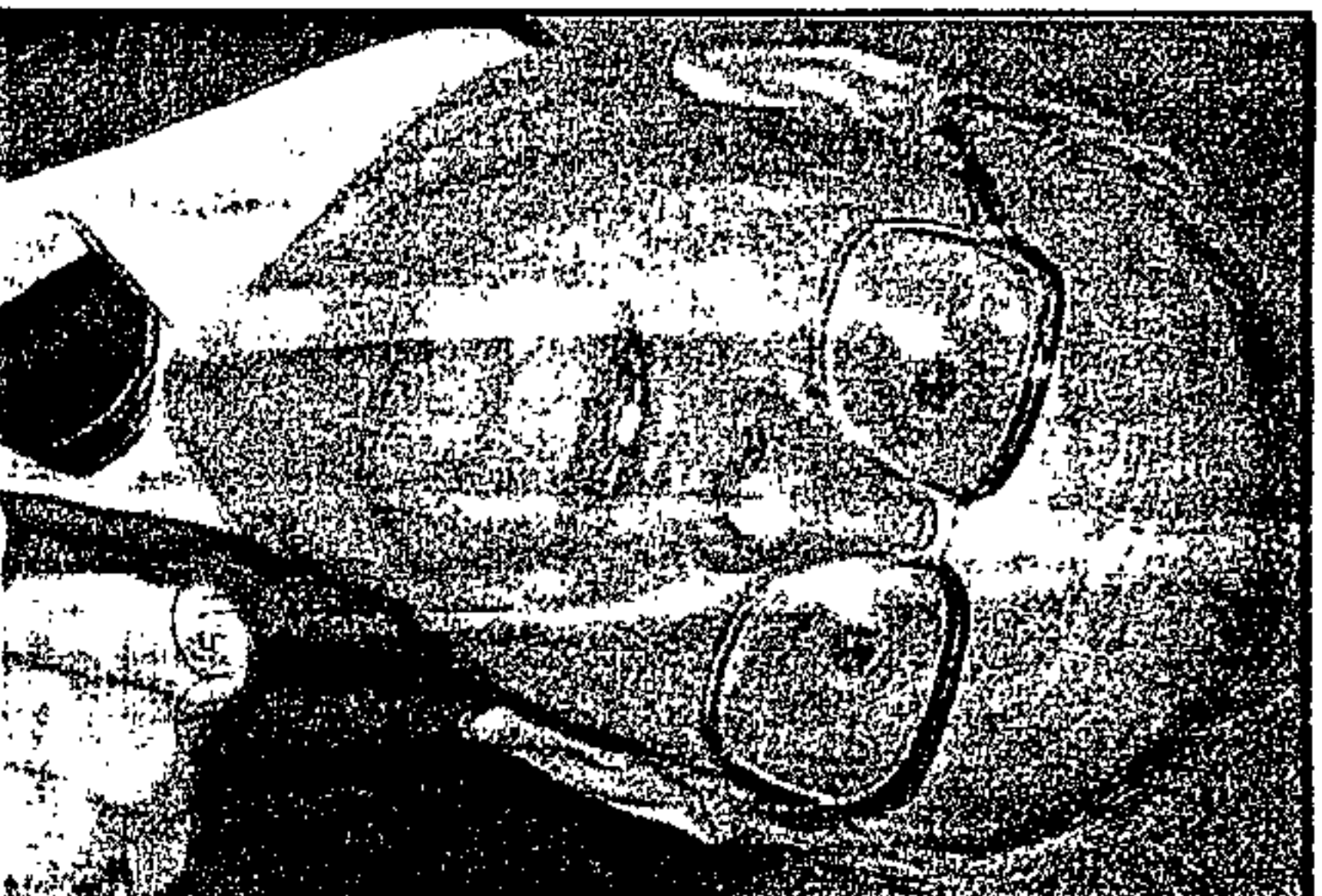


Promoted... Kriel.

By Peter Fabritius and Shaun Johnson

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan were axed from their key Cabinet portfolios last night in a shock reshuffle announced by President de Klerk.

The two Ministers — whose firing had been widely called for by the ANC and others in the wake of the Inkatha slush fund scandal —



Demoted... Vlok.

Mr Vlok becomes Minister of Correctional Services, and of the Budget in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

General Malan becomes Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, and Minister of Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

The general took his Cabinet transfer in a light-hearted vein last night. "I beat the Reds, and now I'm joining the Greens."

Mr Vlok is replaced by



Promoted... Meyer.

Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Minister Hernus Kriel. General Malan's replacement is Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

Other major changes announced include:

● Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wessels becomes Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing, and of Local Government in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

● Own affairs Minister Sam de Beer is promoted to Minister of Education and Training, replacing Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who has been pulled out of the Cabinet to take up a new position as National Party chief publicist.



Demoted... Malan.

Culture Piet Claas is to replace Mr Claas, who has been pulled out of the Cabinet to take up a new position as National Party chief publicist.

Political observers were surprised last night, though, that Mr Claas, who has been pulled out of the Cabinet to take up a new position as National Party chief publicist, was replaced by Gert Kotze.

Mr Claas, who has been pulled out of the Cabinet to take up a new position as National Party chief publicist, was replaced by Gert Kotze.

The removal of Mr Vlok and General Malan from the two key security portfolios is expected to go a long way towards repairing the Government's damaged credibility — although Mr de Klerk made no mention of the controversy surrounding them in his announcement.

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Vlok, Malan are sidelined

Star 30/7/91

● From Page 1

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His only explanation for the move in last night's statement referred to the need to "moderately lighten" the work load of senior Ministers.

In Mr Meyer, Mr Wessels and Mr de Beer, Mr de Klerk has, however, pulled three of the NP's best-known verligtes into key Cabinet posts.

Mr de Klerk's Cabinet shuffle — the most dramatic since he came to power — took political observers by surprise. Senior Government sources had suggested that Mr de Klerk would not fire or sideline Mr Vlok and General Malan now, for fear of being seen to be bowing to political pressure.

Dr van der Merwe — the man in charge of black education — will prepare the National Party for negotiations, and control the marketing and expansion of the party. He will retain his Helderkrui seat.

Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Gert Kotze will retire from the Cabinet on October 1 but remains an ordinary MP.

The Cabinet shuffle took Mr Vlok's staff by surprise and Brigadier Leon Mellet, his long-time spokesman, last night paid sad tribute to him.

"He was a great communicator, a wonderful Minister for the police, and is greatly admired by the SAP for his hard work, loyalty, fairness, discipline, ability and foresight."

Other changes include:

- In addition to his new Defence portfolio, Mr Meyer retains control of the former Bureau for Information, now the SA Communications Service.

- Armscor is to be rationalised, with eventual transferral from the Defence Ministry to the Ministry of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprise.

- In addition to his new Cabinet post, Mr Wessels takes on Local Government in the Assembly.

- Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers acquires Development Aid.

- Chief NP spokesman Renier Schoeman is promoted to the post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Panic, say some – genius, say others

Star 30/7/91

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President de Klerk had given in to ANC demands on General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said last night.

He described the Cabinet shuffle as "panicky". Bits and pieces of portfolios had been assigned in ways which did not fit.

The CP was bound to win Virginia, vacated by Education Minister Piet Clase. "Everyone knows it," he said.

"Things are crumbling. This is a puncture he won't be able to fix. It's too big."

Colin Eglin, Democratic Party MP, said General Malan and Mr Vlok had probably been kept in the Cabinet to keep the NP intact and prevent by-elections.

Roelf Meyer and Hernus Kriel were untried in this field: "In that sense, a question mark hangs over them. But at least they aren't asso-



Du Preez . . . stroke of genius.



Hartzenberg . . . a panicky move.



Desai . . . all should resign.

ciated with the CCBs, with secret operations, or collusion. They aren't tainted with the dirty tricks of the past."

Mr Eglin described the shuffle as without real reform: "Mr de Klerk didn't seize the opportunity to consolidate education under one ministry and hasn't introduced any new blood from outside. Far-reaching though the changes are, they have a ring of caretakerism about them."

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the sidelining of Adriaan Vlok

and Magnus Malan showed the Government had given in to the demands of the ANC.

The reshuffle showed President de Klerk had become totally left-wing and had put the process of handing over into top gear. A black majority government could be installed sooner than expected.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez, who had been in the forefront of those calling for the two men's dismissals, said the demotions were "a stroke of genius by De Klerk".

"It is certainly not what I

would have wanted to see – I would like both of them out of the Cabinet – but it was a much more imaginative step than anyone would have thought President de Klerk capable of."

Barney Desai, information secretary of the PAC: "Had this been a democratic government, in the accepted sense, this entire government, starting from the president downwards, would have had to resign because of the appalling scandals that they have been engaged in. They have been guilty of deception and gross misuse of taxpayers' money."

Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, called the moves a panic reshuffle.

Abe Williams as Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning was a reward for "betrayal of the Labour Party". – Political Staff-Sapa-Own Correspondents.

Drastic changes to policy on secret funding expected from

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BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to announce radical changes to secret funding policies when he addresses the nation on the Inkatha funding scandal today.

Senior government sources said last night De Klerk was likely to order strong corrective action to ensure government could not again be accused of interfering in the free processes of politics.

They said De Klerk would have to do much more than Foreign Minister Pik Botha did last week to quell domestic and international criticism of the secret funding of Inkatha and Uvusa.

The State Security Council met yesterday under the chairmanship of De Klerk to

conduct an analysis of the scandal and formulate a plan of action.

National Intelligence Service chief Neil Barnard and heads of the relevant departments were at the meeting.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan are permanent ex-officio members of the council, as are Botha, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Justice Minister Ko-bie Coetsee. In view of the effect the scandal may have on negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen was invited to the session.

The council had assessed the "best way to change security apparatus policy and

the management of the secret funds to ensure that internal security was not compromised in any way by the President's remedial action", one source said.

It was expected that the council would tailor a credible clean-up of secret funding procedures and parameters, as well as a public defence of police and Foreign Affairs involvement in what government has claimed was an anti-sanctions action.

The security council would also be in a position to help plan a response wide enough to cope with secret operations coming to light in the future.

The sources said De Klerk might well decide to disclose other, completed, secret projects in order to give the greatest possible credence to the "clean-up" drive.

The changes to legislation on government funding are likely to give the Auditor-General wider powers in scrutinising secret accounts, thereby giving Parliament more authority over them.

It is also expected that the secret accounts will no longer be the exclusive preserve of the "line" Minister, and Cabinet would gain greater control over the funds.

While De Klerk will insist the Inkatha funding was necessary in the political cli-

mate at the time he will nevertheless acknowledge it was not in keeping with his February 1990 policy speech, sources said.

He will probably announce cuts in the number of secret projects, the funds allocated to them and insist that his Ministers run more of their affairs on open accounts, the sources said.

They said he was unlikely to appoint a judicial inquiry into the Inkatha funding.

It is certain that no Cabinet Ministers will be fired over the affair.

De Klerk's news conference will be broadcast live on TV1 from 6pm today.

See Page 2

De Klerk

Three other Ministers quit in shuffle

Vlok, Malan resign from the Cabinet

304A
B/day 30/7/91

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk announced last night that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan had resigned after the scandal surrounding government's donations to Inkatha.

It was believed late last night that Vlok would be replaced by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Malan by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel.

Two other Cabinet Ministers and an own affairs Minister also resigned their positions yesterday as government moved to reorganise education and prepare for the negotiation process.

A Cabinet shuffle, including a major reorganisation of the education portfolios, was finalised at last Wednesday's Cabinet meeting.

Yesterday's announcement is understood to have been timed to coincide with President FW de Klerk's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal this evening.

Skilled negotiator, constitutional expert and Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe leaves his post next month to spearhead the NP's move towards multi-party negotiations.

Piet Clase resigned



● VAN DER MERWE



● CLASE



● KOTZE

BILLY PADDOCK

as Own Affairs Education and Culture Minister and as MP for Virginia. Water Affairs Minister Gert Kotze also announced he had resigned his post, but would retain his parliamentary seat. The resignations would be effective from October 1.

It is understood Van der Merwe was selected for the new party post because other government leaders are still needed in the Cabinet.

With his experience as former Information Minister and his association with left-wing organisations in his current capacity, Van der Merwe was considered the right choice to sell NP policies to black constituencies.

In a statement last night De Klerk,

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speaking in his capacity as NP leader, said the NP needed to increase its information capability since opening its doors to all races earlier this year.

"At the same time, the approaching constitutional negotiations are also placing new demands on the NP in respect of expertise and manpower requirements."

A need had arisen for the services of a senior person with wide and appropriate experience to head the NP's total marketing and expansion.

Van der Merwe would also be involved in the NP's planning and preparations for negotiations.

Van der Merwe said in a separate statement he was honoured to accept the special assignment.

It is understood government believed it

could afford to let Van der Merwe go as he had completed laying the foundation for a new unitary education system following negotiations with education groups across the political spectrum. The second stage of these negotiations was due to start soon and would not be as sensitive.

Clase's resignation came as a surprise to senior government officials who said they were certain he had wanted to remain in government. One source said it was probably a signal from De Klerk that own affairs ministries were becoming defunct.

Observers said De Klerk would probably consolidate the education portfolios and thereby decrease government spending.

A source said he did not think De Klerk would replace Clase.

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The old Cabinet ^{304A} and the new

steur 30/7/91

F W de Klerk — State President
 Pik Botha — Foreign Affairs
 Gerrit Viljoen — Constitutional Development
 Magnus Malan — Defence
 Dawie de Villiers — Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination
 Kobie Coetsee — Justice and Correctional Services
 Barend du Plessis — Finance
 Amie Venter — State Expenditure, and of Regional Development
 Eli Louw — Manpower
 Adriaan Vlok — Law and Order
 Gert Kotze — Water Affairs and Forestry
 Stoffel van der Merwe — Education and Training
 Gene Louw — Home Affairs
 George Bartlett — Mineral and Energy Affairs
 Hernus Kriel — Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing
 Rina Venter — National Health and Population Development
 Jacob de Villiers — Public Works and Land Affairs, and Development Aid
 Louis Pienaar — National Education and Environmental Affairs
 A I. (Kraai) van Niekerk — Agriculture
 Org Marais — Trade and Industry, and Tourism
 Piet Welgemoed — Transport

Deputy Ministers

Roelf Meyer — Constitutional Development and Information Services
 Wynand Breytenbach — Defence
 Japie van Wyk — Finance, Water Affairs, and Land Affairs.
 Theo Alant — Finance, and National Education
 Leon Wessels — Foreign Affairs
 Andre Fourie — Planning Affairs
 Danie Schutte — Justice and Correctional Services
 Piet Marais — Education and Development Aid
 Tertius Delpont — Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs
 Johan Scheepers — Law and Order
 Tobie Meyer — Agriculture
 David Graaff — Trade and Industry and Tourism

F W de Klerk — State President
 Pik Botha — Foreign Affairs
 Gerrit Viljoen — Constitutional Development
 Magnus Malan — Housing and Works, Water Affairs and Forestry
 Dawie de Villiers — Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises
 Kobie Coetsee — Justice and Chairman of the Ministers' Council
 Adriaan Vlok — Correctional Services and the Budget
 Hernus Kriel — Law and Order
 Piet Welgemoed — Transport and Posts and Telecommunications
 Sam de Beer — Education and Training
 Rina Venter — National Health and Health Services and Welfare
 Roelf Meyer — Defence and Communications
 Leon Wessels — Planning, Provincial Affairs, National Housing and Local Government
 Piet Marais — Administration, Education and Culture
 Barend du Plessis — Finance
 Amie Venter — Regional Development, State Expenditure
 Eli Louw — Manpower
 Eugene Louw — Home Affairs
 Org Marais — Trade, Industry and Tourism
 George Bartlett — Mineral and Energy Affairs
 Jacob de Villiers — Development Aid, Public Works and Land Affairs
 Louis Pienaar — National Education and Environment Affairs

Deputy Ministers

Wynand Breytenbach — Defence
 Jac van Wyk — Finance, Water Affairs and Land Affairs
 Theo Alant — Finance and the National Intelligence Service
 Abe Williams — National Education, and Planning
 Andre Fourie — Provincial Affairs and National Housing
 Danie Schutte — Justice, and Education and Training
 Tertius Delpont — Constitutional Development
 Johan Scheepers — Law and Order, and Development Aid
 Tobie Meyer — Agriculture and Agricultural Development (House of Assembly)
 David Graaf — Trade, and Industry and Tourism
 Fanus Schoeman — Health Services and Welfare (House of Assembly)
 Renier Schoeman — Foreign Affairs

FW 'must act for all of us'

Star 30/7/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff 304A

President de Klerk would have to act as the country's leader and not merely as the leader of the National Party if he is to restore the confidence of the majority of South Africans and the international community, according to ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

He also said, that "whatever might be hitting the headlines at the moment", there was reason for hope about the future.

Mr de Klerk, who has so far remained tight-lipped on the funds-for-Inkatha scandal, is expected to make his pronouncements on the matter today.

Widely expected to be announced by the President is the exercise of tighter control of Government secret funds.

Addressing the first British-South African conference at Jesus College in Cambridge, Mr Mbeki said President de Klerk would have to rise above being

NP leader and become "a leader of South Africa" if he was to restore the confidence of the majority of South Africans and of the international community.

He said that would be necessary if South Africans and the world were to know they were dealing with a man of integrity who was committed to change and "would not do what they (the Government) have been discovered to have done".

Mr Mbeki said although the disclosure of the SAP funding for the IFP and its United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) had strained relations between the Government and other political parties, rapid movement towards an all-party conference would help put the negotiation process back on track.

The ANC international affairs director said this was not the time for parties "to be electioneering as though they were preparing to contest seats in Parliament".

It was in the interest of negotiations that each party should be as strong as possible to carry with it the support of its constituency.

"As much as the ANC would not wish to see the NP weakened so the NP should avoid trying to weaken the ANC.

"It is wrong to believe battle has already been joined to see who will emerge the strongest party in a new Parliament," he said.

However, he added that there was a great degree of consensus that it would not require very much to put the peace process back on course, and that it remained possible to move quickly to an all-party conference.

Mr Mbeki said consensus had been reached on a number of important issues among the major political actors in the country, and he believed South Africa had "arrived at a point which is very hopeful, whatever might be hitting the headlines at the moment".

Cabinet:

The new mer

A rise through the ranks to the hottest seat of all

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

NEW Law and Order Minister **HERNUS KRIEL** has risen rapidly through the ranks of the cabinet to the hottest seat of all.

Clearly a man of the F W de Klerk era rather than the P W Botha era, he was not even a deputy minister under Mr Botha and leapfrogged into the cabinet over the heads of many deputy ministers who had been waiting in the wings for years.

Mr de Klerk put him into the key position of Provincial Affairs and Planning in his new cabinet late in 1989, to handle the issues of separate amenities and group areas just when these were becoming critical areas of the negotiating process.

In retrospect, Mr Kriel seems to have handled the problems deftly, easing out segregated facilities and group areas with less trauma than one might have expected, given the attitude of many whites at the time.

But at the time, Mr Kriel's approach was a little puzzling and enigmatic. He conveyed a

verligte image on the one hand — made more credible by the stand he had taken on apartheid issues as a Cape provincial councillor — but was also capable of expressing some remarkably anachronistic-sounding sentiments.

When the issue of group areas was still extremely touchy, he once remarked to journalists that if blacks wished to bargain with the National Party for the scrapping of group areas, they must be prepared to give up something equally dear to their own culture — and mentioned the lobola system as an example.

Certainly Mr Kriel also expressed some hearteningly liberal sentiments. As it became inevitable that group areas were going, he went on record as saying that he would rather live next to a black man whose lifestyle was similar to his than a white man "who spent all his Sundays repairing his car."

After his successes with group areas and separate amenities Mr Kriel concentrated on the extremely difficult problem of squatting where some of the old ambivalence about his approach was also felt.

His announcement this year of so-called "hut squads" to react rapidly to new occurrences of squatting smacked rather ominously of the old era — but again this might have been an example of strategising to placate the right rather than substance.

How he handles his new job, the most difficult of portfolios, will be crucial to the success of Mr de Klerk's reforms.

His legal training is at least one obvious asset that he takes into the job.

A central figure in the process of negotiation

SHAUN JOHNSON, Political Staff

DURING this year's parliamentary session, Nat backbenchers still referred to **ROELF MEYER** as "Roelfie" because of his youth and fresh-faced, cherubic looks.

They are unlikely to persist with the habit. Meyer, 44, the erstwhile "lightweight" MP for Johannesburg West, is about to become Minister of Defence, and one of the very central figures in the government team which will oversee South Africa's transition to democracy.

One would struggle to name a Nationalist politician more distant in style and image from the dour, warlike General Magnus Malan than Roelof Petrus Meyer. Since March last year the key aide de camp to Constitutional mastermind Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Meyer it was who attended most of the "working group" sessions with the ANC and who insisted, whenever the negotiating process faltered, that there was a way forward.

He openly took a conciliatory view on Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani — saying, by startling contrast to General Malan, that he was a man with whom he could do business — and he is well liked in ANC circles.

Whenever "doves" were identified in the government's inner sanctum, Meyer's name featured prominently. He also took responsibility for briefing the media on developments in the rollercoaster peace process, and won admiration for his sophisticated and substantive, rather than rhetorical, interpretations of events.

But none of this is to say that the likeable and, in earlier days, somewhat shy (and "laid back", according to a colleague) Meyer is a "soft touch" as a politician. As he has grown in stature and confidence — the speed of that process has been astounding — he has revealed himself to be a deeply committed Nationalist, and a proponent of a negotiated settlement based on power-sharing, not a handover of power. On a personal level his negotiating opponents will find him much easier to deal with than General Malan, but they expect a "pushover" at their peril.

Meyer 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 in 1979. He was soon appointed to influential standing committees, including that on Constitutional Development, and served as an NP Whip.

Shaun Johnson
Political Staff

Shaun Johnson
Political Staff

WHEN Deputy Foreign Minister LEON WESSELS made his dramatic personal apology for apartheid in February this year in Parliament, political observers knew something was up, but weren't quite sure what it was.

There were two theories: either Mr. Wessels, the archetypal "nice guy," was simply being true to his conscience by saying "mea culpa" or he

Was also testing the water for the entire National Party on the issue.

Reformist-minded, younger Nats were thrilled with him, although nervous about the consequences for his career. Others hinted that President de Klerk was not pleased and that Mr Wessels would find himself frozen out for a while.

Monday's events suggest that his critics were wrong. The charming, sincere 45-year-old has been given the crucial cabinet portfolio of

Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing — filling the shoes of a man many years his senior. The impression is inescapable that Mr Wessels — along with the rest of President de Klerk's clutch of verligte "deputies" — was poised all along for elevation.

As a senior cabinet member, his influence on the transitional phase cannot be overestimated. Mr Wessels was born in Kroonstad in the Free State and, like most other reformist NP deputy min-

isters, studied law. After graduating from the University of Potchefstroom he practised as an advocate.

In 1974 he became MPC for Krugersdorp and gained nomination — and election — as an MP three years later. He cut his political teeth in senior positions on NP parliamentary standing committees and study groups, before being appointed Deputy Minister of Law and Order in 1988. A year later, he moved across to Foreign Affairs as Mr Pik Botha's deputy, and held this

position until his promotion this week.

He brings to his new job a considerable reservoir of goodwill from black leaders, at both the national and regional levels. In February, one ANC-aligned township activist remarked, and the view was not his alone: "Of all the Nats were like Leon Wessels, we could have a deal before the end of the year."

He will be treated with less suspicion than might have been reserved for other, "older school" Nats.

Pioneered contact with pro-ANC groups

PETER Fabricius
Political Staff

SAM DE BEER, one of the earliest verligtes, has at last been appointed to the cabinet, as Minister of Education and Training, after waiting many years in the wings as deputy minister or minister in the Ministers Council in the House of Assembly.

It is especially ironic that Mr de Beer should have taken so long to get there. At a time when Mr de Klerk was still regarded as a diehard conser-

vative inseparably wedded to group rights and stifling any attempts by his MPs to open dialogue with the ANC, Mr de Beer was quietly pioneering contact with radical, pro-ANC groups in the education field way back in the dark and bloody days of 1985.

His early efforts to go the route of negotiation rather than confrontation were thwarted by the prevailing securocrat thinking favoured by President Botha and this may have contributed to a period of relative stagnation for

him in politics.

After this venture into the frontline he occupied a series of positions in the Ministers Council in the House of Assembly, and in Mr de Klerk's previous cabinet shuffle acquired several portfolios and became the only own affairs minister who did not also have a cabinet portfolio.

Mr de Beer, a trained dominée is also a keen and capable sportsman and he and his vivacious wife Ansie have run several Comrades Marathons.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT De Klerk has stuck to the time-honoured National Party tradition of not firing Cabinet Ministers — no matter how much they deserve such a fate.

The new government team he announced on Monday is certainly a decisive shift from the era when securocrats and P W Botha sycophants reigned. Although a number of further Cabinet changes can be expected when negotiations really get going, Mr De Klerk has started to put his stamp on the team likely to lead the Nationalist government through the tricky transition period.

He has signalled his intention to dismantle the security empire built by his predecessor and cut away a lot of dead wood by promoting younger, more able, reformists largely untainted by the worst excesses of the P W Botha era.

Although Mr De Klerk stopped short of widespread demands to fire his security ministers, the way in which they have been sidelined amounts to, as some of his critics have pointed out, an admission of guilt.

It is also the clearest acknowledgement yet that the security forces have not been properly brought to heel or adapted to the demands of the new South Africa.

Clipping wings

One significant element of Mr De Klerk's government reform has been the reduction of power and political influence of the security forces, symbolised by the once all-powerful State Security Council — often dubbed the 'Super Cabinet'.

Soon after assuming office he downgraded the SSC to a Cabinet sub-committee and began clipping the wings of the controversial, securocrat-dominated joint management centres which often had agendas quite separate from the ruling party.

With the removal of General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok, both long-standing members of the State Security Council, Mr De Klerk has gone

FW sticks to old methods to get rid of the NP 'old guard'

some way towards breaking-up the old boys network which brought so much discredit to his reformist administration.

Significantly, the stalwarts have been replaced by two party loyalists without the baggage of their securocrat predecessors — Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Hernus Kriel — to reassert party control.

The switch is all the more noteworthy since General Malan barely let a day go by without indulging his favourite passion of ANC-bashing, often singling out Umhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani, while Mr Meyer is known to have a good working relationship with the ANC leadership and has been publicly praised by Mr Hani.

Given Mr Meyer's skill in negotiating tricky situations, he could well be entrusted with the task of merging MK with the South African Defence Force as well as the homeland armies. On the other hand, he may have been given Defence in a caretaker capacity, only to be moved to the National Party's talks team once negotiations start.

At the height of his influence under P W Botha, General Malan said virtually what he liked because his minder liked what he said, but he has been publicly magnanimous about his fall from grace, describing it as a shift in battle focus from the "reds" to the "greens". It remains to be seen whether he can restrict himself to the rigours of dealing

with water, trees and whites-only housing.

Mr Vlok was generally regarded as a likeable figure who worked hard — a point even privately conceded by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela — but he was ineffective in asserting his authority and exercising the hard-nosed discipline necessary to re-educate the police into a more neutral role.

Delicate issues

His successor, Mr Hernus Kriel, whose first reaction to his promotion was that the police needed more credibility, faces the formidable challenge of transforming the force and weeding out the rogue elements which have been giving it a bad name.

His long political experience and no-nonsense approach should help him to cope but he will have to curb his appetite for making ill-timed and sometimes insensitive statements on delicate issues.

In another significant departure, Mr De Klerk has decided to tighten his party's grip on the intelligence community by appointing, for the first time, a deputy minister, Dr Theo Alant, to be the political head of the shadowy National Intelligence Service.

The old securocrat culture was symbolised by the head of NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, recalled from the obscurity of the University of the Orange Free State to take over service in

after the Info scandal in which the old Bureau for State Security was deeply implicated.

A further indication of Mr De Klerk's determination to break up the old security empire is his emphasis on the rationalisation of Armscor, now destined to fall under the Minister of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, another party stalwart and De Klerk loyalist.

This week's reshuffle has also given Mr De Klerk a chance to do some much-needed house-cleaning in his Cabinet.

Marginal seat

The departure of the low-key Mr Gert Kotze and Mr Piet Clase, both promoted by Mr Botha for reasons he can best explain, come as a breath of fresh air. Mr Clase has had persistent problems understanding, let alone staying in step with, the march towards the new South Africa and has routinely served as a brake to the removal of apartheid in education.

The fact that the NP now faces a tough by-election in his marginal Virginia seat, which it could well lose to the Conservative Party, is an indication of how little his services were valued during the period of transition.

Mr Kotze's retirement as a minister has been in the cards for some time and he could have no more worthy successor than General Malan in his obscure portfolio.

To fill the gaps in his Cabinet, Mr De Klerk has promoted four younger, more committed, reformists who are among the most able in an NP caucus not blessed with the range of talent the State President might have liked. Roelf Meyer, Sam de Beer, Piet Marais and Leon Wessels will be the figures to watch.

The freeing of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe from the Cabinet to rally support for the newly opened NP and gearing it for negotiations makes sense in terms of Mr De Klerk's power-sharing strategy in a future dispensation.

Answer not a 'takeover' election

PORT ELIZABETH. — A future "winner-takes-all" election will leave large segments of the population dissatisfied — in turn leaving the door open for further instability, conflict and violence, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

(304A)
Dr Viljoen was addressing the annual conference of the Institute for the Study and Resolution of Conflict at the University of Port Elizabeth.

He also said no party should be ne-

gotiating for a takeover. Rather, they should be negotiating for a new constitution that would best serve all the people of South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said that from his experiences he was convinced that in the end there would be much common ground for all participants to negotiate solutions to their differences.

He was hoping the issue could be addressed by a multi-party conference, which should be as comprehensive as possible, he said. — Sapa

Slush fund row

Secret budget explained

(304A)

~~(R4)~~

ET, 31/7/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Only R42,6 million would be spent on special secret projects in the current fiscal year, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, disclosed yesterday.

He told journalists these were projects of an ad-hoc nature, that did not form part of "normal" recurrent secret spending. Of the R380m budgeted for the Secret Services Account, only R15,7m was being used for special projects — and not the full amount as had been assumed in recent press reports.

The bulk of the budgeted amount would finance the National Intelligence Service (NIS)'s normal spending. A further R26,9m

from the Special Defence Account would also be used for special projects. The total amount being spent in the current fiscal year was "not unreasonable", he said.

He said criticism on the 16% increase in the Secret Services Account to R380m had been unwarranted. A large portion of that amount was for a building for the NIS, while depreciating exchange rates made overseas operations more expensive. NIS staff salary increases also had to be financed from this account.

"The real increase of about 2% cannot be regarded as unjustified or excessive."

Mr Du Plessis would act as the State President's "eyes and ears" on secret projects requiring Department of Finance funding, he said.

He had recently been empowered to approach the President if he questioned the

desirability of a secret project for which his department had to provide finance. While he did not have the power to "veto" his colleagues, he could take up the matter with President F W de Klerk if he felt it was warranted.

Asked why he had not reported the Inkatha funding to Mr De Klerk, he replied that there had been a lack of detail in the application on anti-sanctions operations. More detail would be required in future.

The government had six secret funds: Mr Du Plessis said the six funds were the Secret Services Account, the Special Defence Account, the Information Services Account, the Foreign Affairs Special Account, the police's secret spending and the NIS. Only the first two appeared in the budget. — Sapa

Nat 'empire' is falling, says Dr No

CT 31/7/91

(304A) (374B)
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Reaction to President de Klerk's major cabinet reshuffle poured in yesterday, and comments ranged from describing the move as "total panic" to "a stroke of genius".

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said South Africans were witnessing the fall of the National Party "empire".

"The resignation of three senior ministers, the demotion of two more, and the promotion of political lightweights to the cabinet makes it very clear there is a serious degree of turmoil within the ranks of the NP," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the biggest surprise, however, was the survival of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The Democratic Party's caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday described the move as "an interim measure taken under pressure rather than that of a fundamental re-appraisal of the role the cabinet has to play in leading us to a new South Africa".

The DP spokesman on education, Mr Roger Burrows, said the resignation of Mr Piet Clase "as Minister of Education and Culture, and from politics" — would be "greeted with relief by most South Africans".

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said Mr De Klerk's cabinet reshuffle could in no way restore confidence in the government.

Mr Barney Desai, information secretary of the PAC, said the entire government should have resigned.

"They have been guilty of deception and gross misuse of taxpayers' money," he said.

FW guilty, says ANC's Omar

Staff Reporter

THE ANC rejected any notion that President F W de Klerk was not responsible for the government's funding of Inkatha, ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar said last night.

Addressing an ANC meeting in Mitchell's Plain, attended by about 100 people, Mr Omar said: "We say the whole government is responsible and not just Vlok and Malan."

Two senior ANC members billed to speak, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Govan Mbeki, were not present.

Mr Neville van der Rheepe apologised from the chair for their absence, saying that Mr Mbeki, as well as another speaker, Mr Salie Manie, had flu and that Mr Lekota had telephoned yesterday afternoon to say that he would not be able to attend.

Mr Omar drew no distinction between the two security ministers on the one hand, and Mr De Klerk on the other. The cabinet was a team, captained by Mr De Klerk, and they shared responsibility, he said.

He also said it was not good enough for

Mr De Klerk to wait 10 days while he manufactured a story for the public.

"It is not good enough to reshuffle the cabinet. It is not good enough to say Vlok will no longer be Minister of Law and Order, that Malan will no longer be Minister of Defence.

"We think they should have been sacked from the government entirely."

Because of its track record, the De Klerk government could not be trusted to manage the transition, Mr Omar said. An interim government was needed to supervise elections for a constituent assembly.

Two ministers 'a stumbling block'

3041A 251 718 Political Staff CT 31/7/91

SIDELINED ministers General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok had been removed from their portfolios because they were becoming a stumbling block to negotiations, President F W de Klerk admitted last night.

However, he added that the two ministers had been retained in his restructured cabinet because he still had confidence in them.

Mr De Klerk said his decision to reshuffle his cabinet did not amount to an admission that the government had done anything unacceptable.

"What I am admitting is that this has become a divisive matter, a matter which is becoming a stumbling block in what we must now concentrate on in South Africa, and this is to start negotiations, and it is a stumbling block in the way of building trust."

He said all the actions and announcements made last night were aimed at removing distrust "as far as it is possible" and to get "in the business of building and working for a new South Africa and reconciliation".

He acknowledged that the security forces had become controversial and he hoped the moving of the two ministers would stop the constant attacks aimed at the security forces.

FW was 'unaware of secret funding'

6044 (S) (F) Political Staff CT 31/7/91

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night that he was unaware that secret funds had been channelled to Inkatha and its union affiliate, Uwusa, until this was disclosed in the Weekly Mail.

However, he conceded that as a member of the cabinet he was aware of the decision to bankroll anti-Swapo parties in Namibia in the pre-independence elections.

He was asked at a press conference in Pretoria whether he was aware that this contravened the 1988 agreement in which South Africa pledged to remain neutral in the election, but he did not respond directly to the question.

He did say: "Swapo has been assisted financially, and royally, from across the world.

"Apparently, in international ethics, governments provide support to parties outside their boundaries if those parties support their own principles and priorities.

"We have a marvellous case in South Africa — the ANC. From one country alone in Europe since the 1960s the ANC has received in the vicinity of R270 million. Ask them to disclose who paid for their congress in July in Durban.

"South Africa also had the right to do the same and support movements adhering to democratic principles," he said.

FW's

304A 25-115 CT 31/7/91

Steps to curb secret funds

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

HOT on the heels of the dramatic sidelining of his two security ministers, President FW de Klerk last night announced far-reaching steps to slash and control secret funding.

In an attempt to defuse the secret funding scandal and restore trust in the negotiation process, he said all financial support to political organisations had been ended, and comprehensive probes into clandestine projects instituted.

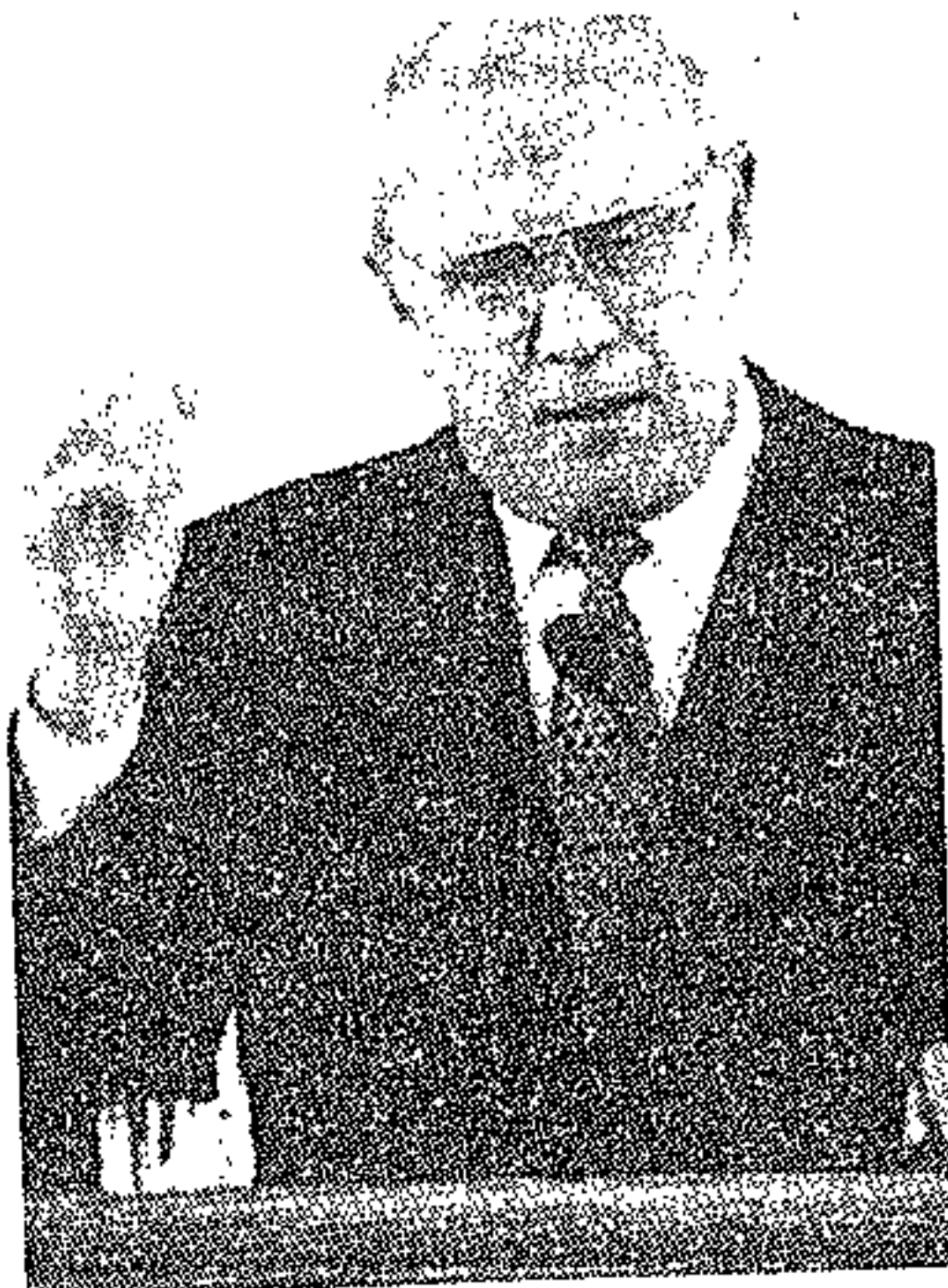
Mr De Klerk told a press conference in Pretoria, televised live on SATV, that he knew nothing of the secret channelling of public funds to Inkatha and its trade union, Uwusa, until this has been revealed by the Weekly Mail.

But he admitted he had been aware of the cabinet's decision to bankroll anti-Swapo parties during the pre-independence elections in Namibia, despite an international agreement prohibiting this.

Mr De Klerk also said General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok had been removed from their portfolios because they were becoming stumbling blocks to negotiations and the building of trust.

He emphatically denied that either the police or the defence force were involved in "the institution, promotion or commission of violence", and promised that "relentless action will be taken against any members of the security service inciting or assistance members of Inkatha or any other movement to perpetuate violent actions".

The Conservative Party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said last night that the President had not got himself out of trouble. "He has a whole lot of explaining to do," he added.



Inside:

- ☐ Secret budget explained
- ☐ Two ministers a stumbling block
- ☐ Boesak held after 'illegal' demo

See PAGE 5

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer described Mr De Klerk's performance as "a most difficult and unimpressive act of tightrope walking". The President's effectiveness had been "reduced by the folly of his government's deeds".

The PAC said it continued to view the government as completely tainted by corruption. "We do not accept that the SAP and SADF are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country. The evidence to the contrary is overwhelming," it said.

Mr De Klerk frankly acknowledged that political confidence in the government "has been shaken" by the recent storm over secret funds, and said it was necessary therefore to restore this.

Among the steps he announced were:

- An assurance that all special secret projects which could have been considered to constitute support for political parties or organisations had now been cancelled, "subject to the speedy conclusion of some contractual obligations";

- A complete review of all legislation related to secret funds, to ensure that there were proper mechanisms of control to prevent malpractices, but also to allow for "essential secrecy";

- The "complete termination of the role of all security services in special projects falling outside the normal area of their line functions";

- As an interim measure in anticipation of the new legislation, he intended appointing a small advisory committee from the private sector "to advise me on existing secret special projects". The committee would have to advise him on whether existing projects could possibly benefit political organisations, and adjudicate whether existing projects were in the broad national interest;

- Special secret projects would be restricted to the minimum, and he said "once again, the scalpel has cut deeply"; and

- The judicial Commission of Inquiry into Preventing Public Violence and Intimidation would be appointed soon, following thorough consultation with other parties. The objectivity of the members had to be beyond question. Mr De Klerk stressed, because he did not want to spark a political storm when their names were announced.

"All these actions and announcements are aimed at removing distrust as far as possible, and getting on with the business of building and working for a new South Africa and reconciliation," he said.

Turning to allegations of security force partiality and involvement in violence, he said that any

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SECRET

→ cont.

From page 1

evidence that emerged in this regard would be thoroughly investigated.

Mr De Klerk appealed to members of the public to present "concrete evidence" of security force involvement in violence in sworn statements to the new commission.

"The government has nothing to hide in this matter. We do not have a double agenda, and it is untrue that we have a strategy to disrupt our opponents."

Referring to mounting demands for an interim government, he said the government had no desire to be both a player and the referee during the transition process.

He ruled out demands that the present government should relinquish these powers "to some or other temporary regime", as this would violate the country's sovereignty.

However, he had an open mind to other transitional arrangements, but emphasised that these had to be the result of negotiations.

"As far as I am concerned, they can be the first item on the agenda."

● The government last night admitted that two other political organisations — in addition to Inkatha and Umtata — were secretly funded by the taxpayer.

In an annexure to President De Klerk's statement, the government conceded that money was paid to the Federal Independent Alliance and the Eagles youth organisation.

However, since these organisations had become politically controversial, it had been decided to end all assistance to them from secret funds forthwith, subject to the completion of contractual obligations.

The government also disclosed that the SADF had trained 150 Inkatha

members in security and VIP protection in 1986, but said this was terminated in 1989 and trained members were incorporated into the KwaZulu police. (30419) (2551118)

Fida was funded because it advanced "the cause of stability and order, as well as to serve as a bulwark against intimidation".

The Eagles, which was founded in the Free State, was created to give opportunities "for scholars to be educated in principles of personal discipline and security without militancy".

The statement that any covert funding had gone to the National Forum, the United Municipalities of South Africa, but Umtata and Umtata had received open support "on a moderate scale to meet administrative expenses. CT 3117191

"Comparable assistance has been given to the ANC, for example in relation to the Groote Schuur conference."

The government did not want to abuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiation process.

● "The fact secret funds are used is not a licence for crime. Any transgression of the laws of the land will not be tolerated."

Mr De Klerk said that only R15,7 million of the R380 million allocated for secret accounts would be spent during the current financial year on special secret projects, but a further R26,9 million from the Special Defence Accounts had also been allocated to such projects.

"In 1990/91, therefore, the expected expenditure on secret projects will be a total of only R42,6 million and not R380 million. (30419) (2551118)

FW's new team

Sowetan 31/7/91

304A

This is the full list of the Ministers new Cabinet

Ministers	Portfolio	Department
Mr F W de Klerk	State President	Office of the State President National Intelligence Service
Mr R F Botha	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Foreign Affairs
Dr G van M Viljoen	Minister of Constitutional Development	Constitutional Development Service
Genl M A de M Malan	Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry and of Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly	Water Affairs and Forestry Housing and Works; House of Assembly
Dr Dawie de Villiers	Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises	Office for Privatisation Transport Eskom Competition Board Central Economic Advisory Service Justice Administration: House of Assembly
Mr H J Coetsee	Minister of Justice and Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly	Justice
Mr B J du Plessis	Minister of Finance	Finance SA Reserve Bank State Expenditure Office for Regional Development State Tender Board Manpower Correctional Services Budgetary and Auxiliary Services: House of Assembly Home Affairs Central Statistical Service Broadcasting and film industry
Mr Ami Venter	Minister of State Expenditure and for Regional Development	State Expenditure Office for Regional Development State Tender Board
Mr Eli Louw	Minister of Manpower	Manpower
Mr A J Vlok	Minister of Correctional Services and of the Budget in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly	Correctional Services Budgetary and Auxiliary Services: House of Assembly
Mr Gene Louw	Minister of Home Affairs	Home Affairs Central Statistical Service Broadcasting and film industry
Mr S J de Beer	Minister of Education and Training	Education and Training
Mr G S Bartlett	Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs	Mineral and Energy Affairs
Dr A I van Niekerk	Minister of Agriculture and of Agricultural Development: House of Assembly	Agriculture Agricultural Development: House of Assembly
Dr Rina Venter	Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly	National Health and Population Development Health Services and Welfare: House of Assembly
Mr H J Kriel	Minister of Law and Order	SA Police
Mr Jacob de Villiers	Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs and of Development Aid	Public Works and Land Affairs Development Aid
Mr L A Pienaar	Minister of National Education and of Environment Affairs	National Education Environment Affairs
Dr G Marais	Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism	Trade and Industry SA Tourism Board
Dr P J Welgemoed	Minister of Transport and of Posts and Telecommunications	Transport Posts and Telecommunications
Mr R P Meyer	Minister of Defence and Communications	SA Defence SA Communication Service
Mr L Wessels	Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing and of Local Government in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly	Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing Local Government: House of Assembly
Mr P G Marais	Minister for Administration and of Education and Culture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly	Commission for Administration Education and Culture: House of Assembly

FW and (304A) others just as guilty, says Omar

Political Staff

THE African National Congress was certain to make a strong statement that the governing of the country could not be left to the National Party, national executive council member Mr Dullah Omar told about 100 people at an ANC meeting in Mitchell's Plain last night.

Mr Omar delivered the main address after the main speaker, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, failed to arrive.

Chairman Mr Neville van der Rhee said Mr Lekota had phoned him in the afternoon to say he was unable to fly to Cape Town from Johannesburg for the meeting.

And he said 'flu had prevented two other speakers, Municipal Workers Union office-bearer Mr Salie Manie and ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki, from attending.

Referring to President De Klerk's clean-up, Mr Omar — who was due to leave for an NEC meeting in Johannesburg at 3am today — said Mr De Klerk and his government were just as guilty of funding Inkatha as ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan.

He said it was not good enough to shift Mr Vlok and General Malan to other positions in the Cabinet.

"We think they should have been sacked from the government."

He said one of the first things a new democratic government had to do was to apologise to the rest of Africa for the havoc wreaked by the SA Defence Force.

The ANC had to redouble its efforts to remove the apartheid government.

"That means we must mobilise."

He said ANC members had to extend the hand of friendship to other organisations.

"We must be very careful how we conduct ourselves. We must remember people in other organisations are not our enemies."

Tottering on a ³⁰⁴⁴ tightrope — De Beer

Political Staff and Sapa

OPPONENTS to the left and right of President De Klerk believe his televised news conference was unimpressive and unconvincing.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said Mr De Klerk's performance had been "a most difficult and rather unimpressive act of tightrope walking".

He said Mr De Klerk's effectiveness had been reduced by the folly of his government.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa said: "Apart from reshuffling his Cabinet, Mr De Klerk's statement that his government has no double agenda rests solely on assurances for the future.

"Confidence and trust will be built up only if and when his promises take effect."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht disputed Mr De Klerk's statement that he had confidence in demoted Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

He said they were not only sidelined but had been demoted and humiliated.

Dr Treurnicht said if Mr De Klerk had confidence in the two ministers they would not have been moved and the president would have weathered the criticism.

He accused Mr De Klerk of bowing to demands by demoting the ministers, weakening his own position in the negotiation process.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said Mr De Klerk had been defensive and unconvincing, and was not in command of the situation.

He said Mr De Klerk had made no attempt to reveal the full extent of the secret funding and had ignored demands made by the tripartite alliance in the wake of Inkathagate.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said Mr De Klerk had apparently planned to move from a multi-party conference to a form of transitional government.

This was totally unacceptable to the HNP, which would do all in its power to resist it.

—Mr Cool handles the pressure—

COMMENTARY

FOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

IF he was feeling the pressure of the "Inkathagate" controversy, President De Klerk did not show it at a packed international Press conference in Pretoria.

Speaking at the historic Old Presidency in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk handled his statement on secret projects and questions from journalists in a calm, reasoned manner.

Shortly before the end of the 70-minute session a relaxed Mr De Klerk volunteered to take more questions although his liaison official ruled that time had run out.

The only time the president showed some pique was when he said that he "indignantly" rejected remarks by Mr Nelson Mandela — "if he said this" — that the government was trying to improve its position over the corpses of ANC followers.

He appeared to draw comfort from the fact that the ANC did not approve of his Cabinet shuffle in which General Magnus Malan and Mr Adrian Vlok were retained as ministers.

He was not doing things to please Mr Mandela, he said. There was one slight flash of humour when he remarked that "that was quite a speech"

after a rambling question from Allister Sparks of The Observer about whether he had known about the money given to Inkatha and some political parties in Namibia.

The answer was that he had not known about the money for Inkatha because existing procedures had not required that he should know but that he had known of the aid to Namibian parties.

He added that Swapo had received support from abroad and that it was international practice for countries to support parties beyond their borders.

He forthrightly acknowledged that the controversy over secret projects had done some damage, had destroyed some trust, but said the time had come to get this out of the way and to restore trust.

While not conceding that the secret projects had been wrong — special circumstances such as South Africa's isolation from the world had required special methods — he announced steps to deal with the situation.

These were a review of legislation dealing with special projects and the appointment of a committee from the private sector to evaluate secret projects. "The scalpel will cut deeply," Mr De Klerk said. While again defending se-



ALL EYES ON FW: Part of the Press corps focus their cameras on President De Klerk while others take notes during his news conference.

curity forces, including the police, against allegations of complicity in violence, he said he was reiterating that there could be cases of individuals involved in bad behaviour without their superiors

being aware of it. Banks did not rob people but they sometimes had officials who did, he said.

He deftly handled a question on the Information scandal (of 1978) and asked to be

reminded when this had taken place. He said that he had just become a minister then and had not been involved.

The only question he dodged was when he was asked whether he agreed with

Mr Pik Botha's statement that he would "do it again". Above all, Mr De Klerk's message was that stumbling blocks to negotiations had to be removed.

The posturing had to stop as well as the confrontation and the ultimatums. Real negotiations had to start. "The government is ready and willing to start tomorrow."

While again rejecting to idea of an interim government, Mr De Klerk repeated his offer of transitional arrangements to allow parties outside the government to have a share in decision-making. This would have to be decided at the negotiating table.

He also did not seem to rule out the possibility of an outside arbiter during a transition period, but said that a negotiating forum would have to decide on procedures.

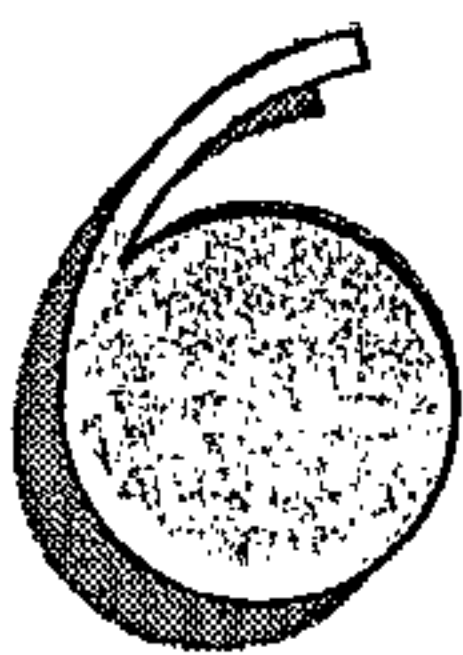
Mr De Klerk for the first time dealt in detail with reasons for the demolition of General Malan and Mr Vlok.

While proclaiming his continuing confidence in them, he said that the security forces, the Defence Force and the police, must not be controversial. They had, however, become so through the constant attacks on the integrity of the two ministers.

This had become a divisive matter and a stumbling block to negotiations while it was important to create more trust and reconciliation.

(304A)

NEWS 31/7/91 TOS WENTZEL and PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff



**Judicial commission
to investigate violence.
Plea for evidence;
protection for witnesses.**



**All secret
projects, funding
and legislation
under review**



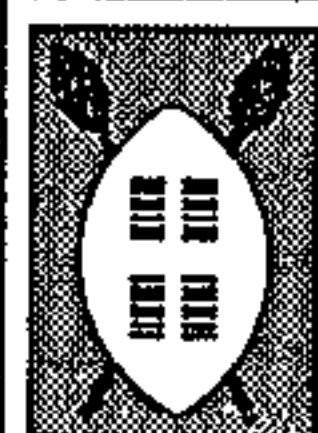
**Pledged
impartiality of
security forces,
but could
not exclude
individual
transgressions.
"Relentless
action" would
be taken against
culprits.**



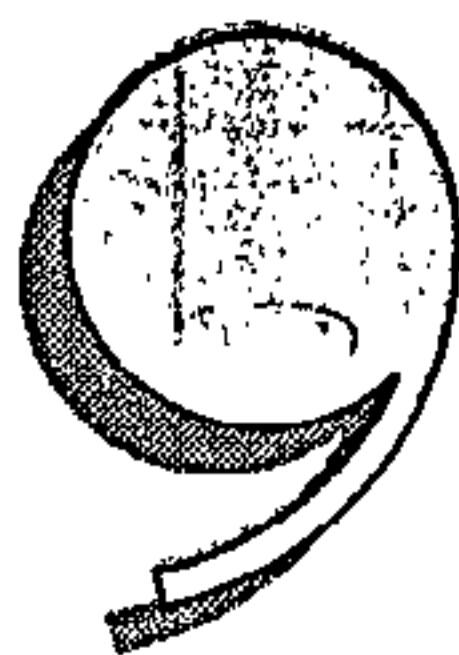
**Vlok, Malan
removed from
previous positions
to overcome
controversy and
stumbling block
to peace process.**



**Call to speed
up all - party
conference.
Government
ready to
"start tomorrow".**



**Inkatha damaged
but still a powerful factor;
a "political reality".**



Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

De Klerk: ANC meets

(Cont from page 1)

that the security forces were involved in violence on Inkatha's side. **ARG 31/7/91**

He rejected this and said that neither the police nor the defence force was involved in the "instigation, promotion or commission of violence."

The Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation was being established by law to investigate this sort of allegation.

He said he hoped the commission would be appointed soon and when it was he would use his powers under the act to have concrete allegations of security for involvement in violence investigated.

"The government has nothing to hide in this matter. We do not have a double agenda and it is untrue that he have a strategy to disrupt out opponents."

The planned Commission of Inquiry on violence and the private sector committee to monitor secret funds — which would be manned by highly-respected members of the public — were an at-

tempt to prove that the government had no fears that its hands were not clean.

Outlining steps that had already been taken to scale down secret projects, Mr De Klerk said many had been cancelled since he began an investigation into them in November 1989.

The anti-sanctions activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs had been reduced "dramatically" in keeping with international events. In 1989-1990 and 1990-1991 spending had dropped to 40 percent of what it had been in 1988-1989 and in 1991-1992 it would drop to only 25 percent of the 1988-89 figure.

When all sanctions had been lifted it would drop away completely.

He said he believed the controversy over secret funding had damaged Inkatha's image but it still remained an important role player in negotiations.

He did not think the controversy would prevent negotiations getting off the ground. "I am confident this phase will pass and won't cause any delay", he said.

THE African National Congress has called its national executive into session today to consider President De Klerk's response to the secret-funding row.

Mr Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the ANC, said Mr De Klerk had made a long statement dealing with complicated matters. He said the ANC's ultimatum to the government earlier this year — on security matters — had not been met, but declined further comment.

One of the issues the NEC will have to consider will be Mr De Klerk's contention that he is trying to clear away remaining obstacles to further negotiations.

An ANC spokesman confirmed that the NEC was in session at the movement's headquarters in Johannesburg.

There would be a co-ordinated response to Mr De Klerk's statements late this afternoon.

He said it was not clear at this stage whether ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela could be contacted. He was in Mexico at present and was leaving for Brazil tomorrow.

Last night President De Klerk, in a major move to restore shattered confidence in the government's impartiality in negotiations, announced the ending of all secret funding of political parties and new measures to ensure independent control of future secret government spending.

Reacting fully for the first time to the Inkatha slush funds scandal, Mr De Klerk gave the assurance that the security forces would no longer operate secret funds outside their normal line functions and released what he said was a full disclosure of the government's known secret funding of political organisations.

Anti-Swapo funding

He was speaking at a national and international Press conference in Pretoria attended by scores of journalists and diplomats.

He admitted that the government had channelled secret funds to the black moderate organisation, Fida, and another body called the Eagles but had stopped doing so when these organisations became "politically controversial."

Mr De Klerk said he had not known about the secret funding of Inkatha before it was exposed in the Press but that as an ordinary member of the Cabinet he had been aware that the government had secretly funded anti-Swapo parties in the Namibian election.

He said this was justified because of the "royal" amounts of foreign aid that went to Swapo. The principle of funding across borders was not considered unethical internationally — and the ANC had received R270 million from just one European country since the 1970s.

Mr De Klerk defended the previous funding of Inkatha in terms of the situation South Africa found itself in at the time.

But he committed himself to transitional arrangements which would ensure that the government was "unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiating process."

Confidence shaken

However, he again rejected the idea of the government surrendering sovereignty to an interim government but said he had an open mind on the question of transitional arrangements and that a multi-party conference would have to make the decision.

He conceded that the Inkatha scandal had "shaken confidence" in the government and said all his announcements — including his decision to shift Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan from their posts — had been aimed at restoring trust.

Detailing measures to restore trust, Mr De Klerk:

- Gave the assurance that no funding of political organisations from special secret funds would recur and that security force involvement in special secret funds outside their normal line functions would be terminated.

- To ensure this happened new legislation was being considered to outlaw secret funding of political organisations and to establish proper mechanisms of control to prevent malpractices.

- The legislation would ensure that secret actions complied with norms and principles generally accepted in democratic governments.

- As an interim measure he had decided to appoint an advisory committee from the private sector to advise him on existing secret special projects.

Control of funds

Its advice would aim at ensuring that existing projects did not benefit political parties, that they were really in the national interest and "were able to play a positive part in the promotion of peace and the combating of violence, intimidation, sanctions and isolation."

It would also advise on the adequacy of existing mechanisms to control special secret funds.

In a separate briefing, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis explained that there were two types of

secret funding — normal "line-functions" of departments such as all the activities of the National Intelligence Service and "secret special projects".

Mr De Klerk said that of the R380 million voted in Mr Du Plessis's Budget this year for secret funds only R15.7 million was budgeted for these secret special projects. And in the plus-R4 billion Special Defence Account only an estimated R26.9 million had been earmarked for such projects, bringing the total to R42.6 million.

Mr De Klerk said the Inkatha funds scandal was now being seized upon as proof of "unsubstantiated allegations"

(Turn to page 4, col 6)

No more ● Old ways are dead - De Klerk

Southern
31/7/91

3044
P. P.

Secrets ! FW

STATE President FW de Klerk
vowed last night that the old style
of secret funding was dead.

He said the Government had no secret
agenda. He promised that new controls on
secret projects would be introduced.

De Klerk was speaking in Pretoria against the
background of the Inkathagate scandal in which
the Government has admitted that it funded In-
katha out of public money.

De Klerk pledged that any secret activities un-
dertaken from now on would be in terms of
"international norms" and would be judged
against what happened in "other democratic
countries".

There would not again be State funding of

Political Correspondent and Staff
Reporters and Sapa

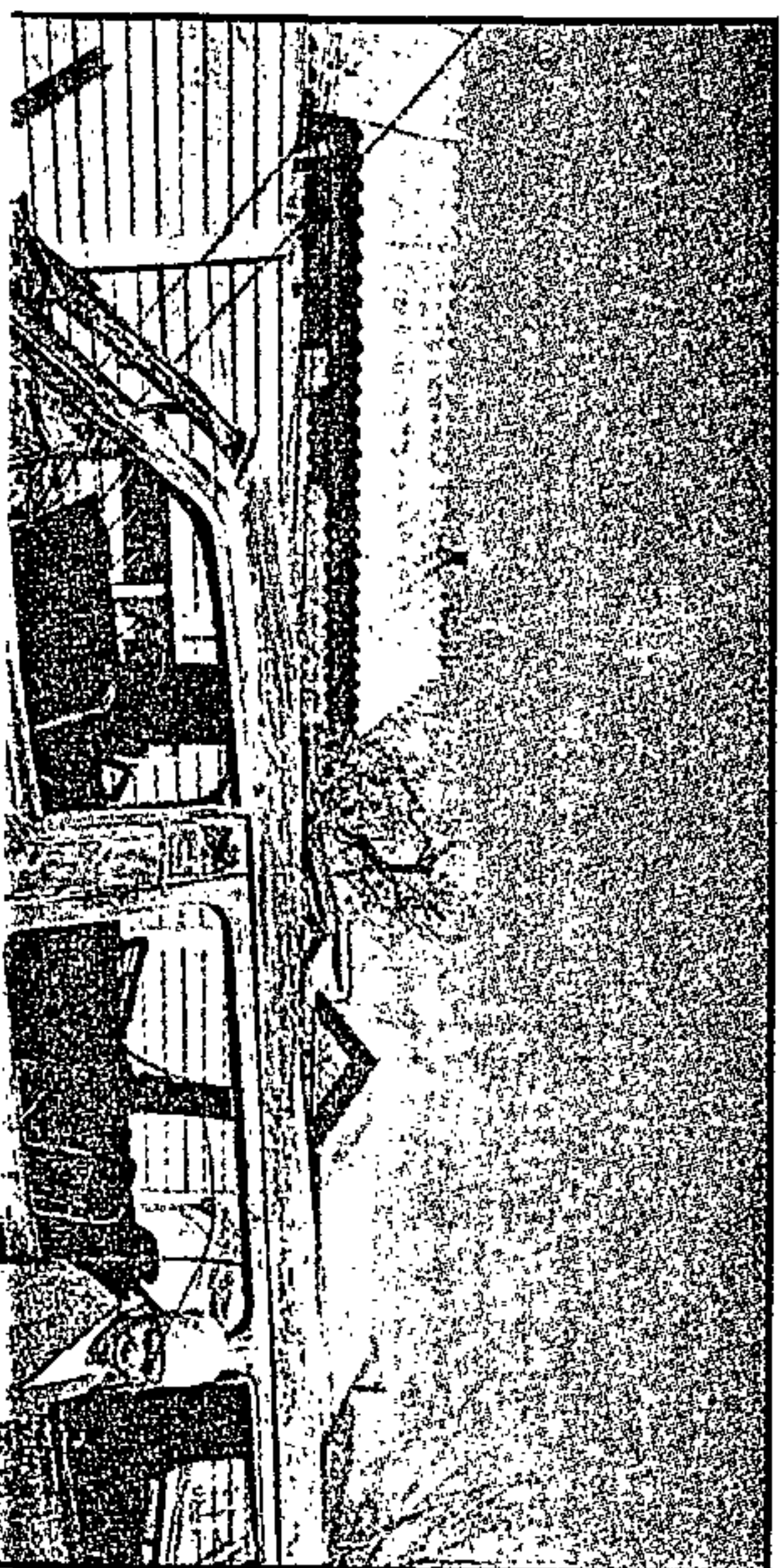
specific political parties or organisations inside
South Africa.

An advisory committee made up of represen-
tatives from outside the Government would be
established to advise him on secret projects, De
Klerk said.

He said he had an open mind on how the
country would be governed during the transition
to a new constitution.

He said as far as he was concerned transitional
arrangements could be first on the agenda of a
multiparty conference. The only rule, said De
Klerk, would be that such arrangements had to be

● To Page 2



FT.O.

Never again, says De Klerk

● From Page 1

in accordance with the present constitution.

On violence De Klerk pledged once again that "relentless action" would be taken against any member of the security forces guilty of organising or promoting violence. He said the rejected with "indignation" a reported comment from ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela that he (De Klerk) was promoting his cause over the corpses of ANC supporters.

De Klerk also repeated that he was serious about negotiations and "creating a new political playing field" in South Africa. *Sowetan 31/7/91*

He called on all leaders to abandon the politics of "confrontation and posturing."

He offered a defence of secret projects saying they had been necessary during the time of sanctions and South Africa's global isolation.

Earlier, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis said R42,6 million was spent this year on what could be called special secret projects.

Du Plessis gave no further details.

Du Plessis said the total Government budget for this year for "special secret projects" was R380 million.

Meanwhile two other other organisations, in addition to Inkatha and Uwusa, received secret funds from the Government, it was revealed last night.

An annexure to a statement by the State President said money was paid to the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance and the Eagles youth organisation.

It was also revealed that the South African Defence Force trained 150 Inkatha members in security and VIP protection in 1986.

It said Fida was funded because it advanced "the cause of stability and order, as well as to serve as a bulwark against intimidation".

UMSA and UCASA did receive "open support on a moderate scale to meet administrative expenses".

"Comparable assistance has been given to the ANC, for example in relation to the Groote Schuur Conference."

ANC, IFP join in bid to raise cash

Sowetan 31/7/91

By POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

on the progressive repeal of European Community and other country's sanctions against Pretoria. Senior South African business people will also attend the conference, Clarkson said. However, before investors can come to South Africa, BI believes that "companies will need to answer to some very difficult questions."

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Sibongile Sithole who will represent Orlando West Extension during the Hair Line Miss Soweto 91 pageant at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg on Friday. Sibongile will be among 30 other finalists contesting the prestigious title. Music during the contest will be provided by Dr Vic and the Rasta Rebels.

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will join Government in an initiative that could see large-scale European investment in South Africa in the near future.

Mr. Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen will at a one-day conference in Frankfurt, Germany, on October 8, declare "the New South Africa Open for Business."

Reform

The conference is arranged by the London-based Business International (BI) in collaboration with Standard Bank of South Africa.

Business International publicised the conference in the powerful British magazine *The Economist*, and the organisation's Ms Tracy Clarkson yesterday confirmed that it was being held in an attempt to find answers to some of the pertinent questions in the South African political scenario. The conference is also

FW is 'unconvincing'

Sowetan 31/7/91

304A (259)

OPPONENTS to the left and right of President FW de Klerk's Government believe his televised news conference was unimpressive and unconvincing.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said De Klerk's performance was "a most difficult and rather unimpressive act of tight-rope walking".

"He expresses confidence in Malan and Vlok even as he removes

Sapa and Sowetan Correspondents

them from their jobs. He says he will not do anything to meet Mandela's demand, even as he does so. He says he opposes in principle the appointment of a neutral arbiter, even as he says that in some circumstances he will accept one," said De Beer.

The Pan Africanist Congress said it continued to view the Government as completely tainted by corruption,

despite State President's international broadcast.

"We do not accept that the SAP and SADF are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country... the evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. He unashamedly stands by discredited ministers and even asserts that he has full confidence in them, as evidenced by his inclusion of them in his new Cabinet."

The PAC accused him of trying to co-opt leaders

of South Africa's liberation movements into his Government after he announced the Government would consider transitional measures during negotiations.

The Conservative Party's chief whip, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said he did not believe De Klerk's performance.

"He is not out of trouble. He still has a whole lot of explaining to do," Hartzenberg said.

A spokesman for the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr

Neil Coleman, said De Klerk was defensive, unconvincing and was not in command of the situation.

Coleman said nothing new was said except his announcement of an advisory committee from the private enterprise.

He said the committee would reinforce Cosatu's perception that the Government had an unholy alliance with big business. Coleman warned businesses to carefully consider the situation before becoming involved with the committee.

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau 31/7/91

De Klerk's promises likely to win back world's confidence

Initial diplomatic reaction to the State President's announcements last night were that his endeavours to right past wrongs and clear the way for negotiations were genuine and would probably win back overseas confidence.

Mr de Klerk's decision to apply stricter control over se-

cret spending and his flexibility regarding an interim government is also expected to go some way towards strengthening the defence offered by US President George Bush to Congress for lifting most sanctions.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen will be arguing in defence of Mr Bush's decision before Congress today.

It is understood that the Inkatha funding scandal has embarrassed the US government considerably, and that congressmen are strongly critical of Mr Bush's lifting of sanctions.

US sources last night indicated that Mr de Klerk's announcement appeared to be sincere, but noted that there had been no progress with regard to political questions such as the remaining political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, the return of exiles and the ongoing political violence in the townships.

A spokesman for the German Embassy said his government

strong attempt to restore international confidence.

Progress towards democracy in South Africa was of the highest priority to the German government.

The British government is expected to make its reaction known this week, and it is understood that other European governments are giving Mr de Klerk's statements due consideration.

Axing came like a bolt from the blue

FOCUS

Sowetan Correspondent
DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were called suddenly to Libertas, President FW de Klerk's official residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of what De Klerk planned to tell them. They had been very much part of his team on Friday, planning together at a meeting at the Union Buildings how to tackle his much-awaited news conference on the Inkathagate row.

They had no idea they were going to be key elements of that strategy.

Demotion

There had been no suggestion last week of demotion - Vlok, under the most fire for the police role in funding two Inkatha rallies and the United Workers Union of South Africa, had no signal from the bush conference of Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and provincial administrators last Monday and Tuesday, that he was about to be shifted.

To his aides, it was Vlok going about business as usual with no hint of dramatic moves around the corner.

His aides judged him to be "serious but confident" and painstakingly helped him plan a response on Saturday to *The Weekly Mail* accusation that he lied when he said on TV a few days previously that every cent spent on Uwusa had been accounted for.



ADRIAAN VLOK

Malan and Vlok apparently met De Klerk separately after the telephone calls on Sunday and did not see each other at the Bryn-tirion mansion. It is not known how many others involved in the shuffle drove through the gates of Libertas to hear their fates individually that afternoon.

Both of the outgoing security ministers, who had become specific targets of repeated calls for Government heads, kept their awful secrets until yesterday afternoon - after attending a lengthy State Security Council meeting which discussed De Klerk's forthcoming announcement.

They then told their staff.



MAGNUS MALAN

Vlok first informed police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, his personal staff and then the generals at police headquarters, Wachthuis.

Aides to both men were shocked. They thought their ministers were again about to weather the storm. Both were veteran survivors. The officials did not suspect that De Klerk was contemplating axing their bosses.

Last night Malan, considered by Government critics to be burdensome political baggage for De Klerk and his reformist ways - a relic of the old South Africa when secuocrats were unassailable in Government, took his fate with

chin held high - and some humour:

"I've beaten the Reds," he said. "Now I join the Greens," he quipped, anticipating his role as the new Water Affairs and Forestry chief.

The cause was always greater than the person, noted the Defence Minister of almost 11 years.

"I have served the SA Defence Force and Armscor over many years to the best of my ability.

"The military successes of the SADF in the late 80s in southern Angola paved the way for the present political dispensation in South Africa."

Malan said Armscor had, through its achievements, guaranteed South Africa's political independence through these stormy years.

"I gave them everything in the interests of security of all South Africa's people. Now I've been called to serve in another capacity. I will do so with devotion.

Stunned

"A good man (Mr Roelf Meyer) succeeds me. I will help him where I can."

Among the stunned listeners when Vlok told his immediate staff yesterday was Brigadier Leon Mellet, his spokesman:

"I've worked with him ever since he became a deputy minister when the 1984 unrest broke out, and this is like the breakdown of a marriage.

"He has done wonders for the country. Since the day he took over he has never stopped working, day and night, setting a perfect example to the police.

"He was always there on the ground with his men. He was never an armchair minister. And I worked very hard for him because I believed in him."

● No cash for political groups ● Close eye on secret funds

FW bids to restore trust

Star 3/1/91

(3047)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

In a major move to restore shattered confidence in the Government's impartiality in negotiations, President de Klerk has announced the termination of all secret funding of political parties and the establishing of new measures to ensure independent control of future secret Government spending.

Reacting fully for the first time to the Inkatha slush fund scandal, Mr de Klerk last night gave the assurance that the security forces would no longer operate secret funds outside their "normal line functions".

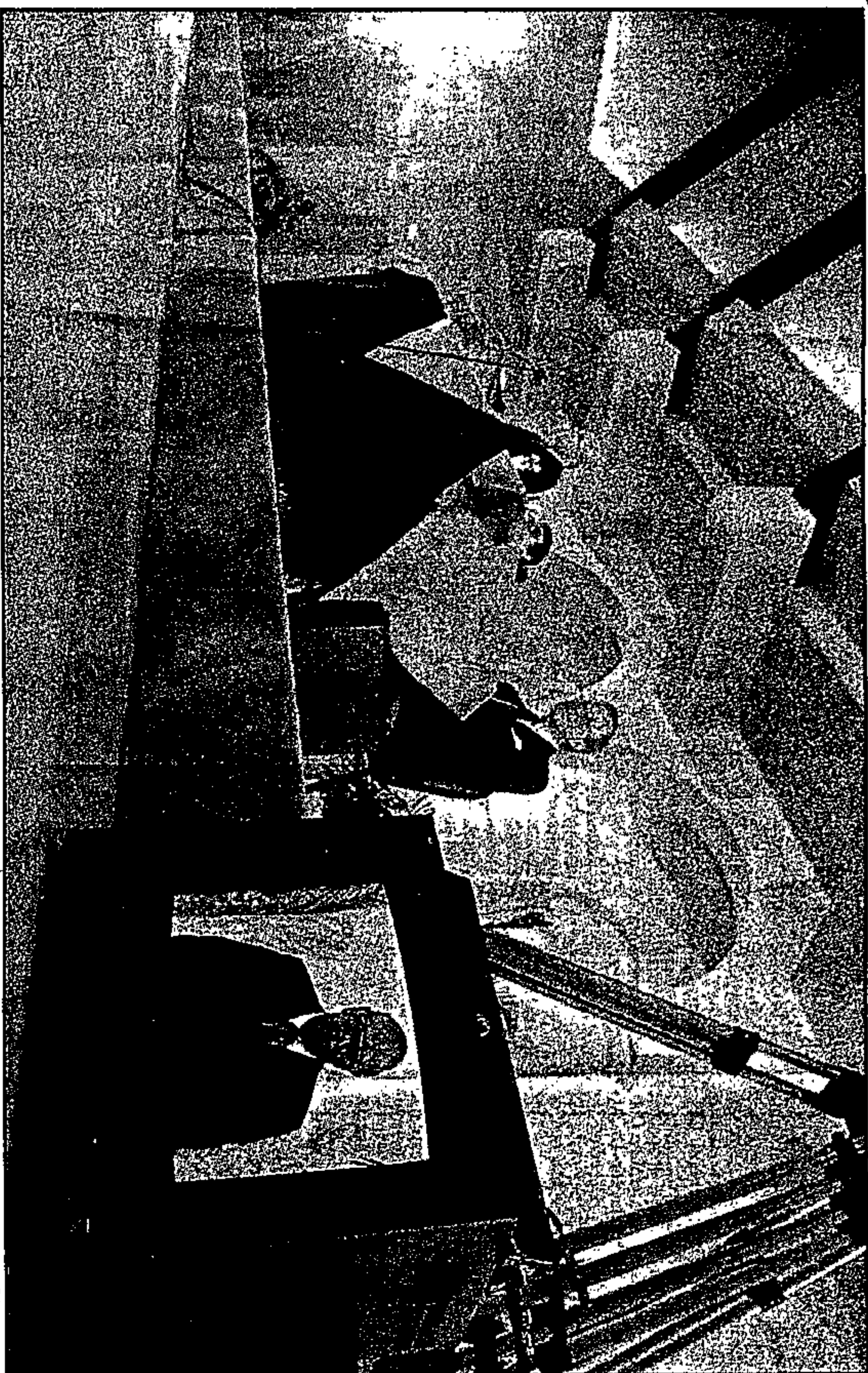
He was speaking at an international press conference in Pretoria attended by scores of local and foreign journalists and diplomats.

Mr de Klerk said he had not known about the secret funding of Inkatha before it was exposed in the press, but that as an ordinary member of the Cabinet he had been aware that the Government had secretly funded anti-Swapo parties in the Namibian elections.

He said this was justified because of the "royal" amounts of foreign aid that went to Swapo. The principle of funding across borders internationally — and the ANC had received R270 million from just one European country since the 1970s.

Mr de Klerk defended the previous funding of Inkatha in terms of the situation in South Africa found itself in at the time.

But he committed himself to transitional arrangements which would ensure that the Government was "unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the nego-



Addressing the nation... F W de Klerk and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis at last night's press conference.

Picture: Karen Fletcher

tiating process".

However, while once again rejecting the idea of an interim government, he said he had an open mind on the question of transitional arrangements, and a multiparty conference would have to make the decision.

He conceded that the Inkatha scandal had "shaken confidence" in the Government and said all his announcements — including his decision to shift Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan from their

posts — had been aimed at restoring trust.

Detailing measures to restore trust, Mr de Klerk:

● Gave the assurance that no funding of political organisations from special secret funds would recur.

● Announced he had decided to appoint an advisory committee from the private sector to advise him on existing secret special projects.

Mr de Klerk said that of the R380 million voted in Finance Minister du Plessis's Budget this year for secret

funds, only R15,7 million had been budgeted for these secret special projects.

In the R4 billion-plus Special Defence Account, only an estimated R26,9 million had been earmarked for such projects, bringing the total to R42,6 million.

The anti-sanctions activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs had been reduced "dramatically" in keeping with international events. When all sanctions had been lifted it would drop away completely.

Mr de Klerk said the Inkatha funds scandal was now being seized upon as proof of "unsubstantiated allegations" that the security forces were involved in violence on Inkatha's side. He rejected this and said that neither the police nor the Defence Force was involved in the "instigation, promotion or commission of violence".

The Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation was being established by law to investigate this sort of allegation.

'Our goal is

a totally
Star 3/1/91
changed SA'
(3047)

"Our goal is a new South Africa: a totally changed South Africa, a South Africa which has rid itself of the antagonisms of the past, a South Africa free of domination."

□ □ □
"The Government accepts the necessity that there has to be political confidence in respect of the sensitive issue of secret funding. It is a fact that this confidence has been shaken and that it is necessary, therefore, to restore it. Consequently, the Government has decided to review all legislation pertaining to secret funds."

□ □ □
"I was unaware of the funding of Inkatha until the Johannesburg-based Weekly Mail newspaper published the allegations."

□ □ □
"Political parties or organisations which are involved in politics may not be financed from secret funds. There have to be proper mechanisms of control which will be able to prevent malpractices and ensure essential secrecy."

□ □ □
"The storm surrounding the assistance to Inkatha rallies late in 1989 and early in 1990 is now being seized upon... as proof for unsubstantiated allegations that the security forces are involved in violence on the part of Inkatha."

□ □ □
"I agree there have to be transitional arrangements to ensure the government of the day does not misuse its position of power to the detriment of other partners in the negotiation process."

□ □ □
"I take very strong exception to the alleged statement attributed to Mr Mandela to the effect that I am seeking to provide my cause over the corpses of his supporters. It is did say that, I reject it with indignation. The Government has no desire to be player and referee at the same time."

□ □ □
"If I had aimed at satisfying the ANC demands, I would have suspended them (Ministers Vlok and Malan)."

Overhaul for laws on funding

Private sector to help assess secret projects

6/0 day 31/7/91

PRETORIA — President FW de Klerk last night announced a review of all legislation affecting secret state funds and, as an interim measure, the appointment of a private sector committee to advise him on the validity of continuing covert projects.

In his first comprehensive news conference since the Inkatha funding scandal broke 12 days ago, De Klerk reiterated the government view that the actions had been approved during a period of conflict, and were therefore justified.

However, government accepted the necessity for political confidence regarding the sensitive issue of secret funding. "It is a fact that this confidence has been shaken, and that it is necessary to restore it."

In a brief reference to the Cabinet shuffle announced yesterday which included the demotion of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, De Klerk said the fact that they had been retained in the Cabinet showed he still had confidence in them.

However, he said, "It is most important that we ensure that our security forces must not be controversial. They have become controversial, and I hope (these steps) will alleviate attacks on them".

De Klerk said the legislative review would set out to ensure that:

- ☐ Secret actions may be undertaken only if they complied with specific norms and generally accepted principles in the democratic world;
- ☐ Political organisations may not be financed from secret funds;

BILLY PADDOCK

- ☐ There would have to be proper mechanisms of control which would prevent malpractices and ensure essential secrecy; and
- ☐ All security services would terminate secret projects falling outside the normal area of their line functions.

De Klerk said the private sector committee — whose composition he did not specify — would advise him on whether secret funding met the requirement that they did not benefit political organisations.

We incorrectly reported in the national edition yesterday that President de Klerk had announced the resignations of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. The error was caused by communication problems ahead of the official announcement that the two Ministers had been demoted within the Cabinet. Business Day regrets the error.

It would also advise on whether the continuation of the remaining projects was in the national interest, and on the adequacy of existing control mechanisms.

He said it was necessary to restore confidence, and the proposed body from the private sector, "especially if they are well known and accepted as men of integrity", would go a long way to achieving this.

"I want to establish in the public eye that I am subject to that advice and want to re-establish trust where it has been shaken."

☐ To Page 2

Secret projects

De Klerk said. 6/0 day 31/7/91

Government was serious in its endeavours to establish "an equal political playing field". Its aim was to restrict special secret projects to the minimum.

He rejected allegations that government had a double agenda and said it had not adopted a strategy to destabilise its opponents, namely the ANC. "I take very strong

304A ☐ From Page 1
Municipalities of SA (Umsa) and Urban Councils' Association of SA (Ucasa).

Referring to the call by opposition parties for an interim government, he said government had accepted the need for certain "transitional arrangements".

"And as far as I am concerned, they may be the first item on the agenda" of a multi-party conference.

Cabinet shake-up 'a sign of turmoil in NP ranks'

B. 10 am 31/7/91

304A

PRETORIA — The Cabinet reshuffle showed serious turmoil in the NP ranks, CP leader, Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Treurnicht said in a statement it was a "sorry attempt" at placating the ANC and its international allies. "We are witnessing the fall of the NP empire."

In Cape Town, DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin said President F W de Klerk's shuffle was without real reform. "It has the ring of an interim measure, taken under pressure, rather than that of a fundamental reappraisal of the role the Cabinet has to play in leading us to a new SA."

Treurnicht said the biggest surprise was that Foreign Minister Pik Botha had "survived intact" despite the fact that he had been at the heart of the funding scandal.

"The retention of his position under the circumstances is surpassed only by the shameless refusal of the government to do the honourable thing: resign, call an election and forget about an interim government."

Eglin said De Klerk had lost a golden opportunity of introducing new blood into the Cabinet and of consolidating the various education departments into a single ministry.

DP education spokesman, Roger Burrows, said Piet Clase's resignation (as Minister of Education and Culture and from politics) would be greeted with relief by most South Africans. The appointment of Piet Marais in Clase's place meant a significant change in the political ethos to a more enlightened approach.

In the ANC's initial response deputy president Walter Sisulu said on Monday night Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan should have been fired.

Crisis

In Mexico City ANC president Nelson Mandela slammed De Klerk over the funding scandal and threatened to pull out of negotiations.

"We have to decide whether to continue discussions with a government which is negotiating with us in bad faith," Mandela told a meeting.

However, Mandela declined immediate comment on the shuffle.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee yesterday asked if the appointment of a new Education Minister would lead to a quick resolution to the crisis in black education.

"Clearly, as long as the administration of black education remains in the hands of those who constitutionally

do not to or who are not representative of the community they purport to serve, no permanent, qualitative or meaningful change can be expected," the NECC said in a statement.

"The NECC hopes this period leading up to the establishment of an interim government, will see the newly appointed ministers and the government taking decisive action to construct a single, non-racial and democratic education department."

The End Conscription Campaign said it hoped Malan's removal from the Defence portfolio signalled De Klerk's intention to curtail military influence on policy-making.

Transkei's ruler, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, said De Klerk's shock shuffle was "hardly likely to stem the tide of violence".

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said De Klerk's image had been irreparably damaged and his cabinet shuffle could in no way restore confidence in government.

The shake-up was an admission of guilt.

About 10 people were arrested yesterday when they attempted to stage a demonstration outside De Klerk's Cape Town office, Tuynhuys, in protest against government funding of Inkatha. — Sapa

Viljoen wants talks to go full-steam ahead

6/10 day 31/7/91
DARUS SANAI

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday launched a renewed appeal for negotiations to proceed as quickly as possible.

Viljoen warned an audience at the University of Port Elizabeth that dominance by "one or a few parties" over others in the negotiation process would lead to further instability.

He laid renewed emphasis on the protection of minority rights, by warning that a new SA should not repeat the mistakes of the past and of other African countries by suppressing the rights of minorities and individuals.

He did not refer directly

to the Inkatha scandal, but said government was "doing its utmost to remove any obstacles to the negotiations process".

A "winner takes all" process in which a numerically superior party was able to dominate the political scene, would lead to later dissatisfaction and dissent, he said.

If a simple majority was allowed to prevail in future negotiations, he said, the interests of the "heterogeneous, plural society in SA will not be properly taken care of".

To protect individuals'

rights, he reiterated government's proposal for the establishment of a "second chamber" representing minority and regional groups, which would have veto power over decisions passed by the legislature.

In an apparent reference to the ANC, Viljoen criticised groups which placed ultimatums on the removal of obstacles to talks about talks, and said they should instead seek to solve perceived problems through dialogue.

He also suggested that the legislature and the executive could be separated to a greater extent than they are now.

2 'stumbling blocks' removed

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk said last night he had moved Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan from their posts because their "controversial" positions were proving a stumbling block to negotiations.

At yesterday's press conference in Pretoria, Mr de Klerk defended the spending of secret funds in the past and stated firmly that neither the police nor the Defence Force were involved in the instigation of violence.

Asked why he had then de-

motated the two Ministers, Mr de Klerk said he would not have appointed them to his Cabinet, or retained them in his present Cabinet, if he did not have confidence in them.

But he said it was vital to ensure that the SADF and the SAP did not become controversial and a stumbling block to negotiations.

He denied he had given in to pressure from anyone to demote them and said the moves would allow the SAP and SADF to play their role properly.

"If I had aimed at satisfying the ANC demands, I would have suspended them,

which is what the ANC again demanded today."

The decision had been in the best interests of the country and the negotiating process, he said.

Mr de Klerk said he did not think the removal of the Ministers would affect security force morale, although there were officers in both forces opposed to Government policy.

He conceded that individual policemen and members of the SADF might have taken sides in township violence without the knowledge of their superior officers, but strongly denied this was Government policy.

Verligtes now in the saddle

Sam's patience pays off

Star 31/7/91
(304A) (C)

SAM de Beer, one of the earliest verligtes, has at last been appointed to the Cabinet, as Minister of Education and Training, after waiting many years in the wings as deputy Minister or Minister in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly.

Mr de Beer was one of several bright, articulate and outspoken MPs who former President P W Botha promoted to deputy ministership in the early days of reform, but who have waited until now to achieve full Cabinet status.

For Mr de Beer this means he has come full circle and returns to his real area of interest.

The others are Roelf Meyer, who becomes new Minister of Defence, and Leon Wessels, who becomes Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing.

It is especially ironic that Mr de Beer should have taken so long to get there.

At a time when President de Klerk was still regarded as a die-hard conservative inseparably wedded to group rights and stifling any attempts by his MPs to open dialogue with the ANC, Mr de Beer was quietly pioneering contact with radical, pro-ANC groups in the education field way back in the dark and bloody days of 1985.

He was then deputy Minister of Co-operation and Training with a prime responsibility for black education.

He took over the black education portfolio in September 1984 just as the country's worst spell of unrest was starting. A major black schools boycott was in progress and he patiently went about talking to all interested parties including departmental officials, teachers, parents and students and non-U bodies (from the Government's perspective) such as the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

Through his negotiation skills he resolved several crises, such as the compromise reached to allow students badly affected by the 1985 unrest, to re-write examinations.

His early efforts to go the route of negotiation rather than confrontation were thwarted by the prevailing securocrat-thinking favoured by President Botha.

This may have contributed to a period of relative stagnation for him in politics.

After this venture into the frontline he occupied a series of positions in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, and in Mr de Klerk's previous Cabinet shuffle acquired several portfolios and became the only Own Affairs Minister who did not also have a Cabinet portfolio. □



Piet Clase

Hurrays as Clase packs

^{Star}
FEW South Africans will miss the departure of Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase, who retires at the end of August.

Renowned educationist Professor Johan Muller yesterday described Mr Clase as a bad Minister whose "passing nobody will mourn".

"He carried the brunt of the education reform movement, but did not please most of us."

Professor Muller said Mr Clase had been viewed by many as an obstacle to integration in education, and deepened the controversy in his administration when he came up with the A, B and C models.

The models, introduced in September, serve as guidelines for the admission of black pupils to white Government schools.

31/7/91

(3041)

The Star's Education Reporter, PHIL MOLEFE, reports on the departure of Minister Piet Clase.

In terms of the models, white schools determine their own admission policy through votes by parents.

The announcement was greeted with howls of derision and dismissed as the entrenchment of the racist concept of "whites only" schools.

Among the other most-criticised aspects was the insistence that the schools retain a majority of white pupils and adhere to the principle of "education with a Christian and broadly national character".

Professor Muller said that even with Mr Clase's departure, the models would remain.

"The national need is for white education to be speedily

de-emphasised and dissolved into national education."

Democratic Party education spokesman Roger Burrows said he was pleased that Mr Clase's replacement would be considerably more verlig, and called on the State President to seize the opportunity to create a single ministry.

"Although a good administrator, Mr Clase's political conservatism and obstinate refusal to face the reality of a changed South Africa contributed much to our education crisis," Mr Burrows said.

Mr Clase received praise from the Teachers Federal Council, which said he had handled his portfolio well. □



Sam de Beer



Roelf Meyer

His style a far cry from Magnus's

Star 31/7/91

304A

DURING this year's parliamentary session, Nat backbenchers still referred to him as "Roelfie" because of his youth and fresh-faced looks.

They are unlikely to persist. Roelf Meyer (44), the erstwhile "lightweight" MP for Johannesburg West, is about to become Minister of Defence, and one of the very central figures in the Government team which will oversee South Africa's transition to democracy.

One would struggle to name a Nationalist politician more distant in style and image from the dour, warlike General Magnus Malan than Mr Meyer.

Mr Meyer it was who attended most of the "working group" sessions with the ANC and who insisted, whenever the negotiating process faltered, that there was a way forward.

He openly took a conciliatory view on Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and he is well liked in ANC circles.

He also took responsibility for briefing the media on developments in the roller-coaster peace process, and won admiration for his sophisticated interpretations of events.

Mr Meyer has revealed himself to be a deeply committed Nationalist and a proponent of a negotiated settlement based on

power-sharing. His negotiating opponents will find him easier to deal with than General Malan, but they expect a "push-over" at their peril.

In many ways, he is a much more difficult target for attack than the glowering general. He is also not implicated in allegations of SADF "dirty tricks" and may therefore be able to deflect some pressure away from the military.

Mr Meyer undertook the first in a series of deputy ministerships in 1986 as the number two in Law and Order, before moving on to Constitutional Development and Planning (1988), Constitutional Development and National Education (1989) and Constitutional Development in 1990.

It is testimony to his deft touch in communicational matters that as Minister of Defence he retains responsibility for the former Bureau for Information, now known as the South African Communications Services.

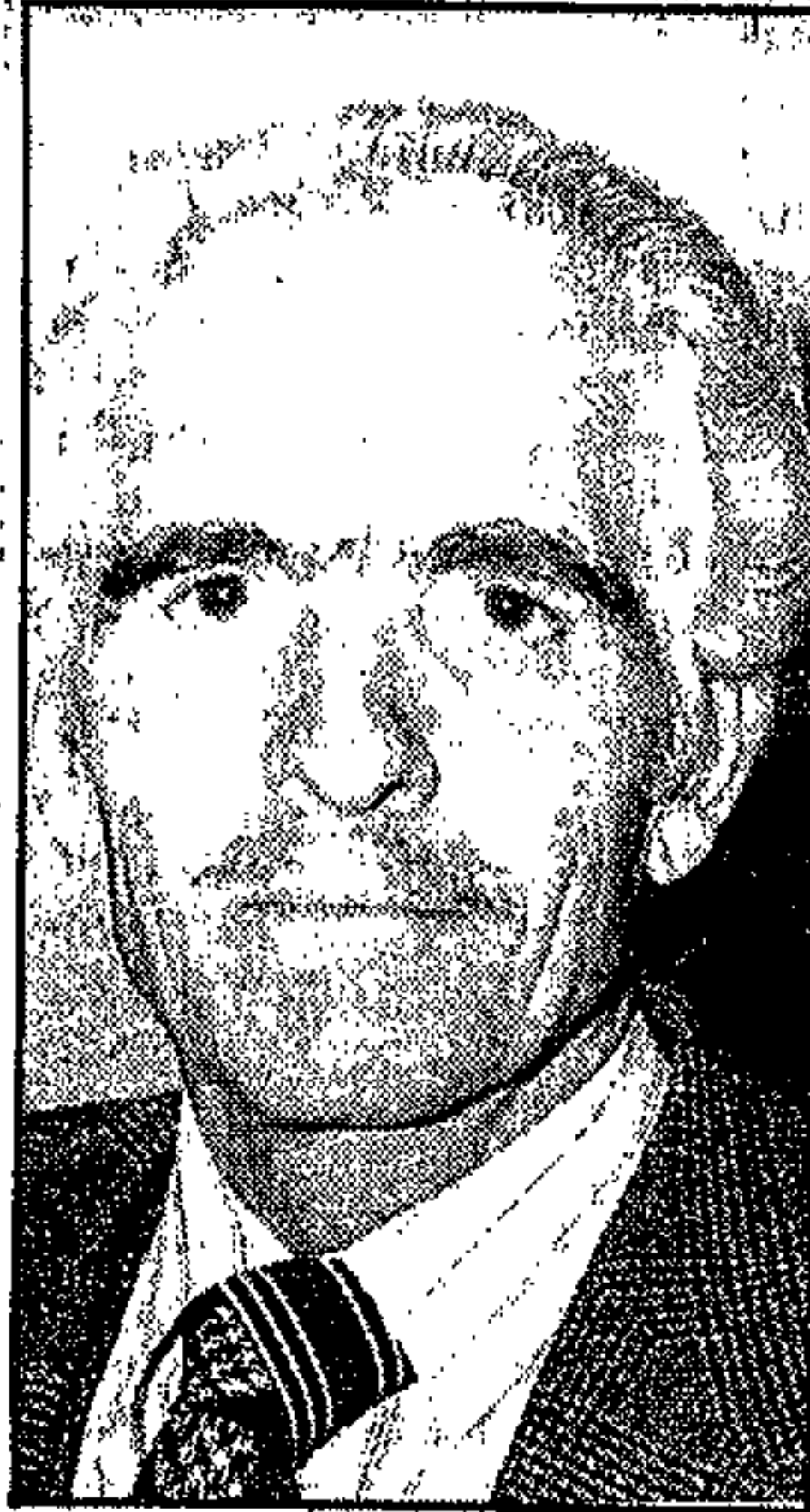
Mr Meyer's appointment cannot but be welcomed by those outside the NP and extended State structures who favour speedy progress in negotiations.

It remains an open question, however, as to how his elevation will be greeted within the the full NP caucus and, much more crucially, the SADF. □

Strange environment for Kotze

ster 31/7/91

3041



Gert Kotze

THE RESIGNATION of Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Gert Kotze has been hailed in environmental circles as long overdue, since the Minister had had little understanding of environmental matters.

Mr Kotze was Minister of Environment and Water Affairs from 1987 to November 1990, when his portfolio was changed to Water Affairs and Forestry.

During the past four years Mr Kotze has come under fire on a number of issues, in particular the proposed culling of 30 000 seals on the Cape's west coast. Environmentalists attacked him for not stepping in to halt the dune mining at St Lucia in northern Natal.

Nan Rice, secretary of the Dolphin Action and Protection Group, endorsed Mr Kotze's res-

ignation, saying his environmental portfolios were "obviously beyond his scope".

Adding weight to this opinion, Wildlife Society director Tony Ferrar said Mr Kotze had showed little inherent understanding for the issues, carried little weight in the Cabinet and was not serviced by his staff.

The hallmark of Mr Kotze's latter-day career was the measure in which South Africans became more aware of "green" issues.

Despite criticism from many quarters, he did notch up some achievements:

- The promulgation of the En-

vironmental Conservation Act.

- The principle of integrated environmental management was adopted as a mechanism for developers, but no legislation to enforce it was created.

- The creation of the first Agreement Park in South Africa — the West Coast National Park near Langebaan, which incorporates local inhabitants.

- The reintroduction of elephants into the Knysna forest.

Mr Kotze will remain MP for Malmesbury. Sources say this is to avoid a by-election in a constituency which would almost certainly fall to the Conservative Party. □

The sidelining of Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok has diverted attention from an extraordinary fact — President de Klerk has created a Cabinet in his own image by bringing in three outspoken young *verligtes*.

SHAUN JOHNSON and PETER FABRICIUS look at new Ministers Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Sam de Beer — the new posse of reformist deputies.



Leon Wessels

Wessels garner goodwill

WHEN Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels made his dramatic personal apology for apartheid in Parliament in February, political observers knew something was up, but weren't quite sure what it was.

There were two theories: either Mr Wessels, the archetypal "nice guy", was simply being true to his conscience by saying *mea culpa*, or he was also testing the water for the entire National Party on the issue.

Reformist-minded younger Nats were thrilled with him, although nervous about the consequences for his career. Others hinted that President de Klerk was not pleased, and that Mr Wessels would find himself frozen out for a while.

Yesterday's events suggest that his critics were wrong. The charming, sincere 45 year old has been given the crucial Cabinet portfolio of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing — filling the shoes of a man many years his senior.

The impression is inescapable that Mr Wessels — along with the rest of the President's clutch of *verligte* "deputies" — is poised for elevation.

His new ministry is important, and he will assume an ever higher profile in the day-to-day elements of the negotiating process — dealing more with "on the ground" issues than constitutional policy.

His open-door, unassuming, easy-going style, honed during his tenure as deputy to Pik Botha and on occasion companion to President de Klerk on trips abroad, will be put to good use. But moreover, as a senior Cabinet member, his influence on the transitional phase cannot be over-estimated.

Mr Wessels was born in Kroonstad in the Free State. After graduating from the University of Potchefstroom he practised as an advocate.

In 1974 he became MPC for Krugersdorp, and gained nomination — and election — as an MP three years later. He cut his political teeth in senior positions on NP parliamentary standing committees and study groups, before being appointed Deputy Minister of Law and Order in 1988. A year later he moved across to Foreign Affairs as Deputy Foreign Minister and held this position until his promotion this week.

He brings to his new job a considerable reservoir of goodwill from black leaders, at both the national and regional levels. In February, one ANC-aligned township activist remarked: "If all the Nats were like Leon Wessels, we could have a deal before the end of the year."

He is likely to be treated with less suspicion than might have been reserved for other, "older school" Nats. □

Rush to get poverty net in place by VAT deadline

B1 pay 31/7/91.
GRETA STEYN

GOVERNMENT is racing against time to get its R220m poverty safety net in place before VAT starts on September 30.

The nuts and bolts of the mechanism will be finalised after meetings at the beginning of next month involving a wide range of interest groups, a spokesman for the National Health Department said yesterday.

The outcome of these meetings would be crucial in determining the criteria for the allocation of funds.

The spokesman said the allocation would be decided by a committee, which still had to be appointed. Sources said efforts would be made to appoint a committee with "grass-roots credibility".

The department confirmed non-government organisations would play a major role in fighting poverty, as government would have to rely

largely on the infrastructure of private aid organisations active in the community.

Any organisation that believed it should be part of the programme could apply to the committee for funds.

"To ensure the involvement of interested parties, two days of discussions are planned for the beginning of next month. Working groups will be formed to talk about the exact way in which the special relief fund will be administered, co-ordinated and monitored," the spokesman said.

Non-government organisations and local authorities would mainly be responsible for implementing the programme, while the committee and the Department of National Health would co-ordinate and moni-

tor. Finality had not been reached on the involvement of other state departments.

The spur for the programme was largely the charging of VAT on food-stuffs other than maize and brown bread. National Health said existing state schemes to combat protein deficiency in children younger than six years old would be expanded to involve more local and regional authorities.

"We also intend adding other food-stuffs to the current provision of milk to these children.

"The plan includes food aid to pregnant and lactating women whose weight is below normal."

National Health is finalising the programme after initial research and recommendations by a committee headed by Finance Deputy Director-General Estian Calitz.

Arms cache uncovered

Blouba
31/7/91 JONATHAN REES

SOWETO police discovered a recently buried cache of new East Bloc weapons on Monday.

SAP Soweto spokesman Col Jac de Vries said yesterday five "shiny new" mini limpet mines, five RGD5 hand grenades with detonators, SPM limpet mine detonators and two fully loaded AK-47 magazines were found.

He said the arms were all expertly vacuum-packed in silver foil bearing the name of a Manchester packaging company and bearing a Windhoek telephone number. The number could not be reached yesterday.

De Vries said the cache was discovered after police doing a routine inspection of open ground east of Soweto's Pimville golf course saw people acting suspiciously and found a recently disturbed area of ground. The cache was not more than a week old.

The arms were found wrapped in the silver foil inside a plastic handbag. De Vries said police had no idea how the arms had entered the country, but suspected the British packaging might have been used as a decoy.

Wits students march on Hillbrow police station

Blouba
31/7/91 JONATHAN REES

ABOUT 300 Wits University students marched on the Hillbrow police station yesterday after a mass meeting at which speakers questioned government's ability and integrity to rule SA through the transition to democracy.

An open letter demanding an apology from former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for allegedly funding and training the "right wing" National Student Federation was handed to acting station commander Capt Charl Annandale, who promised to hand it to the relevant authorities.

The letter also called for the resignation of the entire

Cabinet and the establishment of a multi-party interim government.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber told the meeting he was disappointed at indications that Vlok would not sue the newspaper for alleging he had lied over the Inkatha funding scandal.

Harber, who received a standing ovation at the meeting, said the newspaper would have liked to test Vlok's credibility in court.

Harber said the government was following a double strategy, which entailed sabotaging the fairness of the process and destabilising its opponents, while propping up other groups to oppose its opponents.

□ The National Student Federation this week denied receiving government funding.



Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber addressing a Wits University student meeting on the Inkatha funding scandal yesterday.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Don No RD/1813M7

FOCUS HOLDINGS LIMITED

(Focus)

Don No RD/1813M7

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

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Rise in minibus taxi commuters

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The minibus industry's share of commuter traffic rose sharply at the expense of other modes of transport between 1987 and last year, a Department of Transport study has found.

The survey, by the department's Directorate of Transport Systems Planning, established that minibuses' share of the total commuter market increased from 29% in 1987 to 44% in 1990 — an increase of 51%.

The most dramatic increases were in the East Rand (274%), East London (248%), Cape Town (38,2%) and Port Elizabeth (31%). Train transport declined from 21% of the total in 1987 to 16%.

The survey shows the shift towards minibuses was partly due to an outbreak of attacks on commuters shortly before the latest survey was conducted in October last year.

The 24% loss in train traffic was most pronounced in Durban (67%), Port Elizabeth (40%), Cape Town (37%) and the East Rand (27%).

At the same time state-subsidised passengers — travelling by train and bus — last year declined from 50% of all commuters to 40%.

The survey also shows the most transport important modes — train, bus and taxis — slightly increased their share of the market.

The survey said the main sources of dissatisfaction with public transport last year were growing crime on trains, perceived high bus fares and the frequency of taxi accidents.

Stayaway could claim 200 jobs

31/7/91

AT LEAST 200 workers living in the East Rand township of Duduza could be fired for heeding a stayaway called by a local civic organisation last week, Nigel Chamber of Business chairman Bernard Fitton said yesterday.

Fitton said representatives of 20 businesses held an emergency meeting yesterday at which they discussed a call in a letter sent by the Duduza Civic Association to the chamber for "leniency" on workers who heeded the stayaway.

There were indications that companies would abide by their industrial procedures.

Warning

"All but one of the companies represented at the meeting indicated their companies would give due warnings according to their industrial procedures," Fitton said.

"In cases where employees had been warned three times for the same offence, they will be fired."

One company not affiliated to the chamber said it would stick to its "dismissal without warning" policy.

"That means about 200 people could be fired," Fitton said. He declined to name the company.

He said there were no plans as yet to hold discussions with the civic as-

31/7/91

WILSON ZWANE

sociation.

"But in the letter in which the civic asked employers to be lenient on the workers, it stated it would, in future, talk to employers first before engaging in similar actions," he said.

The association could not be reached for comment yesterday.

The stayaway was called in retaliation against Duduza town council's decision to impound the property of rent-defaulters. The action began on Monday last week and ended on Friday after the town council returned the property of the four residents.

Meanwhile, THEO RAWANA reports that Daveyton residents, threatened by a power cut over a R5m rent and services debt, will stage a half-day stayaway today.

Daveyton interim committee chairman James Ngubo said Eskom, which was owed R2m by the township of 250 000 people, had written him a letter threatening to cut electricity if tomorrow's talks between the council, the interim committee, the Daveyton town council and the Transvaal Provincial Administration did not yield a solution.

He said residents were paying an agreed R70 monthly flat rate, but the council was not paying Eskom.



Ria Oomen Ruyter, the Netherlands representative in the European People's Party delegation, with Foreign Minister Pikk Botha after their meeting yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

European politicians' visit 'important'

31/7/91

PRETORIA — Government considered the visit to SA by the European People's Party delegation important, Foreign Affairs Minister Pikk Botha said at a news conference yesterday after talks with the delegates.

The delegation, which also met President F W de Klerk earlier yesterday, was here to observe, discuss and to meet members of government, he said.

The EPP represents a compilation of European Christian Democratic parties.

30/4

Botha said he had told them where government stood in the negotiation process. Delegation spokesman Ria Oomen Ruyter said she appreciated the "open way" in which Botha had discussed the problems which government was trying to resolve. She said anything which happened which threatened to destroy the process of negotiation was a source of concern to the EPP. She said Botha had assured them government would continue to fight apartheid and wanted a real democratic SA. — Sapa.

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's surprise Cabinet shake-up on Monday, effectively removing some of the main obstacles to negotiations, bears a reformist stamp and signals that government is now gearing itself to push firmly ahead with multi-party talks.

The imaginative step De Klerk took in finding a compromise between axing and retaining the two security Ministers — directly blamed by the ANC for some of the major obstacles to the negotiation process — combined with the steps he plans to take in improving the management of secret slush funds could see the Inkatha scandal relegated to a side-show.

According to informed sources, the funding scandal did not cause the drastic Cabinet shuffle but merely brought it to a head.

The removal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan from their key portfolios had been the subject of numerous calls and a concerted campaign from all parties ranging from the DP to Azapo — Malan initially because of the CCB scandal and Vlok for the lack of control over the police.

In May the ANC terminated constitutional talks following the increase in violence and called in their "open letter" for Vlok and Malan to be fired. De Klerk would not bow to the pressure. But once the latest bout of allegations with substantial proof of partiality on the part of the police, and the taint of SADF hit squads instrumental in the train massacres — international and internal pressure grew to scales last seen during the infamous Information scandal of the '70s.

The retention of both in the Cabinet in fairly insignificant posts ensures that De Klerk retains their support and appeases the NP's right-wing, while ensuring the party does not have to contest two very difficult by-elections that the CP stand a good chance of winning.

The new Cabinet takes on a qualitatively new profile — the first clear break from the era of P W Botha in whose heyday the securityocrats directed the total onslaught policy.

The new men, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Sam de Beer, all well-known NP verligtes and firmly pro-negotiations, have been put into the very sensitive posts of Defence,

Cabinet shuffle a shrewd move to get talks back on track

BILLY PADDOCK

16/05/91 31/7/91

Local Government and Education. The other key appointment, to the Law and Order portfolio, is that of former Planning and Provincial Affairs and Housing Minister Hennis Kriel.

Kriel, a Cape Nat, was a P W Botha confidante, but senior government sources say he is a reformer and was chosen for the Law and Order portfolio because he is a "tough nut" who would take no nonsense from the police generals. He is, they say, strong enough to clean up the SAP's image and act.

However, he is not known for his sensitivity towards opposition. In his previous portfolio — Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing — he came in for strong criticism that he was steamrolling the land reform Bills through Parliament without proper consultation.

In general, however, with these new appointments De Klerk has provided the ANC and other negotiating

partners with a team which has a track record of efficiency and success in tight negotiation clinches.

Meyer, who is seen as a nice guy and a "softie", has won widespread credibility in behind-the-scenes talks with the ANC and other groups. He is one of the government negotiators who has been loathe to take advantage of ANC shortcomings in the past, cautioning that an understanding of their situation was necessary.

He has also been at the forefront of trying to encourage full participation of all parties in the multiparty conference and is consistently upbeat and positive about the outcome of negotiations.

He has served on the NP study groups on education, constitutional development and defence, has served a term as Deputy Minister of Law and Order before taking up his post as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

The fears that he may be too nice a guy to be able to control the maver-

icks in the SADF and could be outmanoeuvred by them were unfounded, sources said.

They point out that he has been a Deputy Minister with responsibility for the National Intelligence Service, and so has developed a good relationship with the men who keep close watch over the security apparatus. He also has the full backing of De Klerk, and this would carry substantial weight, they say.

Sam de Beer has been operating within the white own affairs administration since the 1989 general election, but has long been known to be a verligte through the John Vorster and P W Botha eras.

When he took office as Deputy Minister of Education and Co-operation in 1984 he faced black school boycotts from his first day. He made it his task to communicate with all interested parties including teachers, pupils and parents.

It was long expected that he would move into the Cabinet to take over

National Education, and with former Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe foster a new unitary education system.

Most reactions to his appointment in place of Van der Merwe have been positive. It is argued he will be good for black education and is the best person in the fold to take the education negotiations through the next stage.

The other verligte, Leon Wessels, was the first Minister to apologise in Parliament this year for apartheid. He is seen as a sensitive, well-meaning person. However, he served as Law and Order Deputy Minister under Louis le Grange for a period, and is known to be tough when required.

Observers say his appointment carries the sensitive task of piloting through Parliament non-racial local government legislation — a key negotiating area, and they believe he has the ability to combine sensitivity and toughness to persuade parties to co-operate.

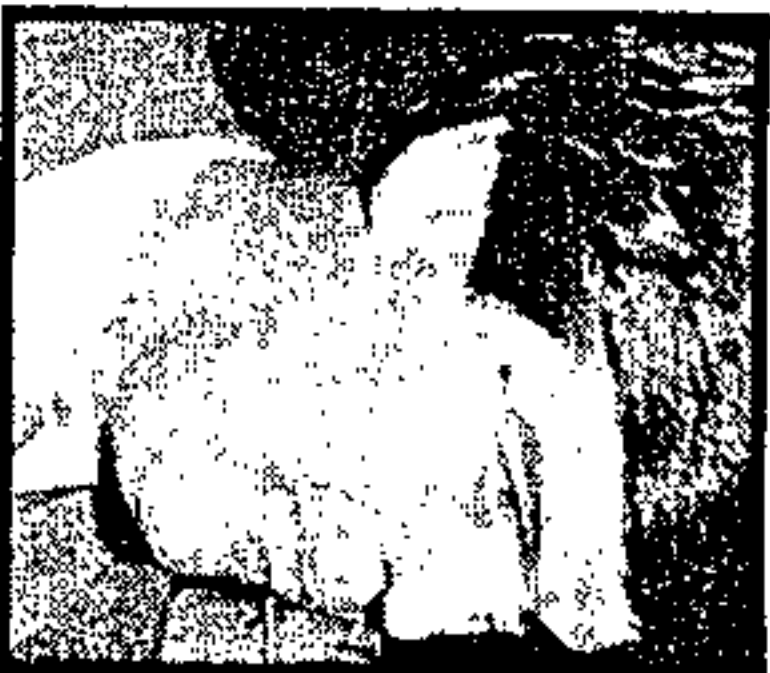
De Klerk has now put a far more negotiation-orientated stamp on his Cabinet. He has also appointed Stoffel van der Merwe to a senior NP post to prepare the party for negotiations, and spearhead the NP's propaganda campaign towards laying the constitutional groundwork for the party to enter negotiations. As a constitutional expert, Van der Merwe would appear well-equipped for the task.

It is clear from this that the main motive behind this Cabinet shuffle was to prepare government and the NP for negotiations. De Klerk is sending out a clear signal that, with the positive progress in the clearing of major obstacles — political prisoners, the church/business peace initiative — as well as with the two "problematic" security force chiefs out of the way, the time for real negotiations has arrived.

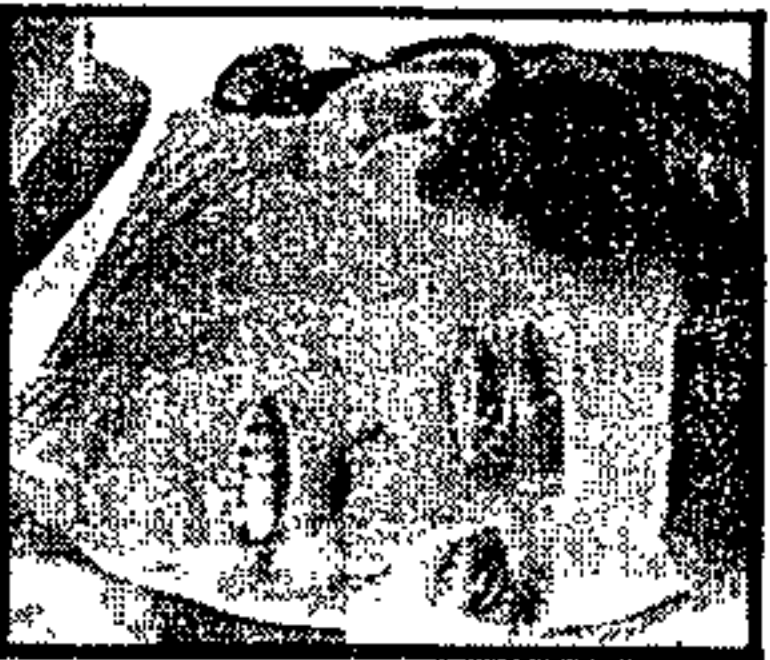
This could be seen as De Klerk's drastic plan to get the process moving and to try and regain the initiative he lost with the Inkatha funding scandal disclosures.

Whether he will succeed in putting the ball back into the ANC's court remains to be seen. The organisation's initial cool response means it is not going to allow De Klerk off the hook so easily.

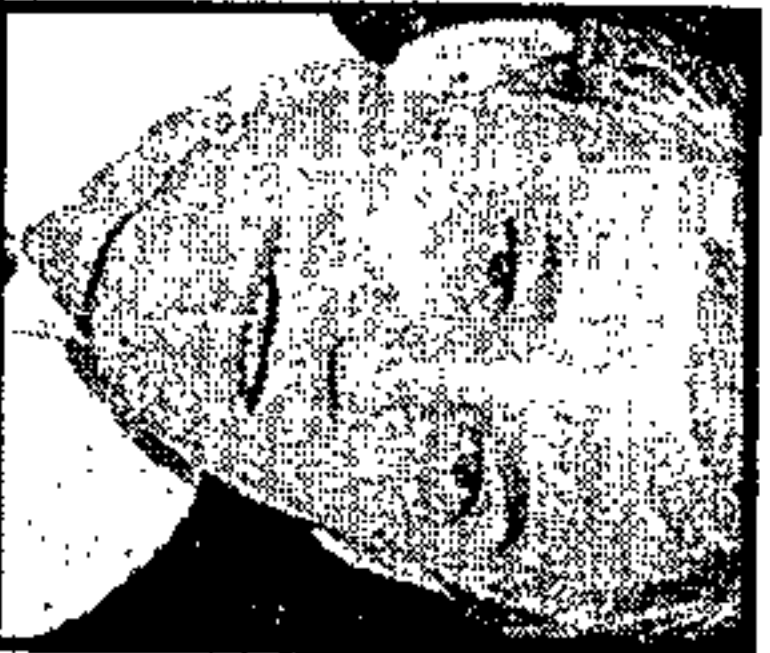
On the contrary, the ANC is still going to squeeze out of the funding scandal every bit of political capital that it can.



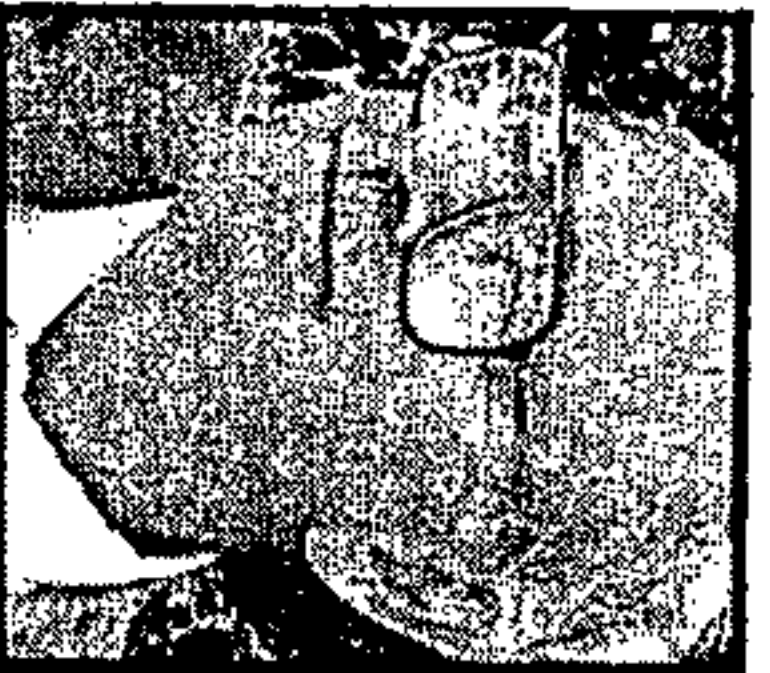
□ WESSELS



□ MEYER



□ VAN DER MERWE



□ KRIEL

Keep party politics and development apart

THE roles and functions of many anti-apartheid organisations have had to be redefined in the wake of political changes in SA.

These organisations — including Cosatu and the Kagiso Trust — are transforming themselves from mass protest groups into more development-orientated structures. Their debate has centred largely on the extent to which they can constitute themselves as groups independent of party political affiliation in a less politicised, development orientated civil society.

To what extent can this goal be achieved? It will be extremely difficult. Firstly, in an overpoliticised society such as ours a depoliticised civil society is out of the question. This was recently illustrated on a TV programme on depoliticising the provision of services to townships.

When civic leader Moses Mayekiso described Eskom and RSCs as possible neutral suppliers of services to Soweto he opened himself to criticism from engineering consultant Gordon Sibuya for being na-

ive about the political foundations of these institutions. The call for a depoliticised civil society should be tempered by the reality of SA's history as a country based on the most obnoxious of political principles.

The advantages of an apolitical civil society would ideally lie in the ability to dispassionately and equally represent all the various interests of society in the advancement of a common national interest. However, in a society characterised by gross inequalities, ideological detachment is hard to come by.

Secondly, there are loyalties and commitments that have taken years to cultivate. Despite apparent shifts in the relationship between civic associations and overtly political groupings, ideological sympathies will not simply disappear. Leaders are likely to operate consciously or unconsciously according to their ideological predispositions.

Hence the equivocation by civic leaders when the question of neutrality is broached: "At each turn when a major political organisation takes a

8/Decy 21/7/91
XOLELA MANGCU

position that is closest to the hearts of the people, then the civic association should not apologise for proclaiming its support for that party

"It is difficult to say, at this point in time, what the role of the civic would be in a post-apartheid SA because we have projected in the Freedom Charter what sort of SA we want." (Popo Molefe, ANC NEC member and former UDF leader).

This shows Molefe's implicit ideological bias. Can one speak of a political civil society as if blacks in particular were a monolithic political entity? Is this not tantamount to dragging venerable development projects into the minefield that makes up black political life today?

The opportunity costs of pursuing an elusive apolitical civil society will be in the time lost in promoting a culture of tolerance instead. A tol-

erant society is a more workable proposition. This will require visible attempts by political figures to nurture a spirit of solidarity in the community. This is probably a well-worn call, but the fortunes of communities depends on it being heeded.

And the euphoria surrounding civil society also has to be tempered by a realism about what non-governmental or community-based organisations can and cannot achieve in the development field. The advantage of these organisations lies in their proximity to local issues. Local public organisations create the institutional capacity for planning and implementing small-scale activities that make up development.

If development is to become part of the daily routine, then it must consist of ideas, tools and activities that fit into the lives of individuals, families and community groups. Through local public organisations people define needs, organise activities and mobilise resources. This introduces the possibilities for decentralised bottom-up democratic,

pluralistic planning.

Although political sophistication and maturity will be indispensable when dealing with the hidden agendas of government officials, civic leaders should not allow politics to overshadow the technical issues that have to be addressed in tackling development problems such as land and housing. While it may be naive to see an apolitical civil society as achievable, it would be equally naive for civics to make resolution of development problems the exclusive preserve of "comrades" who do not possess the necessary know-how.

Emerging civic leaders should therefore be mature enough to strike the balance between the political and technical aspects of development. The limited professional expertise in the black community should be pooled without expecting these professionals to jump on the handwagons of political parties.

□ Mangcu is an urban development specialist with the Development Bank of SA. The views expressed are his own.

FW fails to impress CP, DP leaders

Star 31/7/91

By Jacqueline Myburgh (304K) and Paula Fray

President de Klerk last night failed to impress other parliamentary leaders in attempting to explain the current state of affairs regarding secret Government funding.

The leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, described the State President's performance as vague, saying he had not explained the most revealing fact: that money was given to political parties while he was State President.

He had tried to get past the issue by saying it would not happen again, but the explanation had been unsatisfactory, the CP leader said.

"Pik Botha says Mr de Klerk knew nothing about it; Mr de Klerk says the Government is no longer giving money, and Mr Vlok says it was a Cabinet decision," Dr Treurnicht said.

"Who is telling the truth?"

Dr Treurnicht expressed particular dissatisfaction with Mr de Klerk's closing statement that he was ready to begin negotiations "tomorrow". The State President was acting prematurely, he said.

"He might be involved in reconciliation with the ANC and

the PAC, but he has not yet done so with his own people, whose basic political right he has betrayed," Dr Treurnicht said.

He was concerned, too, about the disclosure by the State President that he was prepared to appoint private-sector representatives to the Cabinet, since this would threaten Cabinet responsibility.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night's address showed a "very uncomfortable State President walking with great difficulty on a very narrow tightrope".

The DP leader said Mr de Klerk knew he had to do something to counter the widespread disillusionment with his Government, but the President felt he had to do this without confessing that something wrong had been done.

"So, for example, he expresses his confidence in General Malan and Mr Vlok even as he fires them.

"He declines to admit that wrong has been done but says there are obstacles to the negotiation process that must be got out of the way.

"The fact is that he is going to be somewhat less powerful in negotiations as a result of the events of the past fortnight."



Andries Treurnicht . . . described the State President's performance as vague.



Zach de Beer . . . Mr de Klerk declines to admit that wrong has been done.

Idasa: failure would be devastating

300A
31/7/91

Own Correspondent and Sapa

Time will tell whether President de Klerk has regained the confidence of his negotiating partners, the press, the public and the international community, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said last night.

In a statement reacting to Mr de Klerk's televised media briefing, Idasa said assurances that the Government had no double agenda would only become apparent in the future.

"Confidence and trust will only be built up if and when Mr de Klerk's promises take effect.

"He has taken a considerable risk in focusing attention once again on the integrity of his word — if only because any future failure by the Government to live up to its promises will have devastating consequences for himself and the country."

Crucial

Idasa said it was to be hoped that the commitment to negotiations and a multiparty conference would get back on track as soon as possible.

The composition of the advisory committee on secret projects was "crucial", Idasa said, adding that the individuals on the committee "must command the respect of the broadest possible spectrum of citizens".

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said Mr de Klerk was defensive and unconvincing and was not in command of the situation.

While Cosatu officials would issue a more considered response later, Mr Coleman said there appeared nothing new in what Mr de Klerk had said except the announcement of an advisory committee from the private sector to advise him on existing secret projects.

Mr Coleman warned businesses to consider the situation carefully before becoming involved with the committee.

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS - 1991

AUGUST,

...was welcome.
Picture: Reuter

Parsons lauds FW's confidence boost

Star 11/8/91

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By Michael Chester

Decisive action by President de Klerk over the Inkathagate scandal may have averted major damage to the economic outlook for South Africa, according to the SA Chamber of Business.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons yesterday congratulated the State President on the swiftness of moves aimed at restoring international trust by way of the latest Cabinet shuffle and plans to appoint a

committee to act as watchdog on future spending from Government secret funds.

Mr Parsons told businessmen at the opening of an exhibition run by the Sandton Chamber of Business:

"Whatever the reasons for previous decisions on outside political funding, in the changed circumstances now prevailing in South Africa it is essential that these issues be handled in future in ways which maintain and build confidence here and abroad."

UK welcomes Cabinet changes

By Mike Siluma
Star Bureau

LONDON — In what constitutes the warmest foreign reaction so far to changes announced by President de Klerk in the aftermath of the Inkathagate scandal, the British government yesterday said it hoped that measures taken by Mr de Klerk would restore confidence in the peace process in South Africa.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We welcome the steps announced by President de

Klerk as evidence of his determination to ensure that unacceptable covert activities are stopped.

"We hope that the various measures he has announced will restore confidence in the political process and encourage South Africans to proceed with their main task, the negotiation of a new constitution."

The British government, which has been at the forefront of moves to lift international sanctions against Pretoria, arguing that Mr de

Klerk's reforms were irreversible, is believed to have been deeply embarrassed by the Inkathagate scandal.

Sources at the Foreign Office said the UK government believed the "departure" of General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, coupled with steps to review secret funding activities, were astute moves on the part of Mr de Klerk, "given his need to look over his shoulder" while at the same time taking steps to restore confidence in the security forces.

'We can end apartheid on our own'

Star 11/8/91
By Ramsay Milne
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, continuing the hard line he has followed throughout his six-country tour of the Caribbean and Latin America, including Cuba, said today the ANC was strong enough to end apartheid without help from the South African Government.

"We are powerful enough to bring peace with or without the Government," said Mr Mandela, reacting to the continuing scandal swirling about President de Klerk's head over the Government's secret funding of Inkatha and other organizations.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Mexico City on the final leg of his overseas trip, said the ANC wanted to continue negotiations to end apartheid with the Government, but only "if the Government makes a complete disclosure of their crimes".

Mr Mandela's comments in

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Mexico City were widely broadcast in the United States as he prepared to leave for Brazil, his final stop before returning to South Africa.

Describing President de Klerk's government as "a discredited regime", Mr Mandela said an interim government was the only way to ensure a peaceful transition from apartheid.

Dismiss

He said the demotion of two senior Cabinet Ministers, General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, as a result of the revelations, "was not sufficient".

"He (President de Klerk) said nothing about what was revealed, except to say he will not do it again," said Mr Mandela.

"We therefore dismiss the statement."

Mr Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, called his Mexican visit "a great success" and said the Mexican government had agreed to give the ANC money but did not say how much.

ANC dithers over plan to finance 'historic turning point' US offers billions to SA

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Congress is discussing a multibillion-dollar, internationally-backed aid package for South Africa, described as big enough to finance "an historic turning point" in the country's development.

plan with Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, at a hearing convened by the Africa subcommittee of the House of Representatives.

During their angry exchange, Mr Solarz accused Mr Robinson of holding up the plan, and he criticised the ANC for dragging its feet in responding to a formal proposal contained in a letter sent to the ANC more than a month ago.

"What is so difficult about saying yes to billions of dollars in aid, especially if it is going to be channelled to a post-apartheid government?" he asked.

In an interview afterwards, Mr Solarz revealed that the proposal had been under discussion in both houses of Congress for "several months" and that extensive consultations had already taken place between members of Congress, leaders of the ANC, and other interested groups.

"The objective is to initiate in the US Congress a multinational, multibillion-dollar aid package, which will be made available to South Africa after a new constitution has been agreed to, and after free elections

have brought a new government into power," he said.

He declined to name the targeted amount, but said: "It is large, very large, enough to make an historic difference to South Africa."

Mr Solarz, who has been one of Pretoria's strongest critics for more than a decade, stressed that no funds would be made available to the present regime.

He revealed that during an international conference in Cape Town this year he had discussed the matter informally and in general terms with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and

Chris Hani. All were enthusiastic and had given the plan their approval in principle.

But he expressed frustration and bewilderment at the failure of the ANC to respond so far to a formal letter, or to reach a consensus.

In an informal exchange after the meeting with the ANC's chief representative in the US, Lindiwe Mabuzza, Mr Solarz said: "I've never come across a situation before where an organisation would turn down the opportunity to make a truly historic decision and to accept billions in aid that could be a great turning point in the

history of a country."

Ms Mabuzza said the ANC "has not turned this down at all. It is simply that for such a major decision we need time to consider the implications. Don't you think we are entitled to that?" she asked.

Mr Solarz snapped back: "Yes, but it has been weeks, months. We go into recess in a few days and if we don't get this thing started it may be too late."

It is believed urgent consultations will shortly take place between members of Congress and the ANC.

● Cash for 3 universities

Harare praise for De Klerk's move on funds

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, has welcomed the moves by President de Klerk to restore confidence shaken by the disclosures of secret funding of Inkatha. ~~304A~~

Dr Shamuyarira said Mr de Klerk's actions had gone some way to demonstrate good intentions. ~~304A~~

The removal from their security positions of General Malan and Mr Vlok, and more importantly, the measures to remove the secret slush funds were steps in the right direction, he said.

The next step should be discussion between the various political groups and the Government on the new constitution.

"The feeling at the recent OAU ad hoc committee meeting in Abuja was that enough time had been spent on preliminaries. It was time now to move to the constitutional dispensation. President de Klerk's actions have gone some way to making this possible."

● The slush fund scandal
— Page 10.

\$billions lined up for SA

304A
11/8/91
ARGUS

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A multi-billion dollar internationally-backed aid package for South Africa, described as "big enough to finance a historic turning point" in the country's development, is being discussed in the United States Congress.

This was confirmed today by Congressman Stephen Solarz of Michigan after a blistering argument over the plan with Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of the anti-apartheid pressure group Trans-Africa, at a hearing convened by the Africa sub-committee of the House of Representatives.

During their angry exchange Mr Solarz accused Mr Robinson of holding up the plan.

And he criticised the African National Congress for dragging its feet in responding to a formal proposal contained in a letter sent to the ANC more than a month ago.

"What is so difficult about saying 'yes' to billions of dollars in aid — especially if it will be channelled to a post-apartheid government?" he asked.

'Several months'

Mr Solarz afterwards disclosed that the proposal had been under discussion in both houses of Congress for several months and that extensive consultations had already been held between members of Congress, ANC leaders and other interested groups.

"The objective is to initiate in the US Congress a multinational, multi-billion dollar aid package which will be made available to South Africa after a new constitution has been agreed to, and after free and fair elections have brought a new government into power," he said.

He declined to specify the amount, but said: "It is large, very large — enough to make a historic difference to South Africa."

Incentive

"Our intention is to encourage the process of peaceful negotiation in South Africa by providing an important additional incentive to the parties to reach a settlement, and to give them the confidence which comes from knowing that a significant source of new capital will be available for reconstruction and development."

Mr Solarz — one of the strongest critics of the South African government on Capitol Hill for more than a decade — emphasised that no funds would be made available to the present South African government.

"Post-apartheid reconstruction and development under the control of a new, freely-elected government is what we have in mind."

"But we are anxious to get this started as soon as possible so that the fund can play a role in helping the negotiation process and in stabilising things, and so that there is a guarantee that the money will be there when it is needed."

He said that during an international conference in Cape Town this year he had discussed the matter informally and in general terms with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC officials, including Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Chris Hani.

'FW's response to scandal disturbing'

Political Staff

Feb 18/91

THE ANC has restated its commitment to the peace process but has described President De Klerk's responses to the Inkathagate scandal as "woefully disappointing" and "gravely disturbing".

The statement, which was issued in Johannesburg, said it came from the ANC delegation in Latin America, where Mr Nelson Mandela is on a visit. This was after a meeting of the ANC's national executive.

Speaking in Mexico City, Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted to continue negotiations to end apartheid with the government but only "if the government makes a complete disclosure of their crimes".

Mr De Klerk had said nothing about the funding scandal except to promise he would not do it again.

The statement said: "Given the fact that the peace process and negotiations in South Africa

are endangered by illegal actions of the government we would expect Mr De Klerk to act boldly and in the interests of the entire country rather than choose to defend illegality through specious arguments.

"The central issue in the Inkathagate scandal is not isolated payments to Inkatha and other government surrogates. It is the creation and promotion of sympathetic black opinion and political organisations whose major purpose is to defend white minority rule, the privileges they draw therefrom and to destabilise genuine black and non-racial political organisations.

"The criminal act of the De Klerk government is complicated by the fact that it has gone beyond mere funding of these organisations to aiding and abetting them, by commission and by omission, in their use of indiscriminate violence in pursuit of their political objectives. These are the issues

that Mr De Klerk should have boldly addressed and acted on.

"What is most disappointing is that Mr De Klerk and his government seem to fail all tests that could have proved that they have made a complete break with apartheid, in all its ramifications, and its methods of self-preservation.

"When Mr De Klerk had the opportunity legally to eradicate all the shadowy death squads, particularly the CCB and Askaris, he chose to use the Harms Commission of Inquiry shamelessly to whitewash the death squads.

"Months after he had announced that the CCB and other death squads had been disbanded they were still in operation and using secret funds.

"Mr De Klerk's vilification as 'malicious', of those in the South African public who want the recent disclosures investigated by a credible judicial commission, displays an anti-

democratic streak that still prevails in his government.

"By blaming the people, he directly violates their right to a full disclosure of the manner in which public funds are used to finance covert crimes targeted at the opposition to apartheid and the people in general.

"We reject Mr De Klerk's invocation of the past and the armed struggle of the ANC in an effort to justify the crimes committed by his government and its security forces.

"We wish to remind Mr De Klerk that he represents a government that has been elected by less than 15 percent of the population of South Africa.

"He cannot, therefore, compare his government in any respect to normal democratic governments.

"We call upon all governments to support the call for an interim government to oversee the period of transition in South Africa."

Behind the scene of the reshuffle

Star 1/8/91

3048

IT WAS yet another surprise attack from strategist F W de Klerk. Just as everyone had more or less settled down to thinking that the crisis was blowing over, he dropped his bombshell.

Sources inside and near the Cabinet had steered speculation away from this possibility, suggesting that if he shuffled his Cabinet it would be later this year.

It would be unwise politically to drop Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan now, they said.

This would look like bowing to outside pressure, especially from the ANC, which had been stridently calling for their heads since May.

They focused attention instead on the secret funds and measures that the president would announce on Tuesday night to improve control of them.

This was probably genuine ignorance on their part rather than deliberate strategy. As usual it seemed Mr de Klerk was playing his cards close to his chest.

Not even the two key Ministers themselves had an inkling of what was coming before Sunday afternoon.

On Friday they had been part of Mr de Klerk's team, planning at the Union Buildings the strategy for handling the crisis. They had no idea they were to become the principal victims of the strategy.

There had been no suggestion last week of demotion and both had confidently stated at the weekend that they would not quit.

Mr Vlok, under most recent fire for the police role in funding two Inkatha rallies and the United Workers Union of

Political staff writers PETER FABRICIUS and ALAN DUNN piece together how this week's dramatic Cabinet reshuffle took place.

South Africa (Uwusa), was given no warning at last week's "bush indaba".

Then on Sunday afternoon came telephone calls to Mr Vlok and General Malan summoning them to Mr de Klerk's official Pretoria residence, Libertas, to be told the bad news.

The encounter was probably as pleasant as it could be in the circumstances, especially if one compares it with another Sunday afternoon encounter in 1979 when then Prime Minister P W Botha brutally evicted John Vorster from the state presidency.

Mr de Klerk, it seems, reassured the Ministers of his confidence in them, and told them they would stay on in the Cabinet but that they would have to leave their present portfolios in the broader interests of the party, negotiations and the country. And perhaps, at least in the case of Adriaan Vlok, in his own interest.

It is likely Mr de Klerk told him that as a relatively young



Brigadier Leon Mellet

man, he still had a future in politics which would be jeopardised if he stayed on in his post much longer.

Neither Minister divulged the news to his staff immediately. Both first attended the State Security Council meeting on Monday which entailed lengthy discussions about Mr de Klerk's strategy for Tuesday night's press conference on the funding scandal.

Ironically, there had been some speculation that this might be where Mr de Klerk would make the crucial decisions to resolve the crisis.

That might have been P W Botha's way of handling the problem. Significantly, Mr de Klerk had already fired the security Ministers before consulting the securocrats.

After that, the Ministers broke the news to their staff members, Mr Vlok first informing Police Commissioner General Johann van der Merwe, his personal staff, and then the generals at police headquarters.

The disclosure to his personal staff was by all accounts highly emotional. The amiable Mr Vlok had built up deep personal relationships with many of them.

But he was philosophical, reminding them that he had always said there was a time to come and a time to go, and that he was looking forward to the challenge of the new job.

His spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet admitted that the parting was like the breakdown of a marriage.

General Malan — whose fall from grace was perhaps the harder of the two, all the way down to the lowly ministries of water affairs and forestry — broke the news to his personal staff with Spartan restraint and no emotion.

He managed to leave with some aplomb. "I've beaten the Reds. Now I join the Greens."

General Malan's long-time spokesman, Dr Das Herbst, praised his boss as a "great man" and said he admired him for the humour with which he had handled his exit.

One was reminded of the occasion at the height of the CCB scandal when rumours of his impending demise were most rife, and he had walked up to a group of journalists to shake their hands and say goodbye.

Both ministries were flooded with telegrams, telephone calls and messages of support from members of the two services, sources said.

Some, probably all, of the Ministers who were to receive good news were summoned to the Union Buildings only on Monday.

For some it was a bit like coming in from the cold. Sam de Beer, a successful former Deputy Minister for black

education who had languished for two years in the Own Affairs Ministers' Council, was told at 3 pm on Monday that he was going back into the same field, but now as full Minister.

The news leaked out to the country in dribs and drabs, contrary to Mr de Klerk's usual crisp, comprehensive announcements of Cabinet shuffles.

First came separate statements by Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase and Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Gert Kotze that they were leaving the Executive.

Then followed Dr Stoffel van der Merwe's statement that he would be leaving the Cabinet to prepare the National Party for negotiations.

Journalists scratched their heads. Was this all? Was Mr de Klerk toying with the press by tinkering with his Cabinet on the eve of expected major announcements?

In retrospect it seems that Mr de Klerk may have been trying to create the impression that the more important announcements to come were forced upon him because of the vacancies created by the initial departure of the three.

Not very convincingly. As the presses for the first editions of the morning paper were about to roll, came the bombshell.

In the end it was more of defeat than a victory for Mr de Klerk.

Perhaps it was a victory over his own securocrats. But to do it just when it was being most expressly demanded by his arch-political foe, the ANC and the world was clearly a political defeat.

But he did it so well it most looked like a victory.

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study groups recently can be prevented. He paid tribute to

the well-being of cities will be very important. The crux is to

Esselen Street, Hillbrow, cludes a family-planning ic, counselling service,

Thumbs-up for FW from 75 percent of callers to The Argus

3047

ARG 1/8/91

**SHARKEY ISAACS and
SORCHA VASEY**
Staff Reporters

THE latest Argus phone-in poll had the lines buzzing as readers gave a huge thumbs-up for explanations by President De Klerk on secret slush funds and his steps to get negotiations back on track.

The questions were: 1. Were you satisfied with President De Klerk's explanations on TV on Tuesday night? 2. Did you think the steps he announced would put negotiations back on track?

Seventy-five percent of the 630 callers said "yes" to both questions.

Argus readers from as far afield as Bredasdorp and Somerset West had the lines humming and kept calling until well after the 9pm deadline.

"Give peace a chance", "give De Klerk a chance" was the overwhelming plea.

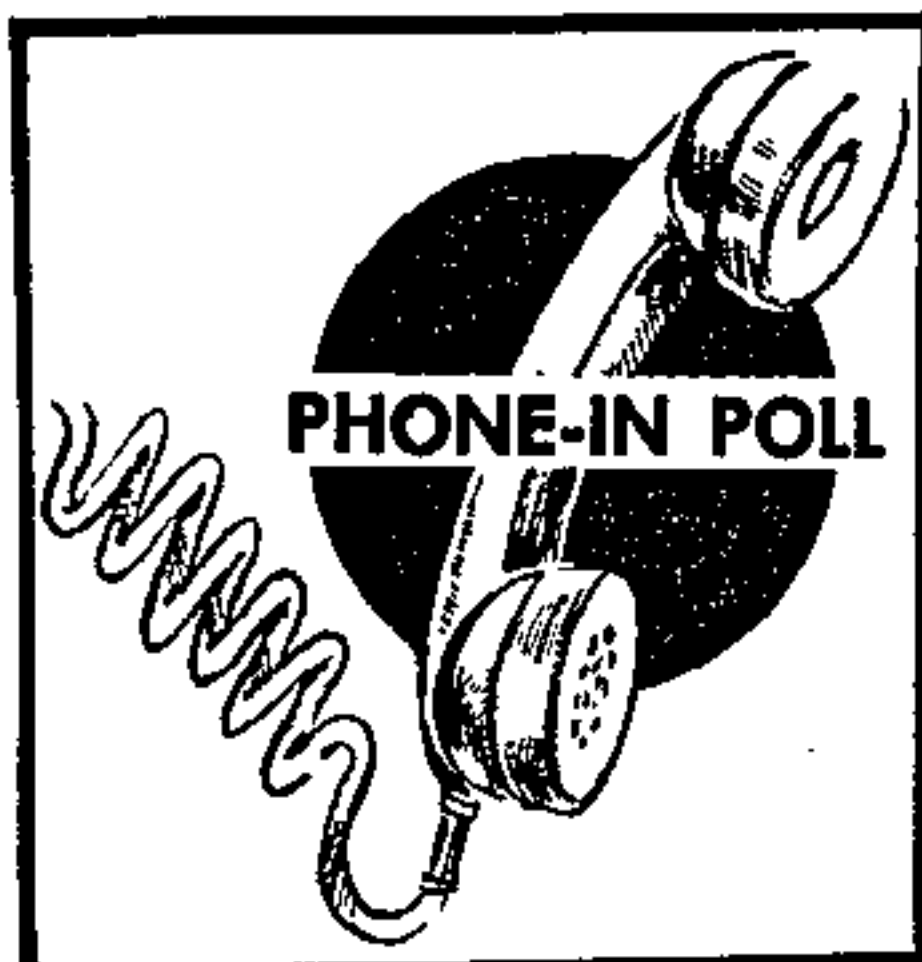
Many described him as being "so dignified, calm and well-spoken". Others said he had his finger on the button and was able to deal with any question without fumbling or blustering.

Mr De Klerk was said to be everything from "eloquent, brilliant and open" to "a complete liar" and "a more professional liar than Mr Pik Botha".

At least 50 callers said they were unhappy with the media questions at Mr De Klerk's Press conference.

Mr Arthur Coppin of Pinedlands said he was unhappy with the coverage given to the events leading to Mr De Klerk's announcements.

"This government must resign. I am going to take a firm stand about not paying taxes," said Mr Barry Godwin of Cape Town.



"Everyone suffered from sanctions — not only Inkatha. We have no houses and the government says there's no money. We don't believe them," said Mrs Miriam Abrahams of Athlone.

Mrs Val Leonard of Milnerton: "So much money has been spent whereas our hospitals need aid."

Those who were unsure about negotiations felt it was up to the ANC to keep negotiations on track.

Several callers noted that while the phone-in poll questions were relevant, results would be biased in favour of those who had access to television and were literate.

"I believe most of the people who would say 'no' could not phone," said an anonymous caller.

"President De Klerk is doing the best he can. I support him completely," said Mr Karl Winter of Hermanus.

"It was an outstanding speech. He was eloquent and has integrity," said Mr Dick Hutton of Constantia.

Major Storey of Sea Point said: "I think they should forget everything and send out a search party for Pik Botha's marbles."

"Mr De Klerk would go further by himself. He is good, but the government is not," said Mr Salaam Faardiel of Mandalay.

Mr Dawood Parker of Paarl: "Why did he take 10 days to speak? Why shuffle your Cabinet if nothing is wrong? I am not satisfied."

"The government has really shocked us. They could have spent that money on South Africans who need it," said Miss Carol Jackson on behalf of the Civic Association in Hanover Park.

"I'm an Afrikaner but I believe they should sack the whole Cabinet. There is no alternative," said Mr Andries Hanekom of Kenilworth.

Mr Ian Forbes of Milnerton said no to both questions. He was not satisfied with Mr De Klerk's explanations and said he doubted whether the steps announced would put negotiations back on track.

"I want to see some real action to stop the rot in high quarters," he said.

Miss Patricia Moses of Crawford, Athlone: "Three cheers for the State President."

Mr Nielen Marais of Wynberg, who also said yes to both questions, emphasised there was a need for a process of negotiation.

Mr Reinhold Diekman of Milnerton said he regarded the State President as a puppet who jumped to whatever Mr Mandela or President Bush said.

Mr Kelvin Swart of Ottery said he was more than satisfied with the State President, who he believed had handled himself well and dealt with all questions from the media.

"With the State President

you know what you've got, but everyone else is a bit dubious about what you haven't yet got," Mr Swart said.

Mr Thelo Wakefield of Kuils River was not satisfied with Mr De Klerk's answers. "The ANC should stop negotiations until General Malan and Mr Vlok are totally removed".

Mr Abraham Moses of Crawford: "I take my hat off to the State President."

Mr Claude Mullins of Mitchell's Plain said Mr De Klerk was a "more professional liar than Mr Pik Botha".

Mr Hennie Janse of Kuils River: "Mr De Klerk is the coolest man around and we need cool-headed people in the government."

Mr Peter Brown said Mr De Klerk was a man of considerable integrity and described his announcements as a "stepping-stone to the final answer".

Mr Mervyn Gopalsamy of Pelican Park: "I am very satisfied with Mr De Klerk's answers. He is the right man at the helm and he will put everything into the negotiations."

Mrs Daria Surve of Rylands said no to both questions. On the question of negotiations getting back on the track she said: "What is good enough for the ANC is not good enough for me."

Mrs Joan Clemo of Rondebosch described Mr De Klerk's explanations and moves as "a pathetic attempt at covering up".

She said: "The whole thing is just a cover-up. Why didn't he fire them (General Malan and Mr Vlok) or ask them to resign instead of reshuffling them?"

Total training for all democrats

South 1/8-7/8/91

304A

THE INSTITUTE has begun conducting workshops for students, teachers and parents with the objective of making them aware that they are instruments of democratic change. If we are serious about democracy in South Africa, we must empower pupils and teachers, ensuring their access to knowledge and information.

The Institute's Education for Democracy programme is aimed at promoting democratic ideals, training in democratic habits and strengthening understanding of democracy — in the schools and the community.

If South Africa is to have a democratic society, then schools must begin to inculcate democratic values and culture. Democratic schools teach children to question, to think, to consider all sides of a question and to reach their own conclusions.

The IMPD has also launched a Political Leadership programme for people who will one day run for office in local and state government.

The Institute for Multi-party Democracy (IMPD) has announced plans to expand beyond the PWV area. In September, it will launch regional offices in Natal, Southern Transvaal and the Western Cape. By the end of the year, it will have offices in the Northern Transvaal, the Eastern Cape and the Orange Free State. This is not bad, considering that the Institute was launched less than six months ago. But what else has the Institute to offer? Its Director of Programmes, **DR SESHI CHONCO**, lists an ambitious programme:



The programme offers 'skills and training in democratic leadership, election strategies and governing.

This type of programme — which offers training to people of all political affiliations — must be tackled as a matter of urgency, to avoid the ad-

ministrative disasters that have become characteristic of various African governments.

The IMPD, launched at a function attended by more than 100 politicians and several political parties from across the spectrum, was formed to

develop a democratic culture in South Africa. Human beings have an innate yearning for democracy, but they are not necessarily born with an understanding of it. Even in countries with a long tradition of democracy, no one can assume that tomorrow's citizens

will spontaneously appreciate what their predecessors did to achieve that tradition.

People must not just desire democracy; they have to be able to achieve it. The Institute's task is to articulate ideals aimed at that empowerment.

The Institute will work with people at the grassroots level to help them learn and practise democracy — because it is the people themselves who will and must defend democracy.

At the same time, the Institute will also work with political parties — while insisting on its independence and non-partisanship — because in essence multi-partyism implies the existence of strong, well organised parties.

The IMPD has also piloted the Grassroots Leadership programme and several workshops designed for particular interest groups.

We believe that the establishment of a democratic way of life for all depends on an educated people who understand what it is and how to improve it.

Come clean, FW!

We've heard about Inkathagate, now tell us about the rest



ANGER SPREADS: Dawood Khan of the Western Cape Traders' Association wrestles with police during protests outside Tuynhuis on Tuesday against the government's "slush funds"

South 118-718191

304A PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

By Mono Badela and
Rehana Rossouw

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk this week set out to put the minds of the public at rest over the Inkathagate scandal. What he still has to tell is the whole story about South Africa's Special Forces.

SOUTH's inquiries into the existence of these "recce units" revealed an army operating "in the shadows".

At his Pretoria press conference on Tuesday night, De Klerk was at pains to declare that his government does not have a separate agenda; what he

did not spell out clearly was whether the military arm of the government had its own political agenda.

The SADF Special Forces directorate, based in Pretoria, controls recce units throughout the country.

For years these units were accused of atrocities against people in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique; now evidence is emerging about their operations on their home soil.

Nico Basson, a former major in the Military Intelligence (MI), who recently revealed the government's clandestine operations in southern African states, said this week De Klerk's explanation was a "mere cover-up".

"What he will be loathe to reveal is the clandestine fight against the ANC conducted by these forces."

The special forces could be described as the "fifth arm" of the SADF — the others being the army, the navy, the medical services and the air force.

The special forces consist of five reconnaissance commands or regiments based in Durban (One Recce), Pretoria (Two Recce), Langebaan (Four Recce) and two in Phalaborwa (Three Recce and Five Recce).

The regiments are funded directly through the SADF budget and consist of permanent force members, conscripts and citizen force mem-

bers. Their existence first became known in the early 1980s and they are believed to have been established in the late 1970s.

Recruits are required to pass tough physical and psychological tests before being admitted to training.

Defected recce members and mercenaries in the frontline states allege that the recce regiments were involved in assassination attempts on South African and Namibian activists. There are claims that the same unit trained MNR operatives.

It is also claimed that the Recce regiments engage in covert operations against groups perceived as "state enemies".

INTRODUCING SOUTH'S STUDY BEAT Pages 26 and 27

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

South 1/8-7/8/91

THE Pretoria Minute — signed a year ago next Tuesday — had “failed lamentably” to live up to its expectations, key ANC negotiator Mr Mathew Phosa said this week.

“We had high hopes that all political prisoners would have been released by now, that all political exiles would have acquired their right to return home and that arbitrary detention without trial would be a thing of the past,” Phosa said in an exclusive interview.

He is one of the ANC members appointed at the Groote Schuur meeting to serve on a joint working group committee with the government.

A lawyer, Phosa was one of the first four ANC officials sent by the movement to prepare the ground for the historic talks between the ANC and the government held at Groote Schuur in Cape Town last May.

“Certainly, the accord failed dismally to live up to its expectations. We entertained hopes that talks about talks to remove obstacles to negotiations would have developed to maturity by now,” he said.

“We thought negotiations proper would start before the end of 1991. Instead, the whole process has ground to a halt.”

According to the Minute, all political prisoners were to have been released by April 30. “We have 164 political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, which we take for granted is part of

Pretoria accord has failed dismally

304A

South Africa. These prisoners qualify to be defined as political prisoners,” he said.

There are also about 10 political prisoners in the Ciskei and about 900 more in the rest of South Africa.

“There is no reason whatsoever why De Klerk is refusing to open the prison gates and let the people go.”

Phosa criticised the government for “arbitrarily” releasing “first-offender” criminals under its special amnesty provision.

Fewer than 2 000 exiles had returned. “The government has deliberately dragged its feet. It had hoped to cause demoralisation among exiles so that ANC members would resort to mutiny outside the country.”

He said one of the detainees had been told by his captors: “Here is the Pretoria Minute; we are going to drag it out until there is mutiny.”

Phosa said the government was making it difficult for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to enter the country to help with the repatriation of exiles.

Phosa said “very few meetings” had been held after the Pretoria Minute.



Mathew Phosa
PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

“Before the ink was dry, a wave of violence was unleashed which took everybody by surprise. We tried to prevail upon the government until this led us to suspend the talks on April 9 for the government to do something or to be seen to be doing something to

end the violence.”

Phosa said at first the violence did not make sense, but now it was clear that from the beginning the government had been practising a double agenda.

“It is now clear that they unleashed this violence against the ANC to demoralise it and to scare its people. The government financed reactionary groupings like Inkatha, the Federation of Independent Democratic Associations (FIDA) and other accommodating bodies.

“The government has abused the little good faith the ANC has displayed towards it. However, we must move forward.

“If we are to enter into another agreement, there is a need for a structure with some governmental powers to implement further agreements — like an interim government. We need a neutral structure which will steer, oversee and supervise the transitional period.

“Because of the government’s dishonesty and duplicity, it has disqualified itself. We need support on this issue internationally,” Phosa said.

Business watchdog proposal slammed

CT 1/8/91 3049

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk's proposed formation of a private sector committee to oversee the expenditure of secret funds was slated yesterday by Cosatu and opposition parties.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said yesterday that there was no indication at this stage who might be drafted onto the committee, or what its eventual size might be.

"In view of the urgency of the matter, the State President will make an announcement as soon as details are finalised," he said.

However, Cosatu said the decision to hand-pick individuals from big business to "scrutinise" these projects under conditions of secrecy, would reinforce the perception of union members that business was in an "unholy alliance" with government.

"Already big business is implicated in supporting Inkatha and Uvusa's

vigilante and union-bashing activities," Cosatu said in a statement.

"We want to suggest to businessmen who are approached to serve on this committee to think twice before accepting, since they will be seen to be in cahoots with a government cover-up," Cosatu said.

A Democratic Party finance spokesman, Mr Jasper Walsh, slated the proposed formation of the private sector committee to vet secret funds as a "lardy attempt" to introduce control over such expenditure.

The PAC's information secretary, Mr Barney Desai, yesterday questioned the criteria to be used to select the private sector committee.

"In the interests of peace and democracy the PAC urges all our countrymen to demand the immediate convening of an elected assembly to draw up a new constitution," Mr Desai said.

UK press lauds FW's strategy

CT 1/8/91

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Respect for President F W de Klerk's handling of the Inkathagate scandal has been expressed by influential sections of the British press.

The Financial Times was the most restrained yesterday, saying it was "too early to say that Mr De Klerk has restored his credibility".

However, the cabinet changes had made it clear that Mr De Klerk's commitment to ending apartheid was "undiminished".

The FT said "the ANC and other leading political parties" should be given a greater role in policy-making — but an interim government would be impracticable.

The Independent said Mr De Klerk had "turned to his own advantage what initially looked like a serious setback".

If Mr De Klerk's new ministers succeeded in controlling and partly re-educating the security forces, the Inkathagate episode would have served a good purpose, the Independent said.

The Guardian said Mr De Klerk had emerged from "Inkathagate... outwardly unscarred".

However, the ANC had gained most from the incident. Its warnings that sanctions had been ended prematurely "are now being taken seriously" and its proposal for an interim government had "gained more credibility".

Cosatu vows to use mass action

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

COSATU yesterday promised to embark on a programme of mass action to protest against President F W de Klerk's failure to respond "adequately" to any of the demands of anti-apartheid organisations.

The threat came amid widespread charges from political organisations that the government was not prepared to come clean on secret projects or state-sponsored violence and could not be trusted to enter good faith negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee — which held a marathon meeting yesterday to formulate its response to Mr De Klerk's attempts to clear the air after the secret slush fund scandal and allegations of security force collusion in violence — last night called off a planned press conference.

The organisation will now spell out its response later this morning.

The latest wave of militancy coincided with the refusal by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis to provide any more details on government funding projects.

Mr Du Plessis told Sapa yesterday that at no stage was it the intention of the government to make a full disclosure on how many secret projects had been cancelled, or were under consideration, or

THE Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, and the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, are to speak at a rally concerning the "Inkathagate" scandal in Cape Town City Hall at lunchtime today.

Democratic Party, ANC and religious leaders will also address the rally.

would be continued.

"The government has already given as much information ... as can be deemed necessary for the public to form a reasonable understanding of the whole issue," he said.

According to reports more than 41 projects were being shelved following Mr De Klerk's promise to cut back on secret projects on Tuesday night.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that the police yesterday paid the last instalment of the R1,5 million earmarked for the anti-ANC United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa). He said the programme officially ended yesterday but would not disclose the amount to be handed over to Uwusa by the SAP.

Meanwhile, Cosatu announced that it

would consult with its political allies on the form its mass protest action would take.

Cosatu declared that the state president this week had "failed to provide the answers which the country and the international community have been demanding about the government's role in undermining anti-apartheid organisations and sponsoring the violence".

Although it stopped short of saying it would urge the ANC to pull out of the negotiation process, Cosatu said Mr De Klerk's response to the crisis showed that the government was "not yet prepared to enter into good faith negotiations".

"(President) F W de Klerk refused to admit any wrongdoing on the part of the government, or come clean on covert activities which they have undertaken, and are continuing to undertake.

"All he could do was to rehash old measures which were announced several months ago, measures which have clearly failed to bring the violence to an end, or create confidence that the government is serious about overseeing the transition process in a fair and impartial way," Cosatu said.

The giant trade union federation said there was "not one good reason why the people of South Africa should trust this government to honour the undertakings made by De Klerk".

The 12 days that shook the govt

304A 22/11/91 CT118

JULY 1991 will be remembered for the 12 days that shook the NP-government and the country. Looking at the Inkathagate crisis from a long-term perspective, it could prove to be a blessing in disguise.

President De Klerk, the NP and the reform process can never be the same again. During his TV appearance, Mr De Klerk gave a clear indication of a much more careful approach to sensitive matters by the government.

Despite Inkathagate having created an atmosphere of mistrust and even hostility between the government and the ANC, it is quite likely and even probable that it will cause an acceleration of the reform process. The severity of the scandal is of such a nature that it cannot but unleash forces that are going to give an entirely new definition to what Mr De Klerk has called the irreversibility of the reform process.

This new type of irreversibility will not be to the liking of Mr De Klerk and even less to the liking of the securocratic establishment. Neither the transformation process nor the end result of negotiation will in future be as controllable by the NP as it so keenly wants it to be.

Before the Inkathagate crisis broke, the government's bargaining position was relatively too strong vis-a-vis the position of the ANC and other potential negotiation partners, to allow an orderly, constructive and meaningful negotiation process. Almost all the relative resources or negotiation "chips" were in the hands of the government.

During the first half of the year the political scene was dominated by all kinds of rumours and allegations that the government — or certain elements within the government — were involved in deliberate actions to make the playing field even more unequal for the ANC. Unfortunately Mr De Klerk did not address the allegation about the NP's involvement in "electioneering politics" explicitly during his new conference.

Reform too little

One of the most unsatisfactory aspects of Mr De Klerk's news conference was that he has shown — as in the case of apartheid — no remorse for the chain of events that brought about Inkathagate. He runs the danger of attaining the reputation of insensitivity.

Mr De Klerk's reshuffling of the Cabinet and his announcements about stricter control of secret funds are characteristic of the NP reform initiatives — always too little too late. If Mr De Klerk could have announced these measures

reactions of the senior securocrats towards their new ministers will be watched with keen interest. Their reaction will be an indication to what extent Mr De Klerk has been (or still is) a captive of the securocratic establishment.

Mr De Klerk's efforts during his press conference to give assurances about the government's impartiality were not convincing. He overstated his case in an almost desperate attempt to regain his (much advertised) status as a "man of integrity".

During his prepared statement Mr De Klerk stated emphatically that "the government has no intention of being a player and referee at the same time". He failed dismally, however, to explain how the problem surrounding this dual status of the NP-government is going to be resolved to the satisfaction of all participants.

Impartiality

At times Mr De Klerk pushed his case for impartiality to such lengths that he created the impression that the government had opted to be only an impartial referee during the negotiations! But in answering a question he rejected the idea of an arbiter for the negotiations and stated that the NP would play an active role — but without domination (sic) — during the negotiation process!

The central question remains: when will the NP government maintain neutrality and on what issue, and how will it decide on the thin line between partiality and impartiality.

An unfortunate result of the 12-day saga is that Pik Botha is still Minister of Foreign Affairs. After watching his TV conference for the third time, it was impossible for me to suppress a strong feeling of indignation.

With his arrogance, his self-righteousness and his obsession to score silly debating points by not answering the question or twisting the "truth", he clearly insulted the intelligence of the viewers. If the normalisation of international relations is still a high priority for the De Klerk government, Pik Botha should be removed from Foreign Affairs as soon as possible. After his kragdadigheid on TV many countries may be inclined to maintain sanctions only to spite Pik Botha.

Media role

One of the most valuable results of Inkathagate could be the restoration of the role of the mainstream media in South Africa. Since February 1990 the

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runs the danger of attaining the reputation of insensitivity.

Mr De Klerk's reshuffling of the Cabinet and his announcements about stricter control of secret funds are characteristic of the NP reform initiatives — always too little too late. If Mr De Klerk could have announced these measures at the beginning of the year, it would not have looked like crisis management by a panic-stricken State President.

Every keen and critical observer of the political process was aware, at the end of last year, that the balance of power within the NP-establishment had shifted — more or less since August last year — towards the hawks in the Cabinet and towards securocrat civil servants. At the end of the news conference we were still in the dark as to why the State President did not take appropriate steps at a more opportune date.

The reasons he supplied for shifting two senior ministers to humiliating positions was not convincing. In the weeks ahead the

maintain sanctions only to spite Pik Botha.

Media role

One of the most valuable results of Inkathagate could be the restoration of the role of the mainstream media in South Africa. Since February 1990 the mainstream newspapers — including many of the English language newspapers — were perhaps too supportive to the De Klerk government. During the 12-day crisis the newspapers published by Nasionale Pers were pathetic in their attempt to offer all kinds of silly excuses for Inkathagate. Their main point of defence was to remind every human being that he should not forget that he was also born in sin!

In sharp contrast, the English language media made a tremendous contribution to uncover the true state of affairs and to hammer home the need for drastic measures. Hopefully these newspapers will retain this critical attitude. Given the unrepresentative nature of Parliament, an open, critical and investigative media will be indispensable during the transitional process. Mr De Klerk, in fact, invited the media to scrutinise his actions in future.

One-sided

The SABC had its bright moments during the crisis and beat a hasty retreat towards its old one-sidedness. Surely the ANC and other negotiating partners must be granted regular slots on TV to put their case and to set straight the terribly distorted picture constantly created by the NP and its supportive media.

It may be true that South Africa is no longer in the grips of a terrible winter, as Pik Botha has claimed, but it is far too early to talk about summer. The months and the years ahead could be rather stormy and unpredictable en route to a new South Africa.

Delicate

We are destined to experience what Joseph Schumpeter has called a process of creative destruction — it is not possible to create a new South Africa without "destroying" the old.

Without doubt, Inkathagate has proved one thing: we still do not know how to manage the delicate process of dismantling the old order and of creating a new one.



PS
By JOHN
SCOTT

You can't overrate forestry portfolio

who better to be led by them than a understands how to be out on a limb for your head?

mus was of course er who changed and naval uniforms, South African soldiers look like ns they had repeated in World

it was hoped that ould divert him on.

er was a minister up in forestry. He h six years as Min-ansport, and was by having the Paul iding named after ast six years were r of Forestry, forests, as far as is ar his name. May-l Malan will be

Mahoganies will until someone cuts

Another former Minister of Forestry was Frankie Waring, though he was better known for Sport and Recreation. That's the trouble with Forestry. Most of its incumbents are remembered for their activities beyond the tree-line.

Willie Maree was also Minister of Forestry. He was the youngest and reputedly fittest member of the cabinet, but suddenly resigned because of ill-health. Rumour had it that his fit of ill-health overtook him on a very product of his forestry department, his office desk, late one afternoon.

Afterwards he seemed to regain his health and led an active life, his recuperation due undoubtedly in no small part to the oxygen emitted by trees.

The last Minister of Forestry in the Smuts Government was J G N Strauss, who went on to become Leader of the Opposition when General Smuts died. That just shows you that you can end in Forestry and still go from strength to strength.

General Malan himself takes over from Gert Kotze who became Minister of Forestry after he had made a mess of Environment Affairs. That's the beauty of forestry. It's almost impossible to make a mess of.

This is an enormous comfort to President De Klerk. Like every head of government, he knows he cannot overrate a portfolio that is minister-proof.

Talk

Mildred Wil
int: Gloria
Tony Main

The fund's sellin
es to repurchase u
lered necessary.

TWO VIEWS ON A CRISIS THAT ROCKED THE FOUNDATION

30414 CT 1/8/91



VIEWPOINT
by FARID
ESACK

DEAR Mr De Klerk,

You're really something. I'm truly impressed by the way you pulled this one off. Your gracious decision to remove Magnus and Adriaan from the firing line to "lessen the pressure" on them caught us flat-footed. Even Walter Sisulu could only manage a pathetic "the situation is rather complex and

requires to be examined". (Still wondering what crime Pik has committed that he was not honoured with your compassion.)

For more than 10 days you exposed your Cabinet colleagues to investigative journalism. You then emerged as the saviour of these ministers and of the nation, the healer of wounds who is really above it all.

Mr De Klerk, a remarkable crack-filler you truly are but "the healer of wounds"? I refuse to buy that. Who is this "our" that you are so fond of referring to? You speak about "our present system", about the way "our country was excluded from virtually every international organisation", about secret funds meant to counter "our isolation". You sound remarkably pre-New South Africa in your perpetual conflating of the apartheid regime with the country and its people.

Mr De Klerk, it is not our country which was isolated. "Our people" — from Helen Suzman to Joe Slovo — if they were known to make common cause with the deepest yearnings of humankind for democracy and freedom, were welcomed all over the world. We have never known anything but open minds, hearts and doors.

You're really something FW! But it's not 'yours'

You do not seem to appreciate, Sir, that your isolation did not come about as a consequence of a malicious world but emerged from the frustration of the victims of your regime. You seemed to go to great lengths to counter sanctions except to remove what caused it: the absence of a truly democratic state. Even at this late hour you envisage your standing committee managing secret funds for the countering of sanctions.

A point which never seemed to have occurred to you is that we are angry that *our* money is being used to end *your* isolation — an isolation that we had consistently appealed and worked for.

You will probably dismiss me as being among

those whom you describe as "malicious people making capital out of the present controversy". "Malicious" *se voel in 'n visblik!* I love this country as much as any other patriot. You remain convinced you speak for the silent majority. Mr De Klerk, the majority is no longer silent and, indeed, they have been rather vociferous for a long time. More than a million workers spoke at the recent Cosatu congress and if the establishment press was not so obsessed with Charles and Di's anniversary plans then you might have heard the voice of your silent majority a bit louder.

May I ask you, Sir, when will you stop arrogating to yourself the

role of speaking for a majority perfectly capable of speaking for itself through its (authentic, by the way) trade unions, democratic civic associations and religious organisations? Your government has consistently attempted to create illusions of loud majorities who will sing your praise. Now that your trade unions have been exposed to know neither trades nor unionising, you claim the majority is silent and that you speak for them.

The truth is your "our" is still synonymous with a white minority, racist "our". Your language is not authentically inclusive.

In your entire handling of this affair, from the long delay in facing the nation to your pulling the rug from under the feet of the ANC by sidelining two ministers you have shown once again that you are essentially a shrewd and calculating politician.

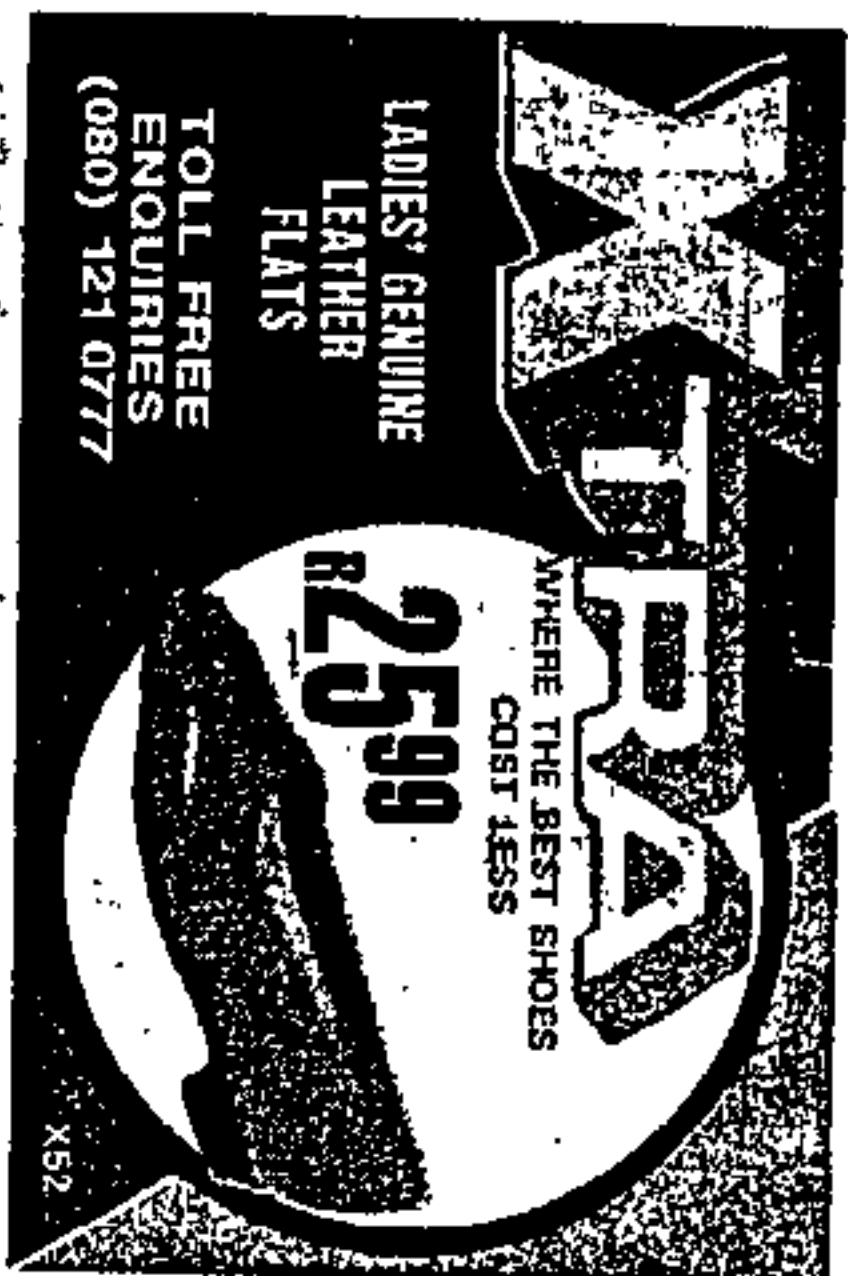
You did not say a word about Inkatha until journalists refused to let you off the hook. At times you even suggested that the ANC was on trial rather than your government. We are yet to hear why Buthelezi's secretary has done a Salman Rushdie. We are yet to hear why a major in the Security Police could

have misrepresented Buthelezi, a friend. (I shudder when I think of the consequences for the major's political enemies if he could do this to his friends ... and I wonder about a State President and a cabinet who depend on an army of such majors for pre-bosberaad inputs. Come, come Major Botha, the implications of your misinterpretations and misrepresentations are too ghastly to contemplate. Out with the truth!)

Mr De Klerk, you wax eloquent about the Westminster system when you refuse to say why Magnus and Adriaan were demoted when they did nothing wrong. Yet nowhere under the Westminster system would a minister or a Cabinet have survived if they were guilty of one-tenth of that which yours have been caught with.

The truth is you and your government are not above the mess that our country is in. You have announced several measures to clear up the mess — some of them not entirely without merit. However, does it not occur to you that, after so many blunders, you no longer have the right to be sole fixer; that our country needs an interim government to prepare the way for a constituent assembly?

Yours etc, F Esack
PS: Why does Pretoria insist on giving me a passport which is only valid for a year? Do some of your folks think that the toothpaste can go back into the tube?



Cape Times

Carfinder Inside

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FW pleases Britain, not US

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British government yesterday welcomed President F W de Klerk's steps concerning the Inkatha scandal, but relations with the United States have become strained.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr De Klerk's steps were seen "as evidence of the president's determination to ensure that unacceptable secret activities were stopped".

At the height of the Inkatha crisis last week the British government twice contacted the South African government to express concern over the funding scandal.

However, SIMON BARBER reports that US relations

with Pretoria are being strained by the scandal and the government's failure to reach agreement with the UN High Commissioner on Refugees over repatriating "tens of thousands of exiles".

This was confirmed by the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen (Full report — Page 5).

Meanwhile, in London the Foreign Office spokesman said: "We hope that the various measures Mr De Klerk has announced will restore confidence in the political process and encourage South Africans to proceed with the main task — the negotiation of a new constitution."

Senior Whitehall sources said Britain saw the removal of security ministers General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok, coupled with Mr De Klerk's announce-

ments at his press conference, as "very significant in South African terms".

Britain acted swiftly last week to express its concern to the South African government following press disclosures of government funding of Inkatha, and allegations of security force collusion in the violence.

First, Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd contacted Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and spoke to him for over half-an-hour. Later in the week, Prime Minister John Major wrote a letter to Mr De Klerk expressing similar concerns.

The Foreign Office minister concerned with Southern Africa, Mrs Lynda Chalker, also discussed the matter by telephone with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela who was in Jamaica.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches has voiced its dissatisfaction at Mr F W de Klerk's response to the revelations of the government's secret fundings and covert actions, and called for a new mechanism to oversee the government during negotiations.

The SACC, in a statement to Sapa yesterday, said Mr De Klerk's response showed he was still refusing to acknowledge the seriousness of the situation the country found itself in.

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- US angry over exile delay — Page 5
- Stock Exchange back on track — Page 10

Wessels - poised for elevation all along

304A
Sowetan
1/8/91

Political Staff

WHEN Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels made his dramatic personal apology for apartheid in Parliament in February this year political observers knew something was up, but weren't quite sure what it was.

There were two theories: either Wessels, the archetypal "nice guy", was simply being true to his conscience by saying *mea culpa*, or he was also testing the water for the entire National Party on the issue.

Reformist-minded, younger Nats were thrilled with him, although nervous about the consequences for his career.

Others hinted that President FW de Klerk was not pleased, and that Wessels would find himself frozen out for a while.

Monday's events suggest that his critics were wrong. The charming, sincere 45-year-old has been given the crucial Cabinet portfolio of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing - filling the shoes of a man many years his senior.

The impression is inescapable. Wessels - along with the rest of De Klerk's clutch of verligte "deputies" - was poised all along for elevation.

Studied law

Despite its soporific title, Wessels' new Ministry is important, and he will assume an ever-higher profile in the day-to-day elements of the negotiating process - dealing more with on the ground issues than constitutional policy.

Wessels was born in Kroonstad in the Free State and, like most other reformist NP deputy ministers, studied Law. After graduating from the University of Potchefstroom - where he was chairman of the Students' Council and later President of the Afrikaanse Studentebond - he practised as an advocate.

His open door, unassuming, easy-going style, honed during his tenure as deputy to Pik Botha and on occasion companion to De Klerk on trips abroad, will be put to good use. But, moreover, as a senior Cabinet member, his influence on the transitional phase cannot be overestimated.

He brings to his new job a considerable reservoir of goodwill from black leaders, at both the national and regional levels.

In February, one ANC-aligned township activist remarked, and the view was not his alone: "If all the Nats were like Leon Wessels, we could have a deal before the end of the year."

He will be treated with less suspicion than might have been reserved for other, older school Nats.

At the end of the Parliamentary session, Wessels privately (and good-humouredly) lamented the fact that his duties as Deputy Foreign Minister were so onerous that he hardly ever had time to indulge his passion for golf. On that score, his position is about to worsen considerably.

Foxy FW shuffles and plays an ace

President FW de Klerk's new Cabinet could further his cause very significantly and set the pace for the negotiating process as well as improve the image of the Government for the duration of the present constitution.

While the reshuffle had its immediate cause in the Inkathagate scandal, it has also given De Klerk the opportunity to prepare the NP (as the negotiating partner) for constituency building in the short to medium term and in the second instance to give the NP (as the Government) a better face while it attempts to win friends and influence people.

De Klerk delayed his response to the Inkathagate issue, delivering it just in time to make it easier for the American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Hank Cohen, who yesterday testified before the United States Congress on why the Bush Administration lifted sanctions against South Africa.

Police

By demoting Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, De Klerk has done much to appease the Government's critics inside and outside the country.

He gave the Minister of Planning Provincial Affairs and National Housing, Mr Hernus Kriel, Vlok's post.

Kriel is believed to be a tougher securocrat than Vlok, and he will be able to control the police force in preparing them for a new South Africa. He is, however, by no means a liberal.

Kriel is the person of whom the Labour Party's the Rev Allan Hendrickse says: "He is apartheid with a smile."

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

Vlok takes over Correctional Services, the second portfolio of the Minister of Justice (and Correctional Services). This is not the most exciting position by any standards, and particularly not in the light of recent upheavals with the release of first-time offenders.

Similarly, the political prisoners' issue has not been resolved yet and the new move places Vlok directly in the line of fire - again.

Nevertheless, with the promotion of Kriel to Law and Order, a third sensitive position opens up, one that has to address the needs and aspirations of millions of black people, the National Housing portfolio.

Apology

Who better (for De Klerk) to place in this position, than the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels - the only Cabinet Minister and NP member who has formally apologised for apartheid.

In an interview with Wessels earlier this year, he explained that he had seen the misery that

apartheid had brought to black people and said if he were black, he too, would have been radical.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan has literally been sent into the wilderness - he has been given the portfolio of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Promoted

De Klerk then - with one eye on constituency building among black people and another on the negotiation process - promoted into the position of Defence Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer.

Here De Klerk scored the most points. Meyer has been part of the intellectual contingent of the Government's negotiating team and is known to be on good terms with certain key elements within the senior ranks of the ANC - in his present capacity, Meyer is the counterpart of Mr Chris Hani, chief-of-staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Meyer retains control of the South African Communications Service (formerly known as the Bureau for Information).

Crucial

And, then to crown all of this, De Klerk has taken the Minister of Education and Training Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who announced his resignation on Monday night, and placed him in the crucial position of preparing the NP for negotiations and taking it through the arduous tasks of constituency building.

Van der Merwe is, along with Constitutional Affairs Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Meyer, very much part of the intellectual content of the Government's constitutional negotiation team.

In the present Cabinet reshuffle, and following the resignations also on Monday night of the Minister of Education and

Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase and the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Mr Gert Kotze, De Klerk has:

- * Promoted Deputy Minister Piet Marais into the Education and Culture post.

- * Promoted Own Affairs Minister Sam de Beer to the Education and Training portfolio.

- * Kept Viljoen as the Minister of Constitutional Development, but has given him the added responsibility of local government from the Ministry of National Housing and Planning.

Welfare

- * Moved Post and Telecommunications from Dr Dawie de Villiers to Transport Minister Dr Piet Welgemoed.

- * Relieved the Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development Mr Amie Venter, of his Public Service portfolio.

- * Given Dr Rina Venter, the Minister of Health, the extra responsibility of Welfare in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

As the final theatrical stroke of genius and again with a view to constituency building among black people - or coloureds - De Klerk promoted to the rank of deputy minister the first coloured person, Mr Abie Williams.

Transition

Williams will be the Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning.

The reshuffle of the Cabinet is a clear indication by De Klerk that his Government was ready for the transition period - if only there can be consensus on what a "transitional agreement" is.

The shake-up becomes effective on August 30.

Axing is not enough - callers

GENERAL Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok should be sacked from the Cabinet, Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show callers said yesterday.

Thabang from Tsakane said the mere demotion shows that the State President does not take demands from the majority of South Africans seriously. "The two are still part of the decision-making body for this country and that is not satisfactory," he said.

Money

Samuel said the reshuffling had destroyed the trust blacks were developing in the National Party Government.

He said the demotion shows that he still had confidence in Vlok and Malan who misused the taxpayers' money.

Ephraim from Sebokeng said the two had been implicated in township violence, therefore, demotion was not enough.

"I think De Klerk did not sack them because he was afraid they were going to reveal all."

"He was protecting himself by demoting them."

Confidence

Vuyiswa from Orlando West said De Klerk's action showed he had no remorse for the thousands who have died under the "rule" of Vlok and Malan.

She said his actions had destroyed the confidence "we had in his Government". Peter from Sebokeng was the only caller sympathetic to Vlok and Malan.

He said they should have been kept in their posts because of their experience and their ability to stamp out township violence.

Donner 11/8/91

**Political writer
SHAUN JOHNSON
profiles Roelf Meyer,
the unlikely suc-
cessor to General
Magnus Malan.**

a man with whom he could do business - and he is well liked in ANC circles.

It was frequently the impression of those dealing with him on a regular basis that he was even at times ahead of his colleagues in constitutional

Whenever "doves"

were identified in the Government's inner sanctum, Meyer's name featured prominently. He also took responsibility for briefing the media on developments in the rollover/peace process, and won admiration for his sophisticated and substantive, rather than

Since March last year the key aide de camp to Constitutional mastermind Dr Gerrit Viljoen, it was Meyer who attended most of the working group sessions with the ANC and who insisted, whenever the negotiating process faltered, that there was a way forward.

He openly took a conciliatory view on Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani - saying, by startling contrast to Malan, that he was



ANC warns on negotiations

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THE Cabinet and the ANC leadership met behind their respective closed doors yesterday for what the Government perceives as an autopsy on the Inkathagate scandal, and the ANC as a fob-off of the issue.

In a separate statement, the ANC-aligned Cosatu yesterday warned that the negotiation process was in jeopardy, following State President FW de Klerk's "refusal to admit wrongdoing on the part of his Government" in the Inkatha funding debacle.

Senior ANC sources have also indicated there was "gross dissatisfaction" among the leadership of the movement with De Klerk's response to the slush funds issue, and that a major showdown was looming.

Controversy

Government sources on the other hand believe that De Klerk had adequately dealt with the crisis and that the controversy had been laid to rest.

According to the ANC, its demands for a multiparty commission into secret Government funds and indemnity for people who came up with evidence relating to covert operations, as well as the prosecution of persons implicated by a commission, were brushed aside by De Klerk along

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

with the demand for the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The sources said that by simply demoting Vlok and Malan, De Klerk was "only covering the Government's tracks".

"They (Vlok and Malan) have now gotten away with everything," the source said.

Cosatu said that the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance had put forward a package of measures which De Klerk had to implement in order to move the negotiation process back on track, but that the President had "failed to respond adequately".

During his speech on Tuesday night, De Klerk confirmed his "confidence" in Vlok and Malan. He said that with the reshuffle he had removed them from the controversy.

"I hope that this (demotion of Vlok and Malan) alleviates the attacks on the integrity of the security forces," De Klerk said.

A formal response to De Klerk's reaction to Inkathagate was to be decided at yesterday's ANC meeting, Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC's department of information and publicity said earlier in the day.

All those who missed their copy of Sowetan should contact...

SA need
not drop
norms,
whites

THE South African nation is coming out of a period characterised by racial diversity that often led to conflict and confrontation, says the executive director of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce. Mr Mofasi Lekota told a breakfast club in Cape Town that apartheid had succeeded in dividing the South African nation.

He said one of the challenges facing South Africans today was to identify those things they have in common and build on them in order to share a peaceful future.

Lekota said South Africans had to transform their country into a democratic state and that an internationally tested and proven mechanism of democratising society was that of one-man one-vote.

He said the process through which this democracy could be attained was through a constituent assembly and an interim government.

He said affirmative action should not imply dropping standards or dropping whites. He also appealed for more black role models. - Sapa

Notices

US team coming to discuss big aid offer

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Congress is to send a team of staff experts to South Africa next week for urgent consultations with ANC leaders on a proposed multibillion-dollar aid package for the country.

At the same time members of Congress will hold meetings in Washington with the ANC's Chief Representative in the United States, Lindiwe Mabuza, and her staff, to discuss details of the scheme which was the focus of an unprecedented clash between anti-apartheid campaigners this week.

The hope is that "hitches and misunderstandings" can be ironed out so that a formal initiative can be launched in Congress to win support for what has been described as a fund large enough to finance "an historic turning point" in South Africa's development.

In the meanwhile, the draft of

a proposed letter to President Bush, in which he is asked to begin making allowances for the aid plan in his next budget proposals to Congress, has been circulated on Capitol Hill.

Initiators of the plan hope to canvass "unanimous, or near-unanimous" approval for it in Congress before the letter is sent to the White House. It is likely to be followed by a "sense of Congress" resolution, demonstrating bi-partisan support.

It is the President's prerogative to draw up a budget and to present it to Congress, but because budgets also have to be approved by Congress, there is frequent prior consultation on foreign aid and other matters.

At this stage it is not known what Mr Bush's response to an initiative from Congress on aid for South Africa would be, but sources say they have "very good cause for optimism".

What some are concerned about is a perceived uncertainty and procrastination in the ANC and major American civil rights groups whose backing is regarded as essential.

But delays are not seen as ANC disapproval of the plan. Rather, there appear to be some reservations about the implications of such a major multi-national aid scheme and the strings that might be attached to it.

Indications are that the ANC supports the idea in principle, but wishes to study the obligations which a future government might be under if it were to accept such assistance.

Supporters of the initiative are anxious to get it under way before negotiations begin on a new constitution in South Africa because they believe it could be an important incentive to the parties to reach a settlement.

They stress that the intention is to provide the aid only after a new constitution has been negotiated and after free and fair elections have brought a new government into being.

But they add that with the approval of all parties some aid may be advanced to "neutral non-government entities" to finance such projects as housing.

LEADING ARTICLES

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heads when the pressure was at its most ferocious, during the hit-squad row. He has given the impression now that his reshuffle — while certainly taking into account political realities — was done in his own good time. It is significant that the ANC has not felt able to crow, even though one of its key demands has been effectively met.

To portray De Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle as a step forward would be convenient. But it would also be inaccurate — just as it was wrong to describe the stirring Dunkirk evacuation in 1940 as a victory. What we had this week was a very effective salvage operation, an exercise in damage control.

De Klerk now stands not too far from where he did before the Inkatha scandal broke. Ostensibly he is in a stronger position because he has a fresh team, built more in his own image — but it remains untested.

The fact remains, however, that — Inkatha scandal or not — the problems in the way of a negotiated settlement that leads to stable democracy are enormous.

Whatever the ANC says, there can be no doubt that reform is irreversible in the legal sense. Apartheid laws will not be reintroduced. Even if no settlement is in place by late 1994, when the next white general election is due, De Klerk will find a way of deferring a poll — and, therefore, any possibility of a CP victory.

The dangers to reform are more complicated and they might defy even a coalition interim government dominated by ANC and Nat members. The biggest problems are political violence, unemployment, crime, the lack of housing and the education crisis. Political goodwill alone will not solve them — though it would help if the ANC played its part by rejecting socialism and calling for an end to all sanctions.

What is needed is good government, with immediate effect. And this is where De Klerk and his new Ministers have to make up a lot of ground. It is where his tendency to sit tight, allowing his Ministers and bureaucrats great leeway, has been damaging to the process. And in areas where the officials badly need help — as in fighting inflation and

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equalising education — De Klerk has been conspicuous by his lack of public commitment.

The absurd own affairs administrative divisions may well be unavoidable until a new constitution has been drawn up, but they are run with no imaginative sense of wider issues and officials are apparently allowed to block reform by going by the book or by quoting old and meaningless budgets.

In education, De Klerk has been content to watch his Ministers, through sheer inertia or lack of sensitivity, provoke crisis after crisis. White schools and colleges were closed and teachers made redundant, while thousands of blacks were without classrooms or teachers. These reforms have been grudging, to say the least, as the illiterate under-class grows steadily in number and frustration.

The Justice Department's handling of the recent amnesty for first offenders was bungled so badly that a general perception arose that the jails were simply being emptied. This disaster, along with the reckless agreement with the ANC to allow murderers to be classed as political prisoners, has seriously damaged the integrity of the law.

No satisfactory policy, even on an emergency basis, has been drawn up to deal with the squatting problem and all De Klerk's

men appear to be confused about the issue of compensation for those dispossessed of their land by apartheid laws.

The State President's vital political perception was that apartheid in all its forms had to go; his greatest political achievement so far is that he has persuaded his party to accept his vision.

He refused to make bargaining chips of apartheid laws; instead of being dragged to the table, he has always given the impression of being impatient to get negotiations going as soon as possible. And he has the advantage of knowing that, behind the grandstanding, the NP and the ANC are like Siamese twins — the one cannot move forward without the other. Even in the full blast of the Inkatha scandal, the ANC did not threaten to call off negotiations — it has no alternative to talking.

But statesmanlike vision and courage will be worth nothing if the country is not governed properly. The finest constitution is no defence if the conditions have been created for anarchy.

De Klerk's success so far has depended on always being one step ahead, on outflanking the opposition. It is a risky business riding the reform tiger. He will have no respite in avoiding being devoured by it. ■

Walter Scott said it

**"O, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practise to deceive."**

- Sir Walter Scott.

PRESIDENT De Klerk should keep this famous quotation in mind when he considers further actions on the way to negotiations. It simply means that openness is after all the best policy and that once a government becomes involved in shadowy projects such as those which have now been revealed by Inkathagate it becomes entangled in them more and more and the deception increases.

The latest secret projects scandals have again illustrated what can essentially be described as the Nat mentality. This is that the end justifies the means. Once this is accepted no rules need apply.

This attitude stemmed from the "total onslaught" or "low-intensity war" theories which developed especially under Mr P W Botha.

The bombast and bluster of Mr Pik Botha with his "I would do it again" attitude showed that much of this mentality remained in government circles, even after the 1978 Information scandal.

Dr Connie Mulder and his men also believed that they had "done it for their country" because extraordinary circumstances demanded extraordinary methods. This was, and is, a fallacious and dangerous attitude, useful only to hide a multitude of political sins.

Although a big clean-up and better control were promised, the mentality remained and the secret projects again took root, not that they ever stopped completely, especially at the time of sanctions.

The one question Mr De Klerk dodged during his quite frank Press conference was what he thought of his Minister of Foreign Affairs' attitude.

Instead he asked to be reminded of when the Information scandal had happened so that he could say that he had then only just become a Minister and that he had not been involved.

In what DP leader Dr Zac de Beer described as a "a most difficult and rather unimpressive tightrope act" Mr De Klerk still backed the secret projects of the past although he said they were now being cut down drastically, that legislation would be reviewed and present projects re-evaluated by the private sector committee.

The excuse that the money given to Inkatha was not for party political purposes was to say the least extremely



SO ARG 2/8/91 well

Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

flimsy. Obviously this political movement could be boosted by huge rallies arranged with money given by the State. On the other hand Inkatha has now taken a bad knock after the latest disclosures.

What has also emerged is that the government took the sanctions threats extremely seriously, although some leaders, including Mr De Klerk, while not exactly pooh-poohing the threat, often stated that South Africa could live with sanctions and that they were not going "cap in hand" to foreign governments to ask for their lifting. Instead the web of secret anti-sanctions operations was started. Now the president has said that sanctions were beginning to strangle South Africa.

Mr De Klerk maintains he is not doing things in order to please Mr Mandela and the ANC, but he has at least partly heeded ANC demands by shifting General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok from their controversial departments.

The reason he gave was that it had in fact become necessary because these departments had become so controversial because of the constant attacks on the two Ministers. These attacks were, on the other hand, not only on the Ministers, but because of deeply rooted suspicions and some disturbing indications elements in these departments were also involved in dirty tricks.

While Mr De Klerk has exonerated the departments as such, he has conceded that there may be rogue elements acting without the knowledge of their superiors and he has promised an investigation if evidence is provided.

As usual, Mr De Klerk played his cards close to his chest when it came to the Cabinet shake-up. His plans did not leak out because he consulted only a few of the top Nationalist leaders.

It is traditionally the prerogative of the president to appoint the Cabinet.

Mr De Klerk only consulted the provincial leaders of his party. None of the other Ministers appeared to know about it. Also consulted or simply told were of course those affected by the changes.

Mr Piet Clase, the white "own affairs" Minister of Education who chose to resign — had Mr De Klerk given him the chop this would have been widely applauded — remained a political fool till the end. He could at least have shown Mr De Klerk the courtesy of remaining on as an MP.

Instead he has now virtually given his Virginia seat in the Free State, which he won by only 47 votes in the last general election, to the Conservative Party. There is little chance of the National Party retaining the seat and this will only give the rightwing another boost.

Through his Cabinet reshuffle and his announcement on secret projects Mr De Klerk has above all tried to remove stumbling blocks on the way to negotiations. The government is "ready, able and willing" to start tomorrow, he said. There may be moves soon to call an all-party conference to make arrangements for real negotiations.

An interesting sideline at Mr De Klerk's press conference was that he did not out of hand reject the idea of an outside arbiter to be involved in the negotiations. Instead he said that all matters affecting the negotiations would in turn have to be negotiated.

He also again indicated that there would be a separation between the National Party and the government. The party would be at the negotiating table while the government would continue with the administration of the country.

While continuing to reject the idea of an interim government he has once again offered transitional arrangements which could mean the inclusion of representatives from non-parliamentary parties in the Cabinet.

As he put it in his speech at the opening of Parliament this year "consideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements on the various legislative and executive levels to give leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions."

This will be one of the matters to be decided on at the negotiations.

As far as an interim government is concerned his attitude remains that "effective government and administration in terms of existing constitutional legislation has to continue until a new constitution has been negotiated and implemented".

While Mr De Klerk's responses on the Inkatha-gate scandal have had a cool response from the ANC the movement has again stated that it remains committed to the peace process.

Both sides are becoming locked into the moves towards negotiations. Inkatha-gate may have delayed this process, but it has not wrecked it.

'FW takes SA back to days of Rubicon'

Staff Reporters **3041A** **ARG 2/8/91**

PRESIDENT De Klerk's TV address on Tuesday took the country back to the days of Mr P W Botha's Rubicon speeches.

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said this at a meeting in the City Hall yesterday called by 20 organisations, including the ANC, PAC and the Democratic Party, to protest at Mr De Klerk's handling of the Inkatha funding scandal. The meeting was attended by 300 people.

"Mr De Klerk failed to rise to the occasion. He did not address the question of mercenaries and death squads," Mr Manuel said.

Calling for a constituent assembly, Mr Manuel said the government's actions had proved that the country still did not have a government to take it into the future.

"(Mr) De Klerk wants to be referee and a player, and also collect the gate-takings," he said.

The PAC's Mr Kwedi Mkali-phi called on the government "to make way for the convention of a constituent assembly and all South Africans to pre-



Mr Trevor Manuel

pare for a one-man one-vote election".

He said Mr De Klerk's address had not changed the PAC's views on the government.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the country was facing a moral crisis. "This is the issue. How can you trust people who acted this way. What else did they do? That is why we want a full disclosure to a panel of accountants agreed to by political parties, government, churches and trade unions."

Auditing secret funding of organisations would be a break with the past, he said.

"We must deal with the past otherwise it will haunt us."

South Africa needed an interim government soon, trust had to be restored and negotiations had to be put back on track "otherwise doomsday will be upon us".



President De Klerk

He said he would not call for a lifting of sanctions yet.

The government had been provided with information about police collusion with im-pis, he said.

He rejected Mr De Klerk's proposed judicial commission on violence, saying it was only meant to serve white interest. He called for an independent commission of inquiry whose terms of reference had been agreed upon by churches and political organisations.

The Democratic Party knew that Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet had to take overall responsibility, said MP Mr Jasper Walsh.

The party did not support Mr De Klerk's plans to appoint a monitoring committee from the private sector and questioned whether a judicial commission would satisfy demands for public control.



Mr Nelson Mandela

Changes to the constitution were necessary to restore faith and get negotiations back on track.

"Such changes should enable the establishment of an all-party government of national unity. Such a government should steer South Africa through the difficult period of transition that lies ahead."

The National Party had shown it was incapable of this vital task on the basis of its past record, admissions which were being wrung out of Cabinet ministers and the mistrust created by government actions.

He said negotiations had to continue. "In order to do so Mr De Klerk and his government must come clean. They have to root out all perpetrators of evil. They have to satisfy the majority that they can be trusted as a negotiating partner."

Interim govt high on the agenda

ANC says it is ready for all-party talks

B/day 2/8/91

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GOVERNMENT and the ANC are close to agreement on a multiparty conference that could usher in a form of interim government and agreement on ground rules for full-scale negotiations.

The ANC yesterday slammed government for its involvement in secret funding and alleged involvement in violence, and said an interim government had now become a matter of urgency.

Government and ANC sources confirmed yesterday that a "significant degree of consensus" on convening a multiparty conference had been reached in informal talks between government and ANC representatives over the past two months. The talks concentrated on the mechanics of convening such a conference.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), which met into the early hours of yesterday morning, reflected the consensus when it swept aside obstacles to preliminary talks.

The NEC said it was now prepared to speed up the process and to take the ANC into a neutrally convened conference leading to an interim government of national unity.

The declaration was part of the ANC's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal.

In addition to castigating government, the NEC took a hard line on Inkatha and said it was reviewing its relations with the organisation at all levels.

It said participation in a multiparty conference was conditional on feedback from allies and regions.

PATRICK BULGER

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said at a news conference that he expected the process of consultation to be completed soon.

"We are more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the resolution of SA's problems. We still want obstacles removed but the best possible way is the removal of the government itself."

SACP secretary general Joe Slovo said there were no real obstacles to ANC participation in a multiparty conference.

"We will be faced with obstacles until the end of time. Subject to consultation with our allies, we are clearly prepared to move towards an all-party conference and that all-party conference must discuss the creation of an interim government."

The ANC's willingness to enter multiparty talks comes after a statement by President F W de Klerk who said at his international news conference earlier this week: "I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure in a constitutionally accountable manner that the government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in a negotiating process."

The ANC NEC in turn said government's funding scandals had pushed the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda. The NEC said the ANC was aiming to speed up the process leading to an interim government through a patriotic front. A

□ To Page 2

ANC B/day 2/8/91
conference involving ANC, PAC, Azapo, trade union and other groups this month will attempt to agree on a patriotic front.

"In view of the present crisis we are prepared to engage in consultations with ANC regions and branches, our allies and other democratic formations in order to speed up these processes so that an interim government can come into being," the NEC statement said.

Among the characteristics of an interim government envisaged by ANC spokesmen yesterday were: a presidency of more than one person; a role for the NP; command by the interim authority of "some of the key sectors of the state"; and an element of power sharing.

Ramaphosa did not exclude any parties or groups from the conference and said the

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current church-backed peace process could convene the talks.

Earlier this week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the question of who would convene and chair the conference could be determined in preliminary and informal talks between "the more obvious prospective participants".

The ANC also called on government to establish a multiparty commission to investigate government involvement in violence and secret funding, to disband counterinsurgency units, to prosecute security personnel identified by commissions as having been responsible for violence against members of the public and to pay reparations to victims of violence.

● Picture: Page 3

QUIZ SA

SOUTH AFRICA 2/8/91

'Get the talks going'

● Hope for future now apartheid dead ● 'Bad idea' to use secret funds for political purposes

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARGUS readers, generally more hopeful now at the demise of apartheid, are keen to see political leaders getting down to the next phase of real negotiations through an all-party conference.

Most of them think President De Klerk is doing a good job, but ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are not viewed as favourably.

On the other hand, most think it is a bad idea for the government to use secret funds for political purposes.

Surprisingly, perhaps, more are in favour of South Africa rejoining the Commonwealth.

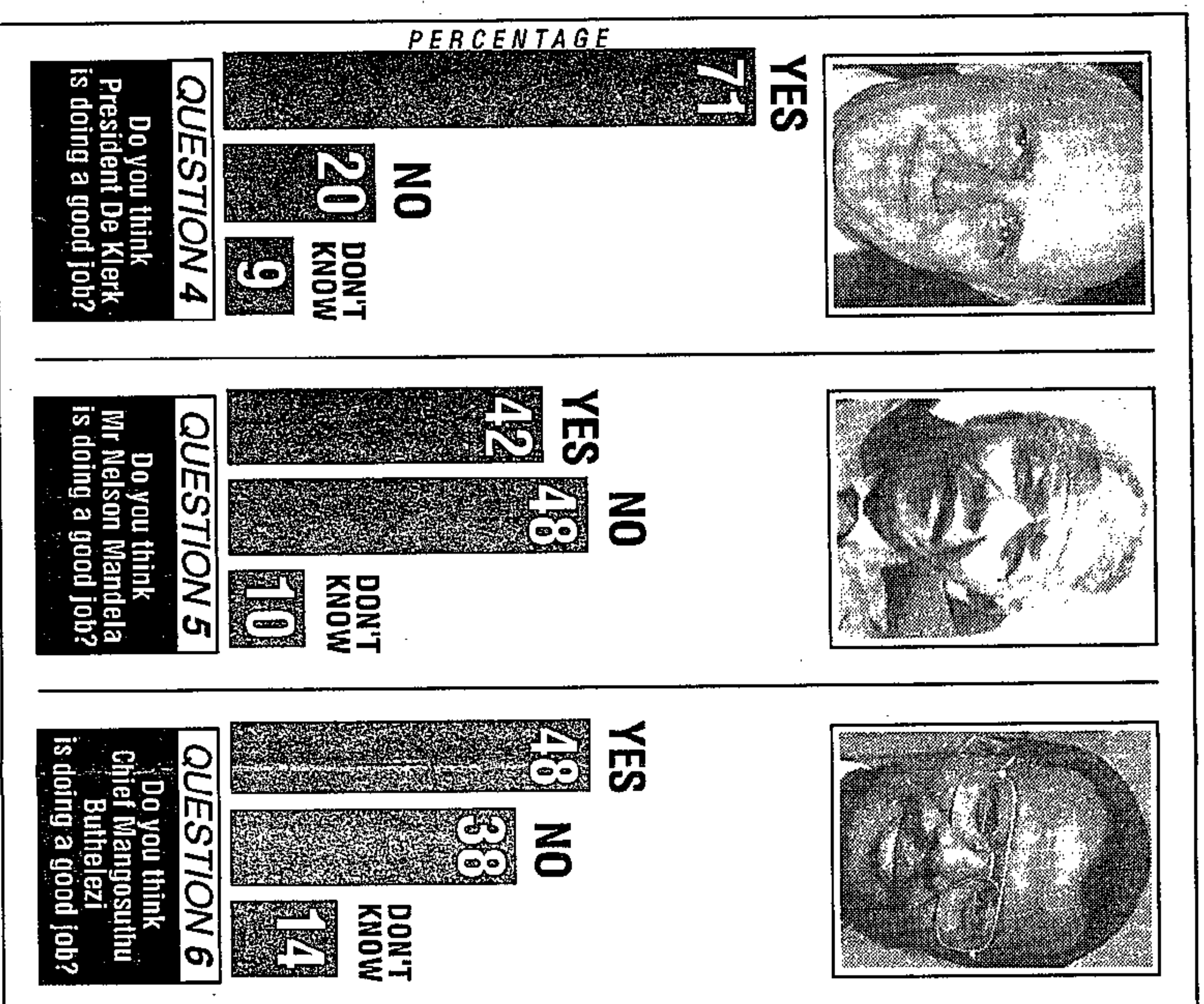
These insights emerge from The Argus's Quiz SA survey, run daily from July 22 to July 29.

It had drawn well over 1 000 responses by the deadline, and there have been scores more in the mailbox every day since.

While Quiz SA does not purport to be a scientific survey, and has not been conducted along scientific lines, it offers insights into the political thinking of a large body of Argus readers.

One of the clearest signals in Quiz SA is the support for the scrapping of apartheid. In all, 89 percent say they are pleased to see it go, eight percent are not, and three percent aren't sure.

However, not as many people are more hopeful about the future now than before... 52 percent say



● Do you think President De Klerk is doing a good job?

● Do you think Mr Nelson Mandela is doing a good job?

● Do you think Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is doing a good job?

● Do you think it is possible to stop the violence?

● Do you think the ANC and the SA Communist Party should be together?

● Do you favour an all-party conference to get constitutional talks going?

● Do you think there

should be an interim government while constitutional negotiations are going on?

● Do you think there should be a constituent assembly?

● Do you think South Africa should rejoin the Commonwealth?

Deepest concerns — and firmly-held opinions

Political Correspondent

READERS' comments in The Argus's Quiz SA survey reveal some of the deepest concerns and firmly-held opinions among South Africans today.

Many of them are simple, but punchy one-liners, questions or blunt observations. Others are hopes, or arguments pressed into a three-line formula.

A Malmesbury reader notes: "Many apartheid laws have been repealed, but attitudes have not changed."

Another from Kenilworth: "If all three leaders (President De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi) were doing a good job, we would already be involved in an all-party conference."

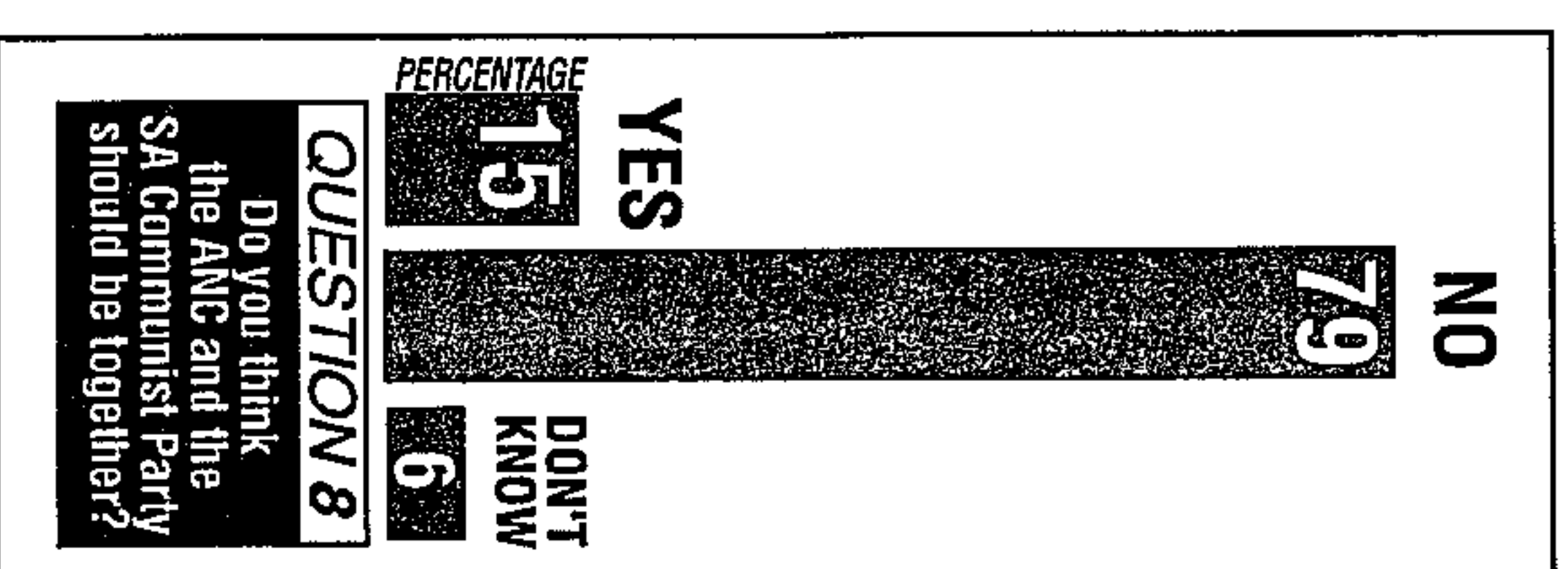
"I am tired of living under a irresponsible (sic) government and when I finish my degree, I intend leaving," writes a student from Rondebosch.

A Brooklyn reader's request is simple: "Please call a general election."

Much of the anger expressed by readers is directed at former Ministers of Law and Order and Defence, Mr Adrian Vlok and General Magnus Malan.

There are repeated calls for their dismissal.

One Gugulethu reader goes further: "My comment is that President De Klerk is not honest, he is playing double standards. Mr F W de Klerk and the Ministers must resign."



Strong feeling against ANC's alliance with the SACP

Political Correspondent

If the ANC needed an indication of the strength of feeling against its alliance with the South African Communist Party, the response to The Argus's Quiz SA survey shows how readers feel.

One of the questions in the survey was: "Do you think the ANC and the SA Communist Party should be together?"

Of the more than 1 000 who responded, 79 percent have indicated their opposition to the alliance, while only 15 percent favour it. Six percent are uncertain.

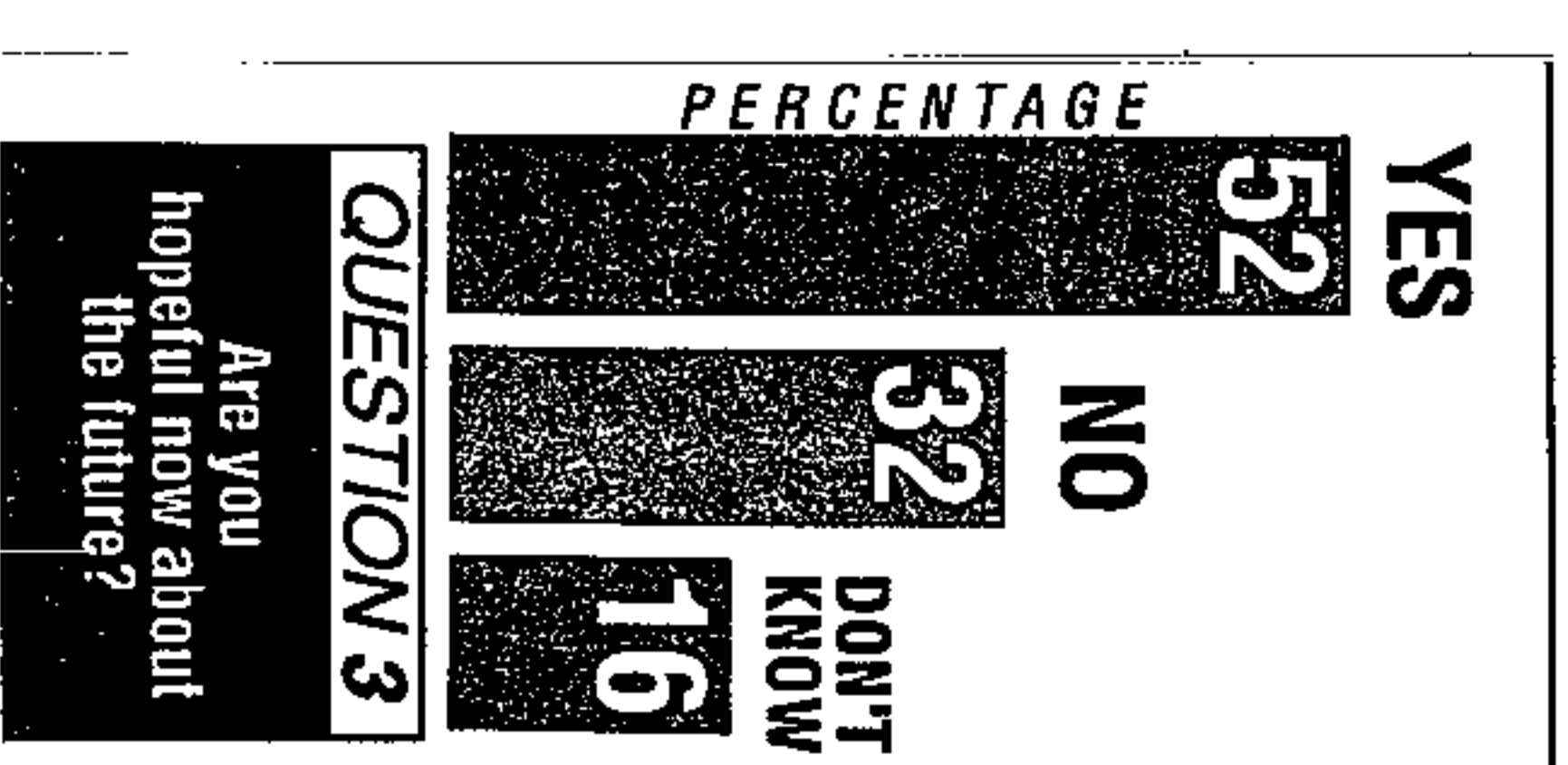
In fact, this reinforces the findings of research within the ANC too.

Former secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo's candid report to the ANC's recent annual conference in Durban singled out the close relationship with the SACP as one of several factors hindering recruitment among whites, coloured people and Indians.

Many want SA to rejoin the Commonwealth

Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa broke its formal ties with Britain



Snarling and clawing over yesterday's issue

HUGH ROBERTSON reports from Washington on the end
of an anti-apartheid era.

THERE WAS a painful, nasty, falling-out among old anti-apartheid allies on Capitol Hill this week which heralded the end of an era of campaigning on South Africa.

Two scions of the anti-apartheid struggle, Stephen Solarz, a congressman from Michigan, and Randall Robinson, executive director of the most powerful anti-apartheid civil rights group, Trans-Africa, faced one another in an angry confrontation which ended in a flurry of bitter words and recrimination.

The occasion was a hearing on South Africa convened by the Africa Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, and the fight exploded at the end of a numbing litany of familiar complaints — from a long list of familiar witnesses using familiar jargon to denounce familiar evils of the apartheid regime and its friends in the Bush administration.

Just when the tedious ritual seemed about to end, Mr Robinson launched into an attack on the subcommittee (by then reduced to three bleary-eyed members) on the Democrats, the Republicans, the President, the Congress, and US society in general, which left the few remaining spectators gasping.

"When I used to testify before this panel, the panel would be full. The place would be packed. What I see today is a sorry show," he said.

"Only three congressmen. Look at it! It's nothing less than a disgrace."

Mr Solarz fixed him with a stony glare. But Mr Robinson is not the sort to read body language or take hints. "This is symptomatic of a broader and deepening pattern everywhere," he went on.

"The Bush administration is getting knee-buckling obedience from Congress on this issue. I am disgusted with the performance of the Democratic Party. I didn't expect any better from the Republicans, but the Democrats are a disgrace."

"We could do with a little less self-righteousness," said Mr Solarz as he attempted to explain why so few congressmen had shown up.

But Mr Robinson was having nothing of it. "If you think the Democrats control both Houses of Congress, they could have done more about sanctions. They are a sorry lot and my criticism of the Democratic leadership stands."

Enough is enough, decided Mr

Solarz, and red-faced with anger he fired back: "Mr Robinson, let's not fool one another. You know that on sanctions it is a done deal."

"You know it, and I know it. You know, and I know, that there are no votes to get sanctions put back. You know, and I know, that there are not enough votes to override the president."

"You know all this, and I know all this. People everywhere are aware of it. It is no secret."

And then came the coup de grace: "What we are talking about is yesterday's issue. The question now is, where do we go from here?"

There they stood. The old order clinging to yesterday's issue, fuming about the evidence of chronic disinterest, boredom, indifference; and the new order brutally turning his back on "yesterday's issue" and issuing the unavoidable challenge: Where does the US go from here?

Mr Solarz then began to spill the beans over a deeper rift. It transpired from another fiery exchange that there had been confidential discussions for months about a multibillion-dollar, multinational aid package for South Africa.

Was this, perhaps, where the US should go in the post-sanctions era?

No, said Mr Robinson. "I will not approve a cent for the present South African Government."

His patience wearing thin, Mr Solarz said: "Aid for a post-apartheid government, after a new constitution, and after free and fair elections. In fact, when I raised this with Mr Mandela he said that even before a new government, there could be some use for aid in housing, and that it could be channelled through a non-government trust."

"But, anyway, let's say it would only be for a post-apartheid government."

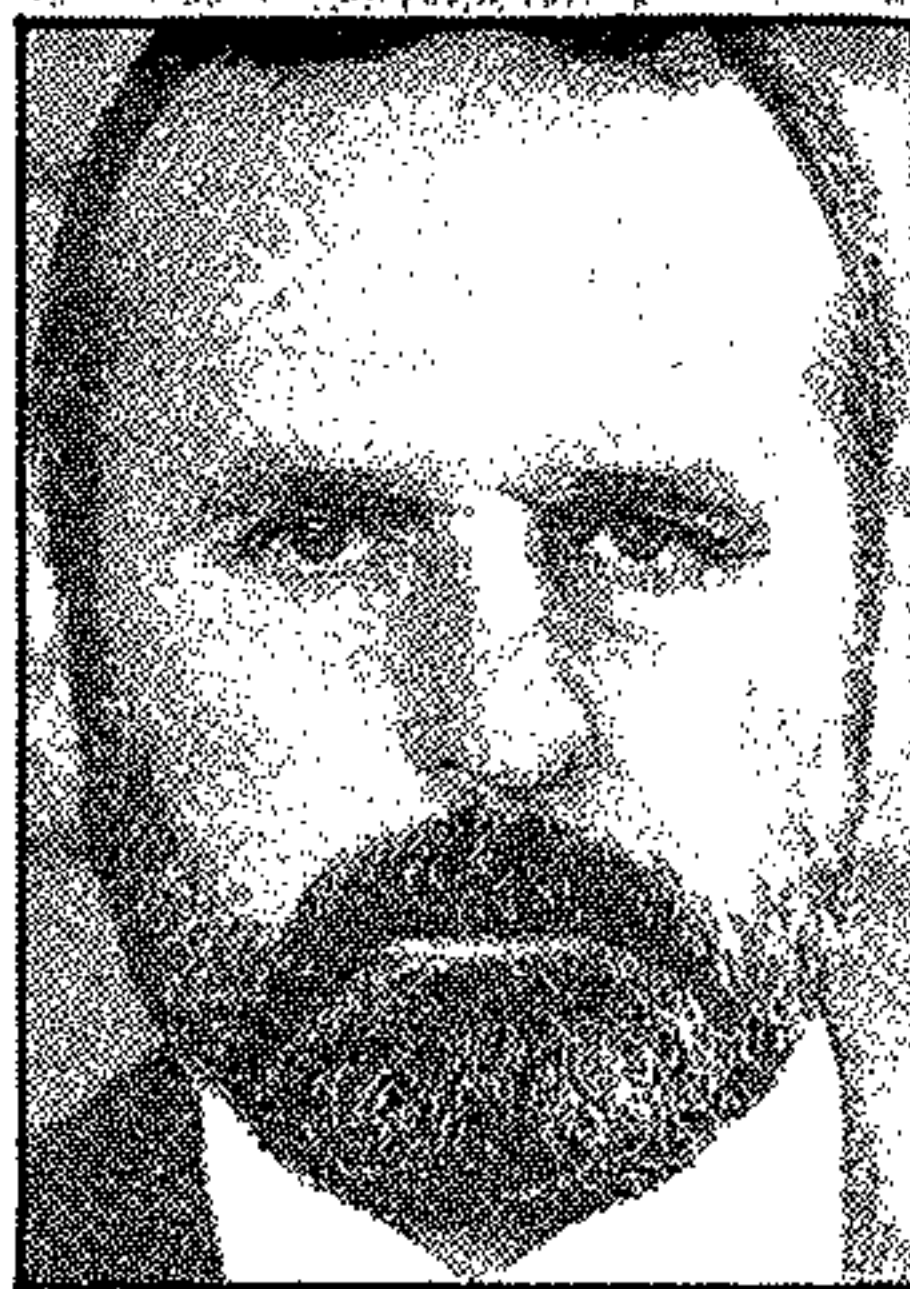
The old order gave an evasive reply: "I have another problem. I think we ought to defer to the people of South Africa on this. We ought to review it with the ANC."

After the meeting was closed, the two men marched out, still flushed with anger.

One student witness said: "When will they listen to their leaders? Didn't Nelson Mandela tell them that if they didn't use imagination and flexibility, they would be left holding the empty shell of sanctions?" □



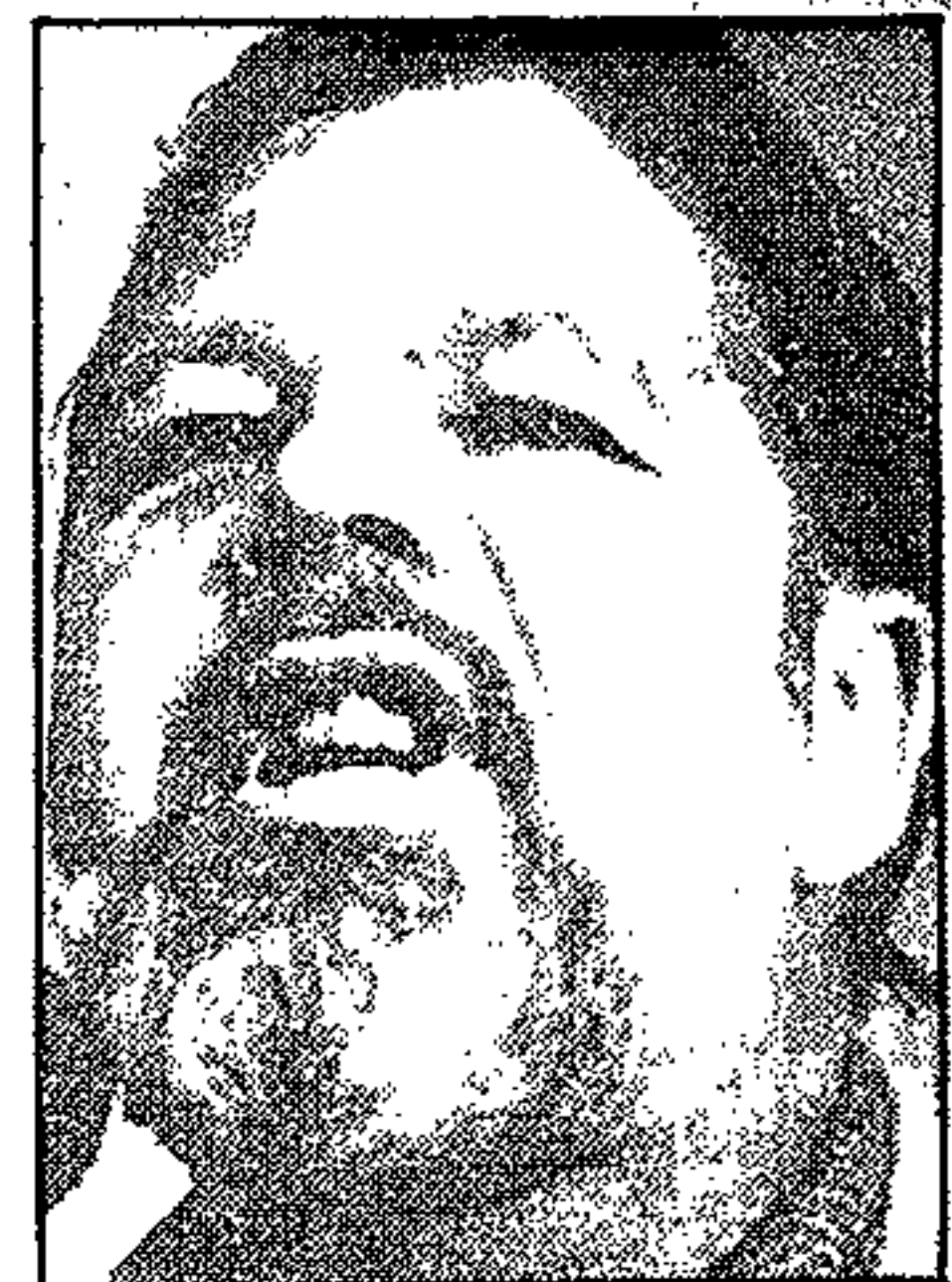
Rudolph



Swart



Van Tonder



TerreBlanche

Divided right wing facing crisis

Star 2/8/91

304A

MURDER plots, accusations of spying and violent rhetoric is plaguing the right wing at a time when rightwingers sorely need unity, if only for the urgent objective of getting their hunger-striking prisoners freed.

Personality differences have always been a feature in the broad right wing, but recently these antagonisms have peaked, resulting in an alleged death plot involving members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Boere Weerstandsbeweging leader Andrew Ford.

AWB official Piet Rudolph was subsequently named in court as the man behind the plot — and shortly afterwards, an angry Mr Ford accused Mr Rudolph of being a police agent attempting to sow dissent in the right wing.

The incident, although it may be a personality squabble dismissed by rightwingers as a storm in a teacup, is nevertheless indicative of deep-rooted problems which have been undermining the strength of the movement for some time.

To start with, the fact that there are a great number of right-wing groups, many of them secretive about leadership and membership, has opened the way for antagonistic power struggles.

A renewed introduction recently of militaristic right-wing

In a time of political transition, unity among similar-thinking organisations is important in pushing home an ideal. But in the broad right wing, unity is suffering on a number of fronts, reports HELEN GRANGE.

groups, including Mr Ford's BWB and a group calling itself the Boer Republikeinse Leër (Boer Republican Army) — is evidently causing angered territorialism among more established right-wing leaders.

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche, questioned on the Rudolph/Ford incident and the prospects for alliances in the right wing, commented angrily: "I am not interested in other people. I don't want them in my movement."

Mr Rudolph, who recently joined the AWB, added: "These people (the BWB) are small fry, and they are working on the instructions of somebody, possibly the Government. They are trying to get us off the track."

The question of the extent of State infiltration of the right wing is one that is known to be causing some consternation in the movement's leadership. It is weakening morale and creating damaging suspicion and intrigue.

Compounding these problems are the deeper political divisions which have largely come about because of differences on

broad right-wing philosophy.

According to Professor Alkmaar Swart of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB), there has been some watering-down in certain right-wing groups, including the AWB, of the philosophical purity strived for by the "Boer people".

"There are too many diverse viewpoints being accommodated in the broad right wing. The methods of achieving the Boer nation-state ideal are quite controversial because of these deviations in attitude."

Explaining, Professor Swart mentions that the AWB has been "talking, directly and indirectly, to the ANC".

"There is a tendency to accommodate other views to broaden support. There has also been a move away from the pure Calvinist-Protestant religious principle towards an incorporation of liberal theology."

"The BVB is adamant, however, on the Calvinist principle in its vision of a Boer republic, and will not allow other viewpoints to undermine this principle."

The leadership of the Mr

TerreBlanche, in this context, has exacerbated division in the right wing, not only because of what is seen as his deviation from pure right-wing philosophy, but also because of his personal past.

Commented Professor Swart: "The BVB would never form an alliance with the AWB as long as Mr TerreBlanche is the leader." It is understood that a number of prominent rightwingers feel the same way.

But in spite of the rifts in the movement, there is a definite optimism among some leaders, who insist that when the right wing is up against a crisis, there will be unity in deference to one all-encompassing aim — the ideal of a Boer state.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder comments: "The right wing has never been unified, but in a time of crisis, we stand together. This can be seen throughout history, notably on the occasion when a number of splinter right-wing groups joined in the objective of ousting General Jan Smuts."

"We have never had the British herd mentality," he quips.

Professor Swart agrees to some extent that the current cleavages in the right wing are not potentially dangerous to the movement. "They are not disturbing. We are in the process of sorting them out." □

Step aside, Mandela tells government

RIO DE JANEIRO. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has said the South African government can no longer be trusted and has told it to step aside in favour of an interim government or face the end of talks with his movement.

"The only way to a non-racial democracy in South Africa is that of an interim government."

"If Mr De Klerk and his regime are not prepared to accept this demand they must learn there can be no further discussion between them and ourselves," Mr Mandela told a news conference on the first day of a visit to Brazil yesterday.

Earlier, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu had said that the removal of the government was "the best way".

"During the last 18 months we tried to urge the government to sit down with us and to search for a peaceful settlement of our affairs," Mr Mandela said.

"We have tried to build mutual confidence between blacks and whites. But on the 19th, the day I left South Africa (for a foreign tour), it became clear that white minority

rule in South Africa was unable to act non-racially."

Mr Mandela said the episode showed "the tradition of intrigue, deceit and false propaganda is something from which they (the South African government) can never extricate themselves".

For this reason, he added, the ANC was insisting on its demand for a temporary government made up of representatives from all parties to supervise South Africa's transition from an apartheid state to a non-racial democracy.

"The demand for an all-party congress and for an interim government has become a crucial matter in South Africa," Mr Mandela said.

"Almost everything that... we have mapped out for ourselves in the country is going to revolve around the demand for an interim government."

It is reported that the United States Congress is to send a team of staff experts to South Africa next week for urgent consultations with ANC leaders on a proposed multi-billion dollar aid package for the country.

At the same time, Congress members will hold talks in Washington with the ANC's chief representative in the US, Ms Lindwe Mabasa, and her staff to discuss details of the scheme which was the focus of an unprecedented clash between anti-apartheid campaigners in the US this week.

But the Argus political staff reports the ANC has not been informed of the proposed visit of the team to South Africa.

However, the movement would certainly talk to the group, said deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu today.

"We are interested in money and want assistance from everywhere."

The US plan, proposed by Congressman Mr Stephen Solarz, is known as the South African Democratic Aid Initiative, and would form the foundation of US policy on a post-apartheid government.

A draft of a proposed letter to President Bush, in which he is asked to begin making allowances for the aid plan in his next budget proposals to Congress, has been circulated on Capitol Hill.

Initiators of the plan hope to canvass "unanimous, or near-unanimous" approval

for it in Congress before the letter is sent to the White House.

It is likely to be followed by a "sense of Congress" resolution, demonstrating bipartisan support.

The Argus Foreign Service in Washington reports the largest trade union federation in the US has condemned the government's secret funding of Inkatha and Uvusa and called for the retention of all remaining sanctions.

The American Federation of Labour and Council of Industrial Organisations said in a statement the reasons for its refusal to have dealings with Uvusa in the past "are now confirmed by the revelation of its clandestine association with the government" and it accused the government of trying to undermine democratic development in the region.

The AFL-CIO, which has given millions of dollars of assistance to South African unions in recent years, called on the government to "reveal the full extent of its covert manipulations intended to destabilise organisations and pervert negotiations to its own end." — Sapa-Reuter.

'ANC-look' for Inkatha

DURBAN. — The South African government dressed up Inkatha in African National Congress colours, with ANC rhetoric, in the late 1970s as part of its strategy to cultivate conservative black leaders capable of countering the ANC.

Mr Martin Dolanek, a self-confessed former National Intelligence Services agent who has since joined the ANC, said in an interview with the Weekly Mail this week that Pretoria's intelligence services meddled in Zulu politics.

'FW takes SA back to days of Rubicon'

Staff Reporters

PRESIDENT De Klerk's TV address on Tuesday took the country back to the days of Mr P.W. Botha's Rubicon speech.

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said this at a meeting in the City Hall yesterday called by 20 organisations, including the ANC, PAC and the Democratic Party, to protest at Mr De Klerk's handling of the Inkatha funding scandal. The meeting was attended by 300 people.

"Mr De Klerk failed to rise to the occasion. He did not address the question of mercenaries and death squads," Mr Manuel said.

Calling for a constituent assembly, Mr Manuel said the government's actions had proved that the country still did not have a government to take it into the future.

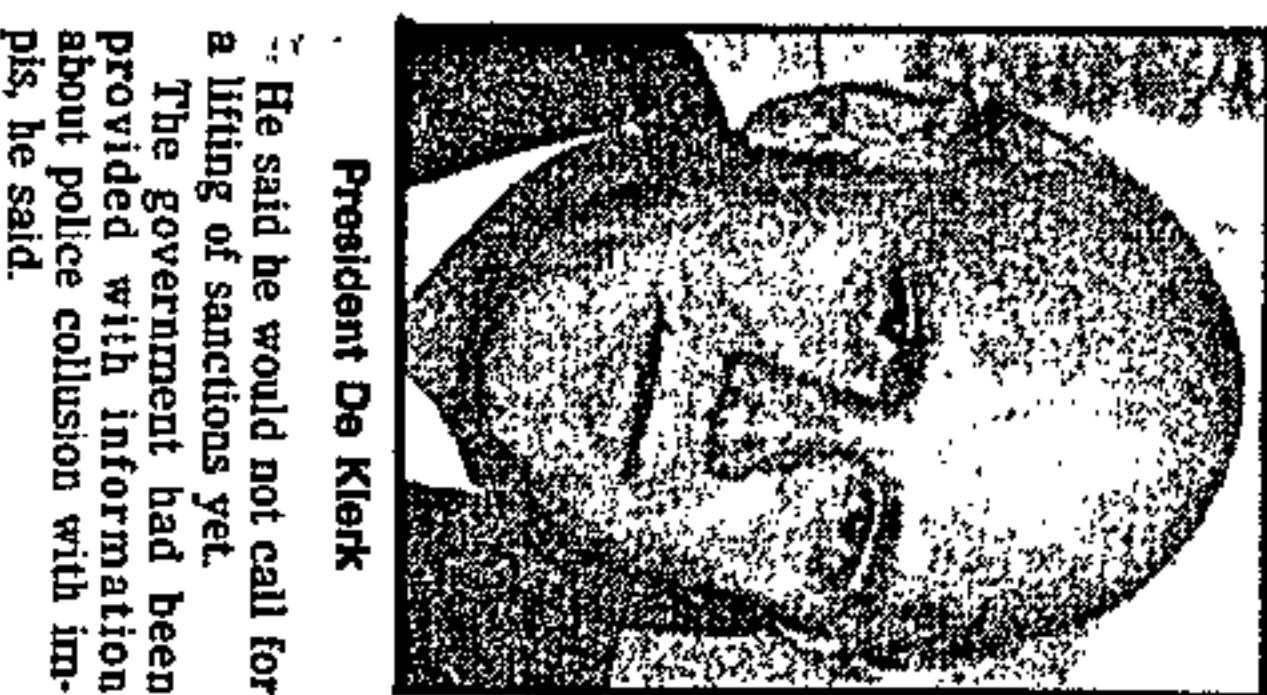
"(Mr) De Klerk wants to be referee and a player, and also collect the gate-takings," he said.

The PAC's Mr Kwezi Mkhahle called on the government "to make way for the convening of a constituent assembly and all South Africans to pre-



Mr Trevor Manuel

pare for a one-man one-vote election."



President De Klerk

He said he would not call for a lifting of sanctions yet. The government had been provided with information about police collusion with imps, he said.

He rejected Mr De Klerk's proposed judicial commission on violence, saying it was only meant to serve white interest. He called for an independent commission of inquiry whose terms of reference had been agreed upon by churches and political organisations.

The Democratic Party knew that Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet had to take overall responsibility, said MP Mr Jasper Walsh.

The party did not support Mr De Klerk's plans to appoint a monitoring committee from the private sector and questioned whether a judicial commission would satisfy demands for public control.



Mr Nelson Mandela

Changes to the constitution were necessary to restore faith and get negotiations back on track.

"Such changes should enable the establishment of an all-party government of national unity. Such a government should steer South Africa through the difficult period of transition that lies ahead."

The National Party had shown it was incapable of this vital task on the basis of its past record, admissions which were being wrong out of Cabinet ministers and the mistrust created by government actions.

He said negotiations had to continue. "In order to do so Mr De Klerk and his government must come clean. They have to root out all perpetrators of evil. They have to satisfy the majority that they can be trusted as a negotiating partner."

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Double agenda: 'FW is involved'

Staff Reporter

THE government was trying to destabilise its opponents during the transition process, Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said last night.

Mr Harber, with Mr Kobus Jordaan, DP MP, spoke to about 36 people at a DP meeting at the University of Stellenbosch last.

He said newspapers had shown "firm and irrefutable evidence" over the past two weeks that President F W de Klerk was involved in the state's double agenda.

Mr De Klerk had failed to address claims of security force collusion in violence with the "same boldness" he has shown in other instances.

"This has raised the suspicion again and again that Mr De Klerk is impli-

cated in the double strategy." He was using the security forces to destabilise opponents while at the same time propping up future allies with taxpayers' money.

The government had said that all the money which went to Uwusa had been properly accounted for and that it had been vetted by the auditor-general.

The auditor-general's report on secret funds was in question because documents in his newspaper's possession showed that Uwusa had no financial records.

There was no paper to prove what was being done with the money and Uwusa was in fact being sued because it had not paid its rent, Mr Harber said.

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ANC, govt 'close to' agreement

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC are close to agreement on a multi-party conference that could usher in a form of interim government and agreement on ground rules for full-scale negotiations.

The ANC yesterday slated the government for its involvement in secret funding and alleged involvement in violence, and said an interim government had now become a matter of urgency.

But government and ANC sources confirmed yesterday that a "significant degree of consensus" on convening a multi-party conference had been reached in informal talks over the past two months.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), which met into the early hours of yesterday morning, reflected the consensus when it swept aside obstacles to preliminary talks.

The NEC said it was now prepared to speed up the process and to take the ANC into a neutrally convened conference leading to an interim government of national unity.

The declaration was part of the ANC's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal.

In addition to castigating the government, the NEC took a hard line on Inkatha and said it was reviewing its relations with the organisation at all levels.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at a news conference that he expected the process of consultation to be completed soon.

"We are more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the resolution of South Africa's problems. We still want obstacles removed but the best possible way is the removal of the government itself."

SACP secretary-general Mr Joe

Slovo said there were no real obstacles to ANC participation in a multi-party conference.

"We will be faced with obstacles until the end of time. Subject to consultation with our allies, we are clearly prepared to move towards an all-party conference and that all-party conference must discuss the creation of an interim government."

The ANC's willingness to enter multiparty talks comes after President F W de Klerk said at his international news conference earlier this week: "I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure in a constitutionally accountable manner that the government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in a negotiating process."

Power sharing

The ANC NEC in turn said the government's funding scandals had pushed the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda. The NEC said the ANC was aiming to speed up the process leading to an interim government through a patriotic front. A conference involving ANC, PAC, Azapo, trade unions and other groups this month will attempt to agree on a patriotic front.

Among the characteristics of an interim government envisaged by ANC spokesmen yesterday were a presidency of more than one person and an element of power sharing.

Mr Ramaphosa did not exclude any parties or groups from the conference and said the current church-backed peace process could convene the talks.

The ANC also called on the government to establish a multi-party commission to investigate government involvement in violence and secret funding, and to disband counter-insurgency units.

Virginia

defeat

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CT 2/8/91

predicted

for Nats

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Political analysts believe the National Party has virtually no chance of winning the Virginia by-election arising from the resignation of Mr Piet Clase, the local MP and Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly.

Mr Clase won the seat by only 47 votes in the 1989 general election and some observers believe the National Party could lose by more than 1 000 votes in the by-election scheduled for October.

The Free State constituency is close to Ladybrand, which the CP took from the National Party with a 7% swing in the May 22 by-election this year.

Statistician Mr Donald Simpson says the shift in voting could be even greater than that in Ladybrand and points out that the CP will have had considerable time to organise by polling day.

A CP win would give them seven of the 14 Free State seats.

Ex-spy: Boss link to Inkatha

304A CT 2/8/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — South African intelligence services gave direct support to Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, from the early 1970s, according to today's Weekly Mail.

The report is based on an interview with Mr Martin Dolincheck, a former senior officer in the former Bureau of State Security (Boss), who defected to the ANC in 1986.

It says Boss "set up an office in Empangeni, not far from Ulundi, in 1974 with the object of providing direct security and surveillance services to Inkatha".

The services meddled in Zulu politics with sophisticated projects "designed to cultivate conservative black leaders capable of countering the ANC".

Mr Dolincheck said the Boss

☐ Tutu won't call for end to sanctions

See PAGE 4

office maintained direct contact with Chief Buthelezi's office through a telex line.

"The government (of Prime Minister John Vorster) at the time realised that Chief Buthelezi needed credibility among the black populace," Mr Dolincheck said.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said last night that the newspaper would publish proof

today of collusion between Inkatha and the security forces.

This was "a list of 23 incidents which provide evidence of security force-Inkatha collusion".

The Weekly Mail would also name another political organisation which had been funded secretly by the government. This group was not mentioned when President F W de Klerk made public a list of four organisations that had received covert state money.

Mr Dolincheck's allegations were carried in London's Independent newspaper yesterday.

The former officer served in Boss until his capture during the unsuccessful coup attempt in the Seychelles. He was imprisoned on the island for six months.

Inkatha officials could not be reached for comment last night.

Inkatha scandal: Kaunda lauds

FW CT 2/8/91

LUSAKA. — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has applauded President F W de Klerk for his impartial and effective handling of the slush fund scandal that plunged Pretoria into a political crisis.

In a special message published in the Zambian press yesterday, Dr Kaunda said he was heartened by Mr De Klerk's response to the scandal and the ANC's favourable reaction to the crisis.

He stressed that "these measures you have taken to reorganise your cabinet are certainly a step in the right direction".

Dr Kaunda said Mr De Klerk had taken courageous steps in his determination to march forward with the rest of the nation.

"There is added joy in our minds, hearts and souls which comes as a result of the reported favourable reaction of the ANC, one of the main actors in South Africa's political theatre," he said.

The Zambian leader also sent a similar message to acting ANC president Mr Walter Sisulu, praising him for what he called "good reaction".

However, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has criticised Mr De Klerk's action as "insufficient". — Sapa

Medical aid tariffs to rise

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Most medical aid members face sharp tariff increases, many in the region of 30%, in the next two months.

Some medical schemes have already increased their tariffs by 25% to 30%, and many others are set to follow suit soon.

This means the subscription of an average family of three would increase from R450 a month to about R600 a month.

Medscheme chairman Mr Keith Hollis confirmed that many schemes were looking at increasing rates by 25% to 30%.

Last year rates were increased by an average of 20%. Increases are usually announced towards the end of the year. This year's increases are likely to be

implemented within the next two months, however, because of the introduction of VAT. Medical schemes want to avoid two increases.

Mr Hollis said about 8% to 10% of the increases would be to cover VAT on medical services. Further increases, which would vary from scheme to scheme, would be an attempt to recoup losses from increased utilisation by members this year.

Many schemes had to pay out much more than they had budgeted for, he said.

Affiliated Medical Association executive director Mr Timothy Gelman said most medical schemes had suffered a "very tough" year.

Of the 140 medical schemes results reported to the Medical Schemes Registrar, 67 had incurred a loss, while four had gone insolvent.

Govt 'delaying peace'

over
THE ANC yesterday said the Government was a stumbling block to peace and democracy in South Africa and had to be removed.

Mr Pallo Jordan said the Government's inability to come clean on the Inkatha funding issue and other covert destabilising actions "completely rules out its

2/8/91
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

suitability to serve as both referee and player".

"De Klerk's insistence that his Government continue to govern while his party engages in 'multi-party' talks is an attempt to separate the inseparable," Jordan said.

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The implication is that the NP would put forward its policies at the negotiating forum while governing the country according to the same policies.

However, in his speech on Tuesday De Klerk emphasised the urgency of an interim authority during the transition period.

"The Government has no desire to be player and referee. It wishes and has to be impartial.

"I have said on more than one occasion that there is a need for transitional measures to overcome this problem," he said.

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Resign call to Cabinet

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2/8/91

By MONK NKOMO

STATE President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet should resign and pave the way for a constituent assembly if he is to be trusted, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has said.

Speaking at a memorial service in Atteridgeville to honour prominent PAC member Mr Robinson Dimakatso Matseke who was buried in Sweden on Wednesday, Moseneke said the South African Government was illegitimate.

Overthrow

The explicit intention of the PAC was to overthrow the "white, racist, minority, settler regime" and replace it with a democratic government.

"If De Klerk is to be trusted, he and his Cabinet should resign and agree to a constituent assembly where all racial groups will be equally represented and genuine and fair elections held for a new, nonracial and democratic South Africa.

"The PAC rejects a multiparty conference which is a strategy to divide liberation movements while the white minority regime holds the upper hand."

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D.SELL FROM

FM 2/8/91

Riding the tiger

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The duty of government is to govern, otherwise reform is doomed



A week ago, in the wake of the Inkatha funding revelations, government seemed in shock and disarray. There was talk that President F W de Klerk had lost control of his own administration; that he dared not

sack senior Ministers; that the African National Congress would benefit from an international backlash against Pretoria. The crisis was essentially one of credibility and it was the most serious De Klerk had faced since taking office nearly two years ago.

Confident assurances from NP insiders that government would try to sit out the Inkatha funding storm proved to be wrong. De Klerk realised that nothing less than a drastic Cabinet reshuffle was needed. But he did delay public action for 10 days after the scandal broke, which suggests that he was surprised at what came out and needed time to consider his next move. No doubt there were hard words during the Cabinet bush retreat last week.

De Klerk's tactical handling of the crisis is interesting and offers new insights into his style of leadership. He stays calm and silent; carefully considers his strategy; distances himself from the hurly-burly; allows senior Ministers to take the heat; delays action to let the dust settle; and then acts swiftly and decisively.

His first move was to send Foreign Minister Pik Botha in last week as nightwatchman to deal with whatever "Inkathagate" bouncers could be thrown at him by the international press and a live TV audience. This served to take the pressure off De Klerk, while giving him another chance to test the wind. It may also have been Botha's chance to cement his own position — or avoid losing his neck.

Botha's blustery performance may have lacked oratorical elegance, but it was curiously effective. It probably impressed the white voters much more than it did the cerebral analysts. And it seems clear that, in tone and content, Botha's defence was sanctioned in advance by De

Klerk. The gist of it was that the Inkatha funding was justified at the time and there was no question of an apology: "No regrets!"

This neatly freed De Klerk from the obligation to hold any of his Ministers directly responsible. The retention of Botha also indicates that he could not be held personally responsible for the Inkatha scandal, but merely happened to be the agent of Cabinet.

If there was doubt about the Foreign Minister's position, it was evidently dispelled by his performance last Thursday. De Klerk believes that his Cabinet is stronger with Botha than it would be without him (which, in the end, is the question that has to be asked about any Minister).

But when Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan were weighed on the same scales, the outcome was different.

Vlok had said twice before that he would resign if he became an obstacle to negotiations; in the event, De Klerk decided for him. Malan, too, had become more a hazard than an asset in the long term — though he had

often been a useful lightning conductor for the president.

The ANC's Walter Sisulu, on hearing of the transfer of Vlok to the prisons portfolio and Malan to forestry, complained that they should have been dismissed from the Cabinet, not moved "from pillar to post." But there are clear advantages in the course taken by De Klerk.

By keeping Malan and Vlok in the Cabinet, he retains their political loyalty and prevents the growth of factions around them. The NP caucus (De Klerk must remember how it turned on his predecessor) has surely noted that neither man has been overtly sacrificed to the Inkatha scandal, nor have they been put out of their jobs. Admittedly, De Klerk has moved them to less important work — but that has always been the prerogative of the *hoofleier*.

Vlok has perhaps come out of it better. Law & Order was a thankless task and the Correctional Services portfolio is an important one. Well-meaning and sincere, he will probably handle it as well as anyone.

Malan, on the other hand, is a professional soldier and the third most senior Cabinet member after Pik Botha and Gerrit Viljoen. Handpicked by P W Botha, he's been Minister of Defence for 11 years. His relegation to Forestry, Water Affairs and Housing is both ruthless and humiliating. A comparable posting would be consul-general in New Orleans. (Sisulu might reflect that there are worse fates than being sacked.)

These demotions are vital to De Klerk's reform strategy. They prove that he has finally broken with the "total onslaught" securocrat era and shown his confidence that the loyalty of the Police and Defence Force generals does not depend on the personalities of the responsible Ministers. He is also prepared to turn his back on old colleagues whose only crime may be that they are, in Vlok's own words, "obstacles to negotiation." The message to the rest of the Cabinet is unmistakable.

Naturally the Conservative Party is trying to portray the sidelining of Vlok and Malan as capitulation to the ANC. But De Klerk coolly resisted ANC demands for ministerial



Botha



De Klerk



Malan



Vlok

DE KLERK AND THE NATION

A question of trust

304A

FM 2/8/91

uesday night's speech to the nation may have absolved President F W de Klerk from any particular blame in the secret funds scandal — in the eyes of his supporters. But it leaves many questions unanswered. Not least of these is an apparent unawareness among our leaders of the actual financial damage they can do to the country through their title slips and cavortings.

To send the discount on the financial rand from below 8% and therefore pointing the way towards a unified currency, with all that means — to 14% in a week is no mean feat. P W Botha did something comparable. It is an indication of how precarious people in general and investors in particular feel the credibility of the current government to be.

A sort of inverse law of political gravity has been at work: the greater the distance from P W Botha became, the more the public began to feel that the malign influences of the eighties had begun to wane. That was an illusion, for there has been a consistent undercurrent of concern that the past and past behaviour — is not so easily shed. What the Nationalists once did, they could do again.

That was why when the revelation of the Inkatha funding broke there was immediate suspicion that we were seeing only the tip of an iceberg. That had been the case in Info — when lying and deceit were eventually traced to the highest office in the land. Would it happen again? People asked that question and wondered: *Why not?*

De Klerk's reforms were immediately felt to be fragile and foreign investors began to move out funds. Any exact reckoning of the cost is impossible — since no-one can quantify forgone investment. The reassurances in De Klerk's speech and press conference will remain weak for some time to come, and that will mean that the economic upturn will be deferred for want of any serious underpinning by the world's bankers.

De Klerk said that many secret projects had been terminated — and that the money involved was "only" R42,6m for 1991/1992. But why, since the presidential review of these projects began in late 1989, were those specifically relating to Inkatha allowed to continue beyond February 2, 1990 without some attempt to create monitoring mechanisms which could warn of the dangers that lay ahead?

This is not to use hindsight solely for its notable precision. De Klerk stated that he wanted a just and democratic "New South Africa." He would therefore reform. Yet his choice of strategic reform was not dissimilar to that of P W Botha, though, with its higher targets, it captured the imagination of the world. De Klerk chose to reform incrementally; and in the light of that perception, the secret projects must continue to be interpreted as a ruse to favour the Nationalists politically. They would have hidden allies.

In other words, De Klerk is doing now what he should have done when he was elected to office. He has regained the political high ground through his appeal to begin the multi-

party talks "tomorrow," and this aspect of his presidency in relation to the Cabinet reshuffle is considered in the following pages.

However, the cold sense of worldwide disillusionment he has created around SA will not quickly abate. In that sense the damage has been done and his actions in streamlining the Cabinet for reform and eventually eradicating all secret political projects will bring the ANC closer to power. Since the leader of the ANC has just been in Cuba extolling that nation as a socialist model ("our second home," said his wife), investors will not look kindly on that prospect either.

So when De Klerk said: "We do not have a double agenda," it was not only the cynics who thought: "Not now, you don't."

In fact De Klerk has made the best of a very bad job. The problem with Inkathagate was not that relatively small sums of public money were secretly wasted on a lost cause. It is that the political links between the Nationalists and Inkatha — once exposed — put everything in doubt, starting with the credibility of reform.

We do not believe that if there had been no exposure, there would have been no problem. The links, we must assume, would have remained — pending a crisis of conscience in some bureaucrat with access to the papers linking Foreign Minister Pik Botha's department to the police and Ulundi. Exposure would have come sooner or later — and if it had come, say, in the middle of the multiparty talks, what damage would not have been done then?

It is a good thing that the private sector will be asked to advise De Klerk on these secret projects. In fact, this sector is a notably suitable choice for such a panel since it has been made poorer by the fact that De Klerk left a moral time bomb under his reforms — from their inception.

He remains the best president we could have under the circumstances — but the choice is limited. And even the most tempestuous love affairs must come to an end when one of the partners loses trust in the other. We don't, of course, mean that the ANC has lost trust in De Klerk — it says it never really had any, though what it never really had was choice.

We mean that the selfsame private sector which will now be drawn into these subterranean matters — if only to assist De Klerk in rooting them out — has a little less trust in him.

The sad truth of the world — in economics as much as in politics — is that nothing is strange a second time. With De Klerk, there was never meant to be a second time, no second Info, no "double agenda." The President has now said, in effect, that the secret funding had historical causes; that the matter merely dragged on into the fine new era.

He is saying: "Trust me."

Well. We may trust him — but what about those foreign investors? In the coming weeks the discount on the financial rand will tell us whether they propose to do so again. ■

CABINET RESHUFFLE

Streamlining for reform

FM 2/8/91

304A

President F W de Klerk's Cabinet shake-up this week finally reined in the powerful security establishment created by P W Botha and took a major step towards establishing a single education department.

The effective demotion of Magnus Malan from Defence to the Water Affairs & Forestry post — considered the most lowly in government — and the intended removal of Armscor from the Department of Defence signalled the most significant downgrading of the military establishment since the NP came to power.

The promotion of Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer to Malan's post further indicates De Klerk's determination to pull the military into the reformist line. Meyer, regarded as a rapidly rising young star in the NP, is one of the most enlightened senior Nats and is seen as a skilled negotiator. He is respected by ANC leaders and has an amicable working relationship with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani.

It's not inconceivable that one of Meyer's tasks will be to restructure the senior officer corps of the SADF and prepare the force for integration with MK — a course firmly and repeatedly rejected up to now by Malan and some senior generals.

The pending removal of Armscor from Defence and its placing under Dawie de Villiers' Ministry of Economic Co-ordination & Public Enterprises confirms that the organisation's future lies in the development and marketing of industrial technology in SA and abroad, and the exploitation of international arms markets, rather than as the main supplier to SA's own war machine.

Malan's political future is now in question. His new post is regarded as a humiliation.

There seems no logical reason why he didn't simply retire from politics — unless the NP is trying to avoid by-elections at all costs.

The sideways shove of Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to the Correctional Services post (previously part of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's domain), is regarded as long overdue and surely signals the end of the road for an ineffectual Minister who was manipulated by SA Police generals and unable to translate his commitment to restructure the SAP into action.

In addition, Vlok's involvement in *Inkathagate* as political head of a supposedly politi-

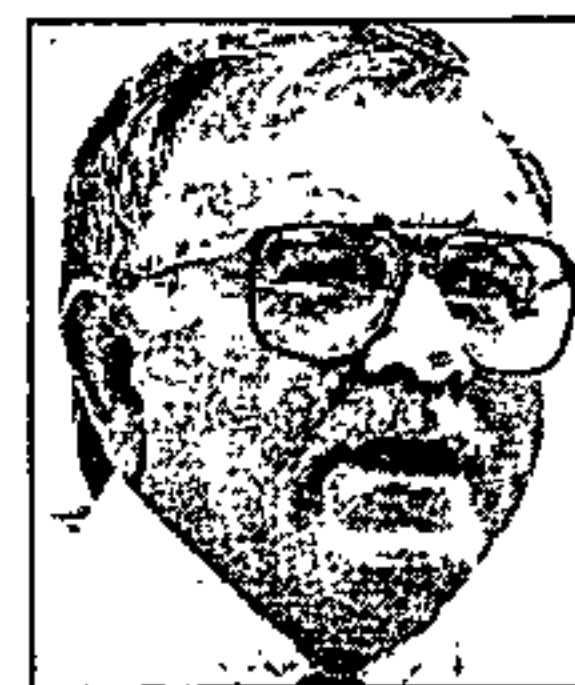
cally neutral police force left De Klerk little option but to relegate him if he hoped to retain credibility for his reforms.



Meyer



De Beer



Kriel



Van der Merwe

Replacing Vlok with Planning, Provincial Affairs & National Housing Minister Hernus Kriel was not unexpected (*Current Affairs* February 15). Kriel's handling of the land reform measures this year was considered insensitive, and his views on aspects of past actions in terms of apartheid laws have been widely condemned, but he is regarded as a tough, no-nonsense politician who will stand up to a police force seen as lagging behind the reform initiative.

As with the SADF, a priority is to restore

ing with the seemingly insurmountable problems of black education. As an ordinary MP, he will now head an NP marketing drive — but is considered a prime candidate for the party's constitutional negotiating team when talks eventually get off the ground (*Current Affairs* February 15).

De Beer, a former Deputy Minister of black education, is likely to devote more energy to the job, though he is unlikely to have much success in solving the problems until additional financial resources are pumped into black education.

In spite of a statement that he wants to spend more time with his family, Clase's resignation as a Minister and from parliament (an action which has surely handed the marginal Virginia seat to the CP on a plate), indicates a high degree of frustration. Clase has been burdened with trying to sell the most difficult aspect of NP policy: the gradual integration of white schools, while retaining key elements of segregation. He has been hammered from both Left and Right.

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows says Clase may have simply become fed up with continuously being portrayed as government's ogre and with being unable to satisfy anyone.

With his conservative outlook, he was probably also not too keen on the prospect of piloting further education reforms through parliament next year. His decision to quit parliament indicates disillusionment with the NP.

Burrows says the promotion of verligte Deputy Minister of Education & Develop-

DAMAGE CONTROL

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FM 2/8/91

President F W de Klerk, at an international press conference on Tuesday, defended previous secret funding to combat SA's isolation. But he said secrecy was not a licence for irregularity; laws were under constant review; and some secret projects had already been cancelled.

Among the other points made by De Klerk as the FM went to press:

- ☐ The covert funding budget for 1991/1992 year was indeed R380m — but for the entire National Intelligence Service. Only R42,6m will have been spent on secret projects;
- ☐ Political organisations may not be fi-

nanced by secret funds;

- ☐ A small advisory committee from the private sector will be appointed to advise the president on secret projects;
- ☐ The security forces have not been involved in the instigation or promotion of violence and "relentless" action is promised against any contravention; and
- ☐ Government has no double agenda.

De Klerk also reiterated his keenness on launching a multiparty conference and he indicated flexibility on transition arrangements. He raised again the possibility of a broader-based Cabinet but rejected an interim government.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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ment Aid Piet Marais to ~~Clase's~~ post (in addition to his appointment as Minister of Administration in the main Cabinet), is an important move and shows the way De Klerk intends to move on education reform.

Burrows says it's also significant that the reshuffle has subordinated all white own affairs portfolios to Ministers with more important main Cabinet posts. This clearly indicates a phasing out of own affairs without changing the constitution. While De Klerk may have been expected to use the opportunity to create a single education ministry, he has paved the way to do so, possibly later this year, Burrows believes.

The promotion of Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels to Kriel's post means another verligte will handle the sensitive issue of local government reform.

Water Affairs & Forestry Minister Gert Kotze is quitting the Cabinet but will remain an MP. The move is not seen as politically significant.

Three new Deputy Ministers are appointed: former NP information chief Renier Schoeman to Foreign Affairs; MP for Sunnyside Fanus Schoeman to National Health and Health Services & Welfare in the House of Assembly; and former Labour Party stalwart and recent NP recruit Abe Williams to National Education & Planning. ■

Patrick Laurence looks at the balance sheet on the Inkatha funding scandal

Reversal of fortunes for FW

Stev 2/8/91.

304A

THE STORM precipitated by the secret funneling of money from State coffers to Inkatha is not yet over, it has, however, abated enough for a preliminary assessment of its implications.

The past fortnight has seen, at the least, a temporary reversal in the fortunes of the De Klerk administration and the African National Congress, its chief adversary in the political field.

The disclosures have forced President de Klerk to surrender the moral high ground which he had won so painstakingly with the reform programme he initiated with his brave decisions to remove the legal shackles on the "liberation movements" and to free their jailed leaders, notably the ANC's Nelson Mandela.

Hardly more than two weeks ago Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party looked astonishingly strong. Having captured a major proportion of the white liberal constituency, it seemed poised to expand by recruiting members in the coloured, Indian and even black communities.

The once ludicrous prospect of rule by an NP-centred alliance in post-apartheid South Africa could no longer be dismissed out of hand.

Apart from opinion polls pointing to support for the NP outside the confines of the white minority,

two developments loomed as auspicious signs for the NP and danger signals for the ANC: the defection of coloured MPs to the NP and the admission in the report of the ANC secretary-general that the movement's low impact in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities was cause for concern.

The ANC, in contrast, looked increasingly vulnerable to assault by a NP-led alliance as it battled to slow down the crumbling of the international sanctions campaign, dramatically symbolised by President George Bush's decision to rescind the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Stripped of its mystique as an outlawed resistance movement, it was the target of a spate of articles focusing on its organisational defects, and the divisions and rivalries within its upper echelons.

The election at its July conference of a large number of communists to its national executive — about half the 50 popularly elected committee members are communists — classified it in the minds of many observers as an anachronism in a world where communism had suffered decisive defeats.

Inkathagate, however, changed that. It forced President de Klerk on the defensive, infused the ANC

with new confidence and vitiated its much criticised April 5 ultimatum to Mr de Klerk to sack his Ministers of Law and Order and Defence.

President de Klerk, after retreating to a secret and secluded venue for a three-day Cabinet meeting and conferring with security chiefs at a meeting of the State Security Council, took two steps to limit the damage.

His first move was a Cabinet reshuffle. He demoted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan to politically less important portfolios and replaced them with younger men more in tune with the reformism espoused by his administration.

His second response was to address the nation directly at a televised press conference attended by 250 local and foreign journalists and scores of diplomats.

He presented the payment of R250 000 to Inkatha and the payment of R1.5 million over five years to its trade union auxiliary, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), as temporary measures demanded by the exigencies of the guerrilla war and the international sanctions campaign which had threatened South Africa.

But President de Klerk asserted his administration was serious

about creating an "equal political playing field" for all the contestants for power.

To prove its bona fides, he undertook to amend legislation to ensure that no further clandestine payments were made to political organisations, to ensure tighter control over extant secret projects, and to invite a committee of select businessmen to advise him on the remaining covert stratagems.

Mr de Klerk admitted that his purpose was to restore lost trust in his administration, thus acknowledging that the disclosures had hurt it and called his reputation as a "man of integrity" into question.

"The Government has nothing to hide," he proclaimed boldly. "We do not have a double agenda and it is untrue that we have a strategy to disrupt our opponents."

Mr de Klerk's case, however, rested on his word that he was unaware of the payment of money to Inkatha (and, by implication, to Uwusa), a deposition repeated by the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, in a briefing document given to journalists.

But Mr de Klerk was asking the public and, more particularly, his political foes to accept an improbable proposition.

The money funnelled to Inkatha passed through the hands of two

top men in Mr de Klerk's team, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the most senior man in the Cabinet after Mr de Klerk, and Law and Order Minister Vlok.

The payments were made in November 1989 and March 1990, as President de Klerk was embarking on the dramatic change in course in the long history of National Party rule.

It stretches credulity beyond breaking point to think that as Mr de Klerk was freeing ANC leaders — the process began in October 1989 with the release of Mr Mandela's co-accused at the Rivonia trial of 1963-64 — Mr Botha and Mr Vlok were financing Inkatha rallies without telling their leader about it.

To have done so surreptitiously would have taken them perilously close to deliberate sabotage of Mr de Klerk's reformist initiative and merited dismissal from the Cabinet.

The thought of Mr Botha and Mr Vlok acting on their own initiative on so delicate a matter becomes even more implausible when one considers the De Klerk administration's modus operandi.

Its hallmark, and indeed President de Klerk's, has been thoroughness and attention to detail.

One need only think of prolonged think-tank sessions at secret venues of the President and his men,

where they carefully consider the decisions before them and debate the implications in minute detail.

It defies the laws of logic even to contemplate a situation where so vital and so controversial a question as bolstering Inkatha and Uwusa would not be appraised critically by Mr de Klerk and his lieutenants.

One further point needs to be made: Mr de Klerk, Mr Botha and Mr Vlok are all members of the State Security Council where the security situation is assessed microscopically, it is manifestly preposterous to envisage that the council neglected to debate the pros and cons of the donations to Inkatha, precisely because they were paid from the special anti-sanctions fund.

Mr de Klerk may have gone some way to reducing the credibility gap which opened up after the Inkathagate disclosures; he has not, however, closed it.

Critical questions have not been convincingly answered. If Mr de Klerk has been less than frank about the secret payments, it is a gap that could grow into a chasm big enough to swallow him.

In the meantime, Inkatha is gasping for breath while the tactical, if not strategic, advantage lies with the ANC. □

Slush money 'used to indoctrinate UK MPs'

Star 2/8/91/304A
By Bronwyn Wilkinson

who took an active stand against sanctions.

A member of the British House of Lords, in Johannesburg as a guest of the ANC, said yesterday that he believed Government slush funds were used to drive the anti-sanctions movement among British MPs.

Lord Hatch, who was banned from South Africa in 1959 and allowed to return only last year, was speaking at a press conference at the ANC's Johannesburg offices.

He said he believed the Government had used slush funds to indoctrinate British MPs

"I want to know how many British MPs have benefited from the practice of inviting people here, giving them free tickets, in order to put the National Party's case to them."

He also said of the Inkatha funding scandal: "It is one thing for a political organisation to get funds, but totally different for a party inside the political process to fund another party."

He believed the only reason the Government had funded Inkatha was to set up a National Party-Inkatha alliance.

City Council ...
mittee which will consider any
financial involvement.

The project is expected to be
completed by 1995.

No regrets over funds, says alliance

Although unaware it had received funding from the Government, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) said yesterday it had no objections to the use of Government money to help fight "genocidal" sanctions.

"Fida's only regret is that the Government did not see fit to inform the party of its funding as Fida would not have been ashamed to accept it," the organisation's executive committee said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

The party's financial statements and other related documentation were investigated thoroughly by the British Embassy and by an unnamed senior South African journalist. "They could find no evidence of Government funding."

"The executive committee of Fida has learnt with surprise that it had also been funded by the Government," the statement added.

"We can only conclude that such funds could only have been given to it through anonymous donors."

"However, the executive committee wishes to state that it had or has no objections to the Government's use of funds to help fight genocidal sanctions," it said. — Sapa.

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NEC: interim govt vital after scandal

Star 2/8/91 (304A) 237

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday reiterated its demand for an interim government in the light of the Government's funds-for-Inkatha scandal, and said it would review its bilateral contacts with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at the national level.

At a press conference in Johannesburg after the NEC's meeting ended late on Wednesday, ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said that while the Government had acknowledged the need for change through negotiations, it had also tried to subvert the process.

"At the heart of the crisis is the credibility of the De Klerk Government," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

Mr Ramaphosa said President de Klerk's handling of the

scandal had "raised the issue of an interim government of national unity to the top of the agenda". The ANC was committed to reaching that goal through the path of a patriotic-front conference which would lead to an all-party conference.

The ANC leader said the IFP's involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence, "coupled with the woefully inadequate responses of its leadership", had seriously brought into question its legitimacy as an independent political force.

The ANC-led tripartite alliance was therefore conducting "an immediate review" of its bilateral contacts with the IFP at the national level.

Responding to the Government's insistence that the ANC received funds from abroad, the NEC said financial assistance given to the ANC was a matter of public record.

In another development, ANC president Nelson Mandela and his delegation, on a visit to South America, said the funds scandal had "greatly imperilled the peace process", warning that Mr de Klerk's failure to take "bold corrective action" had seriously damaged the integrity of negotiations.

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

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effects on the pack

'The Right could trigger war'

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche and other rightwingers had to be taken seriously because of their potential to start a blood-bath in South Africa, said ANC leader Tokyo Sexwale.

Mr Sexwale was speaking as a member of a studio audience on M-Net's "John Berks Show" last night.

The topic on the prerecorded programme was "Should we take the right wing seriously?" Mr Sexwale, a trained Unk-bonto we Sizwe fighter and an ANC national executive committee member, said Mr TerreBlanche and his fellow travellers on the Right were "a dangerous bunch of people" who could trigger a civil war which would claim many lives.

For that reason, he said, they had to be taken seriously.

Facing Mr TerreBlanche and his colleagues Piet "Skiet" Ruizend, who were the main guests, Mr Sexwale said the AWB leaders were nothing but "a dangerous bunch of people" who were bent on violence but return the country to the past. However, Mr Sexwale said, the right wing was in the minority and on the basis of numbers did not pose any serious threat. At that level it did not have to be taken seriously.

During the heated debate Mr TerreBlanche, who spoke only in Afrikaans even though English, said:

- There were parts of South Africa that had historically belonged to Boers, and that recent events in Eastern Europe

had shown that different ethnic groups could not live together.

- The Government's reforms had given rein to chaos and disorder and had increased violence between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

- Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez was neither an Afrikaner nor a Boer, but rather "an inter-nationalist" who favoured the bringing together of different groups.

- The AWB would never negotiate with the ANC because, unlike the "Zulu" IFP, it did not represent any nation.

Political analyst Dr Wyn Booyse said the right wing's violent actions stemmed from the Right's fear of democracy. Mr du Preez called Mr TerreBlanche a demagogue with whom some rightwingers with disillusioned because his words were not backed by action.

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main supplier to SA's own war machine.
Malan's political future is now in question.
His new post is regarded as a humiliation.

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DAMAGE CONTROL

(3044) (234)
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De Klerk also reiterated his keenness on launching a multiparty conference and he indicated flexibility on transition arrangements. He raised again the possibility of a broader-based Cabinet but rejected an interim government.

WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman



Seizing the chance of a lifetime

w/ Mail 2/8 - 8/8/91.

304A

NKATHAGATE could be the best thing that has happened to the negotiation process so far.

But its fall-out could also hold dangers. And one factor which may decide its impact is the strategy of the African National Congress and its allies.

The scandal may have had two effects thus far.

The first is to deprive the government of its strongest negotiating chip: the belief that it is far more committed to negotiation and orderly transition than its opponents.

Most South Africans may not believe this. But our trading partners seem to, which is why the government has been winning the diplomatic battle until now. And it is foreign governments which have been the key influence on Nat strategy since February 2: most, if not all, of their key decisions have been taken to influence world opinion.

As long as foreign opinion was happy to allow the government to remain the guardian of the transition, its view that it could continue to control the process remained firm. Now it is far harder for its foreign allies to allow this and the government is under far more pressure to surrender control of some decisions to those outside its ranks.

The steps have been halting — a “private sector” committee to look at secret projects, the renewed promise of a commission with teeth to examine charges against security forces. But it may well have to go further, for it is now far harder for it to claim that it alone can manage the transition.

The second effect is to force a government which has left the security establishment alone to accept that transition will be difficult unless the police and army are seen to be accountable.

Again, the demotion of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan may be a halting step. But it does recognise that the Nats will have to do more to show the security forces are neutral than merely to insist that they are.

FW de Klerk confirmed that he had to reshuffle his cabinet to change the image of the security forces — and so to salvage the government's image as the party of negotiation.

Vlok has been replaced by Hernus Kriel, who may be tough enough to exert more control over the police than his predecessor did. But that may not be enough.

Malan has been replaced by Roelf Meyer, who was quoted days earlier endorsing moves toward interim government. So he may accept that the government alone cannot guarantee the neutrality of the men in uniform.

As always when the government responds, the details of its first reaction are less important than what they symbolise: in this case, that it may now know that it has to prove it is serious about a fair and orderly transition. It is hard to see how it can do that without opening control of the government and security forces to the scrutiny of its negotiating partners.

The danger is that the cabinet was right to fear until now that the security forces would not stay loyal unless they were answerable to men who either let them do as they pleased or encouraged them to do it.

movement, is to opt (yet again) for mass action. But the Nats' weakness lies not in the streets but in the fact that their commitment to transition is now in doubt. It is hard to see how mass action makes them any weaker. If anything, it strengthens the view that they are the negotiators.

The third option is to press home the advantage by showing that resistance movements are serious about negotiation — and that the disclosures have shown that the process cannot succeed unless the Nats give up some of their control of it.

That could open the way for concessions limiting the troops and offering resistance movements more control over transition. If they ignore the opportunity, they could lose their best chance thus far to strengthen their negotiating position.

■ NEXT WEEK: Ameen Akhalwaya

Soldiers who were happy to answer to Malan may not feel the same about Meyer, particularly if he suggests they accept greater constraints. But they might do it — they might even accept action against men who can be shown to have broken the law — provided they believe “law and order” is not getting out of hand. What does this say about resistance movement strategies?

One of their options is to break off talks. At a time when they are in a better negotiating position than at any time since last February, this makes less sense.

It makes even less sense if we note that the Nats are being forced to make concessions because they cannot risk being seen as the party which is not serious about negotiation. If their opponents break off talks, the pressure is removed. The result may be stalemate. Another, already chosen by parts of the resistance

How man the dark horse in education shifts

Police declined. So did *The Weekly Mail*. This, however, did not stop Kotze saying in Friday, after we had published our second round of allegations, that we had broken an "agreement". There was no such agreement — only an undertaking on our behalf that we would follow the normal journalistic practice of putting everything relevant to Kotze for comment. We had done this on Thursday, keeping a running supply of documents, and other material on the fax to de Klerk's education minister and former rugby player as deputy education minister. With education. It becomes the first "black" person to serve in a ministerial portfolio, due compensation for his movement across the floor with disaffected Labour Party members to the National Party during the last session of parliament.

Some say National Education is a dead department, acting only as an umbrella body with no muscle to influence racially fragmented educational policies. But Williams may be well-placed to deal with "own affairs" juggling: he served as deputy education minister in the coloured House of Representatives for just over a year until his resignation in June.

Educationalists interviewed this week were circumspect about the replacement of Klerk.

Important man in — if only nominally — the new government of Education and Culture: House of Assembly Minister Piet Claes by Piet Marais, and Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe by Sam de Beer. Most said it signalled a possible turn for the better, others that the story remains much the same. "It's just different people fielding or bating but the game remains the same," said Transvaal Union of African Teachers (Tuaat) president Leepile Taunyane. "What we need is a change in the system. The two new ministers will have to knuckle down to the same problems as their predecessors."

In its response, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee said Claes's resignation came as "no surprise", and that Van der Merwe's handling of the white schools occupation campaign had "confirmed his incapacity to move boldly and act decisively when it mattered".

The new appointments indicate that the government still has its feet very much stuck in the racial mode. "This was a perfect opportunity for De Klerk to move towards one ministry," said Dr Johan van Zijl, director of the Education Foundation. "It's a pity he did not use it."

De Klerk has reshuffled his education ministers, bringing in more 'verligte' men. But will this bring about much change? BY PORTIA MAURICE

Most agreed, though, that both De Beer — who switches from welfare, housing and works — and Marais — now deputy head of African education — are *verligte* "new Nats", who are likely to further the reform process.

Both have had experience in black education, and it is hoped this will facilitate inter-departmental co-operation and understanding. "Marais has been exposed to the harsh realities of black education. Now that they've put him in charge of the Rolls Royce, he will find it very hard to defend white privileges," said Roger Burrows, Democratic Party spokesman on education.

De Beer was in charge of black education during the school boycotts of the late 1980s and is said to have dealt astutely with the crisis, as ministers go. According to Shelagh Gastrow, he is remembered for his agreement with the Cradock Residents' Association to reinstate activist Matthew Goniwe as

school principal following protests over his transfer, his successful mediation of a boycott at a Fort Beaufort college after expulsions, the compromise reached between his department officials and black parents and students regarding the postponement of exams in 1985, and his agreement to recognise student representative councils at schools for blacks.

Claes — himself an ex-teacher — is commonly known as a diehard conservative, who found moves towards deracialising education hard to stomach. His handling of white education was always "one step forward, two steps backwards", one source said, and his announced closure of white training colleges earlier this year was particularly schizophrenic.

"Although he had very strong personal reasons for leaving politics after 17 years, I think he felt during the last session of parliament that he was holding the can for everyone in education," said Burrows.

Claes will go down in history for his A, B and C "open" school models, introduced almost a year ago. But he obviously felt uncomfortable with integration, and these models — which

give white parents the option to allow in black pupils — are seen by many as a stop-gap measure.

"The political tide has turned against the Clases of this world," said Johannesburg headmaster and member of the joint working group on education Brother Neil McGurk. "He was a nice enough fellow but he was overwhelmed by the demands of a new South Africa."

Van der Merwe has been moved out of his portfolio, it seems, to play a more active role in political negotiations. Earlier this year, he was given an ultimatum to resign by the Congress of South African Students and the Southern Transvaal branch of the NECC. In its response to the resignations, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union said he had "failed miserably" in addressing the crisis in black education. "Van der Merwe took over black education at a time of enormous toil and strife. It doesn't seem as though he managed to put out the flames," said Van Zijl.

Members of the joint working group, which he chaired, expressed disappointment that he is to go.

ust 2 to August 8 1991

Deft footwork: ANC says let's talk

W/Mand 2/8-8/8/91

(44)

3049

THE African National Congress yesterday put the demand for an interim government at the top of the country's political agenda, unlocking the route to the All-Party Conference and constitutional negotiations for a new South Africa.

In a piece of fancy footwork, the ANC found a way of taking the negotiations forward on its own terms while keeping the pressure on President FW de Klerk.

Underlying the ANC's strong statement of dissatisfaction with the gov-

The ANC, while keeping the pressure on the government, has cleared the way for the All-Party Conference.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

ernment was a positive response to De Klerk's appeal to help get the conference started expeditiously.

A statement prepared by a full plenary session of the ANC's National Executive Committee said the only way forward was an interim government of national unity — which it de-

scribed as a "transitional authority, with a limited lifespan charged with the task of preparing the country for a democratic constitution and governing the country during this period".

Answering questions at a press conference, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said the ANC would be pushing ahead with the process of peaceful settlement through the All-Party Conference, where the details of the interim government would be negotiated.

Sisulu said that while the ANC would still call for the removal of the obstacles to negotiation — which

have blocked the start of substantive negotiations since February 2 last year — it had shifted its focus to the removal of the government itself.

"We have become more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the installation of a democratic government," said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

However, the ANC invited De Klerk and the government to join discussions with other political groups to speed up the processes. Ramaphosa said it would be preferable if the All-Party Conference were to be called by a neutral body such as the church-private sector initiative in getting the peace talks off the ground.

The NEC, whose meeting was called to deal with the "grave crisis" in the country, found few nice words to describe De Klerk's response to the Inkatha scandal.

It was cool about the demotion of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, and reiterated its demands vis-à-vis the dismantling of counter-insurgency units and the establishment of a multi-party commission to investigate state-sponsored violence.

The ANC also said it was conducting an immediate review of bilateral contacts with Inkatha at the national level because of that organisation's involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence.

Reading out a statement prepared during the NEC meeting, head of the Department of Information and Publicity Pallo Jordan said the credibility of the De Klerk government was at the heart of the crisis.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections, after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

The ANC, while displaying a tactical ability to drive home its advantage at the government's weakest point following the Inkatha scandal — its credibility to oversee the negotiating process — at the same time responded positively to the underlying theme of De Klerk's speech on Tuesday night.

De Klerk said the government had no desire to be player and referee at the same time. He committed himself to transitional arrangements which would ensure that the government was unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiating process.

SECUROCRAT KRIEL NO SOFT OPTION

By GAVIN EVANS-W/ Mail 2/8-8/8/91
HERNUS KRIEL, the new minister of law and order, is a tough securocrat who has been a member of a cabal of cabinet ministers opposed to President FW de Klerk's liberalisation moves.

This is the view of Democratic Party Claremont MP Jan van Eck, who shocked parliament in March with revelations about a "fifth column" of senior MPs and state officials who had been part of PW Botha's inner circle during his presidency. (304A)

Van Eck, who said his information came from "reliable sources within the state", said he had since received further confirmation that this group existed with the aim promoting anti-African National Congress forces, while at the same time professing to back De Klerk to the hilt.

He said the group was formed after Barend du Plessis, the ostensibly *verlig* but pro-securocrat finance minister, lost his bid for the state presidency to De Klerk.

He said his state sources told him the cabal was headed by Du Plessis and included (former minister of defence) Magnus Malan, Kriel, National Intelligence Service head Dr Niel Barnard, former South African Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen and presidential assistant Dr Jannie Roux.

Van Eck said he was sure of his sources although Kriel had later spoken to him, denying he was a member of this group.

In March, he told Van Eck he had not been picked as the next law and order minister.

Kriel, who served on the National Party's law and order study group, is a "toughie" who, unlike Adriaan Vlok, has the respect of the police generals, Van Eck said.

"Vlok was ignored and isolated by the South African Police, and was given information which was patently untrue. With Kriel they will know who is in charge. He's a man who likes to stick to the letter of the law, but whether he will be willing to control the police is another matter."

A former state prosecutor, businessman and advocate, he joined the NP more than 30 years ago, served three years on the Cape Divisional Council followed by seven on the Provincial Council, the last three as an MEC. He was elected MP for Parow in 1984 and leapfrogged over the heads of senior deputy ministers to become planning and provincial affairs minister in 1989.

Kriel, who is 49, is considered to be on the centre-right of the NP. In an 1988 interview he cited John Vorster as the father of political reform in South Africa, and said the basis for a political settlement lay in the recognition of race groups and the entrenchment of individual rights within a group.

In 1989 he told reporters if blacks wanted to negotiate with the NP for the end to the Group Areas Act, they must be willing to give up something valuable to themselves like the *lobola* system.

Earlier this year he announced the formation of "demolition squads" to remove squatters on privately owned land.

FW removes sting if not the poison

8 Feb 3/8/91

2041

After more than a week of screaming relentlessly ahead in top gear, the Government slush fund scandal is now idling away more quietly. This is in large part due to President de Klerk's non-hysterical, serious and measured response to the allegations of Government *verneukery*.

He removed the sting, if not the residual poison, from the saga.

No doubt many readers of this newspaper greet this state of affairs with relief, they have had enough of the bad ship "Inkatha-gate" and all who sail in her.

I thought of dropping the subject, too, but decided eventually that mere exhaustion is not a good enough reason. We are all of us living through a piece of history which will certainly one day supplant the Great Trek in pride of place in school text books.

Like the Trek, its effects will be with us for months, years, perhaps even generations. And it is a long way from having played itself out.

So where do we stand?

It is broadly agreed that President de Klerk, in his televised media conference, eased rather than exacerbated the situation. In particular, by admitting that Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan were moved because they had become controversial, he signalled an entirely new era of Nationalist re-

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



sponsiveness to public opinion.

The ANC — and all who long for a peaceful settlement should thank their lucky stars for this — has let it be known that, while the organisation expects to exact a considerable political tithe from the scandal, it will continue to negotiate. Had FW bullied and blustered like Pik, this might not have been so.

But the President's performance was far from flawless, in terms of its content if not its delivery. There are critical unresolved issues, and only time will tell whether or not they can be clarified.

They include the following.

The Government promises there will be no more secret funding of political parties, but insists that secret funds can be used to fight sanctions as long as they are in place. Willy-nilly, this implies the use of public funds against those

parties which, for better or worse, promote sanctions as a political strategy.

Sanctions, it should be remembered, were not a natural disaster like a flood or an earthquake. They were man-made, by the Government, through its racist policies. They will disappear when there is no longer any doubt, or shadow of doubt, that the process of transition is going to be fair and final.

Then there is the matter of an Interim Government — two words which will become the most overused in our entire political lexicon in the coming months. President de Klerk concedes, obliquely, that the "playing field" is not yet level. "We are working seriously towards this," he says.

When will it be level? Should the ANC start playing the game before it is? Are "transitional structures" in which non-Governmental groups are "given a voice" enough?

These questions imply many others, some not even thought of yet in the headlong rush of events. They must be put, the public's saturation levels notwithstanding.

And on the subject of public

awareness of the intricacies of the debate, I find it worrying that we seem to have entered — without really noticing — an era in which major Government statements or media conferences are geared toward television. This is fine as far as it goes, but it does tend to lead people to make snap judgments about barely-heard statements, and to test politicians by their demeanour as much as their words.

"Pik saw off the press" was the reaction of many whites after his one-sided, combative appearance on Agenda. A close reading of what he actually said — and didn't say — showed what a Pyrrhic victory that really was.

There is still no substitute for rigorous reflection on the written word, and the role of newspapers will continue to be critical.

But having said all this, my gut feeling is that we as a people still have the opportunity to strike an historic compromise. We are in the unique, and uniquely wonderful, position of having two leaders in F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela who have the stature to make it stick.

If that still-far-off compromise is at all definable at this early stage, I would put it into words this way: We have one leader who can give more than he is forced to give, and another who can take less than he is capable of taking.



Time to prove the rumour of violence

ARGUS 3/8/91

304A

RUNNING like a refrain through President De Klerk's hour-long television appearance on Tuesday evening was his insistence that accusations of security force involvement in violence had so far amounted to unsubstantiated rumour.

Many would contest that view. But, since he went on to repeat several times an appeal to people who had evidence to come forward, and personally undertook to have properly motivated evidence examined, the focus must now fall on how this crucial issue is treated.

As far as Mr De Klerk was concerned, the army and the police did not have a partisan brief to meddle violently in the political process, but acknowledged there was no excluding the possibility that individual soldiers or policemen might have operated outside the bounds of policy and orders.

Such cases would be "thoroughly investigated" and "relentless action" would be taken against guilty parties.

This turns on three critical factors.

The first is that whether police like it or not, there is not much faith in their ability to investigate irregularities in their own ranks.

It seems clear attention will have to be given to finding an acceptable alternative.

The second is whether assurances of witness protection are sufficient, and convincing. People will not come forward unless they are sure it will be safe to do so.

The third is whether witnesses are prepared to stand up and be tested.

There is an important responsibility on all sides.

At the heart of it is the essence of a democratic culture: the fearless exercise of justice, whatever the risks.

South Africans will need to recognise that a culture of tolerance and justice can only be successfully inculcated if it is actually seen to be practised.

The government must be seen to be prepared to practise it. So must its accusers.

ONE man whose recent political choices can hardly be faulted is Mr Abe Williams, the former Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

His defection from the Labour Party was a bitter blow to leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and left loyal Labourites seething.

But his promotion during the past week to President De Klerk's Cabinet — where he plays second fiddle to two Ministers, Mr Louis Pienaar at National Education and newly promoted Mr Leon Wessels, who has moved into the Cabinet as Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing — proves that in the short term at least the move was a clever one.

What is clear, though, is that he'll have to work hard at dispelling the impression that this was his political payoff.



Michael Morris



Dennis Cruywagen

A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa

IN a mild reproach this week, sociologist Herbert Adam, visiting professor at Cape Town University's Graduate School of Business, ticked off the Press and other commentators for over-emphasising the need for trust between negotiators such as President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He told a gathering of top Cape Town businessmen at an Institute of Directors' lunch that he couldn't understand it.

"Negotiations will proceed, regardless of whether your adversary can be trusted or not. Deals will be struck. Trust might produce harmony, but it's not a pre-condition," he told them.

There was every reason, he suggested to turn a blind eye to the cross rhetoric traded by the Nats and the ANC.

"More agreement has been reached informally than is realised, particularly in the constitutional sphere."

These were not his only interesting observations.

South Africa, in his view, was not heading for a racial showdown.

"If the NP were to rename itself as, say, the Christian Democratic Union and the ANC were to become a Social Democratic Movement, which it is likely to become, then it will almost be an equal power contest, not between a large black majority and a small white minority.

"It will not be a racial contest, but an ideological one." This signalled "room for optimism".

Professor Adam also tackled the vexing matter of the ANC's alliance with the communists, but, contrary to the current wisdom in many quarters, he discounted the desirability of a split in the alliance before a constitutional settlement.

"If the opposition is fragmented before a settlement, we will have a PLO-type situation where you have to negotiate with different factions which will out-radicalise each other. It is always far better to have a strong opponent than a weak one," he observed.

AS an aside, Adam gave an interesting insight into the enigma of government thinking.

He described how he had interviewed seven Cabinet Ministers last year in the pursuit of political truth.

A principal interest was to discover what it was that turned the mighty National Party, what led to its change of heart.

"I asked each one the same question," he said, "and got seven different answers."

AFTER INKATHAGATE... THE NEW MINISTERS

304A Marcus 3/8/91

The Security Factor

... and the men who must mend an image tarnished by mistrust

There is more to President De Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle than meets the eye. For the first time he has opened the way for re-moulding the country's controversial security establishment. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the prospects.

THE face of South Africa's security establishment is expected to change when President F W de Klerk's two new strongmen take over the reins.

Drastic changes are inevitable if Mr Roelf Meyer, as Defence Minister, and Mr HERNUS KRIEL, as Law and Order Minister, are to succeed in their new jobs.

On their shoulders is now the task of restoring the broken image of the country's security system and rebuilding it to be acceptable to all in the "new South Africa".

This is clear from Mr De Klerk's handling of the government's crisis of confidence this week in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal and further allegations of Defence Force involvement in current violence, including train massacres.

Independent military experts say the real challenge facing the two new ministers is not only to restore the public image of the security system, but to reconstruct the whole system. Effective steps will have to be taken to get rid of the legacy of apartheid and of the "total onslaught" era.

To achieve this will require some drastic action and dramatic changes in both the defence and police forces. A crucial test will be whether

the new measures announced by President De Klerk this week in the wake of the Inkatha and Namibia secret funds scandal will be adequate to allow the necessary changes to occur.

Some analysts expressed doubts as to whether Mr De Klerk's low-key approach to the issue of alleged security force or "third force" involvement in the current violence, including train massacres, will enable his new Ministers to come to grips with this problem.

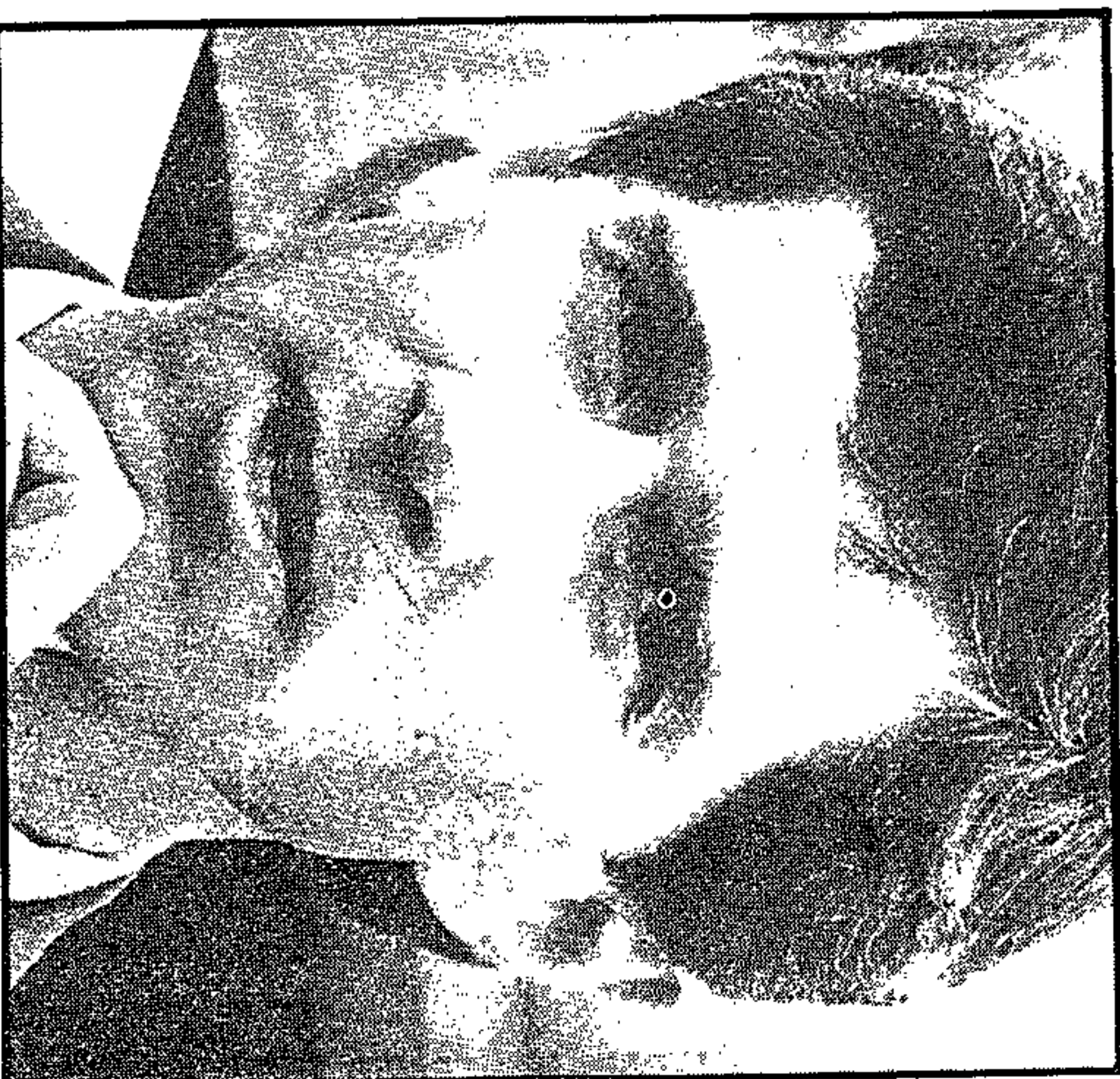
It is pointed out that for as long as certain political murders, assassinations and other crimes in this category remain unsolved and continue, the security forces will remain suspect in a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The challenge facing the two ministers is, therefore, to take effective action either to identify and remove the "can of worms" or to prove convincingly that it does not exist.

The main tasks facing the new security strongmen, according to military and security specialists, include:

● The demise of a military and police empire built up and moulded over decades under the "total onslaught" mindset of the P W Botha era.

● The elimination of the se-

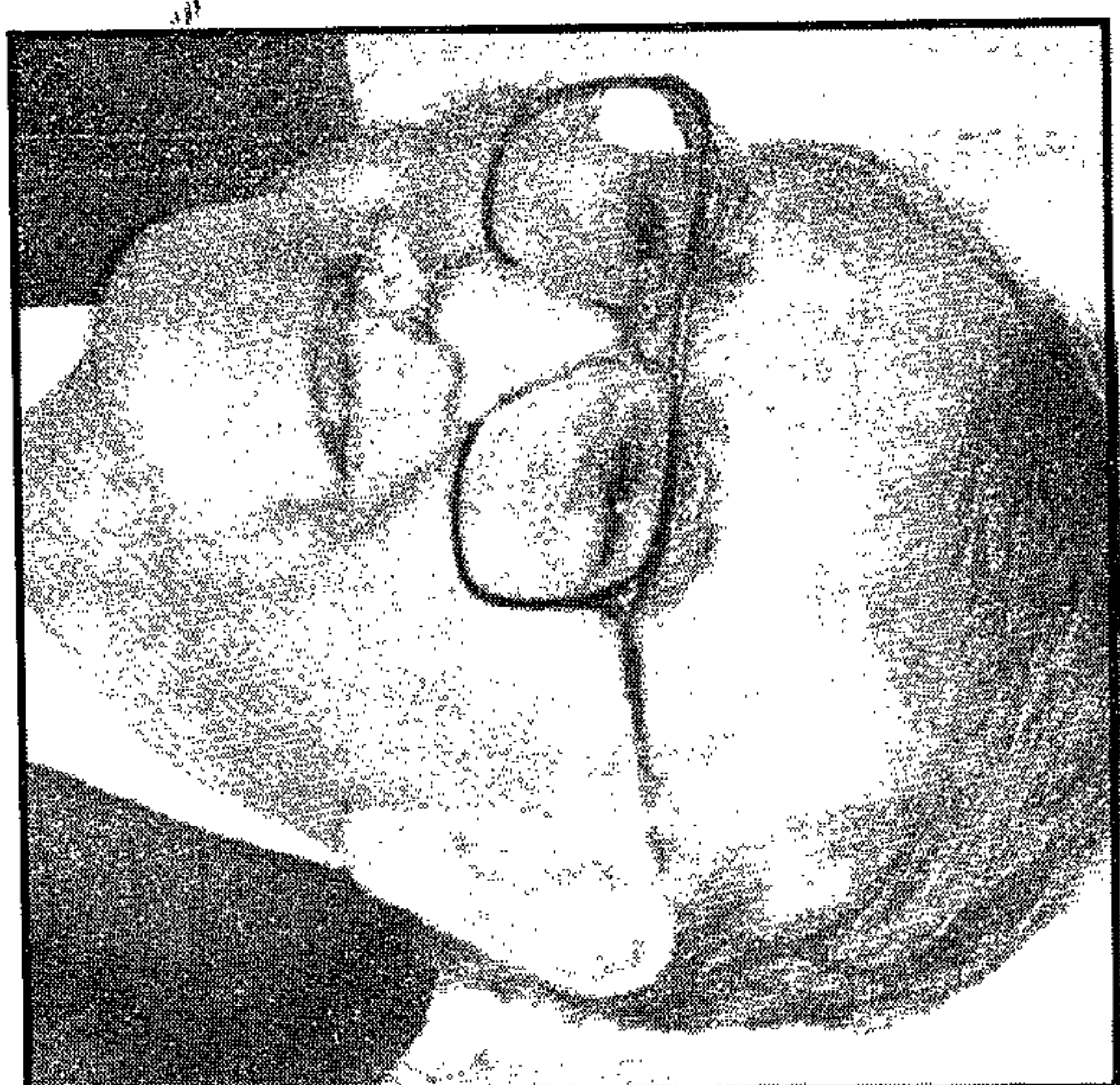


ROELF MEYER, Defence

curity establishment's "can of worms", including alleged murderous elements, secret death squads, "dirty tricks" operations and secret political manipulations.

● The reconstruction of the security establishment to meet the needs of a non-racial, democratic "new South Africa" and to be acceptable to all.

● The integration of members of all sections of society in the defence and police forces, including members of the ANC's military wing, Umk-



HERNUS KRIEL, Law and Order

honto we Sizwe (MK) and other military groups now outside the state security system.

● The re-training of security force members of the old school to develop a democratic, more tactful and less aggressive spirit in peace-keeping operations.

In the forefront of new developments will be Mr Roelf Meyer, as Defence Minister, who is expected to remain in close touch with President De Klerk, who is Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, and Mr

Magnus Malan.

Dr Cilliers said Mr Meyer was certainly not a lightweight as some people were saying because of the new minister's relatively youthful appearance.

"He is tough. He showed his strength when he was involved in the national security management system as Deputy Minister of Law and Order during the state of emergency. He dealt with the state of emergency from day to day, acting with a firm hand while winning the respect of people on all sides.

"There is no doubt that he is determined and knows what he is doing. He is a man who will not allow the generals — who can be a tough bunch — to dictate to him. Roelf Meyer is his own man."

Dr Cilliers expects Mr Meyer will from the outset not allow himself to be treated by anybody as a lightweight — "his political career is at stake and he is unlikely to allow any element in the security establishment to wreck his chances."

Another plus factor for Mr Meyer is his experience and skill as a member of the government's negotiating team. As Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development he was often involved in negotiations, including talks with the ANC, Inkatha and others.

He is said to have gained the respect of leaders like ANC military strongman Mr Chris Hani. In this respect Mr Meyer is far more in focus with the vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa than General Malan who, as a foremost "ANC basher", is widely regarded as part of the old South Africa.

Dr Cilliers sees Mr Meyer's first and most important task as that of re-building a defence force that will be in line with requirements of the new non-racial government to be established when a constitutional settlement is reached in South Africa.

Coupled with this challenge is the major task of helping to provide adequate security and confidence in the defence sys-

tem during the country's transition period.

The issue of what to do with MK is not expected to be a major factor. However, Dr Cilliers says it will be in the interests of all that MK be absorbed by the SADF.

One problem, under present-day conditions, is that dangerous elements in MK may cause trouble by turning to crime. "This problem is socio-economic and arises from the prevailing high level of unemployment. It is therefore all the more important that MK members be absorbed by the defence system to neutralise such elements."

Dr Cilliers believes the defence force for the "new South Africa" must be based on the existing SADF. A major challenge for Mr Meyer is to ensure that the SADF becomes fully adjusted to the idea that its former "enemies" are now political players.

An advantage for Mr Meyer in his new role is that his appointment represents South Africa's return to traditional civilian control over the defence force.

The choice of Mr Kriel for the hot seat of Law and Order has puzzled some analysts. They don't see in him any particular skills that would qualify him for the job.

He does not give the impression of being a tough disciplinarian, but comes across as amiable, though sometimes undiplomatic.

However, this may be precisely the qualities that appealed to Mr De Klerk.

Funding: F W still suspected

LONDON — President de Klerk's protestations that he did not know of his government's secret funding to the Inkatha Freedom Party and other anti-ANC groups is still not believed here.

This time it is The Economist which has cast doubt on Mr de Klerk's claim that he did not know of the funding until it was disclosed in the newspapers a week ago.

In a lengthy editorial, which discusses both Mr de Klerk's role in the Inkathagate scandal as well as the roots of

township violence, The Economist said it was difficult to believe that Mr de Klerk did not know of the funding.

"The payments were authorised by the Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the most senior member of Mr de Klerk's cabinet, in response to a request from the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok," the magazine says.

It adds: "It is hard to imagine the Ministers not telling their boss."

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

"Since Mr de Klerk took office in September 1989, Pik Botha has been his intimate colleague."

"At the time (of the payments) both Mr Botha and Mr Vlok were members of the State Security Council."

"Even if the Cabinet did not hear of the subsidies, it strains credulity to be told that the security council was not informed," The Economist said.

The journal did, however, praise Mr de Klerk

for replacing Mr Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan with "younger men, free of associations with his stern-faced predecessor, P W Botha".

It warned that Mr de Klerk's suggestion that private sector individuals take part in a committee to advise him on the remaining secret projects was an unwise move, as it would "re-vive suspicion that the Government is not much more than the political arm of the moguls who command the economy".

● See Page 13.

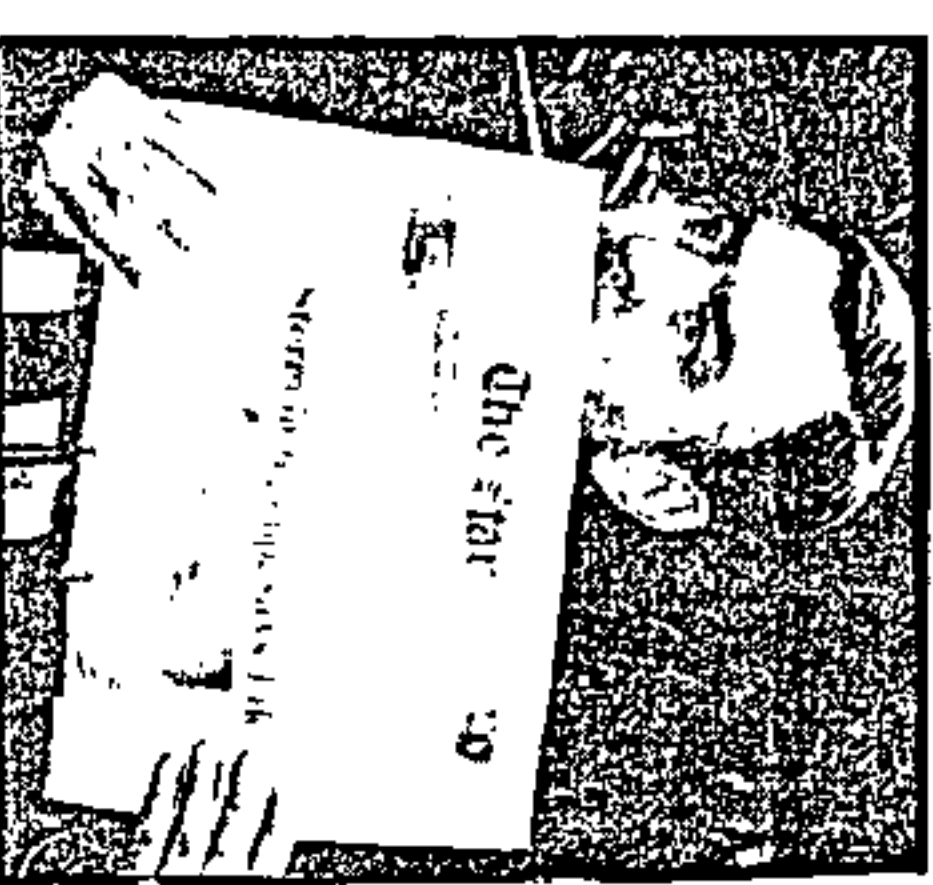
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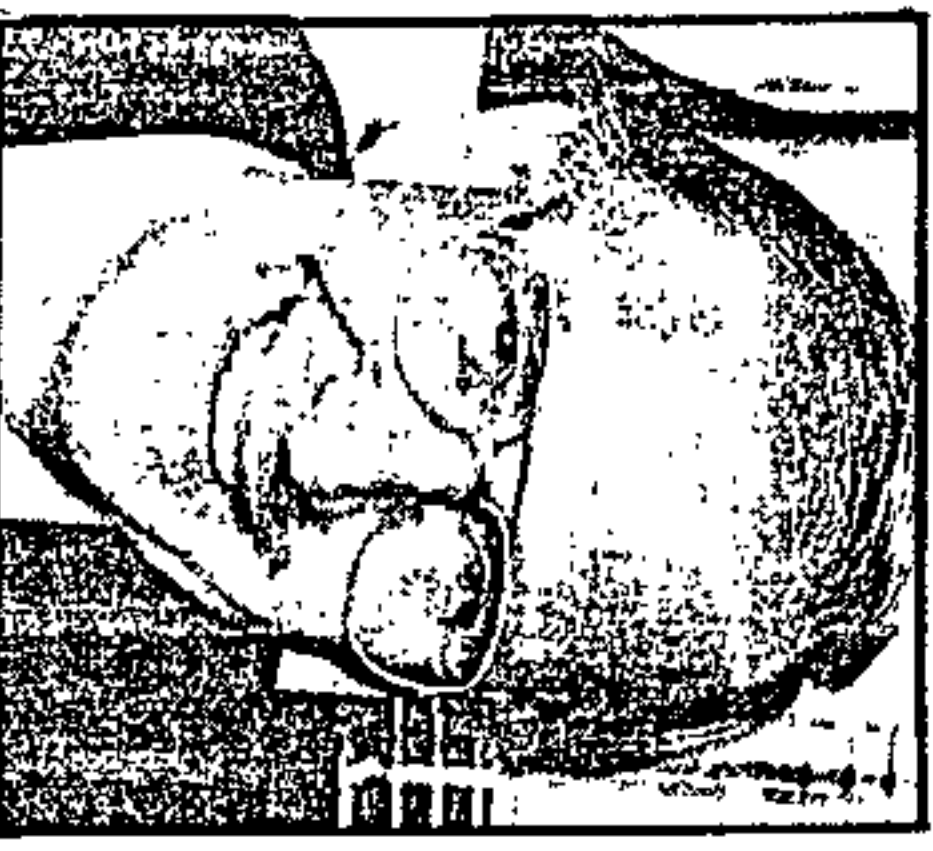
have known?



Pik Botha, close relationship with the President and co-operating on a major overhaul of NIP policy. Logic suggests he would not have withheld information.



ANGRY MAN: Pik Botha, on Agenda, was quite annoyed at a headline in The Star.



BAREND DU PLESSIS: left journalists bemused with explanations.

Inkathagate conference left

several questions unanswered

between Inkatha and ANC forces must have been duty bound to do so.

Similarly it is hard to envisage that the payments were not raised at meetings of the State Security Council. Transfer of money to Uvusa started in 1986 and ended just two days ago. R15 million changed hands.

The establishment of Uvusa in May 1986 came after, and in response to, the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in December 1985. Both were high profile events, pointing, at the least, to a major contest for supremacy in the labour field.

The State Security Council had an obvious interest in controlling these important events. It is not surprising that it was a result of a memorandum signed on March 5 1991, he asked Mr de Klerk whether the National Intelligence Service had given direct or indirect financial assistance to "certain organisations whose names have been furnished to the State President's Office". On the same day he asked Mr Vor whether the SAP had given financial assistance to Inkatha and a "certain trade union".

Mr Jordan received evasive replies. Roelf Meyer, replying on behalf of Mr de Klerk, said: "I am not prepared to comment in any way". Denials may lead to future refusals to give information being "constituted as admissions", he said.

Mr J H Schoepers, for Mr Vor, gave the same reply.

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Could Fw not

(3044)

SOUTH Africa, judging from the pretexts of innocence aroused by the Inkathagate scandal, is led by one-eyed and one-eared men.

Their wont is to turn their blind eyes and deaf ears to events which they do not want to know about or — more cynically — which are expedient not to know of officially.

Their convenient blindness and deafness is matched by their prolixity; they are able to offer a variety of disingenuous reasons for their apparent willful ignorance.

Thus, in the wake of disclosures about the covert transfer of money from state coffers to Mangosuthu Buthe's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and its trade union ancillary, South Africa is told that neither President F W de Klerk nor Finance Minister Barend du Plessis were aware of the payments.

Speaking in front of rolling TV cameras and watched by scores of journalists and diplomats, President de Klerk proclaimed he was unaware of payments to Inkatha, in November 1989 and March 1990, until he read about them in the Weekly Mail last month.

At an earlier briefing of journalists Mr du Plessis tried to explain the labyrinthian processes through which payments for "secret activities and projects" are made from state funds.

He told the bemused journalists: "... neither the Minister of Finance nor the State President had any role to play in the approval of the payments to Inkatha and Uvusa by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Law and Order respectively."

Star 3/8/91.



PRESIDENT DE KLERK: his statement convinced his camp followers and those who wanted to believe him, but political opponents reacted with singular scepticism.

But there are additional compelling reasons why it is preposterous to think that Mr de Klerk was oblivious of the payments. At the time of the deposits to Inkatha's bank account, Mr de Klerk was engaged in the delicate and brave exercise of clearing the decks for a negotiated settlement through the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of outlawed organisations.

Payment of money to Inkatha in that context was highly controversial, particularly as the transfers were made to help ensure that Inkatha rallies in November 1989 and March 1990 drew big crowds after the huge success of the African National Congress rallies of October 1989 and February 1990.

PATRICK LAURENCE

Klerk's membership of the State Security Council both before and after he became president. The payments were, moreover, authorised by Mr Botha at the request of Mr Vor. Mr Botha is the second senior man in the Cabinet after President de Klerk. The two leaders appear to have had a close working relationship at the time, touring Europe together and co-operating in a major overhaul of National Party policy.

Logic suggests the veteran foreign minister would not have withheld the information. Two additional considerations need to be borne in mind in assessing Mr de Klerk's claim that he did not know about the payments. The first is that Mr de Klerk did not know about the payments until he read about them in the Weekly Mail last month.

FW underscored his dilemma boldly

Star 3/8/91 (304A)

President de Klerk's address to the nation on the Government-Inkatha funding scandal (I am not yet comfortable with the new term Inkathagate scandal) contained many interesting features. President de Klerk fully grasped the significance of the scandal which is the destruction of mutual trust between the Government and its potential negotiating partners like the ANC and others. He correctly appreciated the fact that mutual trust more than anything else is the engine that is driving the process of political transition.

Consequently, he went a long way towards restoring this mutual trust. Whether or not he succeeded is a matter that will have to be resolved in the executive committee boardrooms of our various liberation movements and political parties.

He also made history by becoming the first leader of the National Party to clearly bow to the demands of black opposition and sack two of his senior Ministers from their portfolios. Even habitual optimists among us did not expect that he would immediately remove these Ministers. At best, what was expected was that he would lie low for the time being and then remove them after a few months. This in itself was a clear indication of his determination to restore mutual confidence and save the process of transition. It was also an indication of how seriously he took the implications of this scandal.

Significantly, he also left the door open for discussions about an interim government or some form of joint transitional authority. This itself was a change of attitude within the National Party. In the past, a National Party leader would have said, "Consequently, I have decided to establish an interim government and I invite all moderate leaders to partici-

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



pate. Those who refuse to participate will exclude themselves".

He has thus given the ANC some options. If it wants to, it could begin discussions tomorrow on the structure and modalities of a transitional authority or interim government. If it does not want to do this now, it still has another option of making this issue the first item on the agenda at the all-party or multi-party conference.

He also came clean, somewhat, on the question of other organisations that benefitted from the slush funds. Finally, De Klerk the politician also spoke and in so doing he unwittingly underlined the dilemma we will continue to face as long as the National Party (or any other ruling party for that matter) singlehandedly oversees the process of political transition as a player and referee.

As leader of his government, he could not totally condemn it because he would be condemning himself. As captain of his Cabinet team he had to praise and not condemn his two colleagues he had demoted. What was controversial was their portfolios and not themselves or the way they administered their portfolios.

Perhaps this is what prompted Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, to describe the speech as "a most difficult ... act of tight-rope walking". My own verdict is Mr de Klerk did well in restoring mutual trust under the circumstances. A lot will, however, depend on how far he succeeds to put his words into practice during the next few months.

Weekend Argus, August 3 1991 5

Keep out of our dorp, CP tells De Klerk

ALAN DUNN

304A

Political Staff

ARG 3/8/91

TROUBLE looms at a public meeting to be addressed by President De Klerk in Ventersdorp next Friday with a Conservative Party (CP) warning that he will not be allowed to speak there.

Telling him he was unwelcome, the Ventersdorp CP branch asked him to cancel his visit. "The voters of Ventersdorp will not allow him to address a meeting anywhere in Ventersdorp," it said, adding that Mr De Klerk had "allowed whites to be fired at by security forces at Goedgedongen".

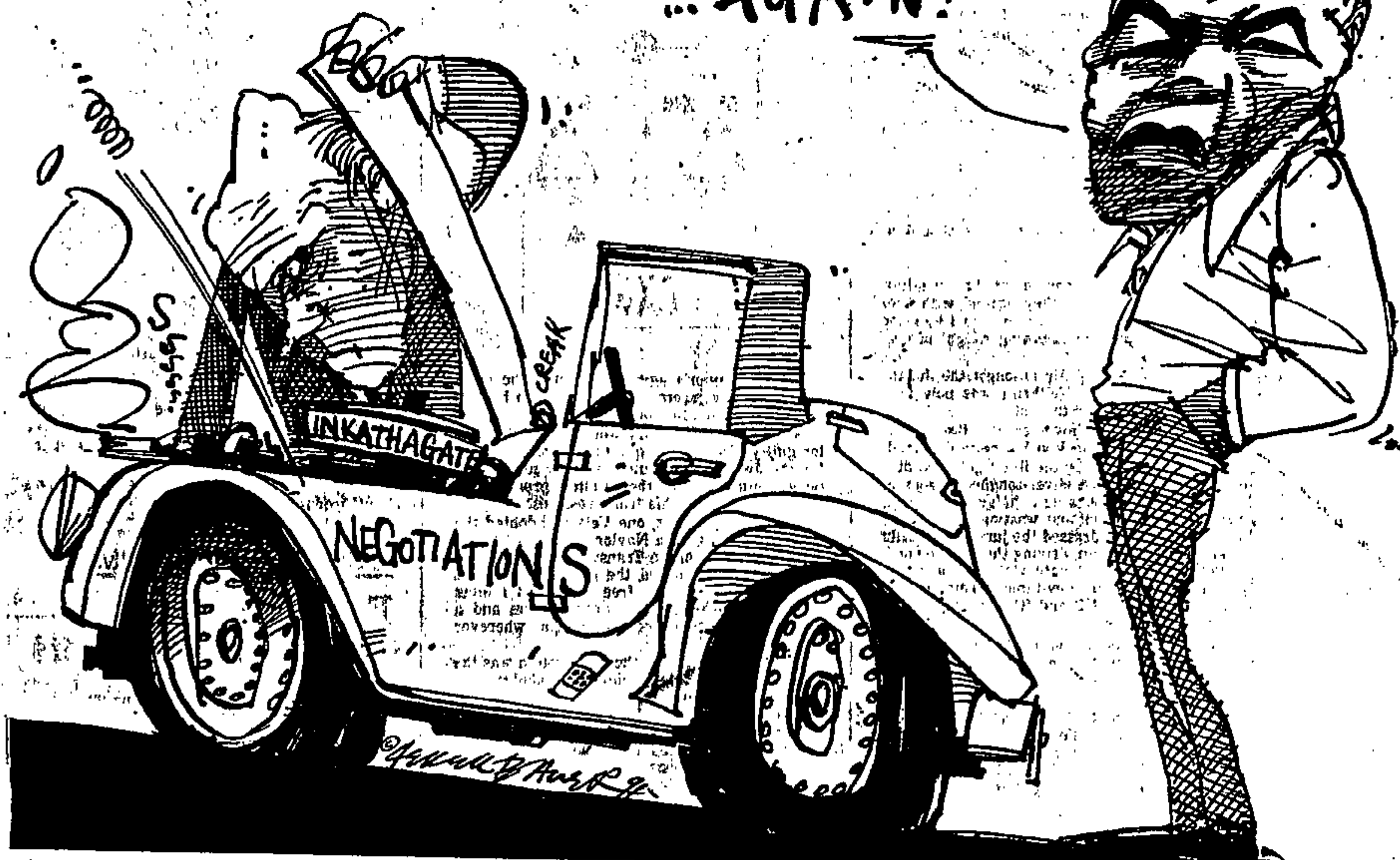
White blood had flowed. "We find it unacceptable, while there is still tension, that Mr De Klerk deliberately wants to cause conflict here between whites in the constituency."

Mr Barend du Plessis, leader of the National Party (NP) in the Transvaal, said the meeting would go on.

"The fact that the leader of the National Party is going to hold a meeting at Ventersdorp is not the cause of the conflict," he said. "It is the CP which, through statements like this, creates and promotes conflict."

He added: "I urge supporters of the CP to honour this right, just as the NP recognises the CP's right in this regard. This is how civilised people conduct politics."

NOW HE'LL WANT A PUSH FROM THE BLACK MAN...
...AGAIN!



CURRENT events provide a "real opportunity" to change the nature of the negotiation process in the country and ensure its acceptability and success.

Moralising and political posturing now appear to be the main national activities. However, the government, the ANC and Inkatha must immediately cease competing for the "moral high ground". Posturing is understandable, but this "game" will not produce a successful negotiation process.

Many of the critics do not have unblemished records. In any event, in the interests of a successful negotiation process, it should be assumed that none of the parties comes to the negotiation table with clean hands. The political reality is as follows:

(a) The Nationalist government wants to stay in power.

(b) The ANC wants to become the government as quickly as possible.

(c) The Inkatha Freedom Party wants important representation.

(d) A "power-sharing" formula needs to be negotiated as soon as possible.

(e) Political parties will do everything in their power to perpetuate their influence, including assistance to their perceived allies (government/Inkatha, ANC/SACP).

(f) It was only a short while ago that many people perceived the ANC as an enemy of South Africa. It must now be accepted by everybody as a legitimate political movement. This change in the "mind-set" of people will not occur overnight.

We now need to focus on the real issues confronting the negotiation process. ■ Negotiation means the parties reach agreement on ways to resolve their differences. Management of the process is as important as the final substantive outcome. A proper process enables the parties to deal with their differences successfully.

■ The government/National Party must accept that, at the very least, there is now a deeply held perception that they are attempting to be both player and referee in the negotiations. It is now in their own interests to agree and submit to a "neutral process".

■ This does not mean that they cease governing the country or that they give up their sovereignty. It does mean, however, that they have to persuade and lead South Africans through the logic of their argument rather than through their "entrenched position". So it is vital to reach agreement with the ANC, Inkatha and all other interested parties about a "neutral process".

■ Additional assistance is now needed to enable all the interested parties to reach agreement on a successful negotia-

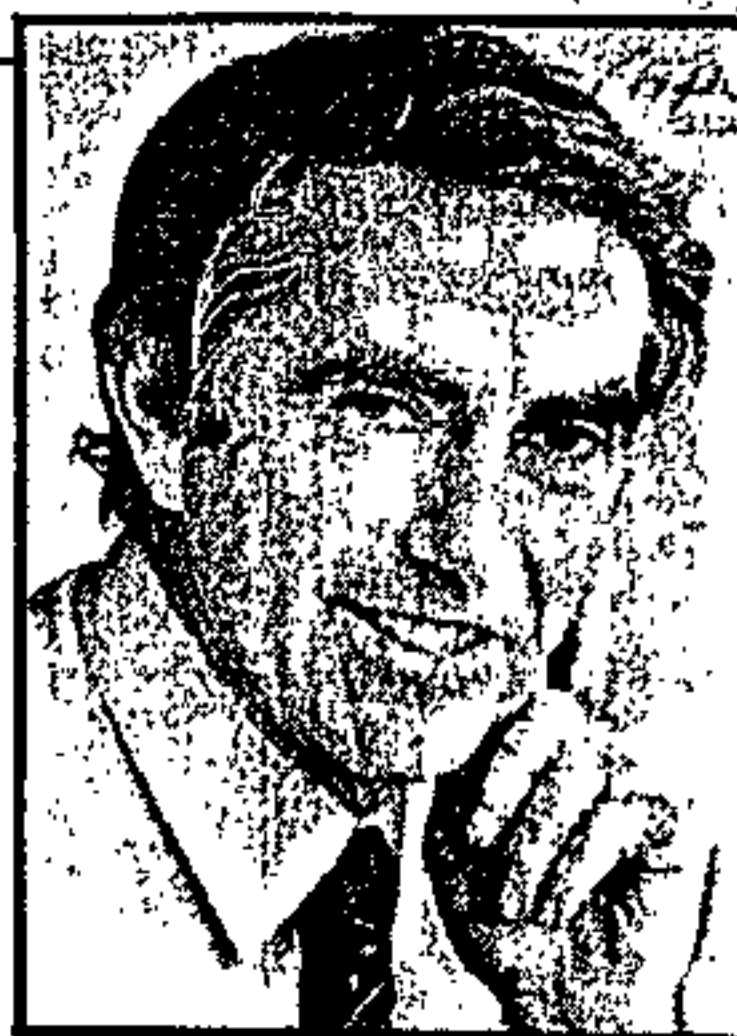
Trust not necessary for talks to succeed

304M
AUG 3/8/91

South Africa is on the threshold of constitutional negotiations, but how do we begin?

A starting-point and method for getting the process off the ground is suggested here by a specialist in conflict resolution, **MR ROBERT CONWAY**, executive director of the South African Foundation for Conciliation (Safcon), an independent, non-partisan body.

Safcon, established just over a year ago, is supported by overseas foundations including the Conrad Adenauer Foundation in Germany and other smaller foundations in the United States. It specialises in the resolution of community and politi-



ROBERT CONWAY

cal conflict in South Africa.

Much of the conceptual thinking behind Safcon's establishment derives from seven years Mr Conway spent at Harvard University doing research on conflict resolution. He organised and facilitated problem-solving workshops on South Africa at the university's Centre for International Affairs.

He is vice-president of the SA Association for Conflict Intervention and is a member of the American Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution. He is a law graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand and later obtained an LL.M degree from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas.

tion process. This situation should not be seen as a failure but due rather to the nature and complexity of the conflict.

One myth in particular needs to be exploded. Trust is not an absolute prerequisite to negotiating an acceptable agreement. Insisting that President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela must wholeheartedly trust each other as the basis for reaching a negotiated settlement is ludicrous. Their constituencies don't allow this and their agendas are different. This reality now needs to be accepted by the politicians, the media and the public and then South Africa can proceed to a different and successful negotiation process.

Consider this: "I don't have to trust you nor like you to reach a negotiated agreement about something we both want." The complexity of the conflict has caused

South Africans to live in a dream world. We have convinced ourselves that FW and Nelson can work it out "because they get on well together". Nothing can be further from the reality.

Government has got into trouble with the negotiation process because the illusion has been created that its role was that of a "neutral referee". This expectation was always unrealistic. The National Party, the ANC and Inkatha are interested parties in the conflict and are therefore ineligible as "neutral referees".

A different and more likely negotiation process must now be agreed upon and accepted by all the parties to move matters forward.

The Natal Peace Group forum organised by the South African Foundation for Conciliation (Safcon) should be used as a

model for the national negotiation process. This initiative has been operational in Natal during the past year and has had the active involvement of the ANC, Inkatha and the business sector at a key leadership level. It has succeeded in providing the basis for a skilled negotiation process acceptable to all sides.

Political leaders in the government, the ANC and Inkatha are aware of this initiative and have been impressed. This initiative now needs to be adapted to support and assist with a new national negotiation process. This can be done very quickly.

The Inkatha funding "crisis" has been a godsend to South Africa because it has finally exploded the myth that "South Africa can be saved by Nelson and FW trusting each other". The opportunity must immediately be seized.

Security 'veto on change' 3049

ARGUS 3/8/91

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

DUBLIN. — Future political change in South Africa is subject to a veto by the security forces, according to Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien. That, he says, is the message to be taken from the Inkathagate scandal.

The security forces, he claims, have reluctantly accepted President F W de Klerk's reforms, "even though they have not involved any change in executive power in the country".

But he feels there are limits to the reforms the security forces will accept — and that non-racial elections on a common roll would be one concession too many.

Dr O'Brien was in Johannesburg when the Inkathagate row broke and says in an Irish national newspaper: "I believe that at present the security forces possess a latent and implicit veto concerning the limits of political change."

"General suspicions to that effect were confirmed when Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a TV interview brazened out the whole Inkathagate affair."

Dr O'Brien adds that watching

the former Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, speculating on how much money was involved, "one could only conclude that the security forces were operating outside government control or the government was deceiving the public".

He says of ANC rule: "I believe that Nelson Mandela is sincere in his democratic professions, and that he would like to see a South Africa with freedom of expression, the rule of law and continuity of democratic process. But I don't believe that the collective ethos of the ANC has time for any of those things."

'Green light soon' on talks about talks

CT 3/8/91

Political Staff

(304/1)

DURBAN. — Both the government and the ANC are close to giving a green light to the multi-party conference designed to thrash out arrangements for negotiations on a new constitution.

A government source said yesterday that "a great measure of agreement on the mechanics of convening a multi-party conference" had been reached in informal talks with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

There had been a "measure of agreement" on: Which parties would attend; how to bring in those organisations unwilling to participate; who would convene the conference; who would chair it; who would issue invitations; the logistics and financing; the size of delegations, and methods of decision-making, the source indicated.

Time for us to act, said the president

STW 4/8/91

3044



Sunday Times Political Correspondent MIKE ROBERTSON reports

THE CRUNCH

transfer the two ministers from their top posts. At the same time, he decided, he would axe Water Affairs Minister Gert Koze and White Education Minister Piet Claas. Both had already indicated to him they wanted out. He would also make some changes among the deputy ministers and promote two promising reformists, Piet Marais and Sam de Beer, into the Cabinet. Stoffel van der Merwe would leave the Cabinet and represent the NP.

THE DILEMMA

SO confident were Vlok and Malan of retaining their posts that on Saturday night they both appeared on television and poured cold water on any suggestion that they would have to resign. It was a mistake. At some time between Friday evening and Sunday morning, De Klerk made up his mind to

THE MEETING

ON Monday, members of the State Security Council gathered to finalise details of the president's Tuesday statement. At the end of the meeting, the president asked Foreign Minister P. W. Botha, Malan, Vlok and Housing Minister Henrus Kriel to stay behind and see him individually.

THE INKLING

WHILE this was unfolding, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer had been contacted by the president's office. Meyer was nevertheless the most senior deputy minister. He had been overlooked for promotion before on the grounds that the work he was doing at constitutionally spearheading government contact with the ANC — was too important.

THE CRUNCH

WHILE a shell-shocked Van der Merwe was pondering the implications of the 15 minutes he had spent with De Klerk on Sunday morning, Adrian Vlok was making his way back to Pretoria from Belfast, blissfully unaware that the president's assistant private secretary Noel Basson was desperately trying to get hold of him.

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as a soldier, then as minister, he was given water affairs and forestry. His reaction is not known, but later that night he bounced back with the immortal quip: "I've beaten the reds, now I'm joining the greens." Waiting in the entrance hall as the others went in, Kriel realised "something was cooking". Entering the president's office he joked: "I feel like a schoolboy that has to see the principal. You don't know whether you are going to get praise or a hiding." He was told he would get law and order. What did he think when leaving? "I'm in for big trouble... no that's a joke. I realised immediately that something would have to be done about the police. It will be my task to take the police back into a situation where they have the trust of all the people in South Africa." De Klerk's reasons for choosing Kriel were his inner toughness, a proven record of administrative competence and a legal background.



DECISIVE: Cabinet reshuffled. President de Klerk faces international journalists at Tuesday's press conference. Picture: DAVID SANDISON

Provincial affairs," Wessels said. "At least now I know we have a person who will deal with the squatters with compassion." Martman responded from more than 6 000km away. Wessels, the only NP member to have apologised for apartheid, did not sleep a wink that night.

DECISIVE: Cabinet reshuffled. President de Klerk faces international journalists at Tuesday's press conference. Picture: DAVID SANDISON



4/8/91

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THE INKLING

WHILE this was unfolding, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Rosel Meyer had been contacted by the president's office.

A young man, Meyer was nevertheless the most senior deputy minister. He had been overlooked for promotion before on the grounds that the work he was doing at constitutional development — effectively spearheading government contact with the ANC — was too important.

But, on being summoned, he had an inkling the president had something in mind for him. Never did he expect he was to replace Malan.

"It was like a cold shower," he said.

Over at the defence ministry the reaction on being told who their new boss was, was much the same. "He has no track record," wailed one senior official.

But that, according to a senior cabinet minister, was precisely why the president appointed him. The SADF's days as a conventional war machine were over.

In future, the role of the military was to be limited to guarding the borders and supporting the police. For this task De Klerk wanted a "civilian" at the helm. Meyer was that civilian.

THE CALL

FIVE hundred metres away, in the foreign affairs section of the Union Buildings, Deputy Minister Leon Wessels was preparing to meet lawyers representing the Braklaagie squatters when the call came from the president's office to be there at 3pm. "Impossible," his assistant, Chris Botha, replied. "He has another important appointment."

It was put off to 4.15pm, but while speaking to the lawyers Wessels could not help thinking of the upcoming appointment.

In the middle of the meeting the Dutch ambassador arrived to deliver a message on behalf of the European Community saying the 12 viewed the Inkatha funding affair in a very serious light. Pik Botha was not present so the deputy had to receive him.

The Braklaagie meeting concluded, Wessels rushed down the corridor connecting the two wings of the Union Buildings and happened upon Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers leaving the president's office.

THE MEETING

ON Monday, members of the State Security Council gathered to finalise details of the president's Tuesday statement.

At the end of the meeting, the president asked Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Malan, Vlok and Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing Minister Herms Kriel to stay behind and see him individually.

The foreign minister was told the president intended appointing NP chief foreign affairs spokesman Renier Schoeman as his deputy in place of Leon Wessels. Did he have any objections? After replying in the negative, Botha left.

Vlok, on being told he was to take over at correctional services, was happy. "There was no objection from me," he later said. At least he was still part of the security family, he realised.

For Malan there was no such consolation. After spending his entire life in the military, first

then in not known, but in accordance with NP tradition he would have informed them of his plans, asked for their advice on possible appointments and shifts but, ultimately, the final decision rested with him.

THE DILEMMA

SO confident were Vlok and Malan of retaining their posts that on Saturday night they both appeared on television and poured cold water on any suggestion that they would have to resign.

It was a mistake. At some time between Friday evening and Sunday morning, they De Klerk made up his mind to

had been aware that De Klerk was privately asking himself another question: "Can I afford to retain Malan and Vlok in their present positions?"

THE DILEMMA

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It was a mistake. At some time between Friday evening and Sunday morning, they De Klerk made up his mind to

was imperative not to jeopardise this progress. On the Friday, he and the key ministers and officials concerned with control of secret funds had worked out their official responses to the Inkatha funding row. The damage control steps would be released at a press conference on Tuesday.

As the ministers involved in the funding of secret projects filed out of De Klerk's office on Friday there was a general sense of relief. They believed there was little more needed to deal with the crisis.

They could not have been aware that De Klerk was privately asking himself another question: "Can I afford to retain Malan and Vlok in their present positions?"

had been aware that De Klerk was privately asking himself another question: "Can I afford to retain Malan and Vlok in their present positions?"

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

Who would you save?



country about their future.

Lastly, Mandela is not the leader of an ethnic group or blacks only, but of all South Africans.

Now you can see why I would save him first.

How many of you watched John Berks' show on M-Net on Thursday on "Should we take the rightwing seriously?"

Well, it exposed the problems this country is still going to face in the future.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was in his element. Like him or hate him, the man is unwavering in his principles.

He made no bones about his contempt for blacks. At one stage, he called a black person who had asked him a question a fool and ordered him to sit down.

The climax was when Terre'Blanche, speaking in Sesotho, said to ANC PWV leader and former Robben Islander Tokyo Sexwale: "Ubuwa masepa" - meaning "You are talking shit".

At least now we know the kind of leadership the rightwing has.

If you happened to find Nelson Mandela, FW de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthezi drowning in a fast-running river, who would you save first?

This question was put to me by a visiting diplomat, apparently wanting to get first-hand information about the popularity of the three leaders, especially in view of the recent Inkathagate scandal.

I'm throwing this question back at you, the readers of this column. The fact is, I am curious to know what you think. I personally found the question rather loaded, and even downright arrogant.

The diplomat refused to accept my protestations about the nature of his question. He was adamant that I give him a name rather than a motivation for my choice.

I, like many citizens of this country, resent being dictated to by foreigners who claim to have all the answers to our problems.

"You people don't know democracy," outsiders normally enthuse. "You must not

make the same mistakes as the rest of Africa."

This kind of comparison angers many of us - not so much because of the comparison with Africa as the manner in which it is presented.

"What you people need is a leader who understands what his people want, politically and economically. A leader who will be able to bring together all the diverse peoples of South Africa and deliver the goods to his people," he said.

Okay! I said to him, let me start with Buthezi. In my popularity stakes, Buthezi now rates zero. This is because of

Inkathagate and the fact that his Inkatha movement has been strongly linked to the violence in Natal and on the Reef.

Then there is De Klerk. His notch is, of course, higher than that of Buthezi. Why? He is Buthezi's boss. He pays him his salary. Besides, you must hand it to De Klerk, the way he handled the Inkatha crisis shows he is a good politician.

In front of the TV cameras on Tuesday, De Klerk, relaxed and oozing confidence, calmly explained to the nation his government's involvement in the

scandal.

However, he is no longer high in my ratings. You guessed right. I told the diplomat I would save Mandela first.

Why? Has he not been tried and tested as a leader? Has he not transformed hardliners and radicals within his movement into people who can sit around the table with the National Party government and solve our problems?

Has he not changed the world's perception about our struggle? Mandela, and not De Klerk or Buthezi, has reassured whites in this

Former Boss chief slams Pik

By DESMOND BLOW

PIK BOTHA should have been the first Cabinet Minister made to resign over the Inkatha fiasco.

This is the opinion of General "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh, 76, former head of Boss and for two decades the most feared man in South Africa.

In an exclusive interview with City Press on his farm at Bapsfontein outside Pretoria, the former strongman of the Verwoerd and John Vorster governments also lashed out at the military and "hit squads".

"The money came from Botha's department,



Hendrik van den Bergh

and I think it disgraceful, apart from extremely unwise, to have used the police force in paying the money to Inkatha."

He denied a report quoting former Boss

as saying Boss had warned against promoting Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for fear he might become too powerful.

"That was not part of the Vorster policy. It must have been introduced by PW Botha when he had military intelligence take over the security council.

"The military and PW Botha introduced all these agendas of destabilisation both inside and outside the country, as well as hit squads.

"They destroyed the name of the normal policeman," he said.

had run out of cash and were stranded in a foreign country.

States Court tomorrow

A NEW South African bank which will channel billions of rands into reconstructing a post-apartheid SA has been established in New York, ANC International Relations director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

The bank, which is separate from the Development Bank of Southern Africa, was established after a visit to New York by ANC president Nelson Mandela last June.

The formation of the bank, South African Development Bank, which was spearheaded by the Rockefeller Foundation, is part of a huge multilateral aid strategy designed to form the basis of US policy towards SA after the election of a new government.

A committee which is busy raising capital for the bank includes ex First National Bank MD Chris Ball, vice-chancellor of the University of the Transkei Wiseman Nkuhlu and former US ambassador to the UN Andrew Young.

Formation

Mr Mbeki said the bank had already been established and would be able to finance development projects in SA once a new democratic government was in place.

The formation of the bank was mentioned in a letter drafted by Congressman Stephen Solarz to President George Bush on behalf of a bipartisan coalition to ask him to approve the principle of a South African Democracy Aid Initiative.

The letter says, in view of the progress towards political reform in SA, it is believed the time has come for the US and the rest of the international community to embark on a new multibillion-dollar SA Democracy Aid Initiative.

"Such an initiative, which would include development assistance, as well

By EDYTH BULBRING

as trade benefits and investment incentives, should commence only after the adoption of a new constitution, the holding of free and fair elections, and the establishment of a democratically elected government," the letter says.

An aid initiative would be crucial in helping to consolidate democracy in a non-racial SA by enhancing the capacity of a new government to deal with substantial development challenges it will face.

The SA Development Bank, which could be included in this aid initiative, could serve as a credible vehicle through which the US, Western European countries and Japan could contribute by direct assistance in achieving a stable transition to a fair and

prosperous economy, the letter states.

The aid package should be linked to policies designed both to stimulate expansion of the SA economy and to address the historical iniquities of the apartheid legacy.

"Such policies will have to be characterised by commitments to economic liberalisation and growth in the private sector...."

Approval

Mr Mbeki said he had received a phone call from one of the initiators of the aid plan last weekend asking if he approved of the draft letter.

"I said, 'Of course, we approve, go ahead'."

The matter of channeling American dollars in aid to a new SA government was raised in April

this year at a meeting of the Aspen Institute in Cape Town, Mr Mbeki said.

Mr Mandela told Congressman Solarz then that he agreed with this aid proposal, Mr Mbeki said.

A proposed first draft of a letter to President Bush was rejected by the ANC last month. This original letter suggested that Congress might accept the lifting of sanctions if there was a commitment to the aid programme.

"The ANC could not agree to such conditions," Mr Mbeki said.

The second letter was an attempt to gain a commitment for the principle of aiding SA. Once this was achieved, the project then had to be elaborated upon, Mr Mbeki said.

"Once there is commitment to this principle from the Bush administration, we all need to sit down and work it out."

New bank is formed to finance post-apartheid development projects

US billions for the new

Stimes 4/8/91

3044

SA

Interim govt now, says ANC

THE slush fund scandal and President FW de Klerk's response to it had raised the call for an interim government to the top of the agenda, the ANC said this week. *C/Pren 4/8/91*

The revelation of the government's funding scam "completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa", said a National Executive Committee (NEC) statement presented at a press conference in Johannesburg.

"In the light of the current scandals, and the manner in which he has chosen to address them, President de Klerk has raised the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda," the NEC said.

Information chief Pallo Jordan said details about the structure and leadership of an interim government would be decided through negotiation at an all-party conference. *(304A)*

A plan of action around the demand would be formulated at the patriotic front conference scheduled for Cape Town later this month.

The NEC statement said the retention of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan in the Cabinet underlined De Klerk's refusal to acknowledge crimes of apartheid and was a "serious underestimation of the depth of anger among our people ..."

The statement reiterated the ANC's demands for:

- Establishment of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activity.
- Visible and public dismantling of all SAP and SADF special counter-insurgency units.
- Prosecution of all security personnel implicated in violence.
- Payment of reparation, from government funds, to all victims of State-sponsored violence. - Sapa

Scandal a flash in pan for govt?

C/P Res 4/8/91

☐ PRESSWATCH

What the Afrikaans
papers are saying

293

3047

THE government's well-considered response to the Inkathagate scandal means the "unhappy" incident may in time lead to positive results, *Beeld* forecast this week.

The new measures surrounding secret funds should lift the Cabinet out of the crossfire while strengthening public confidence, the Transvaal morning daily said.

It added that the removal of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan was a clever move by State President FW de Klerk which has largely exorcised the controversy surrounding the security forces.

But their demotion was symbolic rather than punitive, as no other Cabinet member could have handled their two portfolios differently.

"Still, their current positions became untenable because of the demands of the new politics and the desire to put a distance between the old order and the new approach."

The editorial said the new ministers of Law and Order and Defence reported for duty without the proverbial "political baggage" of the past.

Hernus Kriel's experience and political style of not shying away from South Africa's unpalatable political realities made him suited for the difficult portfolio of Law and Order.

The fact Defence was entrusted to a junior minister ahead of Cabinet veterans should confirm a change in priorities from military might to the upkeep of law and order, social questions and better living standards, the newspaper said.

□ □ □ □

THE storm surrounding Inkathagate has unleashed a countrywide "wave of support" for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told *Rapport*.

Even non-members wanted to sign up, Buthelezi told the Sunday paper.

"The IFP has for many years been a showcase of integrity and consistency. I have always stuck to my principles. The public knows this. Even the media knows this," he said.

ANC slams FW on 'broken promises'

C/Pres 4/8/91

(3047)

TWO recent police actions have cast doubt on State President FW de Klerk's undertaking to guarantee the protection of anyone who comes forward with evidence regarding State involvement in violence, the ANC charged yesterday.

The actions violate the spirit and the letter of De Klerk's promises at his media conference on

Tuesday, the ANC said.

The police actions are the investigations into the leakage of documents to the *Weekly Mail* on government slush funds; and a subpoena, in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, served on former SADF Major Nico Basson.

The subpoena requires Basson, of the organisation "Soldiers for Peace",

to provide police with the exact location of Felix Ndimene, who charged that the SADF had been directly involved in train massacres and other acts of violence.

"In our view all that needs to be done to locate Sgt Ndimene is for President De Klerk to keep his word and publicly guarantee his personal safety and indemnity from prosecution," the ANC said.

"In that instance Sgt Ndimene, and many others in his position, would have little reason not to come forward and state publicly before the world's media exactly what they know of such covert operations."

"This is the only means by which we can make a clean break with the past," the ANC said. — Sapa

Fur flies over FW posters

City Press 4/8/91
By DAN DHLAMINI

THE cold weather could not cool the tempers of NP members in Ventersdorp after their posters announcing president FW de Klerk's visit to the AWB "base" this Friday were stolen or defaced.

As one enters the CP-controlled town one is greeted by defaced placards reading "Kaffir de Klerk, Hotnot de Klerk".

Three Ventersdorp men appeared in court following the theft.

Duan Vogel, 22, Gerhardus van Staden, 22, and Richter Heyneke, 23, allegedly each stole a poster worth R100.

The trio were not asked to plead and will appear again on September 16.

NP supporters in the town said they were infuriated by the mindless vandalism.

But, some women in the company of khaki-clad men told a City Press reporter he was a "hotnot borselkop" and they would not talk to him about a matter which concerned whites.

KEEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

S/Times 4/8/91

3047



THE LUS over the government's funding of Inkatha brought the British Indignation Industry briefly to life last week, gleefully sanctimonious, but it didn't last long. As soon as President De Klerk showed himself willing to deal with matters, goodwill flooded back again.

To a South African who has travelled frequently abroad during the apartheid years, (always telling taxi drivers and anybody else who cared to listen, "I am South African"), the goodwill is astonishing, even humbling. People stand ready to welcome us back into the Commonwealth, the UN General Assembly, the Olympics, and even the Lome convention which gives favourable trade status to African countries.

In this atmosphere, the Indignation Industry strikes a discordant note, and I mention it only because, in very large part, the newspapers and television services are among the professionally indignant. They are both out of touch and yet capable, given the right trigger, of becoming malevolently influential.

As a visiting editor in London at the height of what, with their unerring sense of platitude, they called "Inkatha-gate", I was repeatedly questioned, interviewed and quizzed. Virtually none of what I had to say was

published, and some of it was hotly disputed, because it ran contrary to the prevailing indignations.

The view I expressed, briefly, was that President De Klerk had to keep an eye on the danger of disaffection among the officers of army and police, that he would not admit more guilt than could be proven, that nevertheless he could be expected to find a creative response to the crisis, and that in any event it would all blow over within six weeks.

That, in retrospect, was not a bad assessment of events viewed, as it were, through the wrong end of the telescope; but I was not believed by any of the anti-apartheid professionals, and certainly not by the anti-apartheid propagandists, whose handed-down views have survived for a century: beware the cunning Boer.

This points precisely to the damage done by the government's use of the security forces, and especially of covert action, to try to shape political alignments. In the minds of even the most sympathetic Britons, the bankers and the potential investors, the right-wing Tories and the many who distrust the socialist bent of the ANC, the Inkatha affair planted a seed of doubt.

Can the leopard change its spots? Can the government that sponsored Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the DTA

resist the temptation to try to create, in South Africa itself, a white dominated puppet coalition? Can the cunning Boer play straight?

ABOVE all, can the generals and the politicians who destabilised half the sub-continent, and destroyed the Eminent Persons Group mission by military attacks on the Commonwealth, resist the temptation to unleash once again the recces, and Rhodesia's remnant psychopaths, and the mercenary battalions from the border war? The vociferous cried "No!", the rest wavered.

That is why the dismissal of General Magnus Malan as Minister of Defence was so profoundly important. Among the foreign academics, if not

at home, it is well remembered that General Malan first enunciated (in this newspaper, as it happened) the totalitarian doctrine of "total strategy" — the organisation of society so as to enable the government to mobilise, on a sort of sliding scale, all and any resources needed to meet a "total onslaught".

There is no need in this space, and not enough space anyway, to list the deleterious consequences of that doctrine. Suffice it to say that the theory was in the end to justify the waste of national resources on Mossagas and Armscor, the use of military officers to supervise the building of drains in Alexandra and probably the assassination of political foes, and the pervasive control of security management systems.

It brought us financial ruin, political chaos, and international isolation, and has left us with an army officers' corps which is miles too big for its boots. The fall of General Malan, therefore, was perceived as the end of an evil era.

NOT that the British public was made to understand what had happened. When the scandal arose it was presented in melodramatic terms as the imminent collapse of negotiations. The calm, restrained response of the ANC leaders (the travelling Mr Nelson Mandela excepted) was ignored. So when the crisis evaporated, President De Klerk emerged, of necessity, as the hero of the piece.

But not even Fleet Street seemed to

know much about the new Defence Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, despite his active role in the negotiations and his sound relations with the ANC leaders. Much less could they identify Messrs Hernus Kriel, Sam de Beer, or Leon Wessels, or discern the significance of the departure of Mr Piet Clase (who had been obstructing school desegregation) or Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Perhaps it is asking too much of foreign observers to note that President De Klerk not only diverted the crisis skilfully, but that he turned it into an opportunity to strengthen the reformist character of his government. As it happens, I have known and respected Meyer, De Beer and Wessels for some years, and I judged Kriel, beneath his brash manner, to be both shrewd and tough.

The break with the past is decisive. More important, I think it brings to the Cabinet a degree of integrity, as well as modernism, which has been sadly lacking since John Vorster allowed government to slide into a moral swamp. Like Vaclav Havel's Czechoslovakia, South Africa has lived under a regimen of lies. It is not by accident that we have been cropping up in movies as the villains, a metaphor for evil that displaced both nazis and Russians.

It's a pity, perhaps, that the full sweep of the Cabinet changes did not

penetrate abroad, but the appearances matter less than the reality. The chairman of Liberty Life, Mr Donald Gordon, once attributed the remarkable success of South African businessmen — the best of them are internationally renowned — to the quality of integrity in this country's business life. There's truth in it: nothing lasting is ever built on shiftiness.

THIS country was once a remarkable success; when it lost its moral compass, its policies became expedient, and its behaviour became indefensible, and it lapsed into methods that, like sharp practice in business, brought an illusion of profit on the way to long-term failure.

The British dismay at the suggestion that, in funding Inkatha, the cunning Boer was up to his old tricks, and the unfeigned pleasure and relief when President De Klerk appeared after all, to be an honest man sent a clear message: mankind at large hopes, nay prays, we will succeed, and, as long as we are seen to be honestly doing our best, there is no end to the goodwill and support we can expect.

In a world that has all but written off this continent, South Africa has become the last repository of hope for Africa, the continent of failure.

MK to elect new hierarchy

UMKHONTŌ we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, meets this week to elect a new leadership and formulate its approach to constitutional talks. (304A) (11/8/91)

Chief of staff Chris Hani is expected to vacate his position to take up full-time work for the SA Communist Party, which has asked the ANC to release him from ANC duties.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday Hani would vacate his Umkhonto post if the ANC's national executive committee agreed to release him.

Hani's move is part of a shuffling of positions within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in the runup to negotiations. He will strengthen the SACP and "Africanise" its image as a precursor to the SACP taking its place separately from the ANC at the negotiating table.

At the weekend, the ANC appointed a

PATRICK BULGER

full-time negotiating team headed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. He will be assisted by Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Slovo will continue as SACP secretary-general at least until the party's congress in December. The ANC was satisfied that his SACP position would not hamper his work on the ANC's negotiating team, Marcus said.

Last week the ANC's national executive indicated it was prepared to enter multi-party talks leading to an interim government of national unity.

Marcus said the ANC still expected government to remove obstacles to negotiations before talks could begin.

However, negotiations have been put

□ To Page 2

Hani

firmly at the top of the ANC's agenda. (304A) (11/8/91)

In an interview in the latest issue of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Ramaphosa said negotiations "should enjoy top priority in all structures of the organisation".

He said consultation with members on negotiations had emerged as the most important task of ANC negotiators.

"To this end it has been decided that a negotiations task force should be set up at head office level and should operate as a

fully fledged department.

"Through the work of this department we intend to keep our membership and structures not only fully informed but fully involved in ... negotiations.

"We can expect that structures like the regional general councils will be the forum where reports will be made and mandates obtained ... This in my view is going to deepen democratic participation by our membership in this important activity of our organisation".

□ From Page 1

FW may head for South America next

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is set for a breakthrough tour to South America which could include six nations.

Diplomats said countries being considered included Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Chile and Bolivia.

SA government sources said the safari could take place this year but Pablo Garcia Pintos, secretary-general to the Uruguayan president, said in Cape Town on Friday that next year was more likely.

Pintos, on a two-week visit to SA, ex-

tended a personal invitation from his president to De Klerk to visit his country. He said there was "a good possibility" that the SA President's visit would be extended to several other countries. (8044)

Foreign Affairs sources in Pretoria said the trip to Uruguay would almost certainly be expanded into a multi-country tour.

Trade, tourism and scientific co-operation could feature on the tour agenda.

Political Staff

MULTIPARTY conference as the next step towards arriving at a negotiated constitution for a future SA has been given a major boost by the ANC's decision to jettison obstacles and engage in talks it hopes will lead to an interim government.

Alongside its political rivals, the ANC has emerged strengthened from the Inkatha funding scandal: the credibility of its main black political rival, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, has been badly damaged, as has the NP government's claim to being an independent and trustworthy broker in the process.

ANC anger at the financial backing for Inkatha — which it extends to an admission that government connived in violence — could quite feasibly have manifested itself in the petulance and ultimatums that have coloured the movement's earlier responses to crises in the negotiating process.

Yet the ANC, sensing perhaps that government has emerged from Inkathagate on the defensive, has adopted the line that the only major obstacle to a new constitution was government itself.

And the ANC reasons that, if the only way to remove government is through engaging it in all-party talks in which an interim government will be high on the agenda, then the sooner negotiations start the sooner the NP will be out of power.

Formally the ANC is still committed to its demands that Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan be removed from the Cabinet. It is also refusing to take part in substantive negotiations until government moves firmly to act against violence.

But behind the public outbursts of politicians, a more subtle process leading the major political actors towards a multiparty conference is taking place. Government, initially reluctant to sacrifice power until a new constitution is in place, is now ready to admit to some form of "transitional arrangement".

President F W de Klerk now says his government is prepared to countenance a "transitional authority" and that such arrangements could be

Inkathagate — a shot in the arm for flagging talks

PATRICK BULGER

B1Daw
5/8/91



□ DE KLERK, BUTHELEZI... their credibility has been damaged

the first item on the agenda of a multiparty conference.

Increasingly the security forces are emerging as the prime targets for some form of joint control involving government and its negotiating partners. This is based on the understanding that they have the capacity — and may develop the inclination — to overturn negotiations. The church and business-convened

necessarily amount to a sharing of executive power of the security forces, they form the kernel of a process of broader accountability.

In other words, the codes would make the security forces more answerable to the broader public, and put them under scrutiny which would render their abuse by a single party increasingly difficult.

Furthermore government's intention to establish a standing judicial commission on violence could further broaden security force accountability to a more widely defined will. Although the ANC is insisting on a multiparty commission on violence, both it and government are on the same wavelength at least.

Moving forward to the multiparty conference itself may prove more difficult. The ANC and government have been reluctant to spell out details of who will chair such a conference and who will convene it.

ANC spokesmen, while stressing the need for an interim government, have stopped short of categorically calling for De Klerk's government to resign. This is more than just a recognition that government will turn down the request; it is rather an acceptance of what both government and the ANC are coming increasingly to recognise as a process.

Says SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo: "We see this as a process.

Although we regard the present government as one of the key obstacles, we are prepared to engage in discussions with that government among parties at an all-party conference in order to create an interim government."

Informal contacts between government and the ANC on the convening of a multiparty conference have been taking place for the past two months. But there is clearly still some way to go until the conference is convened.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has stressed the need for the multiparty conference to be part of the overall process of negotiations. He envisages that exploratory talks beforehand should clear up questions of who will attend, who will convene it and who will chair it.

Government and the ANC have reached a "large measure of consensus" on these issues, a government source said.

Viljoen, while berating the ANC for insisting on an interim government — partly because he sees this a precondition to talks — has left the door open.

He says: "The multiparty conference will have to address the need for transitional arrangements for broadening the basis for influencing decision-making by existing governmental bodies during the period while negotiations are proceeding."

The ANC's Pallo Jordan insists this is not enough. The ANC, he says, does not accept that the NP should continue to hold ultimate power.

The ANC will now consult with its regions and allies to gain a firm mandate to enter into multiparty talks aimed at gaining an interim government.

Beneath the bluster of the politicians, the outlines of the mechanisms that will underpin negotiations for a future SA are beginning to emerge. Both the ANC and government agree on the need for negotiations — gradually consensus on the mechanisms to arrive at those negotiations is emerging too.

Historians may well look back on the Inkathagate scandal as the tonic that boosted the ANC's confidence in negotiations.

Too early to scrap flag, says HSRC

By Shirley Woodgate

Future inter-group relations in South Africa could be seriously harmed by demands for the scrapping of Die Stem and the national flag before the new dispensation is in place. Human Sciences Research Council member Dr Charles Malan has warned.

Stressing the Namibian example, where new symbols were introduced only after independence, he said: "There is no doubt it would be putting the cart before the horse if symbols are highlighted at this stage of negotiations in South Africa."

"What is needed is extensive research into the history of old and new symbols and their historic links with the South African people. But investigation into such an emotionally charged issue should not be initiated by politicians."

A comprehensive opinion survey was called for and this should include public holidays such as the Day of the Vow, said Dr Malan, who heads the HSRC's contemporary cultural studies department.

Also reacting to demands by the ANC for a new flag and anthem, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the national flag should be scrapped as it included the Union Jack. "What country includes the flag of the country which defeated and humiliated its people?"

While Frith van der Merwe said she would be proud to run under a new flag backed by a new anthem "as long as both represented a united, apartheid-free South Africa". Springbok cricket captain Clive Rice said the focus should be on getting back into international sport.

Rally driver Sarel van der Merwe came out strongly for a new anthem, but not Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Oscar Dhlomo

in talks plea

(304A) ~~111~~
DURBAN — Government and the ANC should immediately start serious discussions aimed at convening a multiparty conference, Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday. ~~6/18/91~~ 6/19/91.

Dhlomo told the Fedhasa congress that before such a conference settled down to serious business, it would have to discuss thoroughly the structure of a joint transitional authority.

It was no longer possible that government could alone oversee the transition process. He was pleased to note it had begun to appreciate this.

Government and the ANC would have to be pragmatic with regard to transitional arrangements.

It was quite legitimate for the ANC to demand an influential role in a transitional authority, but demanding the entire government resign might not be realistic, he said. — Sapa.

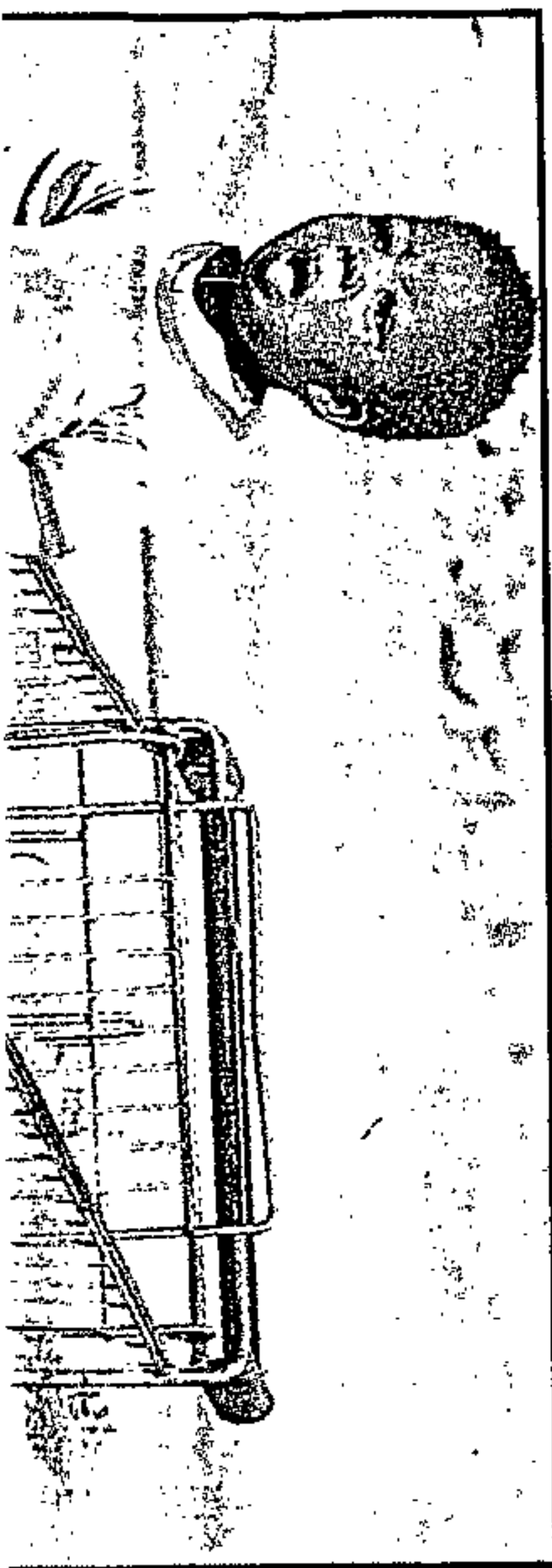
Yes, we want

To talk

South
6/6/91
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Now Azapo, PAC, ANC and Govt give thumbs-up

On the move again



THE ANC, Azapo, the PAC and the Government have signalled that they are ready to enter into multiparty talks to create a transitional authority.

While the route for the extra-parliamentary organisations lay through a "patriotic front", which will be established in Cape Town between September 6 and 8, President F.W. de Klerk has said he was ready to begin multiparty talks.

There is also growing consensus among the "patriotic front" elements for the transitional authority to be neutral and for the security forces of the country to be held in check during the transi-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

tion period.

In his address to the nation last week, De Klerk said: "Today I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure, in a constitutionally accountable manner, that the Government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its negotiating partners."

"I therefore conclude with an appeal to every leader to help me to get the multiparty conference started expeditiously."

While the Government calls it a "multiparty conference", the ANC refers to an "all-party

to Page 2

P.T.O.

Groups set for multiparty talks

From Page 1

conference" and the PAC says it will be "a conference of all parties".

In its response to De Klerk's address the ANC also indicated its haste to get to meaningful multiparty talks about an interim arrangement - especially since the Inkatha funding issue suggested

that Government could not rule impartially, the ANC's Mr Pallo Jordan said.

"De Klerk has raised the issue of an interim government of national unity to the top of the agenda.

"The ANC for its part has been committed to that goal through the path of a patriotic front confer-

ence leading to an all-party conference," Jordan said.

In terms of its own political game plan Azapo has not ruled out a negotiated settlement.

Neutral

Mr Lybon Mabasa of Azapo yesterday stressed that any transitional au-

thority would have to be neutral.

"Neutral in a sense that it can quarantine the present security relations that exist in the country," Mabasa said.

A senior PAC source yesterday said that the "conference of all parties" would discuss an interim arrangement, and whether it will in fact be a

governing or a monitoring body during constitutional negotiations.

The PAC, he said, was also in favour of adding to the agenda of "a conference of all parties", the issue of a constituent assembly which would draw up a constitution for the country and then take it to the public by means of a referendum.

Ray of hope amid the African gloom

DEVELOPMENTS in South Africa offer a glimmer of hope in a continent enveloped by gloom and doom.

The spillover of a negotiated settlement here to other countries in southern Africa will be substantial in terms of relative peace, security and reduced military expenditure, says former Nigerian military leader General Olusegun Obasanjo.

Writing in *Africa Forum*, a new magazine aimed at the African elite Obasanjo, the magazine's publisher, says there is convincing evidence that current leadership on both sides of the "apartheid divide" can bring about a new society of peace, tolerance and prosperity.

"There is a realisation that Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk need each other," he says.

SA is the cover story of the magazine's latest issue and a number of experts give their views on developments in the Republic, including three South Africans - Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa, and Mr Kevin Davie, editor of *Executive*, a Johannesburg-based business magazine.

"The most daunting problem SA must face," Obasanjo says, "will be how to bring about justice and equality without destroying the economy."

"The structure and content of the economy is strong and resilient and could cope, given prudent management."

Obasanjo says De Klerk has, in words and in deeds, reached a point of no return.

"De Klerk is a shrewd politician; he understands power and he may not want to be deprived of access to it. Yet there is a

FOCUS

Sowetan Africa News Service

need, and an urgent one at that, to establish a permanent structure which gives confidence to all sides.

"Legitimacy is crucial to any new constitution. It is therefore necessary for an overwhelming number of the constituent assembly for the new constitution to be elected and be seen to be the real representative of the people."

"But if initiative for the process of negotiation is not shared between the negotiators, negotiation can degenerate, or be frustrated, into ultimatum and/or surrender."

Pupils

"In the SA context, success must be apparent on all sides for them to be able to satisfy their individual constituencies. This will not be easy and it will ultimately depend on the realisation that Mandela and De Klerk mutually need each other."

Obasanjo says one issue which deserves urgent attention is the rehabilitation of the so-called "lost generation" - black pupils who've dropped out of school since the student uprisings of 1976.

"They form a potentially dangerous group if they are not productively re-integrated into society," Obasanjo says.

Professor Adebayo Adedeji, the outgoing executive secretary of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa, says in an article

entitled *Nirvana or Armageddon?* that the most central economic concern is whether SA will, after apartheid, continue to do "business as usual", and whether a majority government will allow business to be run.

"Taking the Zimbabwean example, an exodus of whites out of South Africa after apartheid and majority rule could have a detrimental impact on the SA economy for quite some time," he writes.

Adedeji says the post-apartheid economic policy agenda should aim, among others, at reducing poverty and inequalities, increased spending on education and training, social services and the remodelling of the entire public administration from enforcing apartheid to implementing anti-apartheid policies and programmes.

He says, however, that it is questionable whether SA will find the resources and the will to implement such a gigantic agenda.

"Yet it is also obvious that if the above agenda is not tackled, post-apartheid SA might find itself torn apart in total turmoil from within its many social, political and economic contradictions."

"One has just to hope that, whatever the economic agenda that will face post-apartheid SA, the policymakers will have the will and that the economy will retain enough resilience and strength to go through the transition to economic stability."

Slabbert says neither the National Party nor the ANC has evolved a coherent strategy or policy to cope with the kind of transition to which they have committed themselves.

The NP has for years presented a policy of white domination,

while the ANC countered with a policy of struggle against domination.

Both policies ill prepared the respective sides for the kind of transitional demands they now have to cope with.

Slabbert says this was evident at the ANC's consultative conference in December "where they appeared to vacillate between insurrectionary rhetoric and adversarial mass action on the one hand, and exploring the dynamics of serious negotiation on the other."

"In the same vein, De Klerk in his end-of-the-year address, came across as judge, jury, prosecutor and defendant on the trials and tribulations of transition."

Slabbert says the dilemma is, however, understandable and is compounded by the fact that there is no clear cut historical precedent for the kind of transition they are trying to bring about.

Transition

If a democratic outcome is to be successfully negotiated, Slabbert says, it would at least be necessary to:

- * Negotiate conditions for transition as well as the outcome of transition;

- * Create opportunities for multiparty participation in government during transition as well as participation in transformation, and;

- * Include civil society in the process of negotiated transformation and enable it to contribute to the growth of a democratic culture.

Davie says apartheid has been Africa's equivalent of the Berlin Wall, and now that it is crumbling, Africa and South Africa are discovering one another at staggering speed.

Inkatha scandal will hurt for months, says Parsons

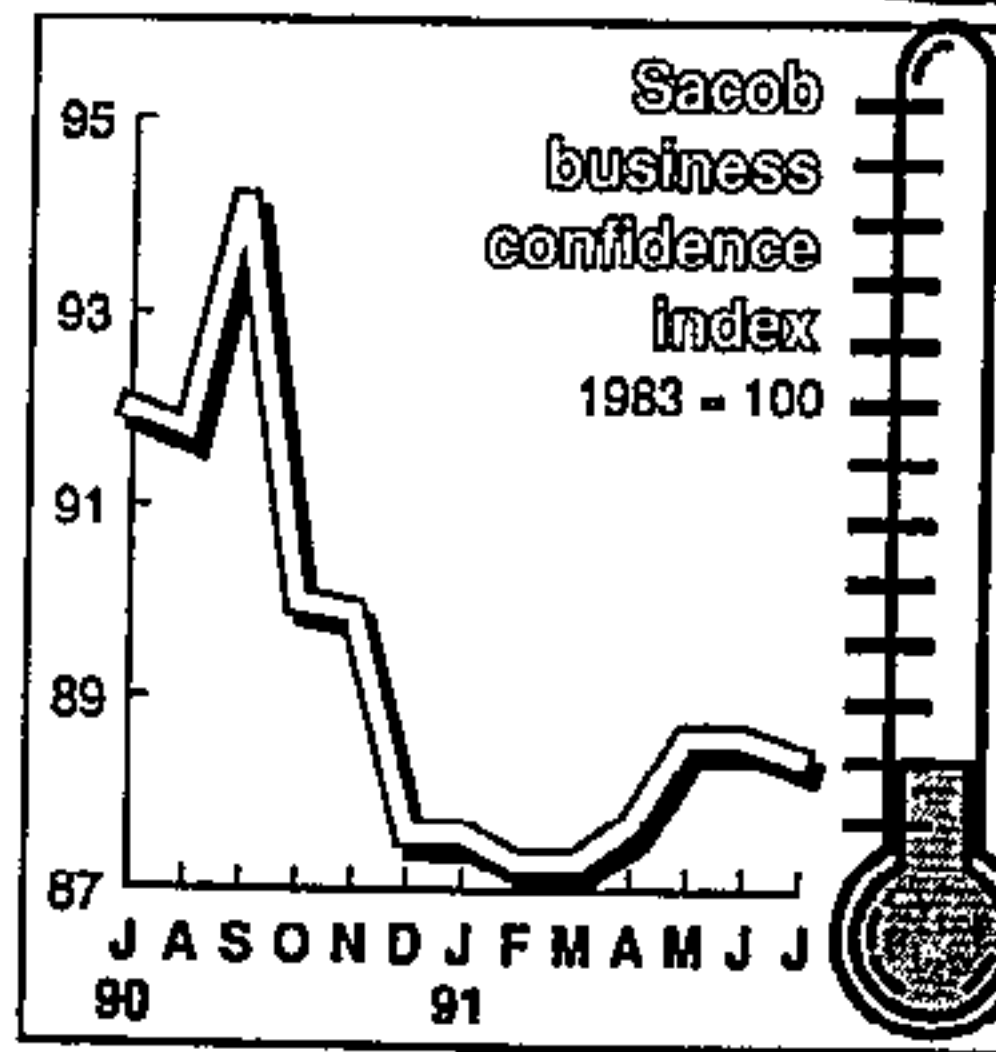
Blomay 7/8/91

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

THE Inkatha funding scandal would continue to rattle the SA business mood in the months ahead, SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) director-general Raymond Parsons said yesterday.

It was clear business sentiment would remain hostage to political developments until negotiations gave rise to a new constitution supported by the business community and a truly representative government.

Parsons was addressing a news conference on the release of Sacob's latest business confidence index, which slipped to a level of 88,4 in July from June's 88,6, due in part to disclosures that government had helped



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH Source: SACOB

fund Inkatha rallies. The index was prepared prior to President F W de Klerk's statement on the issue.

Parsons said the "minor" extent of

the index's decline and the fact many of its sub-indices reflected an improvement tended to support the view that the economic downswing had bottomed out.

But while all the major parties seemed prepared to put the political scandal behind them and continue with the negotiation process, there would be a need to restore credibility and trust as a basis for talks.

"While this does not mean that a negotiated settlement is no longer possible, it could result in more protracted negotiations because of an increased level of mistrust between the parties," Parsons said.

If this occurred, it would inevitably lead to an extension of the period of uncertainty experienced by business decision-makers.

ET 7/8/91

304A

is needed urgently Interim government

THERE can be no smooth transition from apartheid to democracy as long as one of the parties tries to monopolise the process and ensure that, by hook and especially by crook, it emerges the victor at the first elections.

The National Party government is not only player and referee, it owns the ground, takes the gate and plays the anthem. We should relieve it of its burden of trying to be selfish and fair at the same time.

We need an Interim Government of National Unity and we need it urgently. An IGNU will not only talk among its members but start pulling together in the national interest.

We will begin the process of taking joint responsibility for the future of all South Africans so that the triumph of one does not mean the defeat of the other.

Bugging offices

An IGNU will enable us to make a committed joint effort to dealing with the problem of violence.

An IGNU will end the role of the National Intelligence Service being the Nationalist intelligence service. It is



ENOS MABUZA: Former chief minister of KaNgwane.

not only the special operations of the NIS that worry us but the so-called normal operations, spying on the ANC, keeping files on us, bugging our offices and telephones. We know that this continues and will only stop when we have an IGNU.

An IGNU would have an immediate effect on our country's international position. Right now we have two presidents, each received abroad as heads of state, and each asking for different things. An IGNU would enable us to speak with a single voice or at least in a harmonising duet. The phased lifting of sanctions would be a matter of time. Confidence in our country would soar.

An IGNU would take responsibility for governing the country in the transitional period when a new constitution was being worked out.

Free and fair

It would secure the peace in an even-handed way, begin the process of integrating the fragmented departments of State and take the first steps towards welding the seven armed forces in this country into a single defence force.

It would also be responsible for guaranteeing that the first elections were free and fair. One of its tasks would be to facilitate the orderly re-incorporation of the Bantustans into South African political life.

The movement from apartheid to democracy is very similar to the movement from colonialism to indepen-



HELEN SUZMAN: Veteran civil rights campaigner and former MP.

dence. The one difference is that there is no departing colonising power.

The white minority in this country will stay on and continue to exercise full citizenship and political rights. Sovereignty is expanded to include the whole population. That is why we speak of a transfer of power from a racial minority to the people as a whole. Our equivalent of independence is non-racial democracy.

Colonial fashion

In all the decolonisation processes, an IGNU in one form or another was used. Its objective was to smooth the transition, accustom the local population and the international community to change, and to give experience of government to representatives of the formerly colonised people.

All these principles are applicable in South Africa. The crucial thing at this moment is for the government to cease operating in colonial fashion, making and carrying out all decisions on its own.

Sooner or later the racially constituted government will have to give way. It is far more gracious and certainly more in the interests of the country for it to do so step by step rather than to cling to power until the last moment.

Imagine the disruption for the country if suddenly after general elections under a new constitution are held, a new government comes to office and it has to attend to everything on day one — the army, the police force, the civil service, the economy,



REV FRANK CHIKANE: SA Council of Churches general secretary.

education, housing and so on.

Surely it is better for a start to be made right now, in particular for ensuring that the process of opening up and integrating the institution of government gets going as soon as possible.

Toilets

As for the new incumbents representing the majority of the people, when they first enter the Union Buildings they will not even know where the toilets are, let alone have experience of government and of seeing issues from a national perspective.

As its name indicates, an IGNU would draw representatives of all significant parties into government. For over four decades we have effectively had one-party rule.

When we hear of the sports people worried that they will be too old to compete, what about the politicians whose talents have been ignored over the years?

Makes sense

Helen Suzman, where are you now? Will Zach still be able to do the hurdles when the National Party monopoly is over? This is just to speak of the whites who have been excluded.

What about the Enos Mabuzas, the Frank Chikanes, the Fatima Meers, not to mention any ANC leaders.

The All Party Conference only makes sense if it leads to an IGNU. Talking for the sake of talking, without concrete results, sets us back. Forward and onward to an IGNU!

FW meeting: 'Threats a scare tactic'

CT 7/8/91
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A meeting to be addressed by President F W de Klerk in conservative Ventersdorp tomorrow is threatening to become a flash-point, with right-wingers promising to attend in their thousands.

Yesterday the NP's Western Transvaal leader and Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development, Mr Amie Venter, urged supporters not to be frightened off by threats from the CP and the AWB. Such threats were a right-wing tactic designed to scare people from attending, he said.

AWB secretary-general Mr Piet Rudolph said yesterday that if people who did not support the NP were prevented from attending the meeting, it would be an abuse of taxpayers' money.

De Beer speaks on new SA scenarios

CT 7/8/91

304A

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Government funding of Inkatha was a serious setback to the negotiation process, but too much was at stake to allow it to ruin South Africa's future, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said here yesterday.

Reviewing possible scenarios in a post-negotiation South Africa, Dr De Beer said only the ANC could capture more than 50% of the vote in proportional representation elections, although even a clear ANC victory remained uncertain.

An ANC-led government would be under severe pressure to address poverty with instant socialist solutions, which would reduce investor confidence and impoverish the country.

Another possible election pact

could be formed by the National Party and Inkatha — dubbed the "Christian Democratic Alliance".

"If this alliance were to succeed in winning an election — and I think it might, though the figures tend to indicate otherwise — it would be faced with an opposition which would claim the liberation of the black masses had been denied them."

Consequently, South Africa would be back to the politics of system and struggle, attended by mass action, a continued crime wave, political violence and a poor investment climate.

A third possibility, advocated by the DP, was a moderate government of national unity, which excluded extremists on the left and the right. — Sapa

Doubts over Government's trust in talks



CALLERS to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said the time was not yet ripe for constitutional negotiations to proceed.

They reiterated the demand that Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok should be dismissed and that the Government was untrustworthy to lead the country into a democratic transition.

Miso from Katlehong urged the ANC to withdraw from the negotiations and said a "patriotic front" should be formed as soon as possible.

The ANC should get closer to Azapo and the PAC and the three should get a full mandate from the people of South Africa to negotiate a new constitution.

He felt that talks about talks conducted by the ANC and the Government did not have the backing of the people.

Citing Namibia as an example, Tim from Soweto said a neutral group should be constituted to oversee the transition to democracy.

Raymond felt that negotiations should continue but was sceptical about the "attitude" of the Government.

"The Government believes that liberation movements are still their enemies, which is why it is conducting a double agenda - trying to negotiate on the one hand while funding other organisations."

David from KwaThema, who was also sceptical about the future of negotiations, said the Government had proved to be unreliable and that the liberation movements were compromising a lot by rushing to the negotiating table.

Bilateral talks out, says PAC

304A
Soweto
7/8/91

THE PAC warned yesterday that the envisaged "transitional arrangement" would be no more than a mechanism which would ensure that elections to a constituent assembly would be free and fair.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said there could also be no bilateral constitutional negotiations between the PAC and the Government.

Any negotiations on the constitutional future of the country would have to be among democratically elected representatives of the people of South Africa, he said.

An interim government based on the current constitution is unacceptable, as we do not want to be managers or co-managers of apartheid.

"We have agreed with

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

the ANC that no constitutional talks should take place until the oppressed have met to map out the way forward at a patriotic front."

He said the Government had assumed the mantle as convenor of a

conference of all parties while it was "not democratically elected".

The PAC believed that the conflict in South Africa was a national issue and not an individual one, and if it were to start discussions on the constitutional future of South Africa, it would have to be in concert with other liberation movements.

'Tragic results if FW addresses meeting'

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Thousands of rightwingers will descend on a meeting on Friday to be addressed by President de Klerk in Ventersdorp, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned.

This bolsters the Conservative Party warning last week that the voters of Ventersdorp would not allow Mr de Klerk to address a meeting anywhere in Ventersdorp.

However, the National Party has refused to cancel the meeting — with the Transvaal leader of the party, Barend du Plessis, saying the NP would not allow itself to be intimidated.

The AWB, in a statement yesterday, said rightwingers were going to advance on Mr de Klerk's meeting "in their thousands", saying "trag-

ic consequences" would result if Mr de Klerk addressed even a small group of supporters.

The AWB further urged Mr de Klerk to open the meeting to all voters of Ventersdorp so they could "clear up urgent matters with him".

NP spokesman Dr Gerhard Koornhof said he would not comment on the AWB's claims, but said there were procedures to prevent disruptions.

The CP and AWB have said the "unfortunate incident" at Goedgevonden, where policemen fired at and wounded white "Boere" had embittered and caused tensions in the community.

Mr du Plessis said last week that the CP was promoting conflict through its statements and appealed to its supporters to honour the right of all political parties to put their case.

It was as recently as 1964 that racial discrimination was declared illegal in the US. Prompted by powerful judicial nudges by the supreme court, President Lyndon B Johnson pushed through Congress the Civil Rights Act which outlawed discrimination on the grounds of race for the first time in the 188 years of US history.

How do President F W de Klerk's 1990/91 reforms compare with BJ's? There are some similarities between the two heads of state as individuals: in each case, a president from a conservative background Johnson was a Texan Democrat, elected by Kennedy as his vice-president as a sop to conservatives) turned against the racist establishment that had nurtured his political career.

But the end results are different. Johnson outlawed discrimination. De Klerk, on the other hand, has scrapped the laws that made it compulsory to discriminate.

Those calling for legislation that outlaws discrimination in SA say De Klerk has simply brought SA to the same stage the US was at before the civil rights revolution even began.

John Dugard, law professor at Wits University, says: "It is obvious that racism can and will continue in this country until anti-discriminatory legislation is passed."

Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel — soon to become Law and Order Minister — said earlier this year that government would not be introducing anti-discrimination laws. Kriel said SA common law was sufficient to deal with any cases of discrimination that could arise.

He did not elaborate, and his department would not add anything to his comments, but his argument is familiar — that any anti-discrimination laws would be "interfering with the private domain", in the words of CP spokesman and Potchefstroom University law professor Fanie Jacobs. Jacobs and the "personal choice"

The law may be the only hope for eradicating racism

B/1000/18/8/91.

DARIUS SANAI

(3044) (RECEIVED)

advocates say the freedom of the individual would be impaired if government made it a specified crime for someone to refuse a black person entry to his shop, or to refuse to rent an apartment to a black.

But there is an important difference between two schools of thought here. The advocates of "maximum personal freedom", as libertarian US academic Robert Nozick puts it, believe people should have the choice to discriminate or not — just as they should have freedom of speech and of movement.

Jacobs and the CP take it that much further in their advocacy of a return to apartheid laws. "The Population Registration Act was a good example of government protection of individual rights," says Jacobs.

However, assuming the ghostly return of apartheid laws is neither desirable nor feasible, who is correct in the argument on whether government should step in and outlaw discrimination?

"The argument of government is: 'we took racism off the statute books, therefore it doesn't exist'," says ANC Land Commission member and Wits law lecturer Hein Klug.

But, says Klug, racism has never been on the statute books in most other countries — and yet laws like



□ JOHNSON

the Civil Rights Act in the US, the 1965 Race Relations Act in the UK and similar legislation in Scandinavian countries and Germany have been vital in combating racism. In France, a member of the right-wing National Front was recently

prosecuted under a law that makes it illegal even to express approval of racist acts committed by others — a step too far in the eyes of many liberals.

Klug and Dugard agree that racial discrimination cannot be prosecuted under common law in SA, as Kriel claims.

"Under the US Civil Rights Act, people have protection from covert racism. If a black man applies for an apartment and is told by the landlord that they are all taken, and a white man walks in five minutes later and is given the apartment, the landlord can be prosecuted for racial discrimination. Race could be the only reason the black man was turned away," says Klug.

In SA, turning blacks away from apartments in white areas used to be compulsory: now, it is still legal. As is much of what civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King in the US fought against — the right of a restaurateur to reserve his premises for whites only, for example. It is only public segregation — by any council or government institution — that has been outlawed in SA.

But given the lack of either a US-style constitution or of a campaigning judiciary in SA, how can the fairness of any anti-discrimination laws

be guaranteed? "Of course there must be an exception in the private sphere," says Klug. Government cannot force a white man to have black friends, or lodgers. "The private home is the exception under the US law: if you live in a house with fewer than four rooms to let, you can choose whom to accept."

Jacobs says the private domain extends to all decisions made by individuals regarding association. "Now that these (apartheid) laws have been scrapped, the private domain has grown to such an extent that the overwhelming sphere of influence is private."

But at some stage the private freedom of the racist becomes the encroachment on the liberty of the victim — which is where the debate starts again.

On one side, protagonists argue that the society with the greatest freedom is one where individuals are constrained by the minimum of laws. On the other, it is argued that, in a completely free society, racism invariably raises its ugly head.

This debate should not be confused with that surrounding affirmative action: unlike proponents of that doctrine, most advocates of anti-racism laws say that race should be ignored, not pandered to.

Racists posing as campaigners for individual freedom — the whole segregation argument in the US South in the '50s was fought out as the "freedom of the southern states against federal statutes" — point out that racism is still rife in the US, in Britain, in France and even in Germany which enshrines an anti-discrimination law into its constitution.

This argument works when used against affirmative action, which has proven side-effects. But to argue empirically that anti-racism laws have increased racial tension in Western countries is simply to acknowledge defeat on the more powerful "freedom" argument. Hitler and Verwoerd, after all, would both have been acting illegally under such laws — and the world would have been a better place for it.

ANC and govt moving closer on interim administration, says

12/12/97 8/8/91

PATRICK BULGER

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday the ANC and government were moving closer together on an interim government and welcomed President F W de Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle.

But the ANC wanted government to go further in its commitment to such a government, Mandela said on his return yesterday from a visit to Spain, Cuba and South America.

He welcomed De Klerk's removal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok from their portfolios and indicated the ANC would now abandon calls for their removal from

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the Cabinet.

"De Klerk is responding to our demands. He may not have met those demands to the full. But we must take account that he has taken some action. He has removed these two Ministers from the portfolios they had. That is what we asked them to do. It may well be that the fact that they are now in charge of minor portfolios is a matter which we may not like to take any further. The central question is that he has responded to our demands."

He said the ANC was not prepared to be co-opted into the present government and would demand an interim government.

"There is no reason why the government should not accept the idea of an interim government. We are already moving close to the government on this question. De Klerk has said he is prepared to discuss interim arrangements along the lines of a government which embraces the major parties in the negotiations process."

"We are not satisfied with that. We want him to go further. The idea of an interim government with sovereign powers over all the organs of government and not co-

opting certain individuals is our demand. We are not prepared to be co-opted into the existing structures of government. We want a transfer of power from this govt to an interim government. That is the only way we can solve the problems that have been raised by the Inkatha scandal."

He said negotiations had to take place in an atmosphere of mutual trust. Events of the past 15 months had put a question mark on the ANC's characterisation of De Klerk as a man of integrity.

Mandela said the ANC would go ahead with an all-party congress at which an in-

terim government could be discussed. He said relations with Inkatha had been damaged by the scandal and he hoped Inkatha members would take steps to ensure Inkatha recovered from the scandal.

He called on the private sector not to participate in De Klerk's private sector committee to vet the use of secret funds. Meanwhile, PAC deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday his movement was prepared to engage in a "pre-constituent assembly conference" to discuss means of getting such an assembly off the ground.

Mandela

Let's get on with talks — Mandela

(304A)

AUG 8/8/91

PATRICK LAURENCE, The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that the movement wants to press ahead with an all-party conference to plan negotiations on constitutional changes in spite of the recent Inkathagate scandal.

Speaking at a news conference shortly after his arrival from a tour of Caribbean and South American countries he said the call for an interim government of national unity would be urgently addressed at such a conference.

There was no immediate reaction from government circles to his statement but it tallies with what President De Klerk and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen have been saying.

This is that, regardless of differences of opinion between the various parties, an attempt must be made to sort these out at an all-party conference.

'Clean up Inkatha'

Mr Mandela has in the meantime rejected suggestions for interim arrangements before a new constitutional system as unacceptable "co-option".

Yesterday Mr Mandela exonerated rank and file members of the Inkatha Freedom Party of blame for Inkathagate scandal and expressed the hope that they would "clean up their organisation."

His statement was interpreted by some journalists as invitation to the Inkatha members to oust the Inkatha leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela, however, denied that he was appealing to Inkatha members to rebel against Chief Buthelezi, saying: "We are not going to dictate what they are going to do. But there are certain things which they must do in order to put their organisation on a basis on which we can continue to talk to them."

A central theme ran through Mr Mandela's replies to questions in the wake of disclosures that police had funnelled money from state coffers to Inkatha and its trade union ancillary, the United Workers' Union of South Africa: it complicated but did not foreclose the task of negotiating with the De Klerk administration.

Tough stance

But, the ANC leader made clear, the De Klerk administration had itself become an obstacle to negotiations and process towards a negotiated settlement would depend on its replacement by an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to non-racialism.

Mr Mandela refused to retract a remark to which Mr De Klerk took exception — that Mr De Klerk was promoting his administration's cause "over the corpses" of ANC members.

On Inkathagate he said: "Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by the government," he said unequivocally. "There is no difference whatsoever between the government and the Inkatha leadership. They are on the same payroll."

No way back for SA, says top Kremlin man

THE Soviet Union's deputy foreign minister arrived in SA yesterday for a five-day visit, saying there was "no way back" for this country.

Valeri Nikolayenko, the most senior Soviet government member to visit SA, said at Jan Smuts Airport that the main purpose of his visit was to hold talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He said he would repeat President Mikhail Gorbachev's invitation to Mandela to visit the Soviet Union soon.

Nikolayenko is also due to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha, incoming Defence

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TIM COHEN
Minister Roelf Meyer, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wessels.

Nikolayenko said his visit indicated his government's desire to stimulate the "good moves" the SA government was making, but the two countries' future relationship would depend on whether solutions could be found to the problems of national reconciliation and the removal of apartheid.

SA and the Soviet Union have "interest sections" in each other's countries and Ni-

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kolayenko said although this did not constitute official diplomatic recognition, it was a first step and was going "rather well".

Asked whether he considered reforms in SA reversible, Nikolayenko said the situation in SA and the rest of the world meant there was no way back.

Most South Africans and the world supported measures taken by President F W de Klerk and were trying to stimulate him further. At the same time, the ANC's policy and its decision to continue negotiations would encourage change.

● Picture: Page 2

AWB warning of confrontation

ARG 8/8/91

VENTERSDORP. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned that thousands of rightwingers will descend on a meeting to be addressed by President De Klerk in this western Transvaal town tomorrow.

"It is the opinion of the executive committee of the movement that if Mr De Klerk addresses even a small percentage of his supporters he could unleash a confrontation which may have tragic consequences," said AWB general secretary Mr E J van der Westhuizen. — Sapa.

'NP subverts democracy'

THE mess Nationalists have found themselves in as a result of the Inkathagate scandal stems from the ruling party's "insatiable desire to subvert the normal democratic process", the Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said last night.

"They have been doing it for more than 40 years and believe they can continue with impunity into the new South Africa," Mr Soal told a report-back meeting in his constituency last night.

"What President F W de Klerk must understand about Inkathagate is that it will not go away until all are satisfied that there has not been a cover-up," he said.

Meanwhile, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday said Mr De Klerk must prove to the entire world that he was a man of high integrity by cleansing his government of malpractices.

Archbishop Tutu, who arrived in Zimbabwe on Tuesday to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, told journalists the revelations of South African government aid to Inkatha were a setback to the attainment of peace.

However, according to the Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, the government's slush-funding scandal was a "blessing in disguise"

for the country because it placed negotiations on a far more level playing field.

Mr Jordaan, who was speaking on the implications of the scandal in a panel discussion hosted by Nusas/Sansco at Rhodes University this week, said that before the scandal broke out the power ratio was weighted heavily in favour of the government — "an unhealthy situation".

He said the scandal rammed home the message that the Nationalist government lacked legitimacy, that an interim government of national unity was essential and that power would have to be married to trust. — Political Correspondent and Sapa

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SA 'must change its view of world'

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Political Staff

THE government and the ANC should set up a non-partisan forum to assess the local impact of international changes, Professor Peter Vale said last night.

He also said South Africa needed to change the way it viewed the world, starting this effort by re-writing school textbooks.

Prof Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern Africa Studies at the University of the Western Cape, was addressing the Cape Town branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

"It does seem to me that the essential feature of the post-cold war changes is that international clientism, where states become dependent on major powers, has collapsed but regional clientism has been increasing.

"This amplifies South Africa's strength and regional responsibility. This cannot be approached from a narrow partisan point of view.

"We have to assume an African responsibility. This means playing by Africa's rules, not our rules.

"My suggestion is that both sides in the South African conflict look towards establishing a non-partisan forum to try to assess the impact of these changes worldwide on South Africa," said Prof Vale.

Mandela is Deft and S

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'Interim govt now — or no talks'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night demanded the immediate installation of an interim government.

The ANC president was speaking at a press conference soon after returning from a tour of Latin America.

He said negotiations could not continue unless this demand was met.

He also rejected any plans for cooption into the existing structures of government.

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's commitment to negotiations, but emphasised that his organisation would not enter negotiations blindfolded.

"We are not going to go into negotiations blindly. The government must carry out its responsibility and it must agree to a mechanism which will ensure that

we'll not have a similar scandal to the Inkatha scandal. And the only mechanism we see which will give this assurance is the immediate installation of an interim government."

He said there was no reason why the government should not accept the idea of an interim government. "We are already moving close with the government on this question. Mr De Klerk is prepared to discuss interim arrangements along the line of a government which embraces the major parties in the negotiation process, but we are not satisfied with that. We want him to go further."

"The idea of an interim government with sovereign powers over the all the organs of government and not co-opting certain individuals, is our demand."

"We are not prepared to be co-opted into the existing structures of government."

"We want a transfer of power from this government to an interim government. It

is the only way which we can resolve the problems which have been raised by the Inkatha funding scandal."

He said the scandal had made it difficult for the ANC to continue to negotiate with the government, which he charged was "not negotiating in good faith."

"The fact that Mr De Klerk has not been able to respond satisfactorily to the scandal is creating very serious difficulties."

"The government must respond to our satisfaction to the Inkatha scandal. And if it does not do so, it is going to be very, very difficult indeed to move forward."

Asked which response from Mr De Klerk he would consider satisfactory, Mr Mandela said: "He must accept the idea of an interim government which is going to supervise the whole process of transformation from an apartheid state to a non-racial democracy."

Later he reiterated the ANC's commitment to negotiations. "The central point

is the introduction of an interim government. But we do intend an all-party congress to discuss all these problems. And the question of an interim government may follow the calling of an all-party congress."

He said the scandal had put a question mark on the integrity of Mr De Klerk.

He would have expected the State President to have taken him into his confidence and to inform him of his problems, Mr Mandela said. "I would have gone out of my way to try and assist him."

Mr Mandela said he had put his whole political reputation on the line by saying that Mr De Klerk was a man of integrity.

"And he turns out to be conducting a double strategy towards us, because he could not have been ignorant of that, he

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● ANC will help sport — Page 3

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was aware of it, how can I continue to say that this is a man of integrity?" he said in an apparent reference to the slush funds scandal.

Mr De Klerk had responded in part to ANC demands when he recently reshuffled his cabinet, said the ANC president.

On ANC-Inkatha relations following the scandal, Mr Mandela said it was clear that IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had allowed himself to be used by the government.

"They are on the same pay roll and that discovery, which we suspected all along, must affect our relations and our strategy."

However, he felt the broad IFP membership may have been ignorant of the secret payments, saying he hoped they would take measures to "clean" their organisation. — Sapa

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THE far Right-wing has threatened to disrupt a meeting which is to be addressed by State President FW de Klerk in Ventersdorp tomorrow night. (304A) ~~(244)~~

The leadership of the Afrikaanersweerstands Beweging said in a statement on Tuesday that if its members are not allowed to attend Friday's meeting "by the thousands, the consequences would be tragic".

De Klerk's meeting has caused a stir in the western Transvaal town, and the Conservative Party



DE KLERK

has already indicated that the President is "not welcome".

The AWB's statement says the people of Ventersdorp have "two urgent requests" for De Klerk: he has to "throw

open" the doors of the meeting to the voters of Ventersdorp and give them the opportunity "to clear up urgent matters with him".

A spokesman for the AWB said the issue of far Right-wing detainees is one of the issues De Klerk has to "clear up".

He said the local Afrikaner community is also upset over police action against farmers on the farm Goedgevonden in May this year.

"Mr de Klerk can diffuse the situation during this meeting," the AWB spokesman said.

Strings in US aid for SA

WASHINGTON - What ever might be said against the United States Congress, it remains one of the most sensitive barometers of public opinion in the US.

So when it takes a position on South Africa, it tends to reflect what most Americans feel and think.

Congress as a whole took a position of passive indifference when President Bush lifted sanctions last month, and if any confirmation were needed that this reflected public sentiment on the issue, it came, surprisingly, from Mr. Randall Robinson, probably the most zealous of the many anti-apartheid activists at work in America.

At the end of a long denunciation of those in Congress who he claimed were responsible for letting Bush get away with

By HUGH ROBERTSON

such a malevolent deed, he noted that their lack of concern for South Africa was part of a broad and deepening pattern.

It was indeed. But lest a roar of ho-hoos should rise from the legions who oppose sanctions, an emerging paradox of huge importance to all South Africans needs to be aired. *Sowetan 8/8/91*

Sanctions

It is that sanctions, or the threat of them, may yet prove to be the most potent guarantee of democratic government and a free enterprise economy which could be hoped for by those in the white minority who fear black majority rule.

Let me explain. A move is under way in Congress to create a multibillion

dollar aid programme for South Africa which would be big enough to finance an historic turning point in the country's development. The money would only become available once a new and freely elected government is in place.

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The ANC, and Randall Robinson, have reservations about it - and perhaps with some reason. No US Congress is going to finance a government in South Africa which plans the sort of radical social engineering so dear to the hearts of unrepentant Stalinists and Marxists (and, for that matter, advocates of apartheid).

And no US Congress is going to pour money down a drain of Marxist experimentation and nationalisation. Above all, it is unthinkable that a US

Congress in the post-Cold War era would bankroll a government which abrogated the rule of law, tampered with the constitution, denied people their rights and generally misbehaved on the unimpeachable scale of successive apartheid regimes.

In short, the multibillion dollar aid programme, a Marshall Plan for South Africa, would have strings attached.

Naive

"Neocolonialism," shout some in the ANC, "where is the liberation we have fought for?" "American imperialism," shout the US civil rights activists, "such strings are unacceptable."

But just as fascism had a tough time after the collapse of the Third Reich and the end of World War

2, it would be naive of South African Marxists to expect an unchanged world after the collapse of the Soviet empire and the end of the Cold War. And perhaps this week's discussion on the US aid proposal is just what was needed to concentrate

their minds on certain inevitabilities in the new South Africa.

One is that the country will not survive without massive foreign investment and foreign aid. Another is that, in the new world order, such investment and aid can only come from the Western democracies and, as even the Soviet Union has discovered, this will entail conditions and obligations.

While a degree of state intervention in the economy almost certainly would be accepted as a

means of mending the mutilations of apartheid, there would be firm and unambiguous limits.

Transgression of those limits, moreover, could be dealt with by much the same pressures which the ANC and Randall Robin-

son were able to invoke against the South African regime in 1986 and it would be surprising if US conservatives - and perhaps even some liberals - did not try to build precisely such a mechanism into the aid package.

Mandela warns on talks

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE ANC had lost all faith in the Government and the National Party had to hand over power to an interim government before negotiations could start, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The ANC president said that it had become "very difficult" to negotiate with the Government while it was pursuing a "double agenda of talking peace while making war".

He said there was absolutely no way that President FW de Klerk could not have known about the secret funds given to Inkatha or that he was unable to stop the violence.

The ANC had warned De Klerk 15 months ago about the violence in the country, but the President failed to stop it.

He said he had repeatedly spoken with De Klerk on the issue and that he had gone as far as calling the President "a man of integrity".

But, Mandela said, his opinion of De Klerk "might have been exaggerated."

"Black lives are very cheap to white South Africans, and De Klerk is part of that attitude," Mandela said.

He said that the ANC and the Government were moving closer on the issue of an interim government, but the ANC would not be co-opted.

Inkathagate proved that the present Government could not oversee the transitional process on its own while it had a role to play in the creation of a new order.

"The Government must respond satisfactorily to the Inkathagate scandal. If it does not, it is going to be very difficult to move forward."

"What we want is a transfer of power to an interim Government," Mandela said.

Commenting on the future role of Inkatha in the light of the covert funding issue, Mandela said that the relationship between the ANC and Inkatha had been damaged.

He also said that there was no difference between the Government and Inkatha.

"They are on the same payroll. Speaking to Inkatha is like speaking to the Government," Mandela said.

Mandela absolves Inkatha members

By Patrick Laurence

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Star 8/8/91

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday exonerated rank-and-file members of the Inkatha Freedom Party of blame for the Inkatha-gate scandal and expressed the hope they would "clean up their organisation".

His statement — made at a news conference shortly after his arrival from a tour of Caribbean and South American countries — was interpreted by some journalists as an invitation to Inkatha members to oust Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela, however, denied that he was appealing to Inkatha members to rebel against Chief Buthelezi, saying: "We are not going to dictate what they are going to do. But there are ... certain things which they must do in order to put their organisation on a basis on which we can continue to talk to them."

A central theme ran through his replies to questions in the wake of disclosures that police had funnelled money from State coffers to Inkatha and its trade union ancillary: it complicated but did not foreclose the task of

negotiating with the De Klerk administration.

But, the ANC leader made clear, the Government had itself become an obstacle to negotiations, and processes towards a negotiated settlement would depend on its replacement by an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to nonracialism.

Mr Mandela adopted a generally tough attitude towards Mr de Klerk. He refused to retract a remark to which the State President took exception — that Mr de Klerk was promoting his administration's cause "over the corpses" of ANC members — and accused the President of being less than frank when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha.

Mr Mandela's understanding attitude towards the Inkatha membership contrasted with his remarks about its leader.

"Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by the Government," he said unequivocally. "There is no difference whatsoever between the Government and the Inkatha leadership. They are on the same payroll."

On Mr de Klerk's complaint

about the accusation that he, Mr de Klerk, was advancing his cause over the ANC's dead, Mr Mandela responded: "Mr de Klerk is the last person to complain about that remark."

Asked whether he thought Mr de Klerk was telling the truth when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha, Mr Mandela said: "You will have to decide for yourself ... No funds could have been spent by the Minister of Police and by the Minister of Finance, and with the concurrence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which would not have been known to the State President."

Declaring that Mr de Klerk had still not acknowledged the full extent of covert funding of organisations hostile to the ANC, Mr Mandela said: "We are demanding that the present Government transfer power to an interim government."

● Sapa reports that Soviet President Gorbachev has invited Mr Mandela to visit Moscow later this year, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs responsible for Africa, Valery Nilayenko, said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Mr Nilayenko is due to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha today.

NEWS

Interim rule now thrust of negotiations, says ANC

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC is ready to get an all-party conference going as early as mid-September — in spite of the Inkathagate scandal — but it will now insist that the key obstacle to be discussed is the authority of the Government itself.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa revealed that a process of consulting the ANC's membership and its allies on whether suspended preparatory constitutional talks should be reactivated had already begun.

He said it was difficult to state precisely when its result would be known, "but I would say maybe a month, six weeks. The process is under way already..."

"We are going to be ready for an all-party conference after two things — the consultations and the patriotic front conference. After that, we are ready to go."

The move confirms new ANC urgency to get the negotiations process moving again, particularly in the light of the organisation's belief that its case for an interim government has been greatly strengthened by the slush fund revelations.

The pre-scandal position — in which the Government was seen to be impatient for round-table talks, and the ANC was dragging its feet — appears to have been reversed.

Interim government has now supplanted all other issues as the pivot around



Exclusive interview . . . Cyril Ramaphosa.

"parties themselves" — is considering hardening its position dramatically because of Inkathagate.

There is a very strong possibility that the OAU will shortly send a ministerial delegation to Europe and the US to push the case for pressure to be placed on President de Klerk to accept an interim government in South Africa.

According to Mr Ramaphosa,

Mr Ramaphosa said that when the ANC's internal consultation process "reaches finality . . . we will be able to say very clearly to the Government that we now are ready to start talks on the calling of an all-party congress — if our membership agrees that we should now lay more emphasis on the main obstacle, which is the Government.

"This would be without de-emphasising the other obsta-

He said there was no question of the ANC trying to "destroy" the Government in the wake of Inkathagate.

"I think there is a recognition that his Government is necessary to the process," Mr Ramaphosa said, adding that if Mr de Klerk agreed that Pretoria could not manage the transition alone, "he could actually find himself being a leading part of an interim government".

The ANC's low-profile role in the course of Inkathagate reflects a strategic decision to hold back and let matters unfold independently in the hope that the end result would be to speed up negotiations to the ANC's benefit.

"We could have gone on to the rooftops," said Mr Ramaphosa, "but I don't think a responsible political organisation should do that. We had to come with a response that gave direction to the country rather than one that just served party-political interests.

"We take very seriously our responsibility to not only lead our followers, but to give leadership to the country."

The ANC secretary-general expressed disappointment, however, with the way in which the ANC's response had been greeted.

"I think the Government then did not read the signal coming from the ANC (regarding Inkathagate) very clearly, or they are just grateful.

"Because the signal that we gave is that of course we want the investigations to go on, but at the same time we are saying: 'Let us get on with the job that is at hand. We don't trust you — in fact people don't trust you more — but we are prepared

ANC throws Star 8/8/91 down the 304A gauntlet to push pace

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC has moved to push the pace of "real" negotiations as Pretoria reels from the funds-for-Inkatha scandal, and has identified concessions on an interim government as the price President de Klerk will have to pay for a multiparty conference in the near future. ANC president Nelson Mandela, who returned from overseas yesterday, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that talks with the Government would not be called off because of the slush fund revelations, but signalled that the interim government issue now stood above all other "obstacles to negotiations".

The ANC position appears to be that outstanding "obstacles" would fall away if the larger issue were resolved. If the Government conceded the necessity for working out an interim structure, Mr Ramaphosa said, the ANC could be "ready to go for" an all-party conference as early as mid-September.

Mr Mandela, who last month said he did not think it likely that the round-table talks could start this year, confirmed that a concession on the principle of an interim government was now a condition Mr de Klerk had to meet if preparatory talks on constitutional negotiations were to be reactivated. Mr Mandela said the ANC was not prepared to be co-opted into the existing Government: "What we want is a transfer of power to an interim government."

This was the only way to solve the problems created by the Government's covert funding of Inkatha. Observers believe the ANC's new push on the interim government issue reflects its assessment that if it presses Pretoria into multiparty talks soon — and succeeds in making the transitional government the top point on the agenda — it would begin bargaining from a position of strength.

● More reports — Pages 3, 6

South African Government is lucky to escape so lightly from the slush fund scandal, says Stanley Uys

The high cost of low games

8 Apr 8/8/91.

2044 289

It will take a long time for President de Klerk to recover fully the credibility he has lost internationally over Inkathagate. It will take even longer for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to be invited again to No 10 Downing Street. And as for the Chief establishing the same rapport with John Major that he had with Margaret Thatcher, he can forget that, permanently.

The impact outside South Africa of Inkathagate has been not only to halt the lifting of sanctions, but to expose Pretoria to new international pressures. The lesson of Inkathagate is that if you play these games, a defector will turn up to expose them. Support for Pretoria then will decline and support for the ANC increase.

For those opponents of apartheid who believe that President de Klerk should never have been trusted in the first place, Inkathagate means that the spirit of sanctions lives on, except that the thrust now is to ensure that the ANC's demand for an interim government is met. It is sanctions in a new guise.

Unless there are further revelations, President de Klerk is likely to weather the Inkathagate storm, simply because there is not such a vast difference between an "interim government" and the "transitional arrangements" he is offering the ANC. Not only is the negotiations process still on course, but it may have been given a new impetus.

There are two main schools of thought here on Inkathagate. One is that the moral advantage the ANC has secured must be pressed home as firmly as possible — a view that has been expressed most succinctly by the British writer (and former Drum editor) Anthony Sampson in *The Independent*.

The other school of thought (and it would include government officials) is that, dirty tricks aside, there is life beyond Inkathagate — the negotiations will survive the scandal. The view (expressed by Sampson and others) that President de Klerk has a double agenda is not shared by officials. They accept that he will try to secure the maxi-

mum political gain for the National Party, but not that he is simultaneously negotiating and trying to wreck the ANC.

When the scandal was at its height, Britain not only informed Pretoria that it took a very serious view of Inkathagate, and pressed it to make sure that the practices did not continue, but the Minister at the Foreign Office, Lynda Chalker, telephoned Nelson Mandela to inform him that the British government took his concern over violence very seriously (while noting that it appeared to have subsided somewhat).

Mr Mandela spoke to Mrs Chalker not only about the volume of violence, but also its political character, but he told her that the ANC would not break off negotiations, and Mrs Chalker expressed her appreciation of this. As the British government sees it, therefore, this puts the ball in Pretoria's court. It must proceed now to implement the "transitional arrangements".

Nor has the British government written Chief Buthelezi out of the

scenario. It has always approved his stand on sanctions (even if it has been agnostic about his commitment to a new South Africa), and while acknowledging that he has taken a severe knock, it believes he is still a player.

No official will comment on the Cabinet reshuffle (seen as a domestic matter), but there is little doubt that two aspects particularly are encouraging. For the first time since 1980 (when Magnus Malan became Minister of Defence), all security services are now in the hands of civilians who support the new order (Hernus Kriel is seen as representing the newer if not the new order).

Second, it is heartening that men like Roelf Meyer (Defence), Leon Wessels (Planning), Sam de Beer (Education and Training) and Renier Schoeman (Deputy Minister, Foreign Affairs) should have been appointed to such key posts. Mr Schoeman attended a conference at Cambridge two weeks ago. Officials are impressed by the ability of men like him to communicate with the other side.

This view of Inkathagate and its aftermath is very different from the one held by Anthony Sampson. Trust, says Sampson, can be restored "only through the involvement of the world outside, particularly Britain, which must now help to oversee and enforce the agreement between the ANC and the South African Government".

There must be someone, says Sampson, to whom the ANC can call "foul", and the first country the ANC looks to remains Britain. The British and the Europeans (where are the Americans, Mr Sampson?) "cannot afford to keep aloof from this power struggle". Their investment in SA is too "huge".

For Sampson, the key issue is that the ANC must be given access, even if through a third party, to government security briefings, and Britain must use its intelligence sources to check on these briefings.

One can see the hair standing up on Pretoria's neck. Sampson seems to be suggesting that negotiations

should be placed under some kind of European judicial management. When I interviewed Roelf Meyer in Pretoria a few weeks ago (before his promotion) he made it plain that he foresaw a very limited role for "facilitators" in negotiations, whether they are South African or foreign.

"Facilitators", as Mr Meyer sees it, can contribute expertise to the negotiations but not as chairpersons or participants. South Africans are perfectly capable of handling the actual negotiations on their own.

Pretoria can count itself lucky, this time. Inkathagate brought it to the brink of renewed foreign pressure. I will escape much of this pressure this time, because the advantage the ANC sees in the situation is to go forward, not backwards. But in different circumstances, Inkathagate-type revelations could create an ANC-initiated lull-up against Pretoria.

Playing games is not worth the candle, is it? The costs of being exposed are too high. □

star 8/8/91

Multiparty conference a winner, poll finds

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

304A

There is overwhelming support among all population groups in South Africa for a multiparty conference to negotiate a new South Africa, according to a recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council.

In a telephone survey last month, the HSRC's Information Update asked more than 2 000 people from all population groups whether they were in favour of a multiparty conference.

Only slightly more than half of the respondents were aware of this possibility.

Of these, 59 percent thought it was a very good idea and 30 percent said it was a good idea. Only 5 percent thought it was a bad idea and 6 percent were uncertain.

Support for the idea was particularly high among English-speakers (90 percent). It received the most opposition from Afrikaans-speakers, and even then it was only 6 percent of this group.

A substantial majority of 73 percent thought that not only political parties should attend the conference, but also other organisations.

It emerged that only 15,1 percent of all respondents thought the armed struggle was a very good or a good thing.

Negotiation was supported by no less than 93,3 percent of the respondents; boycotts and stayaway actions by only 18,3 percent.

In reply to a question on whether the current Parliament could be used to effect change, 70,9 percent thought it could.

Support

The National Party could probably count on the support of 27 percent of all population groups; the ANC on 24 percent; the Conservative Party 4,3 percent and the Democratic Party 1,5 percent.

Support for the NP among whites remained unchanged at 56,5 percent between June and July, despite the removal of the last pillars of apartheid legislation.

CP support was the same at 21 percent, while support for the ANC among blacks rose from 47 to 50 percent.

In reply to a question as to who should be chosen to lead South Africa, 39 percent of the respondents indicated President de Klerk; 21,7 percent supported ANC leader Nelson Mandela; 2,4 percent preferred CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and only 1 percent supported Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Of the 2 101 people who took part, 412 were whites, 888 blacks, 358 Asians and 441 coloureds.

304A
**Nats braced
for chaos at
FW meeting**

Star 8/8/91
By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The National Party is bracing itself for what could turn into chaos at President de Klerk's meeting in Ventersdorp tomorrow.

The NP is adamant it will go ahead with the meeting and called on supporters not be "put off by right-wing threats to descend on the meeting in their thousands".

The AWB has warned there could be "tragic consequences" if Mr de Klerk does not open the meeting to all voters.

AWB secretary Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said yesterday that taxpayers' money was being used so Mr de Klerk could deliver his address. Sources had told the AWB "hordes of policemen would protect the NP leader's interests".

"Thus the State President and the Government dishonour once again the promise not to use the police as political pawns," he said.

Cash for Inkatha: US shuns advice

South 8/8/ -14/8/91

By Henry Ludski

AMERICA's decision this week to fund Inkatha's bid to broaden its political base was taken against strong warnings by the Bush administration's own South African consultants.

Helen Zille of the Cape Town-based Zille Shandler Associates told SOUTH that her consultancy — in a report written for the US government in May this year — “strongly cautioned” against funding being used to expand the political power bases of both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The consultancy had argued instead for emphasis to be placed on “expanding the negotiating capacity” of political organisations through funding top-level policy study groups and negotiation task forces.

But the Bush administration this week disregarded the consultancy's advice and announced that the IFP would be given R7,5m to help equip a new national office in Durban and about 30 regional offices.

In terms of the US Congress' “Transition to Democracy Project”, Zille Shandler Associates were given a brief by the US government to conduct a “needs assessment” of the ANC and IFP to identify programmes and activities which would encourage negotiations leading to genuine democracy in South Africa.

Said Zille: “I didn't expect the money to be allocated after the Inkathagate scandal because this gave more cogency to our warning, and I did not expect the money to be allocated in the current climate.”

The Inkathagate scandal revealed that the South African state channelled funds specifically to bolster Inkatha's political support base.

“We cautioned against using the funds allocated by the US Congress to build the support base of a political party and I had expected this warning to have been enhanced by the Inkatha issue,” said Zille.

“In our proposal we warned that if money was used to set up offices and, in so doing, broaden the political power base of the organisations, that this would arouse controversy in South Africa.”

Zille refused to release her report, saying it contained confidential information from the ANC and Inkatha.

Mr Larry Schwartz, assistant US information officer in Pretoria, said this week that, regardless of the advice of Zille Shandler Associates, “the US is going to do what it is going to do.”

He confirmed that Inkatha would be allowed to use the money to open regional offices in the country.

“The organisation might have a lot of supporters elsewhere in the country and the money would assist them in setting up regional offices in other regions if they decide to develop a national presence.”

IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said on Wednesday that in anticipation of receiving the US money, the party was “already moving” towards opening “nerve centres” in Johannesburg and Durban. The party also planned to open 35 offices throughout the country including Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

PM 9/8/91.

From watchdogs to lapdogs

The idea that a committee of businessmen can guide State President F W de Klerk's Cabinet through the pitfalls of its clandestine endeavours is both naive and dangerous — especially for the businessmen.

There will be no shortage of business egos willing to serve on the committee, particularly if what passes now as an economic advisory council is anything to go by. It is no more than a forum of special interest that the wise and knowledgeable studiously seek to avoid.

Businessmen, moreover, are notoriously inept and unsophisticated in political judgment and, in the cloak-and-dagger matters that fall within the ambit of this committee, they will be mere babes in arms. Professional spooks will run rings around naive and sentimental entrepreneurs.

By the very nature of the men willing to serve, De Klerk

will be surrounding himself with the fawning and flattering. He will get neither the independent advice nor the sensitivity to public attitudes on these secret affairs that he is seeking and to which he believes himself entitled.

Those businessmen foolish enough to join the committee will have great difficulty in the new SA to live down the impression that is bound to arise — namely that they were party to a conspiracy between government and business to suppress open discussion on the consequences of the dark side of apartheid. That could be a very real danger.

The answer is, of course, to scrap the entire parliamentary vote and use it to pension off those involved with what has been described as "continuing contractual obligations" — in short, putting them out to grass. Then let businessmen get on with what they know best. ■

HERNUS KRIEL, ROELF MEYER, LEON WESSELS, SAM DE BEER, PIET MARAIS

The president's new men

304A ~~FM~~
FM 9/8/91

Who are the five new Cabinet Ministers? It may be simpler to give the big picture.

On average, he's an attorney in his 40s, married with 2,8 children, a graduate of an Afrikaans university and a politician as far back as he can remember. He's been in parliament for about 12 years. In case there's any doubt, he's a white male verligte Nat. Does he wear grey shoes? Probably.

Hernus Kriel (49), who moves over from Planning, Provincial Affairs & Housing to take the Law & Order hot seat vacated by Adriaan Vlok, has the shortest tenure in parliament. He won the Parow seat in 1984.



Kriel

Leon Wessels (45), who made his reputation as Pik Botha's deputy at Foreign Affairs, will put his diplomatic touch to work at Kriel's old job. Kriel may be the new head cop, but Wessels

is the son of a policeman. He attended the Police College from 1964 to 1966 and served as an instructor in the mounted police. As a teenager he was a member of the Transvaal junior horse jumping team.

Sam de Beer (47 this month), who takes over from Stoffel van der Merwe as Minister of Education & Training, is the only non-lawyer in the bunch. Formerly a minister in the Hervormde Church, he was elected to parliament for Geduld in 1974, making him the longest serving MP of the five. Coming over from "own affairs" Budget, Welfare & Housing in the House of Assembly, he's also the only one who isn't already a full Cabinet Minister or Deputy.

Piet Marais (58), the new Minister for Administration and — crucially — white education, is the only one who's not forty-something. Formerly the Deputy Minister of Education & Development Aid, Marais farmed wine and tobacco in Stellenbosch during the Sixties and later sat on a number of company boards, giving him the most business experience of this group.

The youngest of the group is Roelf Meyer (44). With four children, he has the biggest family. He leaves Constitutional Development — he was a government representative at the Groote Schuur talks last year — to handle the ousted Magnus Malan's Defence portfolio and takes on the Communications job as well.

Born on a farm near Humansdorp, Meyer matriculated in Ficksburg and then completed his BCom and law degree at the University of the Orange Free State. He was chairman of the Students' Representative Council

(SRC) and national president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, in those days a conservative countrywide student organisation. His defence experience was limited to a year at the Air Force Gymnasium.

Working as a partner at a law firm in Johannesburg, he took over the Johannesburg West constituency in 1979 when Dawie de Villiers left to become ambassador in London. In a 1984 interview with the *FM*, Meyer expressed his admiration for P W Botha, "especially his excellent management capabilities, vision, loyalty and discipline." Two years later, Botha rewarded him with an appointment as Deputy Minister of Law & Order.

Though he's worn the "young Turk" label for years, he's never been a maverick. In 1987, he told the *FM*: "I am a party man and a loyalist."

Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, the only child of a minister to the coloured branch of the NGK, is a Cape man. Born in Kakamas, he attended school in Wellington, graduated with a law degree from Stellenbosch in 1964, worked as a State prosecutor in Bellville and set up a law practice in Parow.

He served on the Cape Provincial Council, where he specialised in local government and town planning issues. Elected to parliament seven years ago, he seemed destined to remain a backbencher until he emerged after the 1989 election as F W de Klerk's front man on the hot issues of group areas, separate amenities and free-settlement areas — in effect the "Minister of Apartheid."

Though he oversaw the dissolution of the most draconian housing legislation, sceptics have doubted his commitment to opening up formerly all-white areas. He has consistently expressed the NP's determination that "norms and standards" be maintained in white suburbs.

When his appointment to replace Vlok was announced, United Press International wrote that Kriel "is known as a hardline authoritarian." Kriel does have a glinty steeliness that his grin and self-deprecating humour can't mask —

a toughness that may be overdue for the Minister politically responsible for the police.



Meyer



Wessels

Like Meyer, Leon Wessels cut his teeth on student politics. He was chairman of the SRC at Potch, where he earned his law degree in 1972, and president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond. Born in Kroonstad, he matriculated in Krugersdorp.

And like Meyer, he practised law in Johannesburg — and then got the nod to contest the Krugersdorp constituency in 1977. In April 1988, he became Deputy Minister of Law & Order, but was moved to Foreign Affairs after the 1989 election.

Wessels's main claim to fame is his public apology for apartheid. "Apartheid was a dreadful mistake that blighted our land and its people," he said a year ago at a conference on "the anatomy of hate" in Norway. "Brutal apartheid or forced removals to the homelands was an inhumane and indefensible practice."

With Stoffel van der Merwe's move out of the Cabinet, it seemed logical that his deputy, Piet Marais, would take over Education & Development Aid. Instead, Marais will tackle what many observers regard as the mess at "own affairs" Education & Culture left by the departing Piet Clase.



Marais

Raised in Robertson in the Cape, Marais has a law degree from Stellenbosch and practised as an attorney on and off, in between forays into farming and business. In 1972, he was elected to the Stellenbosch

town council and 10 years later, in a by-election, won that parliamentary constituency.

The only born and bred Vaalie is the new education czar, Sam de Beer. He grew up in Rivonia and matriculated at Johannesburg's Helpmekaar. At the University of Pretoria, he also sat on the SRC and served on the national executive of the Afrikaanse Studentebond. He majored in Greek and philosophy, completed his degree in Divinity and then became a minister, serving churches in Magaliesburg and Springs.

Ten years after arriving in Parliament, he became Deputy Minister of Education & Co-operation. He'll be heading back to the renamed Education & Training Ministry, after overseeing the Budget, Welfare & Housing in the white House of Assembly. ■



De Beer

(304A)
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CITY

'Yes' to all-party talks

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

304th

NR 9/18/91

Survey shows uncertainty

DEEP party political uncertainty among South Africans contrasts sharply with overwhelming support for a multiparty conference and, ultimately, a negotiated settlement, a Human Sciences Research Council survey shows.

The telephone poll of 2 099 people in July indicates about 38 percent of South Africans do not know which party to support.

However, 93 percent favour a negotiated solution among all parties, and 89 percent want an all-party conference to get negotiations going.

It also emerges that more South Africans support President De Klerk than the National Party.

Only four percent of blacks favour the NP, for instance, while 13 percent (down from 19 percent in June) prefer Mr De Klerk as leader.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has limited support in the black community — just one percent in this poll.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is favoured as leader by 47 percent of blacks, one percent of whites, eight percent of Indians and one percent of coloured people.

The survey — which featured 412 whites, 888 blacks, 358 Indians and 441 coloured people — did not give figures to suggest overall support for any party or organisation.

And, in fact, doubt has been cast on the accuracy of some of the figures ... the HSRC admitted last night that conducting the poll over the telephone meant the views of the black community were restricted to those who had telephones.

There have been reports that the poll shows overall NP support of 27.7 percent and ANC support of 24.8. These percentages, however, show the support for each party only among the 2 099 respondents ... and the number of respondents used from each population group is not in proportion to the size of each group in the community.

If the percentages are extrapolated

in relation to the size of each population group, it appears the NP's support could be about 18 percent, while the ANC's could be about 34 percent.

Results show the NP has the support of 56 percent of whites, four percent of blacks, 32 percent of Indians and 45 percent of coloured people.

President De Klerk's support among whites is 47 percent of Afrikaans speakers and 66 percent of English speakers. He has the support in this survey of 70 percent of coloured people and 51 percent of Indians.

The ANC is supported by one percent of whites, 50 percent of blacks, three percent of coloured people and 11 percent of Indians.

TALKS

Growing common ground

Negotiations on the political future are set to begin before the end of this year. The National Party government is impatient to get moving and the ANC has made it clear that it is almost ready for multi-party talks to begin. But the ANC first wants to see what alliances can be forged at the Patriotic Front conference, to be held in Cape Town on August 23.

This conference will bring together the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action; union groupings Cosatu and Nactu; sporting organisations such as the SA Congress of Sport; the SA Council of Churches; and leaders from Transkei, Gazankulu, QwaQwa and kwaNdebele. Inkatha has declined an invitation.

Those attending the conference will do so because of their background as avowed "liberation movements" or as supporters of the "liberation struggle" and because they share a commitment to a constituent assembly — though it is clear that this term is being defined very loosely.

The process envisaged by all the main players is that a multi-party conference should begin work as soon as possible. The conference is expected to start by trying to work out what sort of transitional authority should run the country while a new constitution is being negotiated.

Both the Nats and the ANC, the two major players, accept that a neutral government should oversee this transitional phase. But what kind of government? This is expected to take up many hours of debate. The issue of security force neutrality will also be critical.

However, concepts like "constituent assembly" could be confusing and the problem of definition could itself delay negotiations. Some spokesmen appear to assume that a constituent assembly would be elected in a countrywide poll. But this would in effect produce an alternative parliament. It is an option that government is not falling for and it has little chance of being accepted.

On the other hand, when major players have to come to terms with reality, they may be surprised at how much they have in common. The ANC, as far back as its January 8 policy statement, conceded that a multi-party conference, or all-party conference, could transform itself into the constitution-making body.

Government has accepted the principle of a transitional or interim government. Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen says the form it will take depends on the multi-party conference — which government is keen to see established as soon as possible.

Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, told a conference in Durban on Monday that it was "no longer possible for the majority of South Africans to trust government alone to over-

see the process of transition," particularly in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal. But Dhlomo says the ANC should not impede progress by demanding the resignation of the entire government.

The immediate difficulty, then, will be the structure of the conference. Which groups will qualify to take part? Who will chair the sessions? How will each organisation choose its representatives — and how many of them will be allowed? Will the Nats and the ANC have equal representation? Should neutral



Dhlomo



Viljoen

outsiders — businessmen, academics, lawyers — be called in to advise? Should resolutions be put and voted on? To what extent should the talks be secret?

Government is maintaining an open mind on these issues. Hannes de Wet, Viljoen's press secretary, says most of them will have to be worked out in exploratory discussions. He says a measure of agreement has already been reached with ANC representatives — but nothing has been approved yet by the national executive committee ■

SA is on the right track, says visiting Egyptian group

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — South Africa is moving in the right direction towards a meaningful future, says a high-powered Muslim delegation from Egypt.

Spokesman Sheikh Mansour el-Rifaa'i Ebid, a member of the Supreme Islamic Council of Egypt, said that before coming to South Africa the delegation had the impression the situation was very bleak.

"But we found that there is much goodwill among people of all races and a keenness to work together. South Africa is moving in the right direction."

He is accompanied on his

visit to Durban by Dr Mustufa Fakharany, lecturer in linguistics at Al-Azhar University, and Qari Mahomed el Basouny, a leading religious figure in Egypt.

They are guests of the Jamiat Ulema of Natal.

Since their arrival this week the delegation has been visiting mosques, Islamic centres, community-run clinics, universities and schools.

Sheikh Mansour said members would report back to religious and welfare organisations in the Muslim world, urging that they give aid to South Africa.

The delegation said it was

involved in religious work and was not in this country for business or to set up trade links.

Members were interested in promoting a better understanding among all people — South Africa included.

The delegation officially opened the Darul Uloom in Newcastle, which provides religious education to 200 students.

They turned the first sod in Ladysmith for the Darul Quaraan's second-phase development for 14 classrooms.

They met about 150 Muslim theologians at the Orient Islamic Institute Hall in Durban.

Interim govt the 'major obstacle'

Talks likely in October, say Ministers

3049
B/D ay 9/8/91

GOVERNMENT, the ANC, and other major parties were likely to start meeting for negotiations as early as October given good faith by all concerned, senior Cabinet Ministers said yesterday.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen is also expected to make an announcement on a multiparty conference at a news briefing today.

The parliamentary select committee on constitutional development, made up of all the political parties represented in Parliament, also met yesterday to discuss developments towards convening the multiparty conference.

The Ministers said they welcomed the recent indications by the ANC's national executive committee and its president Nelson Mandela that the two sides were drawing closer.

However, the ANC demand for a "sovereign interim government" to replace the current government was still a major stumbling block.

Viljoen yesterday rejected the ANC demand for an interim government as "not acceptable under any circumstances". But he did accept that some form of transitional arrangements, where other groups such as the ANC were brought into the Cabinet, was necessary.

One source believed that once the parties were involved in a multiparty conference, they would find solutions to most of the remaining problems, possibly including some compromise between "transitional arrangements" and "interim government".

BILLY PADDOCK

Another source said that one helpful result of the Inkatha funding scandal was that it seemed to have strengthened the ANC's hand and given them the confidence to now push for negotiations.

Government believed that before the lengthy process of continuous negotiations started, there would have to be a series of *ad hoc* meetings between the major and acknowledged political parties and organisations.

These parties would include the NP, ANC, PAC, Inkatha, Azapo, the SACP, the other parliamentary parties except the CP which has so far refused to participate.

At these meetings, the parties would take two or three days to thrash out issues such as the agenda of the multiparty conference, the number of representatives each party would send to the conference and how it would be chaired.

The major negotiations in the conference would not get off the ground before next year because of the preparations required and the different groups' schedules that could cause delays, the source said.

The way was clear to get the urgent business of drafting a new constitution on the road now that some of the major obstacles to talks were being removed. These included the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the progress of the peace initiative to end the township violence.

The source said government was ready to start the process immediately and the NP would need no more than a month to

□ To Page 2

Talks

B/D ay 9/8/91

fine-tune and fully prepare itself.

President F W de Klerk had announced to the world last week that he wanted the talks to start soon.

The NP was based on a federal structure and it was expected that its team of negotiators would probably consist of the four provincial leaders: Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis (Transvaal), Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett (Natal) and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee

3049 □ From Page 1
(Free State).

There would also be a back-up NP team that would probably include incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Viljoen.

Last week De Klerk told a news conference that the first item for discussion by a multiparty conference could be an interim government or some form of transitional arrangement. But he made it clear that this had to be within the framework of the current tricameral constitution.



Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valeri Nikolaienko after their talks in Pretoria yesterday. Picture AP

Ministers expect SA-Soviet co-operation

PRETORIA — Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and the Soviet Union's Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Valeri Nikolaienko expect growing co-operation between their countries after talks yesterday.

31 Day 9/8/91
They were speaking at a news conference at the Union Buildings after heading delegations in talks

lasting more than an hour.

Botha said that there was no hurry to formalise diplomatic relations, but as the Soviet Union was embarking on a market economy, and apartheid had gone in SA, there was "no reason why we should not co-operate ... I foresee steady, closer co-operation between us". *(3048)*

Nikolaienko said region-

al issues had been discussed, including the possibility of co-operation "to help for a better life for African countries". *(254) (279)*

The Soviet Union was prepared to continue cooperating with SA and was aware of efforts by President F W de Klerk to improve the internal situation. — Sapa.

NEW British ambassador Anthony Reeve is a cautious man. His past is less than typical for a British diplomat: he went to a government grammar school in Yorkshire, before graduating to Oxford University.

But, in his demeanour and bearing, he is archetypal. He joined the foreign service after working in industry for three years, and soon fell willing victim to the longstanding love affair of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) with the Arab lands.

Reeve learned Arabic in the hills above Beirut, and served in Abu Dhabi and Cairo.

He arrived in SA last month after heading the Southern Africa Department at the FCO, and serving an "interesting" stint in Amman as ambassador to Jordan. The last few

New British envoy is a man of caution

By David Gifford

months of his term coincided with the Gulf war, and King Hussein's implicit support of Saddam led to "difficulties" with the Jordanian Press.

First impressions of SA are "very positive", he says, with many changes since his last visits in the 1980s.

Had his staunch support of former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's anti-sanctions stand caused problems in dealing with the ANC?

"It has caused differences in opinion, for example with Mr Mandela calling for the reimposition of sanctions, but working relations with the

DARIUS SANAI

ANC are very good," he says.

Reeve stands by his opinion, formed when he was Southern Africa Department head in 1984-88, that sanctions were crippling to the country, and that SA needs investment, not sanctions, if it is to fulfil its potential to become the "economic powerhouse of Africa".

The Labour Party is currently calling for a reimposition of sanctions. It has led the Conservative government in opinion polls for months, and a general election must

be held before next May. What would he do if a Labour government came to power?

Reeve declined to answer this question.

Is British trade in SA going to flourish with the impending lifting of EC sanctions?

"There is obviously a very strong reciprocal interest between the two countries," he says. Britain is very keen to trade with SA, but investors are cautious because of the violence and political instability.

But, he adds, Nelson Mandela's "humaneness and moderation" have had a profound effect on British perceptions of the ANC.

REVIEW



□ REEVE

Two influential US senators due in SA

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DARIUS SANAI

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TWO senior members of the US Congress, responsible for African affairs and international finance, are due to visit SA this month.

Sen Paul Simon, a veteran member of the Senate's committee on foreign relations and chairman of the African affairs subcommittee, and Sen William Roth, who serves on the subcommittee on international finance, are to make separate private visits during this month's congressional recess. *Biden 9/8/91*

Five other members of Congress are to make visits.

One is Sen Dennis DiConcini, a moderate Democrat from Arizona who arrived in SA for week-long visit yesterday.

DiConcini serves on the powerful appropriations committee, which effectively controls the legislative side of the budget, and on the select committee on intelligence.

Diplomatic sources said the results of the Simon and Roth visits would "almost certainly" have an influence on the legislators' policy-making towards SA when they resumed activities on their Senate committees.

Rightwing

Showdown for FW at Ventersdorp

ALAN DUNN
Political Staff AGUS 9/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Khaki-clad rightwingers are flocking to Ventersdorp for a showdown with President De Klerk who has been told that he will not be allowed to address a public meeting there tonight.

"They started arriving yesterday and last night," said an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging spokeswoman calling herself "General" Sannie van der Merwe of the Vroue Wenkommando.

She said masses of rightists would be in position at the town hall by this afternoon, picnicking and braaing in the parkland sur-

rounding the building where Mr De Klerk is due to speak.

Ms Van der Merwe said Ventersdorp had been quiet in the last two days, except for a stepped-up police presence and Defence Force soldiers on scrambler motorcycles.

She said the office of the National Party was issuing tickets for tonight's meeting. She asked for one earlier this week and was told by an NP official that they had been sent out into the district to NP supporters.

She was welcome to show up at the door, the official apparently said, if she was not a member of the AWB or a rightwinger.

The AWB has warned of "tragic

consequences" if taxpayers are barred from Mr De Klerk's meeting and he opts to speak only to NP supporters.

Ms Van der Merwe said an alternative public meeting would simultaneously take place in the park with AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and other rightwing figures on the podium.

Mr De Klerk, warned by rightwing groups last week against his appearance there, has taken up the gauntlet.

Sources close to him believe he did not pick Ventersdorp to provoke the rightwing. It was originally intended as a traditional report-back session after this year's parliamentary sitting.

Report-back meetings were rotated in the region, one source explained. Mr De Klerk had so far spoken in Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Delareyville and Lichtenburg, and the practice was not to use the same venue.

It is believed that Nationalists also regard Ventersdorp as well-placed — near Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp and Lichtenburg.

But rightwing groups, including the Conservative Party, AWB and others, have increased repeated "not welcome" warnings to Mr De Klerk into a show of strength and focus of anger against his government's reforms.

PAC rejects interim govt

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the Pan Africanist Congress, said this week that his organisation rejected the idea of an interim government because it would not be an elected

government based on democratic elections.

Speaking in Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, he said an interim government was a form of replacing an illegitimate government with another undemocratic structure.

FW gears up for showdown

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and the police are gearing themselves up for a showdown with right-wingers at tonight's National Party meeting in Ventersdorp.

The right-wingers have promised to attend the meeting in the conservative town in their thousands and NP offices have received calls from anxious party members concerned about the possibility of violence.

The police are preparing to prevent "intimidation and violence".

Posters advertising the meeting indicate that admission will be reserved.

Optimism for talks to start in October

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ET 9/8/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, the ANC and other major parties are likely to begin meeting for negotiations as early as October, given good faith by all concerned, senior cabinet ministers have said.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is expected to make an announcement today about a multi-party conference.

The parliamentary select committee on constitutional development met yesterday to discuss developments towards convening the multi-party conference.

The ministers said yesterday that they welcomed the recent moves by the ANC's national executive committee and its president, Mr Nelson Mandela. The two sides were drawing closer, they added.

However, the ANC demand for a "sovereign interim government" was still a major stumbling block.

Yesterday Dr Viljoen rejected the ANC demand for an interim government as "not acceptable under any circumstances". However, he accepted that some form of transitional arrangement, in which other groups such as the ANC could be brought into the cabinet, was necessary.

One source believed that once the parties were involved in a conference, they would find solutions to most of the problems. The solutions could possibly include a compromise between "transitional arrangements" and "interim government".

Another source said that a helpful result of the Inkatha funding scandal was that it seemed to have strengthened the ANC's hand and given it the confidence to push for negotiations.

The government believed that before the long negotiations began, there would have to be a series of ad hoc meetings to thrash out the details, such as the agenda.

The major negotiations would not get off the ground before next year because of the preparations required, the source said.

Nats gain highest backing

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CT 9/8/91

PRETORIA. — The National Party could count on the support of 27,7% of the members of all groups in the South African population, according to a recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council's Information Update.

The telephonic survey of more than 2 000 people conducted in July this year found that the ANC had the support of 24,8%, the Conservative Party 4,3% and the Democratic Party 1,5%.

Support for the NP among whites remained unchanged at 56,5% between June and July despite the removal of the last pillars of apartheid legislation, said the HSRC in a statement.

The CP's white support stayed at 21% while support for the ANC among blacks rose from 47% to 50%.

President FW de Klerk's support among Afrikaans-speakers was 47% in July as opposed to 52% in June, and 65,9% of English-

speakers supported him.

Only 18,6% of Afrikaans-speakers supported CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The survey found there was overwhelming support among all the population groups for a multi-party conference to negotiate a new South Africa.

The HSRC said that of the 2 101 people who took part in the survey, 888 were blacks, 441 coloured people, 412 whites and 358 Asians. — Sapa

The power behind the grin

Star 9/8/91

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A FEW years ago, during a wage dispute between the mine owners and the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa was the subject of a famous political cartoon.

He was pictured standing behind a mining magnate, whose face was contorted with discomfort. This was due to the fact that the caricatured Mr Ramaphosa's hand was up in-between his legs, squeezing his sensitive parts. The speech bubble had Mr Ramaphosa saying, sweetly: "Do I hear 30 percent?" But the most striking element of the drawing was Mr Ramaphosa's face, at once brutally intelligent and innocently cherubic. It captured perfectly the political personality: a top-drawer charmer who exercises his considerable power with a winning, impish grin.

This is the Cyril Ramaphosa — NUM chief no more, but secretary-general of arguably the most powerful political organisation in South Africa — who will shortly become the ANC's full-time negotiations facilitator and strategist.

He was in full flight this week, in his new office at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters. He answered, under sufferance, questions asked about his new job definition and about the apparent parallel between his position and that of Dr Stofel van der Merwe, who is being relieved of his Cabinet duties to become the National Party's negotiations pointman and chief marketer.

Mr Ramaphosa was much more animated when talking

Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON in conversation with the ANC's tough-talking negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa.



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . wants a hand on the wheel.

about the political situation in the wake of Inkathagate.

For him, the exposure of Government funding for Inkatha is positive proof that an interim executive, drawn from the various key parties, is the only means of ensuring speedy and successful negotiations.

"We have a feeling that the Government is going to crash this ship," he says, "because it is not capable of piloting us through this stormy transitional weather."

"And I don't think there are many of us who want to end up on a political Oceanos. Not when we can see that the captain isn't fully in control, and might crash and run away."

"We intend to educate him

(President de Klerk) out of that bad seamanship. And one of the ways of doing so is to say: 'We want to educate you on the job, we want to hold the steering wheel with you.'

"Because at the moment Mr de Klerk is saying to us: 'Trust me. In spite of Inkathagate and everything, I want you to be in with me in a transitional arrangement. But I'm not going to admit you into the captain's cabin. I'll keep on opening the door and saying: how am I driving? Then I'll close it again.'

"Now we say: 'We want to be in there with you, and that's all we ask.' Mr de Klerk could actually find himself in a leading part of an interim government."

Mr Ramaphosa says he is not wedded to the particular terminology, but to the principle involved. "If the term 'interim government' is all they have problems with," he says, "I think most of us would be willing to call it something else."

"But I have a feeling that it is much more than the term that they have problems with. Therein lie the seeds of a deadlock. And I think Government would be misdirecting itself if it thinks it can still infuse faith and confidence in the transitional process, with its hands still on the steering wheel."

Mr Ramaphosa believes that as a result of Inkathagate "our (the ANC's) case has become

greatly strengthened because many people have now seen that this Government is not going to be capable of ensuring that the transition period is smooth. If this Government remains in control, there are going to be many, many pitfalls, which might delay the process — and even reverse the process, to a certain extent."

Will the dramatic Cabinet changes not make a difference? Mr Ramaphosa ponders for a while before answering. "I think Mr de Klerk's new Ministers will serve him well. In fact, I have no doubt they will serve him and the objectives he wants to achieve well. The new Cabinet, or the reformed Cabinet, will be fully behind him."

"But I am not so sure if, in the end, the changing of the Cabinet will mean much change in the way the Nationalist Government has been thinking and doing things. One could say that to us, it might seem as if it is just the musical instruments that have been changed. The orchestra plays on."

Mr Ramaphosa was finally inveigled into talking about his altered post and its apparent mirror within the National Party. He dealt with second things first. "I am uncomfortable with the (Van der Merwe) parallel," he says, adding with a grin before the obvious question could be asked: "But don't ask me why."

Had he asked for the re-allocation of duties? "I'm not saying" he laughs, but then concedes he has "found this job involves a lot of work". □

Star 9/8/91

AWB says thousands of supporters will pour into Ventersdorp tonight

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

304A

21/1

Rightwingers from all over the country are planning a massive show of force which may turn into a violent confrontation at President de Klerk's meeting in Ventersdorp tonight.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned that thousands of rightwingers will descend on the meeting.

"This could be the rightwingers' strongest action yet — a Rubicon event for them," commented Dr Wim Booysse, political analyst specialising in right-wing politics.

It is understood there are plans to "neutralise" a large po-

lice contingent and to attempt to prevent Mr de Klerk addressing his supporters.

A body created to marshal the rightwingers, the Ventersdorp Afrikaner Crisis Action, said it had been refused permission to protest tonight and present a petition to Mr de Klerk.

The group's chairman, Sarel van Rensburg, said: "The rally promises to be one of the high points in Afrikaner history."

NP chairman in the western Transvaal, Amie Venter, has told NP supporters to be seated early and not to be intimidated by CP and AWB threats.

The police have stated they will not allow disruptions at the meeting.

(304A)
CP quits body, says

Govt is being sly

Star 9/8/91
The Conservative Party yesterday withdrew from a meeting of the parliamentary Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs in Pretoria.

It accused the Government of using the committee "in a sly manner" to involve Parliament in the negotiation process.

CP spokesman on constitutional affairs Moolman Mentz (MP for Ermelo) said in a statement that President de Klerk had instructed the committee to consider the structuring of the negotiations process and Parliament's role therein.

The National Party was in this way abusing Parliament and its machinery to reach its own party-political goals and to compromise parties such as the CP in the negotiations process. — Sapa

Protecting the rights of SA's women

By PORTIA MAURICE

WILL South African women — fragmented by class divides and political schisms — be able to reach common ground about how their rights should be protected in a future constitution?

This is the challenge faced by an African National Congress Women's League regional seminar, to be held at Wits University on Saturday. A myriad of women's and political organisations, ranging from the Conservative Party, Inkatha and the National Party to the Pan Africanist Congress, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, have been invited to attend.

The Women's League is proposing a charter as a means of ensuring that women are not sidelined in the constitutional process. But other options will be considered.

A women's charter, said Women's League member Frene Ginwala, would help the courts interpret what is contained in a Bill of Rights. Whereas a constitution would contain the basic laws of the land and a Bill of Rights the inalienable rights of individuals, a charter would be a declaratory document spelling out women's demands.

"This has got to be a South African document which goes beyond party political perspectives," Ginwala said.

A process of broad consultation is envisaged, with particular emphasis on the needs of rural women in outlying areas. "This should not be a document designed by an intellectual group of elite women; women at every level should be encouraged to debate what their needs are," Ginwala said.

Among the issues which may be included in the charter are maternity and child care rights, gender oppression within family units, the recognition of unpaid labour, equal pay for work of equal value, women's right to control their own fertility, protection against abuse in the home and property rights.

"Both women and society devalue unpaid labour — such as domestic responsibilities and collecting water or firewood in villages — because work is defined only in terms of what brings in wages," Ginwala said.

The campaign will be launched at a national level later this year.

Giving flesh to the notion of interim government

w/ Mail 9/8 - 15/8/91

A CREDIBLE interim government will involve not just placing representatives from other parties in the cabinet, but tampering with the civil service itself, says Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the African National Congress.

In a wide-ranging interview with *The Weekly Mail* this week, Ramaphosa said the prime areas of joint control that the ANC would be aiming for would include the security forces and the broadcasting media, but added "I think you have to go way beyond that".

The Inkathagate scandal has transformed the political scene in South Africa, cutting through the impasse over political-prisoner releases, the return of exiles and the township violence, and opening the way for an all-party conference to begin the real task of negotiations.

Both the government and the ANC agree that item number one on the conference agenda will be an interim government or "transitional arrangements", but the actual shape it will take is still only a hazy outline in the minds of both major parties.

Ramaphosa said that within the ANC there is an intensive discussion on how to give flesh to the notion of an interim government.

"Whilst it holds out the dangers of co-option, if it is properly structured, the dangers are much reduced," he said.

"By an interim government, we are talking about a sovereign body which will be vested with the instruments of state power.

"We will no doubt have the National Party and all other parties participating.

"There's also the question of the civil service — the real rockbed of apartheid. It is the civil service that has to run elections, and if you're not going to tamper with the way the civil service works, then the end result is going to look like an apartheid government.

"The concept of an interim government will become much clearer for us when the consultation process among our members has reached its conclusion and also at the all-party conference, when our proposals on the table will have been gone through thoroughly. What is clear is that we do not want to go through the transition process with a De Klerk government.

"I think De Klerk has set his mind against giving up the sovereignty of his government. There is some hope, to the extent that he is prepared to talk, and we will be going in there to demonstrate to him that an interim

The actual shape of an interim government is still only a hazy outline. Cyril Ramaphosa, the man at the helm of the African National Congress in the past weeks, provides an insight into ANC thinking.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

government is the best route to be taken."

Ramaphosa said the significance of the interim government for the ANC was that it would be an insurance policy during the negotiations.

"Its overall importance has to do with injecting confidence in the whole negotiation process. The feeling on the ground is that there is very little that you can trust in De Klerk and in a Nat government.

"Because they cannot be trusted, they cannot therefore act as player and referee and hope to hang on to the reins of power. Government can have a very big influence on whatever settlement emanates.

"I think if we allow the Nat government to proceed in government, we will actually be making sure that we have a recipe for disaster afterwards.

"Apart from the fact that they are going to undermine agreements that we've reached, there's a chance that we might be forced to get into agreements that may not be popular or we might be forced to get into agreements of convenience with them that will never last the test of time."

Ramaphosa said among the elements that would be regulated by an interim government would be the police, the defence force and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

"An interim government will not just be political involvement. It will go beyond to include the operatives to ensure that the interim government will be fully involved in the structures of the police force and the defence force."

Ramaphosa said another concept the ANC was dealing with was the role of the international community during the transition phase, but that it was still a bit early to see whether they could play the same role as they played in Namibia.

"There is a case to be made out for the involvement of the international community. They have been involved in a number of

other conflicts and have been involved in South Africa in an indirect way in terms of putting pressure through sanctions and the adoption of the Harare and United Nations declarations.

"A case can be made for their direct participation, but it is premature to say how. But things have advanced to a point where we think the involvement of a neutral party in the negotiating process is going to become a reality.

"We have to decide who that neutral party will be, who will convene the all-party conference, who will chair it, and so forth.

"We've had success with neutral players already — that is, the church and business — in the peace talks. One cannot say whether they will be called to play that role in the constitutional process."

Ramaphosa said he had not yet settled in his own mind how the all-party conference is to be convened.

"Government envisages a meeting to talk about planning an all-party conference. That could involve the government and the ANC, and at that meeting there could be agreement on handing over to a neutral party that could convene a planning committee where all parties are represented."

Ramaphosa said it was not inconceivable that the all-party conference would sit this year or at the beginning of next year.

"Preparatory things have to be done — invitations have to go out, you have to check the credentials of every organisation, criteria have to be agreed on, and so forth.

"But there are many pitfalls along the way, just as there are hopeful points. Depending on how all parties participate in the process, we may find that we speed up the process and reach rich, good agreements or everything comes to a standstill. We as the ANC are hopeful that we will be able to steer clear of the pitfalls."

On ANC co-operation with Inkatha, Ramaphosa said: "We cannot run away from the fact that Inkatha is also a player on the political scene. What we have said is that we're going to review our relationship with Inkatha because it has proved that it's not an independent political party, as we thought it was.

"That review will be taking place at all levels — regional, branch, national — and when it is completed, we will be able to take a position."

Ramaphosa said the obstacles to negotiation would still have to be removed, but "the main emphasis now is on the removal of the major obstacle — the government".

VENTERSDORP — It was a tragic day for South Africa "that people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty, State President F W de Klerk said in his speech on Friday night in Ventersdorp.

Addressing 1 600 people in the town shortly after incidents involving AWB members and police, Mr De Klerk said he would not apologise for using the police to safeguard the meeting.

The meeting has been violently opposed by the AWB which has led to clashes battles between the rightwing group and police guarding Kommando Hall where Mr de Klerk

Tragic day for SA, and AWB to blame — says FW

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addressed National Party supporters.

He said the government would supply police protection to any party that needed it from "people who do not know how to behave themselves".

Mr De Klerk launched a hardnosed attack on the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and other rightwing groups for "looking for trouble".

The controversy surrounding

the National Party meeting had not been the fault of the NP — "but instead had been instigated by the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and their friends".

"If there is to be confrontation tonight, which I hope will not happen, then they must carry the full responsibility," Mr de Klerk warned. "I am shocked by the viciousness and threats of the past few days,

and I know many CP supporters are shocked with me and concerned".

He said the excuse often used by the CP for excesses was that the NP was no longer speaking to Afrikaners, but was only talking to the African National Congress. "That is a blatant untruth... I have spoken to Eugene Terre'Blanche and Jaap Marais (of the Herstigte Nasionale Party) in my office." — Sapa.

TWO DEAD AND
DOZENS INJURED
IN CLASHES

The

Battle of Ventersdorp

Ventersdorp 10/8/91



□ **CHALLENGE:** AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche, left, exchanges harsh words with police during the clash.

□ **CONFRONTATION:** A right-wing demonstrator, shouts at police during clashes which erupted when AWB activists tried to disrupt a meeting being addressed by President F W de Klerk.

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Top banks reel as fraud scandal spreads

Weekend Argus
Correspondents

LONDON. — The scandal surrounding the Bank of Credit and Commerce International has spread its tentacles further into the world banking system.

Hong Kong said yesterday it suspected BCCI depositors of trying to destabilise other banks.

At the same time the extent to which individuals, businesses and civil authorities in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland will be damaged became more apparent.

According to a Wall Street Journal investigation, BCCI had R5.7 billion worth of assets in Africa. An auditor's report shows that more than R858 million of deposits are in southern Africa with R454 million of deposits in Zimbabwe, R100 million in Botswana, R66 million in Swaziland and R245 million in Zambia.

The Journal concludes that BCCI's collapse hits prospects of hundreds of businesses in the region.

Exports and imports are falling because of unpaid foreign exchange contracts and frozen letters of credit. Confidence is shaken, and many businesses are paralysed.

In Hong Kong anxious depositors thronged branches of Britain's Standard Chartered Bank to withdraw their money after rumours spread that it had lost its banking licence and had been de-listed from the London Stock Exchange.

Queues also formed outside Citibank's branches for a third day due to lingering fears that the giant US bank would close its doors worldwide.

The Hong Kong government closed BCCI's subsidiary, Bank of Credit and Commerce Hong Kong Ltd (BCCHK), on July 8, only three days after assuring the public that it was sound.

Angry BCCHK depositors, many of whom risk losing most of their life's savings, have staged weekly protests, battled with police and even gone on hunger strike to try to force a government bailout.

Reports from BRENDAN TEMPLETON,
GUY JEPSON and JACQUELINE MYBURGH,
Weekend Argus Correspondents
and Sapa in Ventersdorp

WAR raged between thousands of police and rightwing supporters as a "Boer uprising" convulsed this little town last night.

Two white men were killed during the clashes and not three as earlier reported, police spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze confirmed today.

The men were Mr J J Conradie of Klerksdorp, and Mr J Badenhorst, address unknown.

An unidentified black man is thought to have died in the clashes.

A total of 58 people were injured in the clashes which erupted when about 2 000 Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) supporters confronted police who had surrounded a hall where President F W de Klerk addressed a National Party meeting.

Captain Kotze said 36 white civilians were hurt, 12 black civilians and eight policemen, as rightwingers attempted to prevent President De Klerk from addressing the meeting.

About 2 000 policemen ringed the venue to stop an equal number of rightwingers from carrying out a threat to disrupt the meeting.

Mr De Klerk was able to deliver his address (report on page 3).

The AWB members reportedly died in a car accident. Most of the black people were believed to have been injured after being dragged from a minibus taxi and assaulted by AWB members.

Car windows were smashed.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche negotiated at Ventersdorp police station until late in the evening while hordes of angry armed AWB supporters barricaded the entrance to the police station and Mr Piet Rudolph, AWB secretary-general, told the assembled mob: "What we have seen here tonight is the start of the Boer uprising".

Mr Rudolph had just been released from temporary police custody. A police spokesman told Sapa certain charges were being investigated against him.

Later, Mr Terre'Blanche told his followers at the police station to go home. He said they had an assurance from General Louw Malan of the police that they would be allowed to go home without being stopped at roadblocks.

According to Sapa reporter Clyde Russell, there had been an estimated 100 police and several Defence Force soldiers besieged inside the police station.

AWB members spray-painted the police vehicles parked outside with the hammer-sickle and anti-NP slogans and let the air out of the tyres to prevent police from leaving.

Ventersdorp Hospital staff were too busy treating scores of injured to speak to the press, their telephone operator said.

The policemen were injured when a marksman among a crowd of protesting AWB supporters fired on them, using a rifle.

Police said the shooting occurred when police went to the rescue of the occupants of a minibus who were shot at and assaulted by AWB supporters.

Major Ray Harrold of the police public relations division said after holding a meeting in another hall, AWB supporters split into smaller groups and moved towards the hall where the NP meeting was to take place.

Turn to Page 3.



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, Weekend
□ **QUEEN DI:** Beauty queen Diana Tilden-Davis anticipates a hot summer by showing some summer wear.

Remarkable agreement between ANC and the government

BACK in August 1989 the African National Congress spelled out in the Harare Declaration its vision of how peace could be brought to South Africa.

In this document it specified a set of constitutional principles, the steps required to create the necessary climate for negotiations, and guidelines to the process of negotiations.

Since his inauguration President De Klerk has committed the National Party to constitutional principles similar to those contained in the declaration.

Moreover, he has been working to resolve those "structural" problems outlined as obstacles to negotiations.

He took steps to:

- Release political prisoners and detainees;
- Urban previously restricted organisations and people;
- End the emergency;
- Radically amend the Internal Security Act; and
- Place a moratorium on executions and commute death sentences passed on political offenders.

In addition his government introduced measures which repealed most legislative apartheid; what remains are those laws necessary to keep the (racist) tricameral constitution working. Even here, he has committed his Government to the negotiation of a new, non-racial constitution that would sound the death knell of these transitional provisions.

For its part, the ANC committed itself to the suspension of armed struggle — which had been a major stumbling-block to the government.

Not unnaturally, this process of political liberalisation gave rise to other problems which, in turn, became obstacles to negotiation. The most serious of these was the horrific violence which engulfed many of the townships and, allied to this, the persistent allegations that the security forces were themselves instigators of, or at least had complicity in, the violence.

The ANC demanded that the government also deal with these problems as they constituted obstacles to negotiation at least as important as those contained in the declaration.

These new demands were mostly clearly expressed in the ANC's 'ultimatum' of April 5 1991.

While the government publicly rejected the ultimatum, in fact it took steps to deal with the demands. It agreed to appoint a judicial commission to investigate allegations of malpractices by the security forces and appointed a commission of

Getting close — but one slip can wreck it all

304R
APR 25 10/8/91



Much of the attention given by the media to the differences dividing the ANC and the government masks a remarkable degree of agreement. It is all the more remarkable because a mere two years ago the two were at war. **JAMES SELFE** of the South African Political Research Association analyses the situation today.

inquiry into the Sebokeng massacre of March 22.

While not outlawing the carrying of traditional weapons altogether, the government has prohibited these in unrested areas, proclaimed from time to time to deal with specific cases of unrest.

The government has agreed to phase out single men's hostels. While ministers Vlok and Malan have not been dismissed from the Cabinet, they have been moved to less controversial portfolios.

Finally, after a false start, the peace summit convened by business and church leaders continues to make steady progress towards addressing the root causes of violence.

In spite of predictable differences of interpretation and emphasis, most preconditions for negotiation have been met.

The focus has now shifted to differences about how a new constitution ought to be negotiated.

The ANC and PAC believe that the con-

stitution ought to be drawn up by an elected constituent assembly and that, while this process is taking place, the country should be administered by an interim government.

The National Party argues that however imperfect its mandate, it is recognised in international law as the government of South Africa. Moreover, it argues that minorities will not be adequately represented in a constituent assembly, and that, therefore, a multiparty conference should be the instrument of constitutional negotiation.

Even between these seemingly incompatible positions there are the beginnings of convergence.

Mr De Klerk admits that the National Party cannot referee and take part in the process and is open to constructive suggestions about broadening participation in government, while the ANC is prepared to attend what it terms an all-party congress and, indeed, to let this body contin-

ue to negotiate a constitution provided it is popularly mandated.

With almost superhuman statemanship, then, the two formerly warring parties seem close to real constitutional negotiation.

But the whole process could still be wrecked easily. Both sides have combatants who, until recently, were taught that armed conflict was unavoidable. In spite of a significant change of heart by the leadership of both sides it requires only single incidents to set off a chain of violence and counter-violence.

Secondly, in spite of the optimism, most South Africans still live in grinding poverty with highly inadequate or non-existent services. Massive upliftment and job-creation programmes have to be set in train to match political optimism with visible change on the ground.

In this connection the "liberation movements" have fed their constituents on a heady diet of rhetoric. Whether this emanates from the right wing or left wing, both sides have the potential to mobilise angry (and armed) people if they feel seriously threatened.

There is no guarantee that the many potential obstacles to successful negotiations will not prove insurmountable. One can only hope that a realisation of the terrible consequences of failure will be sufficient to ensure that all parties remain committed to a negotiated solution.

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□ **INJURED:** A policeman is attended to by police medics after being shot in the leg.



□ **DEAD:** The body of a black man is removed from the scene after a violent clash between police and rightwingers in Ventersdorp in which two people died.

The battle of Ventersorp

3047
24th
A 10/8/91

From Page 1.

"En route to the hall, a taxi with two black occupants drove past and the AWB people shot at it, shattering most of the windows."

The AWB supporters wrenched the occupants from the vehicle and assaulted them.

Policemen who saw the attack tried to reach the injured minibus occupants, but the AWB crowd kept them back. "The police used birdshot to disperse the attackers. A marksman or marksmen, using a rifle(s) opened fire on the police," said Major Harrauld.

One seriously injured policeman was taken to the Ventersdorp Hospital.

Major Harrauld could not confirm whether AWB members had been injured in the shooting.

The switchboard operator at the Ventersdorp Hospital said the admissions area of the hospitals was "chaotic", but she would not say how many casualties had been admitted.

President De Klerk arrived more than an hour late.

He arrived by helicopter, running the gauntlet of angry AWB members, metres of ra-

zorwire and contingents of police surrounding the Kommando Hall.

Mr Terre'Blanche was earlier sprayed in the face with tearsmoke by a police captain during an ugly confrontation. The incident happened after Mr Terre'Blanche said: "Captain, come and shoot me."

Tearsmoke was fired by police into the AWB crowd and police followed up the tearsmoke with a baton charge. The AWB people responded by throwing stones and firing shots, during which at least three policemen were injured.

Mandela firm on interim government

APL
10/8/91

ESTHER WAUGH

30411

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THOHOYANDOU. — The ANC will insist on a definite time-frame for establishing an interim government.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the government's "range of criminal and near-criminal" behaviour demonstrated the need for interim rule.

He was speaking at the national conference of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe at the University of Venda yesterday.

In a prepared speech given to the Press, Mr Mandela said 18 months were the limit of a realistic period to establish an interim government. However, he made no mention of this period when he delivered his speech.

Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani said Umkhonto we Sizwe had already begun preparing itself for a new defence force by sending some of its members to various countries for regular army training.

Mr Hani said the ANC leadership had not yet decided about the Communist Party's request to relieve him of his ANC duties, including his Umkhonto we Sizwe position.

Interim govt: ANC 'flexible'

3047
ET 10/8/91

Own Correspondent

THOHOYANDOU. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday signalled a new flexibility on the thorny interim government issue.

In his opening address to Umkhonto we Sizwe's first legal conference in South Africa, at the University of Venda, he said the "modalities of its installation and its actual composition can be a matter for discussion and negotiation among all the players on the political arena".

The ANC would insist on only two principles:

- "The first is inclusivity, so that no body of political opinion feels excluded." This will go some way towards addressing the fears of those who believe the organisation's proposals for an interim government would amount to little more than an ANC government.

- "The second is a definite and unambiguous time frame." It has been suggested in ANC circles that this should be no longer than 18 months.

Mr Mandela painted a picture of what he envisaged as the process that should be followed.

"For an interim government to assume office will require that the in-

cumbent government resign and hand over power to the transitional administration.

"The interim government would have to take charge of all armed and security forces in the country, adopt an interim bill of rights, supervise and conduct the elections for a constituent assembly in addition to implementing other measures necessary to prepare the country for democracy," he said.

Mr Mandela also returned to the recent ANC decisions to maintain MK in combat readiness, establish MK structures around the country and to create self-defence units.

"Because of our keen awareness of the dangers inherent in the minority regime's determination to cling on to power... we dare not relax our vigilance and we dare not permit this MK to disintegrate or whither away," he said.

He added that "we are called upon to prepare ourselves and restructure MK so that its cadres can take their rightful place in the armed forces of a democratic South Africa".

Mr Mandela paid lavish praise to those countries that have backed MK during its 30 years of existence. They included Angola, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, the USSR, Cuba and China.

Running battles at FW meeting

CT 10/8/91

30417

TWO die in riot

VENTERSDORP. — Two AWB members died, three policemen were shot and 53 people injured last night in running battles between police and right-wing supporters shortly before President F W de Klerk was due to address local NP members here.

Police confirmed that one of the fatalities was a man who had been shot, while the other died when he was hit by a kombi — with black occupants — that went out of control after being fired on by right-wingers.

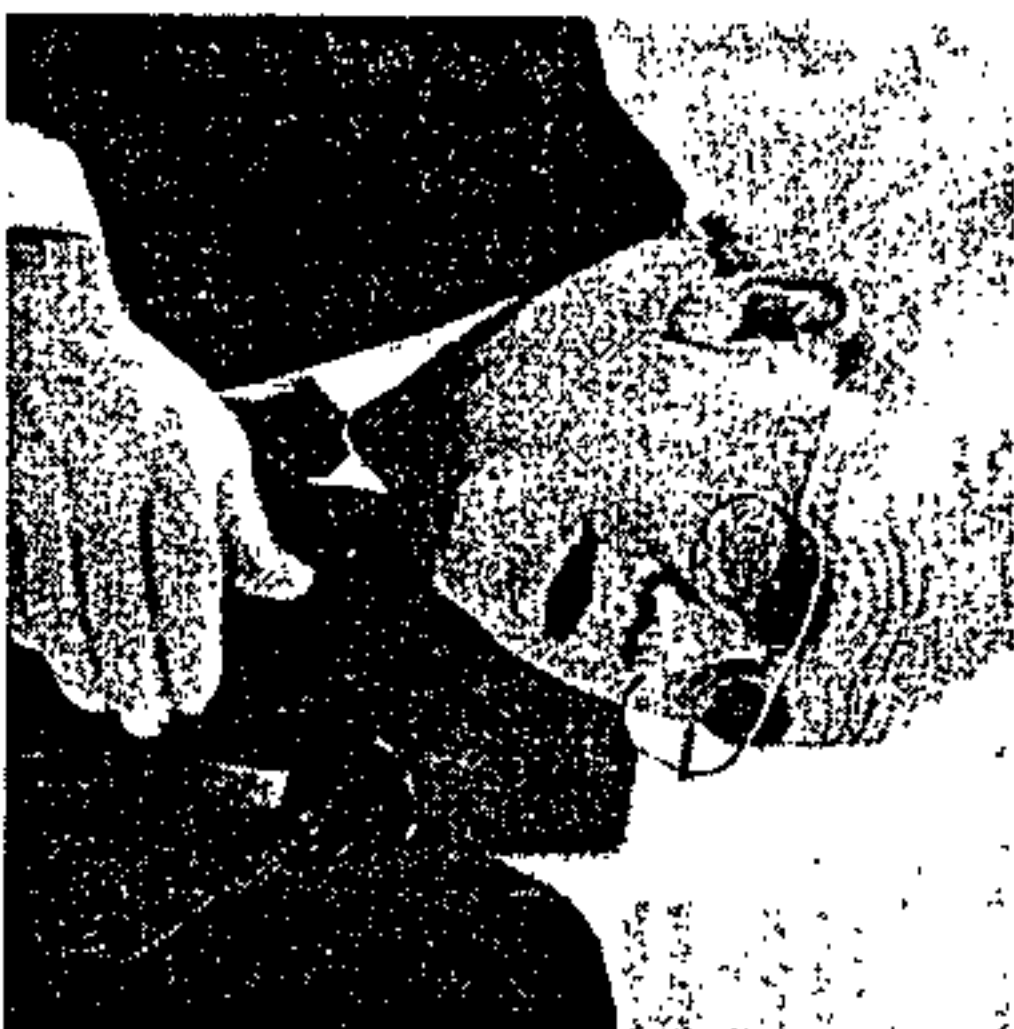
Police said the occupants were dragged out of the vehicle and assaulted by the AWB members.

Police tried to rescue the black people, but were shot at. Six policemen were injured, one of them seriously. Three of the injured policemen were shot and are seriously hurt. They were admitted to Ventersdorp Hospital. Police said one of the seriously injured policeman may have died, but they could not confirm this.

However, an ambulance which arrived to take away the injured black people refused to transport them. The injured men were eventually taken in a Transvaal Provincial Administration ambulance.

Among the injured were nine AWB members. At least 12 blacks are believed to have been dragged from a minibus taxi and assaulted by AWB members.

Police were late last night still trying to confirm the death of another AWB member and two black people.



"TRAGIC DAY" ... President F W de Klerk



TEARGASSED ... Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche

The injured were taken to hospitals at Potchefstroom, Ventersdorp and One Military at Pretoria.

Mr De Klerk's heavily guarded meeting in the Kommandosaal — which was cordoned off with razor-wire — went ahead as scheduled.

At least two people who shouted "You are a traitor" at Mr De Klerk were physically ejected from the meeting, which was plunged into darkness when the lights went out for several minutes.

An unruffled Mr De Klerk told the meeting it was "a tragic day" for South Africa "that people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty.

After Mr De Klerk's speech, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche arrived at the local police station at 10.15pm and told his followers to go home. He said they had an assurance from General Louw Mahan of the SA Police that they would be allowed to go home without being stopped at road-blocks.

Police spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said six AWB members were arrested for possession of dangerous weapons. Mr Terre-Blanche later negotiated the release of the six on their own recognisances. They are to appear in court on Monday.

Teargas was fired outside the Kommandosaal where policemen stood guard shoulder-to-shoulder after AWB supporters ap-

proached the line and taunted them. The cordon was guarded by about 40 police dogs and four lines of policemen standing 40 abreast. Snipers could be seen on surrounding rooftops.

Shortly after 7.30pm, AWB supporters approached the cordon en masse and started taunting policemen. When the cordon was penetrated, teargas was fired and right-wing leader Mr Piet "Stief" Rudolph was taken into custody.

Clashes again broke out and the AWB members were repelled by police. Police maintain that right-wingers opened fire first with live ammunition. Policemen in the front-line were asking for R1 rifles to be brought in.

Cars in the vicinity were smashed by AWB members who pelted rocks through windows and punctured tyres. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed three arrests, adding that the men had been arrested in terms of the Defence Act "relating to the wearing of SADF uniforms". They were "apparently members of the AWB", he said.

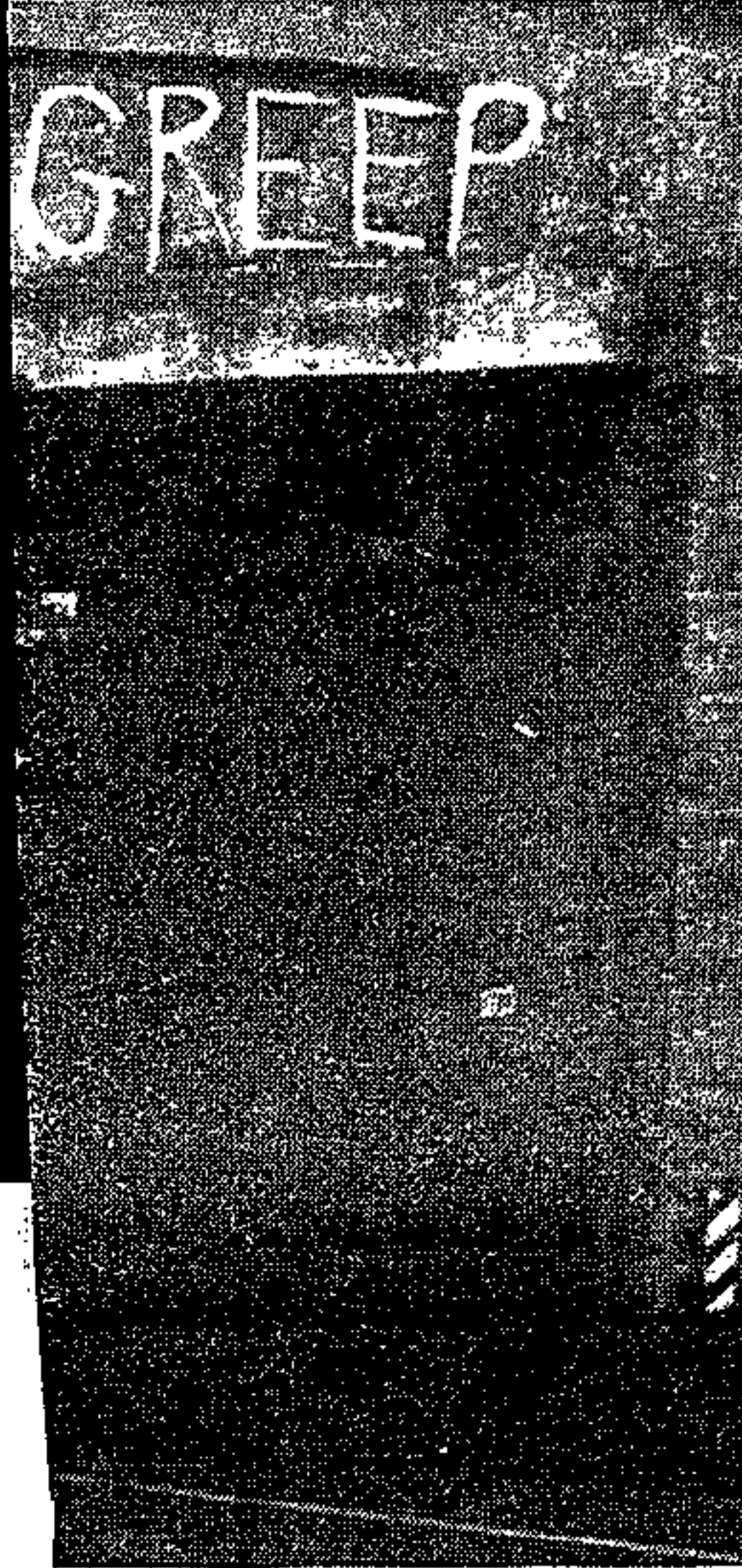
The arrested men had been handed to military police.

Captain Kotze added that police were in Ventersdorp to enforce the law during the NP meeting "in a professional and apolitical way".

"Police are not here to support the ruling party in any way, but to ensure order is maintained. We will do this in a professional and apolitical way."

In Pretoria, police spokesman Major Ray Harrauld confirmed an additional arrest, adding that the man was apparently a member of

we are terrorists?"



Sign of the times ... Graffiti on an Eastern Transvaal bridge captures the militant mood of the far right
Photo: KEVIN CARTER

with ET...

The professor and a man known as the doctor — of geology, TerreBlanche informed us ("he studies rocks") — formed a banjo and guitar combo and launched into drunken renditions of *Please Release Me, Let Me Go* and songs gushing with Afrikaner sentiment.

"Play us more songs of suffering (*hartseer*)," said TerreBlanche.

"No, no songs of suffering," said a woman at the bar in disgust. "Songs of suffering are for kaffirs." *W/Mail 16/8-22/8/91*

So too, it seems, are political funerals. TerreBlanche shot down the prospect of a mass funeral for the fallen of the Ventersdorp war. "We are not the African National Congress. We boere have private family funerals."

The racist tone of the conversation worsened as the evening went on. "I don't like Jews," the professor, who claimed to own diamond and gold mines, kept repeating, explaining that "the Jews killed us in the Boer War and took away our mines".

As he departed, TerreBlanche asked us mockingly: "So now you've met the militant right-wing. Do you still think we are terrorists?"

"I am not a racist," he continued and then, with an exaggerated gesture of chivalry, he kissed Matthes' hand and said: "May a white light guide you."

When she looked puzzled, he joked: "You see? You are a racist. Have you ever seen black light?"

Leaving us to ponder the meaning of this, the self-proclaimed champion of the boer cause stumbled out of the Ventersdorp bar.

● A version of this story was published in newspapers in Holland, Britain, Canada and America earlier this week, unleashing a storm of controversy in the Afrikaans press and an indignant denial from TerreBlanche.

The AWB leader has told *Beeld* that he had not been in the company of women, but of businessmen.

He denied that he had popped the bullet onto the counter, saying: "It is a well-known fact that I don't carry a gun and so I would not have had a bullet on me."

Van Vuuren said that they went to the ladies bar to talk business and that TerreBlanche had not taken any liquor. He had said he was terribly tired and *hartseer* after the events of the night before.

"We were continuously bothered by the Dutch lady. This lady appeared to be rather pissed and provocative. She forced herself upon Mr TerreBlanche and provoked him to talk about the events of the night before. He repeatedly sent her away politely."

According to Van Vuuren, they suspected that Matthes was either a journalist or an agent. He said that when she came and leaned against him and asked for a souvenir of Ventersdorp, one of the TerreBlanche's friends said: "Take this (six bullets) and give it to De Klerk if you want to."

TerreBlanche then left the bar, Van Vuuren said.

To which Matthes replies: "I was not pissed. I hardly drink. I was amused but certainly not trying to be provocative."

● The real winner was FW: Page 18

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10/8/22/8

Nat power-sharing

SfTimes 11/8/91

304A

THE government has spelt out its proposed "interim measures" to be implemented while negotiations for a new constitution continue.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen this week sketched outlines for a form of power-sharing between the major political parties during the negotiation period, which some sources indicate could begin within two months.

Filter

Options he put forward as part of the power-sharing package were:

- Appointing members of other parties to the Cabinet;
- Giving the proposed multi-party conference or the eventual constitution-making body veto rights over legislation;
- Appointing a committee of "wise men" with power to "filter" legislation and actions by govern-

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

ment departments; Dr Viljoen acknowledged there were still vast differences between what he was proposing and the ANC demand for an interim government. The ANC has made it clear it expects the interim government to have full executive powers.

These working groups could deal with such issues as education, labour relations, finance and taxing policy.

"There is room and a willingness to move even closer," he added.

Addressing journalists at a press conference this week, Dr Viljoen said government was not ruling out possible changes to the constitution to ensure effective power sharing in the interim period.

Government, he said, was averse to tinkering with the constitution until

a new one had been negotiated.

But he added: "We realise the objection from the other side is that this would lead to no real power and no real influence and would amount to co-option. Therefore, we are prepared to look at alternatives."

He stressed, however, that any interim measure introduced would have to be agreed at a multi-party

conference.

Dr Viljoen's statement on possible interim measures — the clearest statement yet by the government on the issue — came in a week in which important progress was made to remove immediate stumbling blocks to the commencement of negotiations.

● The government and the UN High Commission for Refugees have come

closer than ever to reaching agreement to allow the UNHCR to oversee the return of 20 000 exiles to South Africa, said Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

But final agreement, which would see the last remaining obstacle to negotiations being removed, has not been secured.

After holding two days of talks with the depart-

plan

ments of Foreign Affairs and Justice, UNHCR officials Nini Akiwumi and Kallu Kalumiya were unable to secure a final agreement enabling the organisation to set up office in South Africa and oversee the return of the exiles.

The final sticking point is understood to be opposition from some members of government to the granting of a general amnesty to exiles.

Code

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said the matter was under discussion and referred to an earlier statement by Mr Botha in which he said great progress had been made and agreement could be reached soon.

● Significant progress has been made between representatives of the NP, the ANC and Inkatha in endorsing a code of conduct for police and political parties.

The parties will meet again this week in a church-sponsored peace commission to round off the agreements.

A NICELY malicious story avers that when Mr Barend du Plessis became Minister of Finance, he had no hope of curbing government spending because he still called half the Cabinet "oom", now half the Cabinet call him "oom", and he still can't control spending.

The story, no doubt, is apocryphal — more likely, the entire Cabinet called the fearsome President Botha "baas", but it does illuminate a mystery of change: the tenacity of old ideas, old habits, old sins. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* The more things change, the more they remain the same.

Consider a different example: blacks and civil rights lawyers are fighting, against fierce opposition from many whites, for a law to forbid race discrimination. The argument is conducted in anachronistic terms, imported from the United States and Britain, of discrimination against black people.

But, a moment's reflection must surely convince most whites that it is they, not the blacks, who will soon require protection against race discrimination. Whites should all be clamouring now for anti-discrimination laws to protect them against a powerful, governing, and perhaps vengeful black majority.

Another example: a survey published in recent days suggests that whites, by and large, have very little wealth to be redistributed. Half of them have net assets of less than R100 000, usually representing only the inflated value of homes bought long ago. Among the richer of them, of course, is fat cat Mr Joe Slovo whose R250 000 house is said to be free of mortgage.

The wealth redistribution lobby is undaunted. Like Mark I Nats, who believed that apartheid had to be made to work even if it was impossible, they insist on redistributing wealth even if it doesn't exist. Their view of the future rests entirely on taking Mr Slovo's house — and mine, too, I suppose — and dividing it among the poor.

Indeed, they cannot envisage a future that does not replicate white rule, white rule in blackface, as it were. They look not only to redistributing the suburbs, but also to getting their hands on Sasol and Armscor, Mossagas and Transnet, the Union Buildings and the Houses of Parliament, and above all, the money-printing machine at the Reserve Bank.

It's no use arguing that these institutions of the state are the very instruments by which whites themselves have been impoverished. If that were true, they reason, why

KEN OWEN

ON SUNDAY

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would a clever man like Mr Barend du Plessis cling so desperately to the old ways, the old ideas, the old sins? Why did the Nats cling to Iscor, only to sell when the ANC seemed likely to inherit it?

THE answer, to any sensible man equipped with a determined ignorance of economics, is plain: government, under the Nationalists, became a vast machine for distributing patronage to its friends and followers. The ANC has been taught, by the example of the Nats, that it must acquire the instruments of patronage if it wants to shift wealth from its enemies to its friends.

What is puzzling is not the determination of the ANC to gain control of the government, with its institutions intact, but the inability of the Nation-

ists to use this last, diminishing chance to demonstrate the transforming — indeed, revolutionary — effects of rapid economic growth. Mr Du Plessis knows what he should do, but somehow the Nats just go bumping along as they did before, hardly aware that their world is turning upside-down.

Consider farming: one of the causes of high food prices is, as everybody admits, the ridiculous cost of land. The cost of land is kept high by easy credit. The least productive farmers have now borrowed so much that they can never repay their debts. So why not let them go bankrupt?

The effect would be to remove from the land the incompetent, uneducated coffee-on-the-sloop farmers, and make that land available, at fire-sale prices, to more competent

farmers who could then produce cheaper food. The government has been edging towards this decision for years, but it still baulks: it just can't bring itself to shut down the bureaucracy that steers credit to farmers.

TAKE a simpler example: the dirty tricks budget of R380-million has brought the Nationalists nothing but disgrace, contempt, and failure. Yet that money, given to Dr Jan Steyn, would house another 50 000 families, and perhaps reduce the squatting problem to manageable proportions. Anyway, why preserve a dirty tricks department to hand over to the ANC? Sheer inertia, that's why.

To be fair, the government has made some progress in cutting back the military establishment, which has

been the biggest dispenser of patronage. We have spent astronomical sums for good but over-priced items like the G-6 howitzer, which we no longer need, and even greater sums on inferior equipment like the Kudu aircraft, known to pilots as a "converter" — all it does is convert energy into noise.

Military spending was so huge, and so wasteful, that it did more than sanctions to bring the Nationalists to their knees. The ANC would, if it were astute, erect a statue to the Terrible Twins, General Magnus Malan and Mr PW Botha, for inflicting so much damage on the economy that apartheid collapsed.

Lately, there has been some trimming of defence spending, and there is talk now of a defence budget of two percent of GDP, which is appropriate for a country that can't find a credible enemy within a range of 5 000 miles. But beware: the international arms lobby is working flat out to persuade us to re-equip an army we don't need.

Besides, the ANC lusts after implements of democracy, like tanks and machine guns, to protect us, mere tax-paying voters, against the bearers of traditional weapons. It's not so easy to shut down an army when even your enemies resist it.

In short, the way things are going the Nationalists will hand over to the

NDAY TIMES, August 11 1991 23

ANC the whole apartheid patronage machine, from arms contracts to pass offices and land rental agencies, so that black bureaucrats can behave in future as white bureaucrats behaved in the past.

The Nationalists have abolished pass laws, group areas, separate amenities, official land-grabbing departments, even the democratic elements of provincial government, but it has not reduced the size, the cost or the venality of government.

PRESIDENT De Klerk may have stopped Mr Pik Botha from dishing out money for dirty tricks, but nothing, it would seem, can stop him from pouring millions into the bantustans where apartheid duplicated the venal system of patronage which it created in Pretoria. Less government or more, the cost always rises.

There is an irresistible force at work here: it is the tenacity of bureaucracy. Whoever rules, whatever the policy, the system survives. The Czar's secret police survived to become Stalin's police; Mozambique carried the ponderous methods of Portuguese colonialism into post-colonial society; in the new South Africa, the finance minister will call Mr Nelson Mandela "oom".

Plus ça change ...

SHOULD the rightwing be taken seriously?

Before Friday night's bloody clash in Ventersdorp between police and the AWB, the government and many whites did not think so.

Their worst nightmare has been the ANC and other black liberation movements. For years the government has fought the tide of black opposition to apartheid rule.

A white backlash on the scale of Ventersdorp was unthinkable. After all, whites can express their grievances through Parliament.

Why is the white community so agitated? What happened to the civilised way of resolving problems? Why opt for the barrel of a gun?

Urgent questions now are: To what extent are rightwing groups a threat to a future peaceful South Africa? What support do these groups have in the white community?

It has been said that the rightwing will disappear with the times and be swallowed up in a future democratic South Africa.

I have a problem with

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya

Act to curb the rightwing now

11/8/91



this. I just can't see people who have for decades been brainwashed about the "swart gevaar" accepting change.

These people have been taught from childhood that one race is superior to another. They made laws to protect themselves and ensure lasting peace.

Now, suddenly, these laws are being removed. They are told the "swart gevaar" does not exist and that they must live under a black government. All hell will definitely break loose.

The government should have acted swiftly against people like Eugene Terre'Blanche, Piet

Rudolph and other rightwing leaders when they had the opportunity.

Terre'Blanche's power base has been growing in leaps and bounds and he whips up white emotions whenever he can.

Ventersdorp was just one example of this.

It is not yet clear how far he will go, but De Klerk must take him seriously.

We blacks have always taken the white rightwing seriously. They have always been part of our problem.

People like Terre'Blanche are not hypocritical about their dislike for blacks. They admit they are racists.

Rightwingers must be taken seriously by the government and all of us who are committed to creating a peaceful and just society.

They cannot be dismissed as a bunch of unruly lunatics who have no direction, but must be seen as people with a deep-rooted hatred for any system that attempts to change their lives.

They do not understand why the very system that elevated them above others, simply because of the colour of their skins, is now turning against them. They now view De Klerk and the

National Party

government as traitors to the Afrikaner cause.

The Americans have their Klu Klux Klan; in the UK there is the National Front; in Germany you still find Hitler's descendants. In France, Japan and most European countries, you find lunatic rightwing groups.

What we need in South Africa is a law that protects people against any form of racial discrimination.

But, for now, this is the time for De Klerk to act swiftly against Terre'Blanche and Rudolph.

They must take full responsibility for what happened in Ventersdorp.

This is the time to set an example to the rightwing and all those who may want to do the same in future.

Our reporter, Dan Dhlamini, who was covering the event, escaped by the skin of his teeth.

He was indeed caught in the crossfire between two groups, but worse, he was told by AWB members that he was a black man meddling in white affairs.



A police dog grabs a right-winger during Friday night's furious clashes in Ventersdorp in which three people were killed and scores injured. Picture: SUNDAY TIMES

CP pins its hopes on a general election

Political Staff

VRYHEID — The CP has again stopped short of backing violence and is pinning its hopes on forcing a white general election which it is confident it can win.

The Natal CP congress on Friday and Saturday was told by the feisty MP for Potgietersrus, Schalk Pienaar, to "stand up and use every means available to defend the integrity of our land". Pienaar also said "words must be transferred into action", but never spelled out details.

The CP leaders and MPs present made it clear they felt the most effective way of reaching their objective was via a general election.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said recent by-election trends showed the CP would get majority backing if a white general election was held now.

He added that the party was drawing "substantial" English-speaking support and pointed to Natal by-election and municipal election results as evidence.

The CP Natal chairman, President's Councillor Carl Werth, was confident the CP could win two pending municipal by-elections in Durban and Queensburgh.

A motion on the land reforms gave rise to some of the most heated rhetoric of the congress, with Pienaar calling for supporters to use "every means available" to prevent their land falling into the hands of "Third World people".

Saccola, Cosatu to lobby Cabinet

Rebuff for FW's covert security plan

8/Day 12/8/91

304A

A JOINT management/labour initiative has been launched to urge President F W de Klerk to scrap his plans to appoint a private sector committee to advise him on covert security activity.

It was disclosed at the weekend that employer federation Saccola and Cosatu agreed at a meeting on Tuesday to approach Cabinet jointly with a proposal that the committee be replaced by a more broadly based group representing all key sections of civil society, including organised labour.

They are to seek a meeting to discuss the issue with Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (soon to become Defence Minister).

The rationale behind approaching Meyer would be that he is government's chief representative in the church/business-initiated peace process. The parties hope to arrange a meeting with him this week.

The Saccola/Cosatu scheme — according to sources at the meeting and others briefed on its proceedings — would incorporate the entire issue of covert activity into the church and business-initiated peace summit which has made good progress in drawing up codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces.

Cosatu and the ANC have already stated their opposition to an advisory committee comprising senior businessmen. Cosatu has drafted a written proposal for government's consideration.

It is understood that the type of people De Klerk plans to appoint to the private-sector committee would be chairmen and chief executives of the country's largest

ALAN FINE

corporations. Initial approaches have apparently been made already, although identities of those approached could not be ascertained.

The consensus between the union and management groups is that a committee comprising representatives of such groups as business, organised labour, and civic and local government groups should be appointed to examine the covert activity issue.

The most important consideration was that its composition should be broadly acceptable to and inspire confidence among major opposing groups.

Its primary purpose should be to establish guidelines as to when the public interest would be served by covert activities, and to determine what control mechanisms should exist to ensure that these guidelines are adhered to.

An important consideration would be that the guidelines should be made public. If details of covert activities were then "leaked" again, it would generally be clear to the public whether the guidelines had been contravened. It was further suggested that these guidelines could also be incorporated into the review of legislation related to covert activities promised by De Klerk for next year.

It is understood that, apart from the Cosatu/Saccola initiative, several businessmen have already asked Cabinet contacts to try to convince De Klerk to drop his private sector committee scheme.

□ To Page 2

Security

8/Day 12/8/91.

The ANC recently described De Klerk's proposed committee as "a face-saving measure designed to embroil others in dirty tricks to preserve the power of the NP". The ANC appealed to the business community not to permit itself to be drawn into such "dubious schemes".

And a senior business representative, who did not want to be named, said many business leaders opposed the scheme.

"The last thing we need is an arrangement which unions would see as confirming their suspicions of a conspiracy between the 'apartheid' government and big

business," he said.

In his statement on the Inkatha funding scandal on July 30, De Klerk said the committee would be asked to advise him on the requirement that secret funding should not benefit political parties, and to advise on whether continuing secret projects were in the "national interest".

He said the advisory committee, in order to permit it to "restore trust", should comprise well-known personalities accepted as people of integrity.

Meyer had no comment to make yesterday.

□ From Page 1

AWB to mobilise commandos for revolution, warns Terre'Blanche

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday the organisation was preparing itself for "revolution" because government could not handle the security situation.

Speaking at a news briefing in Pretoria, Terre'Blanche said the AWB's priority was to strengthen its commando units as quickly as possible.

He warned that government was heading for trouble by misusing the police for political purposes as it had on Friday.

The AWB was sure the SAP had not only been issued with teargas and birdshot, but with deadlier weapons.

Asked to respond to ANC president Nelson Mandela's weekend call for govern-

ment to "destroy" the AWB, Terre'Blanche said no one could ban the AWB.

"If Mandela wants to take our country by force, we'll meet him and level him with the gravel... we'll meet him with force."

"Mandela does not even have the vote, so he cannot tell my movement what must happen in SA."

Referring to a warning at the weekend by CP leader Andries Treurnicht that the "third Boer War" had started, Terre'Blanche said it was in the hands of the government to stop it.

"The government must give its voters the opportunity to vote in an election. If it does not do that, I believe the situation will

81 Day 12/8/91
VERA VON LIERES and
DARIUS SANAI

become worse," he said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC would not call for the AWB to be banned, despite Mandela's weekend appeal for government to "destroy" the right-wing organisation after Friday's night's violence.

He said it would be "politically dangerous" for the ANC to call for the banning of any political organisation.

PATRICK BULGER reports that Mandela's actual words were: "Any organisation that preaches fascist ideas ought not

to be allowed to flourish in a democratic society. I am not suggesting they should drive the AWB underground — I say they must destroy it."

Macozoma also commented President F W de Klerk for insisting on addressing the NP meeting in Ventersdorp, despite the threats and reality of right-wing violence.

Friday night's clashes between right-wingers and police in Ventersdorp left three people dead and more than 50 injured, including 12 blacks who were assaulted after a minibus they were travelling in was stopped by AWB supporters.

A Ventersdorp police spokesman confirmed yesterday a man had been arrested

and charged with cutting off the power supply to street lights in two Ventersdorp streets at the time the clashes began.

However, Terre'Blanche said he could not comment on the electricity cut as he did not know anything about it.

Treurnicht said yesterday that De Klerk's address on Friday "was like a red flag to a bull", but he stopped short of sanctioning the AWB actions.

"People can only take up arms in extreme cases," he said. But government was using its security forces against its own people, which was extremely provocative.

CP challenges FW on police deployment

Political Staff

Aug 12/8/91 (3-4)

DR Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, has challenged President De Klerk to say how much the large police presence at Ventersdorp cost South Africa.

Dr Hartzenberg told the CP's Natal congress at the weekend that the responsibility for the three deaths and violence at Ventersdorp rested squarely on the shoulders of President De Klerk.

President De Klerk was the most "irresponsible, reckless State President" South Africa had ever had, Dr Hartzenberg said.

He challenged the president to say how much money South African taxpayers had subsidised the National Party with through the deployment of the large SAP contingent at their meeting.

The number of police at the meeting showed that he knew there would be trouble. The blood of the dead and injured "is on the hands of President De Klerk," Dr Hartzenberg said.

President De Klerk "has come to the end of his road. He must resign and must hold an election".

He was responsible for black political violence and now for the first shots fired in white political violence, Dr Hartzenberg said.

No political solution would be possible without the support of white people, Dr Hartzenberg said.

The mood of the congress was militant.

Mr Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrust, urged delegates to stand up and use every available means to protect the integrity "of our fatherland".

A woman, identified by CP officials as Mrs Merrill Petersen of the Umlazi constituency, told delegates "to find the biggest pair of hobnail boots that we can possibly lay our hands on and give the grootest skop" to President De Klerk to remove him from parliament.

One delegate called on CP members to boycott supermarkets unless they employed white people at their cash registers. Also, farmers should kick black people off their farms and employ white boys, he said.

Meeting behind locked doors

The Argus Correspondent (304/1) (304/2)

JOHANNESBURG. — About 150 people attended a National Party meeting behind locked doors in Dewetsdorp's town hall last night as a cordon of police held about 10 rightwingers at bay.

The rightwingers arrived in a bakkie, circled the square and disappeared. Four men claiming to be NP supporters were not admitted because they were not known by the guards.

Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs, National Housing and Local Government Leon Wessels told the gathering that neither the right wing nor the left wing could deal with the country's problems as effectively as the National Party.

SA no longer a blot on envoys' copy books

SA IS fast becoming one of the most sought after places in the world for a diplomatic posting, say embassy sources.

Johannesburg and Pretoria were, until a couple of years ago, seen as "punishment postings", said a European envoy last week.

"When you were sent to SA in the past, you generally knew that the powers that be were less than happy with your work."

But foreign ministries abroad now have long waiting lists for even minor postings to SA.

A US diplomat confirmed the trend.

There had been a record number of applications for a recent vacancy in one of the US consulates in SA, he said.

"SA combines two areas of appeal," he said. "Firstly, it has a very nice quality of life for diplomats. And secondly, it is an exciting country where real political changes are taking place."

The European diplomat said favourite postings of the Cold War era such as Paris, London, Rome and New York still offered a high standard of living but little in the

way of drama on the political scene.

The emergence of a "new world order" had made countries like SA and the former Eastern bloc states far more desirable.

Another diplomat said that serving in SA had once been seen as a blot on a foreign service record.

Many envoys were reluctant to accept SA postings because of the perception that some countries, particularly African and Arab lands, would disapprove.

Sources in the French diplomatic corps said that until recently the embassy had been forced to recruit staff locally.

DARIUS SANAI

Gun law

The night anger and hate spilled over . . .

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

RAGGED as it was, the khaki force in Ventersdorp was fearsome. Hate filled its heart, rage contorted its face — there was no room among its number for democracy or freedom of speech.

They brandished rifles, shotguns, sidearms, daggers, teargas, batons, sjamboks, whips, clubs and other diabolical, homemade instruments of violence. Some had their own helmets and gas masks, others their own attack dogs to take on the furlous police alsatians.

These were men equipped for bloodshed, not showing the remotest intention of quietly listening to President De Klerk as Dr Treurnicht, Mr Terre'Blanche and Mr Rudolph tried disingenuously to suggest.

This force was not there to listen to Mr De Klerk, but to stop him from speaking in the farming town as they had vowed. They were there to teach him the lesson of his life for daring to venture with his reformist ways into Terre'Blanche country. Mr De Klerk would have been safer speaking in Soweto than he was here.

They had been locked out. Mr De Klerk's meeting was by invitation only. Entrants wearing "I love FW" stickers picked their way through coils of razor wire and several checkpoints.

Facing the chanting rightists outside the Ventersdorp Hotel in Carmichael Street was a tense, blue wall of 150 heavily armed policemen barring their way to the hall where Mr De Klerk was to speak in 45 minutes.

"Kaffir police" one rightist spat at the all-white human barricade.

A police helicopter had been circling overhead since sunset with a powerful spotlight darting about streets teeming with men and weaponry, an early warning of danger for police lines guarding this quadrant of Ventersdorp.

Portable floodlights and generators lit up what were about to become the tarred battlefields. A water cannon and sneeze machine were parked in readiness.

Man for man, the blue almost matched the khaki. Violence was inevitable.

The first clash happened about 7.20pm when teargas was lobbed from the khaki ranks into the blue shield. Policemen fled, tears blinding them as they grabbed for their gasmasks.

"They just went mad," said one policeman as he retreated.

An over lusty sing-song by a nervous audience waiting in the hall some 100m away muffled the shots outside. Few were aware of the violence. All they knew was the blackout at 7.30pm, a moment of panic, and then the lights going on again as an emergency generator kicked into life.

Mr De Klerk surprised all when he announced that two policemen had been shot. But that was at the beginning of his speech and was only the start of a costly night.

He expressed dismay at the venom of the previous days, saying that the National Party did not want a "broederstwis". But, he said, it was every political leader's right to speak and be heard freely. He would not relinquish that right.

While important principles were riding on his determination not to be frightened off, it was not free speech. His 70-minute address, and questions afterwards, took place inside a laager of razor-wire, a temporary fortress guarded by scores of security men listening intently at the doors to reports on their two-way radios of the running battles as police and rampaging rightwingers clashed.

As Mr and Mrs De Klerk afterwards boarded a Nyala, the latest in police riot armour, rightwingers gathered some blocks away outside the police station's high gates. They seemed subdued, awed by the violence in which three people died.

"Would you shoot one of your own kind?" an anguished, khaki-clad woman asked a policeman. An answer was unnecessary. The pools of blood on the streets spoke for him.

State to probe private armies?

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE government may consider action against private armies following bloody clashes between the police and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at Ventersdorp at the weekend.

The feeling in government circles today was that the AWB, whose heavily armed members were often in evidence in Ventersdorp, had become a private political army.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has given an indication of this and the fortnightly meeting of the State Security Council in Pretoria today is expected to give attention to the matter.

Mr Vlok said at the weekend that private armies were unacceptable because this could only lead to confrontation.

One option was to prohibit private armies but it would be better to try to get the co-operation of political parties to convince them that there should not be private armies.

Openly displayed

There has been criticism of police actions at Ventersdorp because the weapons of AWB supporters were not confiscated at road blocks and because many of them were openly displaying weapons, including hunting guns, in the town long before the trouble broke out.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said today that some illegal weapons had been confiscated but there would have been chaos if the police had tried to take away all legally registered weapons.

While the police were opposed to private armies the right to carry legal weapons for the purpose of self-defence had to be recognised. There were many cases of people, especially farmers in rural areas, being attacked.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, today expressed concern about the phenomenon of private armies.

He said that, while the right to own weapons for self-defence had to be recognised, something should be done to deal with the question of weapons at political meetings. There should be some law against this.

The onus would have to be on the State that weapons had been carried with a political intent.

Security sources said today that the Security Council would have to review the policy on political violence.

Tragic moment

A spokesman for President De Klerk said today he would not comment further at this stage.

Speaking after the meeting on Friday night, Mr De Klerk said events there had been a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa.

He hoped the events there would bring South Africans to a standstill and have them reconsider their actions.

People at Ventersdorp could also not have been forced to leave weapons in their cars as these could have been stolen.

CP blames De Klerk for deaths

Political Staff

VRYHEID. — President De Klerk is responsible for the deaths and violence at Ventersdorp, says Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Speaking at the CP's Natal congress at the weekend, he said Mr De Klerk was the most irresponsible, reckless State President South Africa had ever had.

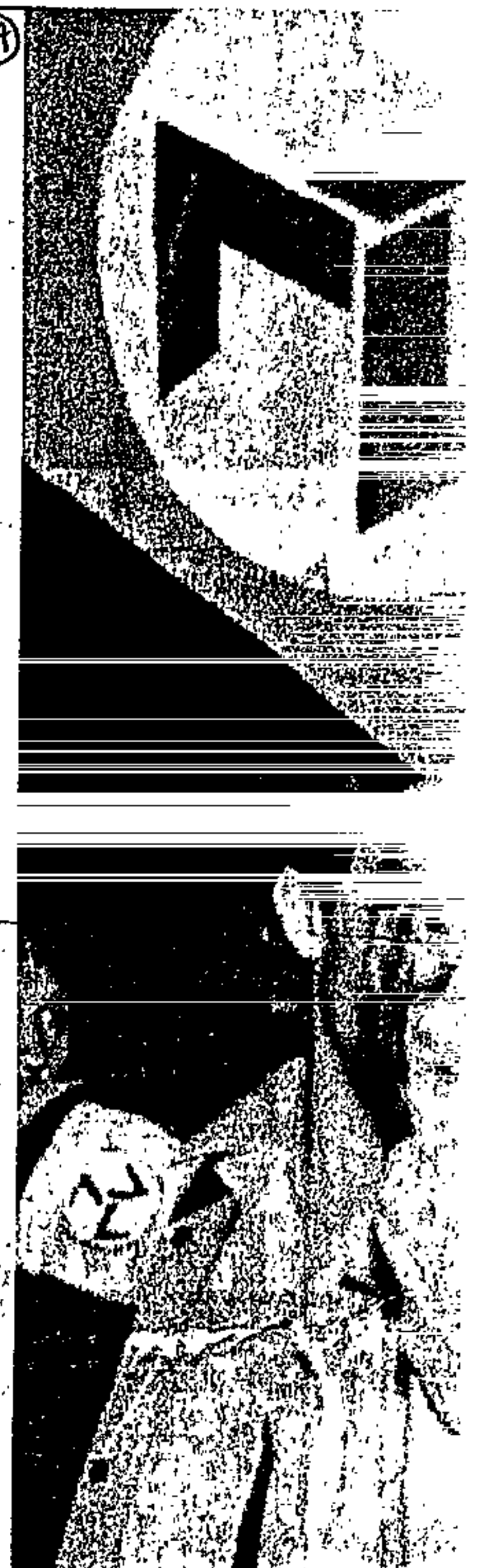
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The mood of the congress was militant, with many threats directed at Mr De Klerk and other "liberals", amid demands for a white election.

Meanwhile AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday accused police of using live ammunition capable of "killing a lion" in a deliberate, shoot-to-kill onslaught at Ventersdorp on Friday.

At a Press conference in Pretoria, Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB's immediate priority would be to strengthen commandos for a possible "third Boer war". He also said the government was no longer in control of the country's security problems and was "heading for big trouble".

● See page 4.



TEARGAS: An AWB supporter hurls teargas during the height of clashes between police and AWB supporters.



ARRESTED: Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging general secretary, is led away by police. He was arrested on Friday after the clashes between Police and AWB members in Ventersdorp which left three dead and several injured including policemen.

law crisis

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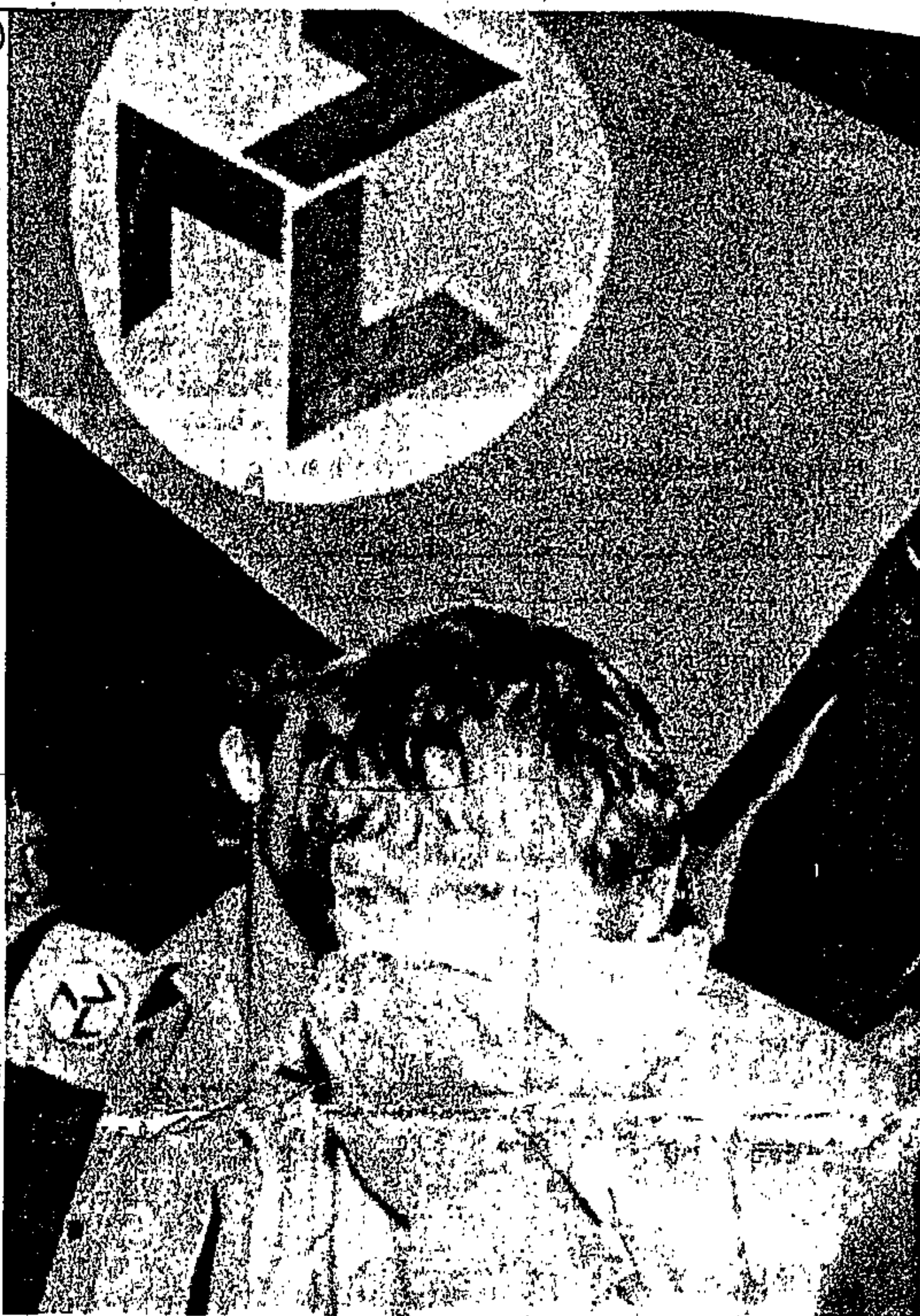
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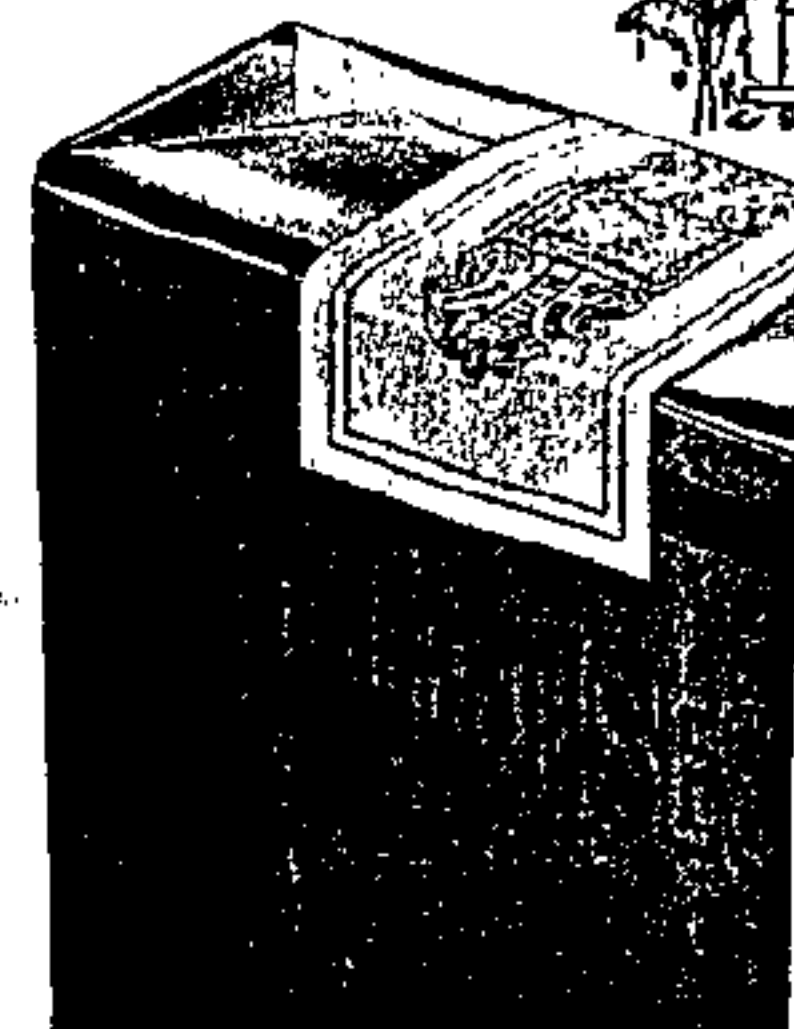


TEARGAS: An AWB supporter holds his nose against teargas during the height of the battle between police and AWB supporters.



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The flavour of France



CT 12/8/91 (3044)
**White
violence
'like 1922
strike'**

JOHANNESBURG. —
The white-on-white violence has rekindled memories of similar violence in South Africa's history.

The general-secretary of the AWB, Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph said: "President F W de Klerk has done the same thing as Mr (Louis) Botha in 1913 and what General Smuts had done to the mineworkers in 1922."

This was a reference to two famous chapters in South African history.

The first occurred in July, 1913 when then-Prime Minister Mr Louis Botha called troops in to quell the violence during a strike over working hours by 19 000 mineworkers.

The second was by far the worst and was also over a strike by white mineworkers — this time against black encroachment.

The prime minister after Mr Botha's death was General Jan Smuts, who personally took over control of 20 000 troops backed by aeroplanes and tanks.

Using these formidable forces in 1922, he broke the strike but at the cost of 216 lives, of which 76 were strikers, 78 were soldiers, and 62 were bystanders.

UK govt urges 'tolerance'

3044
CT 12/8/91

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British government yesterday urged all parties in South Africa to exercise political tolerance, as Friday night's battle between the police and the AWB received wide coverage in the media here.

In a statement yesterday the Foreign Office said it "deplores violence from whatever quarter and continues to urge the South African government to ensure the police force enforces law and order impartially".

It urged all parties in South Africa to "practise political tolerance".

Veteran political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans told the Sunday Telegraph that the years of indoctrination under apartheid were to blame for the conflict.

He said: "This has its origin in the overnight scrapping of apartheid without preparing them (the whites) for the consequences. If you brainwash people for decades and think you can scrap it overnight you are looking for trouble."

He predicted that "the AWB and others are going to get more daring and desperate".

The Independent's correspondent, John Carlin, said there were a few moments on Friday night when it seemed touch and

go whether the police would back President F W de Klerk against their fellow Afrikaners in the AWB.

"Seduced" by the rhetoric of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, he said, the policemen looked "confused, callow, uncertain how to act".

Although the moment passed, he said, for the rest of the night, "veterans of far more vicious battles with the ANC, hard men with thick moustaches and bulging bellies, retained in their eyes a vacant, adolescent sense of having done something not quite right".

One young policeman even phoned his mother from a public telephone to say he was "really frightened".

Big question

Said Mr Carlin: "Mr De Klerk was undoubtedly the night's winner. The police stood by him at a critical moment and, just as important, at a time when his image as a bold reformist has been severely questioned, he managed to project himself as a man of courage standing in the moderate centre of South African politics and assailed by the forces of anarchy."

The big question, he said, was how the police would react to the prospect of similar exchanges in the future.

Several commentators noted that the first time shots were

fired by the police was when they came to the rescue of black people in a taxi being fired at by members of the AWB.

Columnist Allister Sparks, writing in yesterday's Observer, said "the spectre of a white civil war" on top of the black-on-black violence "hangs over South Africa" following Friday's events.

"The Afrikaner community, which until recently presented a front of monolithic solidarity, is now more deeply divided than at any time since General Jan Smuts ordered his troops to fire on striking Afrikaner miners in 1922."

Far-right violence, which on Friday had boiled to the surface, "could add mightily to De Klerk's problems", he said.

But he added that it could also split the right because AWB violence would "shock many anti-reformist Afrikaners... who are staid, strait-laced people disapproving of such thuggery".

The Sunday Times correspondent, after describing the heavily-armed neo-nazi AWB supporters, noted: "They were not men to annoy: The addition of alcohol made them dangerous even to each other. They had begun drinking early and heavily, groups of pot-bellied men telling jokes about 'kaffirs' and rabbis while cursing De Klerk and the police ringing the hall where the president was to speak."

NP's fax to AWB 'was missed for six hours'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A FAX in which the National Party informed the AWB that Mr Amie Venter, Minister of State Expenditure and Regional Development, would serve as liaison officer at the NP's ill-fated Ventersdorp meeting, was missed for six hours.

This emerged from an at-times heated television debate between AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and NP Transvaal leader Mr Barend du Plessis on SATV's "Agenda" last night.

Two AWB members were killed and 58 people injured in a pitched battle between police and AWB supporters involving shotguns, hunting rifles, teargas, ba-

tons and dogs early on Friday evening.

Mr Du Plessis said the fax was sent to the AWB's Ventersdorp offices at 1.15pm on Friday with the intention that an AWB delegation be organised to attend the NP meeting "under certain conditions" and that "a plan be made".

Mr Terre'Blanche said he first saw the fax, which was not addressed to him, but to a General Van Rooyen, at 7.15pm, and countered that this "proved" that Mr Du Plessis had "no idea of what's going on".

The fax had been a response to a letter sent by himself (Mr Terre'Blanche) to the State President. When the fax arrived the AWB's office had been full of members, he said.

Mr Du Plessis said the NP had transcripts of telephone conversations subsequent to the fax, which "we will be releasing to the press" to prove that every effort was taken to avoid violence.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the 2 000-strong AWB crowd had been armed because police had shot and wounded three of their members at Goedgevonden squatter camp several months ago. Hunting rifles could not be left in vehicles as this was illegal, he added.

He rejected Mr Du Plessis' contention that the "AWB/CP alliance" intended to "create a liberated area as the ANC are so fond of saying".

CT 12/8/91

304A

Whites register

VRVHEID. — The Conservative Party is to push ahead with its plan to keep a register of white South Africans.

Mr Louis Stofberg, the MP for Sasolburg, said the idea had been mocked by some politicians and journalists, but the CP "wants to keep alive the knowledge of who is white".

Speaking on a motion condemning the scrapping of the Population Registration Act, Mr Stofberg said the CP would not let the "record of our heritage" be abandoned.

The party was working on the details of how to compile its register.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa is fast becoming one of the most sought after places in the world for a diplomatic posting, say embassy sources.

Johannesburg and Pretoria were, until a couple of years ago, seen as "punishment postings", said a European envoy last week.

"When you were sent to South Africa in the past, you generally knew that the powers that be were less than happy with your work."

But foreign ministries abroad now have long waiting lists for even minor postings to South Africa.

A US diplomat confirmed the trend. There had been a record number of applications for a recent vacancy in one of the US consulates in South Africa, he said.

Envoys scramble for SA postings

"South Africa combines two areas of appeal," he said. "Firstly, it has a very nice quality of life for diplomats. And secondly, it is an exciting country where real political changes are taking place."

The European diplomat said favourite postings of the Cold War era such as Paris, London, Rome and New York still offered a high standard of living but little

in the way of drama on the political scene.

The emergence of a "new world order" had made countries like South Africa and the former Eastern Bloc states far more desirable, he said.

Another diplomat said that serving in South Africa had once been seen as a blot on a foreign service record.

Many envoys were reluctant to accept South African postings because of the perception that some countries, particularly African and Arab lands, would disapprove of a South African link in their past.

Sources in the French diplomatic corps said that until recently the embassy had been forced to recruit staff locally.

"That has all changed," the sources said.

Porta officially named as envoy

BUENOS AIRES. — Mr Hugo Porta, the former Argentine rugby captain, has been officially named ambassador to South Africa.

Mr. Porta, who played over 50 internationals for Argentina and was their leading points-scorer with more than

500 points, retired after last year's tour of the Argentine team to Britain.

He has not played again since then, although he only officially announced his retirement from the game earlier this year. — UPI

(304A)
CT 12/8/91

CP pins hope on a forced election

CT 12/8/91 (304A)

Own Correspondent

VRYHEID. — The Conservative Party has again stopped short of backing violence and is pinning its hopes on forcing a white general election, which it is confident it can win.

The Natal CP congress here on Friday and Saturday were told by the MP for Potgietersrus, Mr Schalk Pienaar, to "stand up and use every means available to defend the integrity of our land".

Mr Pienaar also said "words must be transferred into action", but never spelt out details.

One delegate, apparently frustrated by the party's failure to stall President F W de Klerk's reforms, urged the congress to come away with concrete proposals on how it should respond. There had been scathing criticism of the repeal of the Lands and Population Registration Acts.

However, the CP leaders and MPs present made it clear they felt the most effective way of reaching their objective was via a general election.

Dr Treurnicht, in his opening address on Friday evening, said recent by-election trends showed that the CP would get majority backing if a white general election was held now.

He said a Washington Times survey in April last year indicated that the National Party would have lost an election at that time.

"I think the Conservative Party now has a majority among whites," said Dr Treurnicht.

He added that the party was drawing "substantial" English-speaking support and pointed to Natal by-election and municipal election results as evidence. The Congress was attended by 137 delegates, the most yet for a Natal CP congress.

By-elections

The CP Natal chairman, President's Councillor Mr Carl Werth, was also confident that the CP could win two pending municipal by-elections in Durban and Queensburgh.

The MP for Sasolburg, Mr Louis Stofberg, urged party workers to prepare for an election. He pointed out that, according to the constitution, the country had to go to the polls by 1994 and he did not believe a new constitution could be negotiated by the government and ANC by then.

Shameful incidents such as those at Ventersdorp would only hasten the day when the government would be forced into a general election.

"We must be positive about the fact that there will be an election. I say to F W de Klerk that I don't want to be in his shoes if he does call an election," said Mr Stofberg.

A motion on the land reforms gave rise to some of the most heated rhetoric of the congress, with Mr Pienaar issuing his call for supporters to use "every means available" to prevent their land falling into the hands of "third-world people".

He denied that the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts had discriminated against blacks, claiming they had been used to give white land gained by legitimate means back to the black people.

He said Mr de Klerk was "trying to dispossess us of our national asset. Our national way of life is being sacrificed for international accolades and so-called internal reconciliation," said Mr Pienaar — the party's "guardian" MP for Natal, which does not have CP representation in Parliament.

He added: "My warning is to keep your hands off our land."

The Education Renewal Strategy and mixed local government initiatives were also roundly attacked, as were the press.



CONFRONTATION . . . Police arrest AWB general-secretary Mr Piet "Skier" Rudolph during the trouble in Ventersdorp on Friday (left) and an AWB member swings a baseball bat at police dogs during the battle.



Pictures: SUNDAY TIMES

Death toll up

Third AWB man dies after Ventersdorp

JOHANNESBURG. — The death toll in the bloody clash between AWB supporters and police in Ventersdorp on Friday night has risen to three, with the death on Saturday afternoon of one more AWB member.

A spokeswoman for the Klerksdorp Hospital confirmed the man died in hospital on Saturday afternoon after violence that erupted in Ventersdorp, where President F W de Klerk addressed a National Party meeting. Police confirmed that 36-year-old Mr Gerhard Koen of Bloemhof was an AWB member. The clash has also claimed the lives of Mr J J Conradie and Mr A Badenhorst, both AWB members. Fifty-eight others, including seven policemen, were injured, some seriously.

Power cut

One person's condition was described as critical in the hospital's intensive care unit. Police spokesman Major Ray Harrauld said one policeman underwent surgery on Saturday and was in a serious condition. The other injured were in a satisfactory condition, the hospital spokeswoman said.

Meanwhile a Ventersdorp police spokesman confirmed yesterday that a man had been arrested and charged with cutting off the power supply to street lights in two Ventersdorp streets at the time the clashes began.

In the heat of the battle, the police officer in charge of operations in Ventersdorp on Friday night gave a "shoot to kill" order when his men came under fire. Brigadier Adriaan de la Rosa admitted that he



AWB WEAPON . . . The metal arm guard worn by some AWB members during Friday night's violence in Ventersdorp. AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche claimed it was to protect his members against police dogs.

had given this order to use live ammunition in the heat of the battle.

But police said the order was not carried out. The disclosure came as the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche claimed he had seen an AWB member shot dead with heavy grain shot during Friday night's riot. "The kind of

But he stressed that none of his men had actually followed the order. Mr Terre Blanche said yesterday the AWB was preparing itself for "oncoming revolution" because the government could not handle the security situation.

Mr Terre Blanche said the priority of the movement was to strengthen its commando units as quickly as possible.

He warned the government was heading for trouble by mistaking the police for political puppets as it had on Friday.

The AWB was sure the police had not only been issued with teargas and birdshot but with deadlier weapons.

Referring to a warning at the weekend by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that the third Boer War had started, Mr Terre Blanche said it was in the hands of the government to stop it.

'Intolerance'

"The government must give its voters the opportunity to vote in an election. If it does not do that I believe the situation will become worse," he said.

Major Harrauld said police were still assessing the damage to Ventersdorp after night-wingers went on the rampage through the Western Transvaal town.

The violence has sparked an outcry from parties across the political spectrum, with right-wingers blaming Mr De Klerk and others calling for restraint, tolerance and discipline from right-wing organisations.

Mr Nelson Mandela said: "This culture of political intolerance from the AWB is directly responsible for this tragedy."

"We hope the government now realises that

From page 1

the future of negotiations and the country as a whole can only be guaranteed if there is closer and genuine co-operation between itself, the ANC, other democratic forces and all peace loving South Africans."

Mr Mandela stopped short of calling for an outright ban of the AWB, but he said the right-wing movement should be "destroyed" if it could not be persuaded to change its ways.

"It was evident that the presence of the AWB at the meeting was to prevent the National Party from putting across its views to white Ventersdorp," Mr Mandela added.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC would not call for the AWB to be banned, despite Mr Mandela's weekend appeal to "destroy" the right-wing organisation.

Mr Macozoma also commended Mr De Klerk for insisting on addressing the NP meeting in Ventersdorp, despite the threats and reality of right-wing violence.

Mr De Klerk said it was a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa when "people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty.

He said controversy surrounding the NP meeting had not been the fault of the NP — but had been instigated by the Conservative Party, the AWB and their friends.

The president expressed sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk ignored all warnings that he was not welcome in Ventersdorp.

Dr Treurnicht yesterday said that Mr De Klerk's address on Friday "was like a red flag to a bull", but he stopped short of sanctioning the AWB actions and calling for active resistance.

"People can only take up arms in extreme cases," he said. But the government was now using its security forces against its own people, which was "provocative in the extreme".

'No other choice'

Mr De Klerk was continuing along a political road for which he did not have permission from white voters, Dr Treurnicht said.

"It is arrogant to take the rights of whites away."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said while he did not wish to make light of the events in Ventersdorp, it would appear the police had only done their duty.

The actions of the right-wingers had been irresponsible and unjustified, he added.

Dr De Beer said right-wingers had been demonstrating against the legally-elected government of South Africa and also against the principle that all citizens should be treated fairly.

AWB general secretary Mr Piet Rudolf said: "We went to the hall to meet the State President, instead we were greeted by hordes of heavily armed policemen, razor wire, teargas, and biting guard dogs."

"This gives us no other choice but to get ready for a war which was started by Mr De Klerk against his own people."

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) president Mr Gerrie Steenkamp said the violence could have far-reaching economic consequences for South Africa.

He said the AHI urged Afrikaans political party leaders to resolve their differences through dialogue.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said the president's decision to hold a public meeting at Ventersdorp had been a calculated provocation of Afrikaner opponents. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Interim govt: Nats 'flexible'

Sowetan 12/8/91

304A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Government has indicated that it could amend the present constitution to accommodate negotiating partners - but the decision will have to be taken at multiparty talks, in a move seen to be a concession to the PAC.

The Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said during a briefing on Friday that while Government was not in favour of "tinkering" with the constitution, it was amenable to alternatives, was "not dogmatic," nor would it co-opt people.

Viljoen was reacting obliquely to the PAC's comments earlier in the week that it would not accept a "transitional arrangement" under the present constitution.

He did however stress that the Government was against a total and absolute transfer of power or sovereignty to an interim government, "as defined

by the ANC," but at the same time indicated that the Government was flexible.

Viljoen said the present constitution and the structures set up in terms of the constitution remain in place.

"We realise that the objection to that point of view from the other side is that this would lead to no real power, no real influence, and that it would amount to co-option. Therefore we are prepared to look at alternatives.

"But whatever the results, it must be the result of negotiations at a multiparty conference and the agreements achieved there and the rules of the game in which we (negotiating partners) should agree before hand with respect to the multiparty conference.

"But if an acceptable transitional arrangement involving constitutional arrangements is negotiated, then obviously that approach will have to be adjusted," Viljoen said.

Earlier in the briefing, Viljoen said: "The fact that you accept negotiations mean, by implication, that you are willing to listen to your opposition's viewpoint and that you are not inexorably tied to your own," Viljoen said.

Detailing the type of power sharing the Government envisaged, Viljoen said while there would be effective power sharing, there would too, be sharing of responsibility.

Among the options available for effective power-sharing, the executive of the country could be expanded and a "joint filtering committee of wise men" could be established on an informal or formal basis.

DP calls for govt of unity

12/8/91
THE Democratic Party yesterday called for a Transitional Government of National Unity in which all significant parties would be represented. (3044)

In a statement issued yesterday following a meeting of the DP caucus, Mr Colin Eglin MP said the DP would press for the establishment of a transitional government at the forthcoming multi-party conference.

He said no political party could be both the referee and a player during the process of negotiation of a new constitution.

"Equally, no single party, let alone a single minority party, can monopolise Government during the process of transition to a new South Africa."

Eglin said it was essential that a transitional government of national unity should have constitutional continuity, political effectiveness and a high degree of popular legitimacy. - Sapa.

PAC, ANC, Azapo and Nats somehow agree

Same noises but it sounds differently

THE Government and the black liberation movements are making more of the same noises - they just resonate differently.

There was a time when the only thing on which there was unanimity was that South Africa needed a new constitution.

Over the past two weeks, all the main actors in the unfolding political drama have reached confluence on another issue, and that is there has to be some kind of "transitional arrangements" - a very ambiguous, if not generic term.

The ANC has said it wanted the ruling National Party "to hand over power to an interim government".

The PAC too, wants an interim government, but has warned that if an interim government meant becoming part of the existing government structures - under the bedrock of latter-day apartheid - the Constitution Act of 1983, which specifically excludes black people from central government - it was not interested.

Observer

Azapo has said that it preferred as a "transitional arrangement," an independent and impartial observer in the form of either the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, or the Non-Aligned Movement, to oversee one person one vote elections to a constituent assembly.

The ANC has asked for some form of control of the security forces during constitutional negotiations, while the PAC and Azapo have said that the security forces had to be confined to barracks.

The ANC wants an all-party conference to achieve this.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Azapo are vehemently opposed to contact with Government, but the chances are that when talks start both will be on board - or face the possibility of being marginalised.

Both have expressed what they are against and what they prefer, but neither have indicated exactly how they intended getting to any given moment in the ensuing drama.

All of which brings us to the Government, which has repeatedly stressed the need for some kind of joint decision-making, and President FW de Klerk's address to the nation on July 30 when he said that the creation of a "transitional arrangement" was a matter of greater urgency.

On July 30 De Klerk said: "Today I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure, in a constitutionally accountable manner, that the Government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiating process."

"I have an open mind on alternative methods. However, any steps in this connections have to result from negotiation. As far as I am concerned, they may be the first item on the agenda (of multi-party talks before constitutional negotiations can begin)."

Sowetan 12/8/91
Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until the Government gets up off its seat and quits.

De Klerk's July 30 statement falls in line with indications from the ANC that it saw the route to a settlement through engaging the Government in a series of talks, starting with an all party conference where an interim structure would be created.

The PAC on the other hand early last week said that it would not accept an executive role under the present constitution.

However, by the end of last week, at a briefing in Pretoria on Friday, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen produced a sop for the PAC - the present constitution can be amended, he said.

Viljoen was explicit; the Government did not like "tinkering" with the constitution, but accepted that if it would aid the negotiation process and for effective power sharing, it can be done.

"We realise that the objection to that point of view from the other side

is that this would lead to no real power, no real influence, and that it would amount to co-option. Therefore we are prepared to look at alternatives.

"But whatever the results, it must be the result of negotiations at a multi-party conference and the agreements achieved there and the rules of the game in which we (negotiating partners) should agree beforehand with respect to the multi-party conference.

Constitution

"We have been averse to tinkering on an ad hoc interim basis with the constitution, but if an agreed solution can be found which is acceptable to both sides, which involves constitutional changes, that is a matter which will have to be favourably considered. In other words we are not dogmatic about it we think it is unwise to move towards fragmentary changes of the constitution.

"But if an acceptable transitional arrangement involving constitutional arrangements is negotiated, then obviously that approach will have to be adjusted," Viljoen said.

How does Azapo fit into the scheme of things?

Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until Government

has repeatedly said that it was not prepared to do.

Parliamentary political parties, like the Democratic Party, should simply walk out of Parliament, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said late last week.

There are four basic positions regarding a "transitional arrangement".

The Government has said that it wanted to discuss the "transitional arrangement" at an all party or multi-party conference.

The ANC has signalled that it was it too was ready to go to a multi-party conference - but calls is an all-party conference.

The PAC has said that it wanted a "transitional arrangement" and has so far only been able to say why it wasn't possible - the PAC has not said how it envisaged reaching its destination.

Suggestion

Azapo has said that it wanted a "transitional arrangement" and has made a suggestion as to how it thought this could be achieved.

And then there is Inkatha...

It can be safely assumed that Inkatha will accept anything Government suggests.

In the words of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela: "Talking to Inkatha is like talking to the Government."



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela ... liberation movement leader.

DP wants transitional govt

304A

Star 12/8/91

The Democratic Party yesterday called for a transitional government of national unity in which all significant parties in South Africa would be represented.

In a statement issued after a scheduled meeting of the DP caucus at the weekend, party spokesman Colin Eglin said the DP would press for the establishment of

a transitional government to be given priority at the forthcoming multiparty conference.

He said no political party could be both referee and player during negotiations for a new constitution.

"Equally, no single party, let alone a single minority party, can monopolise government dur-

ing the process of transition," said Mr Eglin.

He added that it was essential that a transitional government of national unity should have constitutional continuity, political effectiveness and a high degree of popular legitimacy.

Mr Eglin said the DP recognised that establishing a transitional government would call

for certain amendments to be made to the present Constitution.

But the party believed it would prove to be practicable to ensure these as part of the transitional process.

In this way, legitimacy of the transitional government could be achieved without sacrificing loyalty, he added.

— Sapa.

Security focus on A WB



Detective Jacob Huisamen demonstrates an arm shield used by A WB members. Police say the sharp point can be used for stabbing.



Nothing sacred ... a coffin containing the body of a black person was shot at by rightwingers in Ventersdorp.

Pictures: Alf Kumalo

Ban 'would drive right wing underground'

By Peter Fabricius
Star 12/8/91
and Phil Molele

Security establishment sources believe the State Security Council will review its policy on right-wing violence in the wake of the bloody clash between the police and members of the A WB in Ventersdorp on Friday.

The violence in the western Transvaal town, in which

three A WB men were killed, is expected to be discussed at the council's fortnightly meeting today, but Government and security sources think it is unlikely that the A WB will be banned — as ANC president Nelson Mandela has demanded — because this would drive it underground and spark terrorist actions.

"It's better to deal with these people above ground, painful as it might be," one senior Government source

said. Security establishment sources said that before deciding on any changes in policy on the far Right, the entire Ventersdorp incident would have to be investigated thoroughly.

President de Klerk had to say, in Ventersdorp on Friday night to demonstrate it was not a "no-go" area for the Government, NP sources said yesterday.

Some criticism has been directed at Mr de Klerk — from the Right and else-

where — for provoking a confrontation by speaking in an area widely regarded as the heartland of the Right.

This argument has been roundly rejected by the Government.

"No Government can allow a 'no-go' area or party to claim a monopoly of a part of the country," a senior Government source said.

"It's similar to the way the ANC says certain areas in the townships are theirs.

"And the Ventersdorp inci-

dent must be seen as a reaction to the fact that police have recently started getting tough with the Right."

Four policemen were shot by the A WB and are in satisfactory condition in Pretoria's Stroom Hospital.

They are: Sergeant Richard Grobler (24), Constable Pierre Louw (21), Constable Johan Dreyer (21) and Warrant Officer Johan Visagie (37). Sergeant Grobler was

P.T.P

'Bomb attack won't deter NP'

By Shirley Woodgate

12/8/91
Klerksdorp National Party leader Jan de Kock said yesterday's bomb attack on his luxury car would not deter the NP from holding meetings in the western Transvaal.

Claiming a piece of shrapnel from the 3 am blast had also penetrated the 5 cm-thick kiaat front door of his Wilkoppies home, he pointed an accusing finger at rightwingers.

He said police had said the type of explosives used indicated the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was responsible.

It is estimated that damage estimated at about R20 000 was done to the fully electronic BMW 735i in the blast which occurred in a carport adjoining the house while Mr de Kock and his family were in Johannes-

burg.

The damage was discovered later in the morning by a domestic worker who alerted the gardener and then the police.

"If somebody wants to tell me something, they do not have to do it this way.

"I am astounded at the attack," Mr de Kock said.

He said although he had attended the NP meeting in the nearby Ventersdorp town hall on Friday night, he had not noticed many people from Klerksdorp at the gathering.

Commenting on claims that the western Transvaal was the heartland of the AWB, Mr de Kock said: "I believe many of the 2 000 AWB supporters came from outside the area, from Bloemfontein, Randfontein and Boksburg, in response to their general's orders."

30/4A
He said he had personally seen car-loads of AWB supporters driving into Ventersdorp from 4 pm on Friday.

Mr de Kock said it appeared the AWB amounted to a few people making a big noise, using mass hysteria to whip up emotions.

Calling for some form of action to prevent further shock incidents like Friday's killings at President de Klerk's public meeting, Mr de Kock said it was time the carrying of weapons such as baseball bats and teargas was banned at political meetings.

A police spokesman confirmed commercial explosives had been used to blast Mr de Kock's R200 000 vehicle and said identifiable fingerprints had been found near the spot where the bomb was planted.

AWB gears for 'third Boer War'

By Peter Davies 12/8/11

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche yesterday accused police of using live ammunition capable of "killing a lion" in a deliberate, shoot-to-kill onslaught on right-wing supporters at Ventersdorp on Friday.

Speaking at a press conference in a Pretoria restaurant, Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB's immediate priority would be to strengthen commandos for a possible "third Boer War".

He also said the Government was no longer in control of the country's security problems and was "heading for big trouble".

Responding to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's call for the Government to ban the AWB and other extremist right-wing groups, Mr Terre-Blanche said: "Tell Mandela if he wants to take our country by force, we will meet him with force. We will level him with the gravel."

"No one can ban the AWB. We are citizens of this country. Mandela doesn't even



Mr TerreBlanche... "police shot to kill".

have the vote."

Police spokesman Major Ray Harrauld denied that police had used live ammunition at Ventersdorp, saying only birdshot and teargas had been used in the fracas, which left three dead and more than 50 injured.

He said a shoot-to-kill instruction would have been issued "only in circumstances where there was no other

option". But Mr TerreBlanche said policemen were issued with "much more deadlier weapons" than birdshot. "The police used Triple A and SSG — the heaviest shot, that you could kill a lion with."

He said he had seen the body of one of the AWB casualties riddled with "at least 50 or 60 bullet holes in the stomach" and added that many more deaths would have occurred if he had not intervened and pleaded with policemen to stop shooting.

The fiery leader denied the AWB had deliberately provoked the Ventersdorp confrontation, saying instead that he and his supporters had merely wanted to attend the meeting.

In a television confrontation screened on SABC's "Agenda" programme last night, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis accused Mr TerreBlanche of being responsible for the deaths of the AWB members.

"Afrikaner blood (Boere-blood) is on your hands, Mr

TerreBlanche."

Mr TerreBlanche said there had been no intention to disrupt the function with violence, but he admitted to advising right-wing followers to bring all licensed firearms to the meeting.

"A disarmed white man in this country — this unsafe South Africa of the National Party — is a dead white man. If a man has a licensed gun then he may carry it."

Conservative Party MPs Dr Piet Mulder (Schweizer-Reneke) and Dr Corné Mulder (Randfontein) yesterday warned of a hardening and radicalisation among Afrikaners.

"It is inevitable that a hardening and radicalisation of the Afrikaner community will result from President F W de Klerk's insensitivity to the emotional climate in Ventersdorp since Goede-vonden," they said.

Two of the dead were voters in the Mulder brothers' constituencies — Andries Badenhorst in Randfontein and Gerrit Koen in Schweizer-Reneke.

Code of conduct soon for the security industry

DAVE LOURENS

A CODE of conduct to regulate the security industry was in its final stages, Security Officers' Board registrar Frans Lubbe said yesterday. *B/Doug 13/8/91*

The code of conduct has been eagerly awaited by the industry, which is concerned that unscrupulous operators, who take consumers for a ride, are causing irreparable damage to its image.

Lubbe said some fly-by-nighters were inevitable in any industry.

"We are busy finalising the code of conduct at the moment, so in the very near future there won't be any place for them to hide."

He said all security officers, consultants and suppliers of contract security were compelled to register with the board by the provisions of the Security Officers Act.

If anyone was found to have acted unethically in terms of the code of conduct, he could be fined and his registration withdrawn.

He said the board's hands had been tied by the lack of a code of conduct, but now this had been drawn up and published for comment. Responses were being analysed and the final product would be used to regulate the industry.

Coin Security MD Yvonne Lottering said she was receiving "at least" three phone calls a week from consultants seeking kick-backs in return for recommending the company's services to clients.

She said unless the situation was addressed urgently, the public ran the risk of being duped and permanent harm would be done to "an industry already reeling from a distasteful reputation".

CP ready for talks on white homeland

PATRICK BULGER

B/Doug 13/8/91
THE Conservative Party yesterday said it was prepared to enter talks to secure a white homeland and warned that confrontations similar to the Ventersdorp clashes would recur until its demands were met.

In another development, CP Law and Order spokesman Moolman Mentz said policemen were unhappy about being identified with the National Party by having to guard their meetings.

CP secretary Andries Beyers said yesterday only a white homeland would prevent further clashes. He said his party would talk only to other parties that acknowledged whites' right to self-determination before talks began.

"We are prepared to negotiate the final borders of our fatherland," Beyers said. "We don't want to prescribe beforehand what the borders should be."

"The events of Ventersdorp will now convince people that there will be no peace without our right to be free and to govern ourselves being recognised."

Beyers said talks had already been held with the leaders of Transkei, Boputhatswana and KwaZulu but talks with the ANC would not take place as long as it insisted on governing the whole country.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday called for an inquiry into the killings. Such an inquiry should establish why blacks' vehicles were allowed into the area, what instructions police had received from the political leaders, what role the SA Defence Force had played and why permission for the protest action had been denied when the ANC had been given police protection in other incidents.

Mentz meanwhile said he had been approached by a number of policemen who had asked him to ensure that in future policemen should not be forced to protect political meetings and that volunteers should be used instead.

The SA Council of Churches yesterday condemned the actions of right-wingers in Ventersdorp on Friday night, but held the National Party responsible for encouraging racist attitudes over the past 43 years.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the AWB and CP had the constitutional means to address their grievances "but they chose rather to create a climate which led to the violence".

DARIUS SANAI reports that a date will be set today for another NP meeting in the western Transvaal.

The AWB were "very keen" for another NP meeting to take place in Ventersdorp or in another western Transvaal town, a spokesman for the organisation said yesterday while government sources said the meeting would go ahead.

Du Plessis and Terre'Blanche agreed to hold the meeting in a debate on TV's Agenda programme on Sunday night, but only if the right-wingers met certain conditions set down by government.

AWB members would have to be unarmed and would have to allow speakers to address them without heckling, shouting or being violent. Terre'Blanche agreed to this.

The SA Communist Party alleged in a statement yesterday that President F de Klerk provoked violence in Ventersdorp in an effort to escape the Inkathagate funding scandal.

Opinion leaders 'opt for mixed economy'

B/Doug 13/8/91. Own
ALMOST

Talks rather than armed struggle, says survey

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

304A
CT 13/8/91

PRETORIA. — Most South Africans interviewed for a Human Sciences Research Council survey favour negotiations instead of the armed struggle and mass action.

The survey, entitled Information Update, which has just been released, found that 23 percent of the blacks questioned believed the armed struggle was a "very good" and "good" way to bring about change in the country.

Slightly more than half of the respondents were aware of the possibility of a multi-party conference.

Fifty nine percent thought such a conference was a "very good" idea and another 30 percent thought it was a "good" idea.

The survey found very little opposition to a multi-party conference. Strong support (90 percent) was found among English speaking South Africans and the most opposition (6 percent) was polled among Afrikaans speakers.

Information Update said it appeared the National Party could probably count on 27,7 percent of the population, the ANC on 24,8 percent, the Conservative Party on 4,3 percent and the Democratic Party on 1,5 percent.

Isolated incidents 'no deterrent to investors'

3/10/91 13/10/91

ROBERT GENTLE

148 304A

ISSUES such as the Ventersdorp violence, and the Inkatha funding scandal were "mere details" in the larger picture of reform in SA and would not deter mainstream foreign investors.

This was said yesterday by Kevin Carter, director of Old Mutual's UK-based assurance subsidiary Providence Capital, during a presentation on the long-term outlook for world investment.

"People at the margin will panic, not the mainstream," Carter said.

Overseas investors had always known that reform in SA was not going to be "like a Sunday school picnic", and that setbacks would be encountered.

However, barring some major upset like State President F W de Klerk reversing the reform process, foreign interest would continue. "There is an amazing amount of goodwill towards SA in the international investment community," Carter said.

Despite the risks associated with a new SA, the country stood at the threshold of a major growth and wealth creation phase of the type the US went through early this century.

SA was undergeared, had world class businesses, financial services, manufacturing and management. "There is no reason why SA cannot deliver," Carter said.

Edinburgh-based fund manager Martin Currie may soon be launching a unit trust which will invest in SA equities, says a report in the Daily Telegraph.

About 55% of this Emerging Markets Fund will be invested in South East Asia, with the remainder divided between South America (20%), SA (15%) and Eastern Europe (10%).

"Emerging markets stand to gain the most from the revival in the global economy," said fund manager Tristan Clube.

They accounted for only 5% of global stock-markets' capitalisation and less than 1% of globally invested portfolios.

"We expect both these figures to rise."

NP pulls out of Green Point fight

30417

er 13/8/91
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party yesterday decided not to contest next month's Green Point by-election.

The decision to pull out of the election just ahead of Thursday's nomination day leaves the Democratic Party's Mr Hennie Bester as the only horse in the race.

The Cape leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Jan Hoon, said last night that it was "very unlikely" that the CP would put up a candidate in Green Point.

The deadline for the nomination of independent candidates expired on Friday.

The date set aside for the election is September 25.

The DP's Western Cape chairman, Mr Jasper Walsh, said: "The DP is not surprised at the NP decision."

"Green Point is a DP seat and will remain uncontested until such time as a new constitution is implemented which will be fully democratic, and which will allow an election in which all South Africans can take part."



EYEING ...
Barend du Plessis

Claim: Barend wants to take over from Viljoen

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis may be seeking to replace Dr Gerrit Viljoen as the government's chief political strategist, Africa Confidential reports.

The journal said that after the Inkatha funding scandal, "the need for a new strategy seems to be eclipsing the role of Viljoen, formerly (President F W) De Klerk's chief strategist but now in some disarray."

"His grand strategy of forming an alliance of Christian parties to take on the ANC, consisting of the new-look National Party, plus Inkatha, the Labour Party, some homeland parties and whoever else will join, now looks distinctly threadbare."

"There are signs Du Plessis is

spending less time on his portfolio and is eyeing the role of chief government political strategist."

After the slush-fund scandal, "we can expect De Klerk to make concessions to the ANC to re-establish his credentials and to make an effort to start off multi-party talks. To do this requires getting a grip on the security forces and reducing the level of violence. The fact that uniformed security forces are now patrolling trains in Soweto is a positive sign of change."

Of critical importance was how much more came out about government dirty tricks, with cynics already saying Mr De Klerk has admitted only to what he believes the press is capable of finding out.



DISARRAY? ...
Gerrit Viljoen

Ready to • Army waited

rescue FVV outside V'dorp

3044 (S) CT 13/8/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A HEAVILY ARMED army reaction force comprising an armoured squadron of Ratels and an infantry company were on standby to save President F W de Klerk from AWB rioters during the battle of Ventersdorp if the police could not cope.

This was revealed last night by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan as controversy raged about the massive deployment of arms by both sides in the clash, which left three dead.

TERREBLANCHE LEAD ARMY TO V'DORP

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Correspondents of the Guardian newspaper said they saw AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche in a Ventersdorp hotel last Saturday night drop a live bullet on the bar and declare: "This one's for F W de Klerk."

The journalists said Mr Terre'Blanche

and about six other AWB colleagues were in a "strangely jovial mood", given the events of 24 hours before.

As they watched, they said, they saw "the man on whom the hopes and fears of a white right-wing revolt depend, knocking back a succession of brandies mixed with Coke".

Asked about the AWB attack on a number

The minister disclosed that the reaction force included 32 armoured infantry fighting vehicles, or Ratels.

The standard firepower of Ratels, which are built to withstand landmine explosions, includes 7,62mm machineguns.

An indication that the force — which was manned by 240 Permanent Force members

— was prepared for major resistance from the AWB was the fact that it also comprised five battlefield recovery vehicles, two ambulances and two logistical vehicles.

At one stage the reaction force, which is based at Potchefstroom, about 30km from Ventersdorp, was asked by police to proceed closer to the riot-torn town.

of black people, Mr Terre'Blanche told them: "For no apparent reason, seven comrades came driving right into the middle of our people. We think the National Party put them up to it. Maybe they were Inkathas."

Mr Terre'Blanche also reportedly ruled out a political funeral for the men who died. "We are not the ANC. We Boers have private family funerals," he said.

The force moved to within eight to 10km of the town and the commander went ahead in one Ratel to liaise with police. He withdrew when it was clear that the police had matters under control, according to General Malan.

In another indication of the seriousness with which the "Ventersdorp war" is re-

garded in official circles, senior government sources yesterday indicated that Mr De Klerk is bound to consider a judicial commission of inquiry after the police had completed their investigations.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night called for a wide-ranging judicial inquiry into the events at Ventersdorp.

The inquiry should, among other things, probe why a black taxi was allowed into an area where the situation was "explosive", the "shoot to kill" order given by the commanding officer of the police and the role played by the Defence Force, he said.

The State Security Council at its scheduled meeting in Pretoria yesterday was due to discuss the events.

To Page 5

P.T.O.

CP 1318191
Government sources said that individual right-wingers might be stripped of their right to carry firearms if evidence collected showed that they had broken the law. (3041) (344)

"This will be an excellent way of getting them disarmed," said one.

Consideration was also being given to the wholesale banning of private armies "across the political spectrum — from the AWB to Umkhonto we Sizwe", one security source said.

The law and order department earlier this year drew up draft legislation to clamp down on the proliferation of private armies, but the plan was shelved because of the controversy it would have sparked.

In a strongly worded defence of the contingency steps taken by the Defence Force ahead of the Ventersdorp meeting, General Malan said information had come to light that the protest had been planned on a large scale and that expressions such as "civil war", "the third war of freedom" and "rebellion" were used in addresses to AWB members.

"Against this background, it would have been irresponsible if the SADF and SAP did not make acceptable contingency plans," he said.

'AWB like ANC'

General Malan said the "AWB-Conservative Party alliance" followed the same tactic as the ANC-SACP alliance in their attacks on the security forces.

In a separate statement, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said an urgent police probe had been launched into the Venterdorp violence, adding that various criminal hearings and inquests could arise from the investigation.

He charged that the AWB fired the first shots in the battle, and denied that police had used live ammunition or the more deadly types of birdshot.

Hundreds of rounds of these types of ammunition were, however, confiscated from right-wingers who gathered in the small Western Transvaal town before Mr De Klerk's meeting, he said.

He also said that because it had been reported that 6 000 right-wingers were expected to pitch up to protest against Mr De Klerk's presence in Ventersdorp, 900 additional policemen were sent to the town "as reinforcements".

Mr Vlok said the police were attacked with a variety of weapons — including baseball bats, sneeze-gas, teargas and batons — when right-wing protesters marched on a police blockade near the hall where Mr De Klerk was due to speak.

Blacks shot at

About the same time, another group of whites in the same street began to shoot at the black occupants of a passing cars. One vehicle ploughed into the crowd, killing one man and fatally injuring another.

● The national secretary of the CP, Mr Andries Beyers, said a commemoration service would be held in Ventersdorp on Friday for the three right-wingers who died in the clashes.

And the CP caucus of the Alberton town council has applied to stage a protest and placard demonstration in front of the civic centre on Thursday when the Transvaal National Party holds its banquet there.

● The SA Council of Churches condemned the actions of right-wingers in Ventersdorp, but held the NP responsible for encouraging racist attitudes over the past 43 years.

The SACC said it was particularly disturbed by the attack on black people who were taking a dead relative to Transkei.

● SA Communist Party spokesman Mr Jeremy Cronin accused Mr De Klerk of provoking the violence in Ventersdorp in an effort to escape the consequences of the Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Cronin said that the reason hundreds of heavily armed AWB supporters were allowed to converge on Ventersdorp without being disarmed was that "the Ventersdorp affair suits De Klerk".

"He would like its rumblings to persist for as long as possible. He is hoping that the Inkatha scandal will be forgotten by the world," he said.

De Klerk's image boosted abroad

3041P
2041P

CT 13/8/91

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Only a week or so ago President F W de Klerk's image abroad was at rock bottom following embarrassing revelations that the police had secretly funded Inkatha and anti-Swapo political parties in Namibia.

But yesterday, judging by assessments in the British press of Friday's clash at Ventersdorp between the police and the AWB, Mr De Klerk was seen not only to have again outmanoeuvred just about everyone but, most importantly, to have demonstrated his command of the security forces.

The Financial Times said the clash had "demonstrated an important fact — that white police, many of whom bitterly oppose political reform and sympathise with the AWB, will fight to maintain law and order, even if it means shooting at their own people".

The intervention of white policemen to protect blacks against AWB attack provided evidence of police loyalty which should "help allay the fears of those Nationalists who fear that rapid political change will provoke a security force revolt".

The events could also be used by Mr De Klerk to caution against too rapid change and counter ANC claims that he seeks to perpetuate white rule.

The Daily Telegraph said in an editorial yesterday that Mr De Klerk's position, weakened by the Inkatha affair, would have been "strengthened by last week's riot".

With the role of the Afrikaner-dominated police critical, the Telegraph said, "at Ventersdorp they stood firm against intimidation". It remained "impossible" to imagine a peaceful solution without Mr De Klerk.

The Daily Express said: "Unless Mr De Klerk's government has the strength to

deal immediately and effectively with the AWB menace, it cannot expect the confidence of the civilised majority of the white tribe."

The Guardian said indications were that "the clash would redound to the government's advantage".

It said the effectiveness of attempts by the AWB to make martyrs of its three dead members was questionable.

"The main political effect of the battle is likely to be to enhance Mr De Klerk's standing.

"The performance of the police — not only in taking on the neo-nazis but also in rescuing several black people — was particularly impressive.

"Coming after Mr De Klerk's humiliation of the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, over the Inkathagate scandal, the impression has been created of a President very much in control of the security forces."

CP picket at NP (304A)

Sowetan 13/8/91
THE Conservative Party caucus of the Alberton Town Council has applied to stage a protest and placard demonstration in front of the civic centre on Thursday when the Transvaal National Party holds its banquet there.

Yesterday the secretary of the CP council caucus, Mr H C Slabber, said the protest action would be in sympathy with the victims of the Ventersdorp violence last Friday night. - *Sapa*

Weapons cut demand

Sowetan
HARARE - South Africa must reduce its massive military arsenal to assure its neighbours of their security in the sub-region, Zimbabwean president Mr Robert Mugabe said yesterday.

The president, who is also commander-in-chief of the Zimbabwe armed forces, was addressing thousands of people celebrating the country's Defence Forces Day in Harare.

Mugabe said while political developments in South Africa had provided hope of an end to apartheid, they fell short of assuring Zimbabwe of its security.

"Zimbabwe will be assured of peace when apartheid has been practically

abolished and a nonracial democratic government is in place in Pretoria," he said.

1318/91
(262) (304A) (253)
Mugabe added Zimbabwe was perturbed that the superficial reductions in the South African Defence Budget did not in any way reduce the threatening size of the SA Defence Force.

Zimbabwe was also concerned that Pretoria was developing more "awesome" weapons.

"The current moves to scrap apartheid must run in tandem with moves to reduce its massive military arsenal before we can be assured of our security in this sub-region," said Mugabe. - Sapa

THE State President provoked violence in Ventersdorp on Friday in an effort to escape the so-called Inkathagate funding scandal, the South African Communist Party alleged yesterday.

In a statement signed by the SACP's Jeremy Cronin, the party asked why Mr FW de Klerk had chosen to speak at "an otherwise insignificant, rural backwater like Ventersdorp at this time?"

Although the SACP upheld the right of all to hold public meetings anywhere they chose,

SACP blames De Klerk

"we are all aware of the delicate transition period in which our nation is involved".

"Did De Klerk go to Ventersdorp to escape Inkathagate?"

"Why were hundreds of heavily armed Afrikaner Weer-

standsbeweging supporters allowed to converge on Ventersdorp, with ample warning. . . of their intention to do so?"

"Why were those publicly displaying weaponry not disarmed before the inevitable deaths and injuries occurred?"

"The brutal reality is that the Ventersdorp affair suits De Klerk. He would like its rumblings to persist for as long as possible. He is hoping that Inkathagate will be forgotten by the world."
- Sapa.

CP challenges FW on policing costs

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Souten 13/8/71
304A

DR Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, has challenged President FW de Klerk to say how much money the large police presence at Ventersdorp on Friday night cost South Africa.

The responsibility for the three deaths and violence at Ventersdorp rested squarely on De Klerk's shoulders, Hartzenberg told the CP's Natal congress at the weekend.

De Klerk was the most irresponsible, reckless state president South Africa had ever had.

The number of police at the meeting showed that De Klerk knew there would be trouble. The blood of the

dead and injured "is on the hands of De Klerk", Hartzenberg said.

De Klerk was responsible for black political violence and now for the first shots fired in white political violence.

The mood of the congress was militant, with many threats directed at De Klerk and other liberals and demands for a white election.

Mr Schalk Pienaar, the fiery young MP for Potgietersrus, urged delegates to stand up and use every available means to protect the integrity "of our fatherland". - *Political Staff*

TALKBACK

'Govt to blame for AWB actions'

By KENOSI MODISANE

THE Government has allowed whites to carry weapons and should take responsibility for the AWB's actions, callers said on the Sowetan/Radio Metro yesterday.

Most said the Government should "use the same methods they have used to quell uprisings in black townships".

"The Government is responsible for arming white people in the country and should accept responsibility for the AWB's arrogant actions and threats of a civil war," Vincent from Soweto said.

"The AWB should be banned and all arms confiscated from whites. This is not a question of the AWB being armed. But it is that whites have long been allowed to carry arms," a caller said.

"The Government should disarm those people before a civil war breaks out. Terre Blanche knows very well that he is armed and can afford a civil war," Pat from Sebokeng said.

Rodger from Denver said: "There is no difference between Inkatha, the AWB and the National Party. They are all fighting for the protection of minority rights."

Mxolisi from Eldorado Park said: "I feel strongly about carrying weapons in public. And this I blame squarely on the Government."

"The Government should use the defence force to disarm groups," Elvis Nyakane of Daveyton said. "The police should have killed that bunch of racists. The Government has an obligation to disarm and ban them."

Big talks set

Boetseur
13/6/91.

3044

to start soon

INFORMAL talks between ANC and Government frontline negotiators are expected to start soon to put together a viable proposal for a transitional government representing most South Africans.

Diplomatic sources have revealed that imminent informal discussions between the two main players have already produced positive results and that more structured informal talks seemed to be the next step.

This view was endorsed by senior ANC and Government officials at the weekend, who confirmed that the multiparty conference was now a distinctly attainable goal.

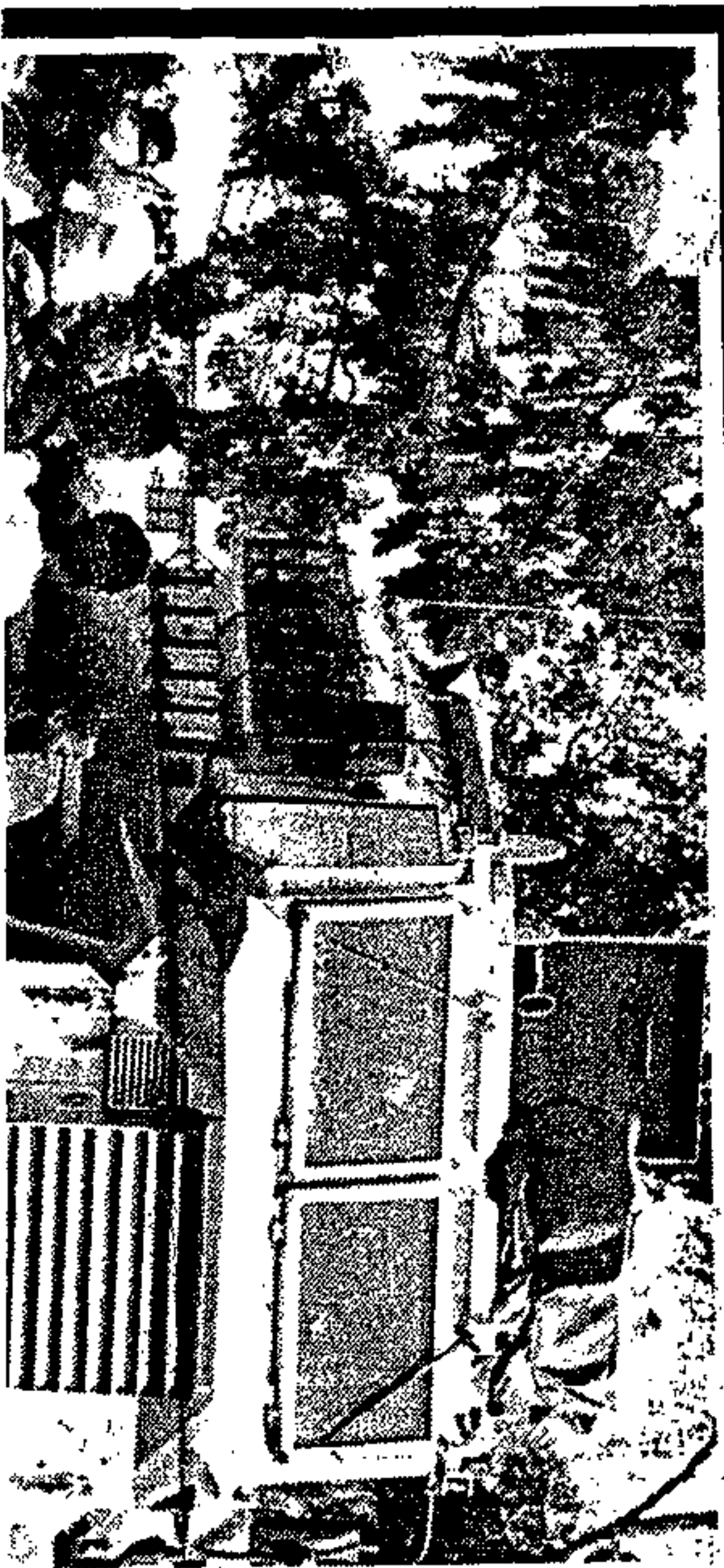
The prospect of real multiparty negotiations and a workable compromise on a transitional government advanced significantly during the week preceding last Friday's Ventersdorp skirmish.

In the direct statements of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, it became clear that an accommodation between the two main players was taking shape.

Mandela set two conditions which significantly softened the ANC's earlier precondition of the unconditional resignation of the Government in favour of an interim government.

Instead, he said, "the modalities of installation

● To Page 2



P.T.O.

ANC, Government are ready to talk

Sowetan 13/8/91

30477

● From Page 1

and composition (of an interim government) can be a matter for discussion" and that only two principles would be insisted upon: "inclusivity" and an "unambiguous time frame".

Observers and participating strategists on both sides agree that the time frame which suits them best is the shortest possible one.

The ANC needs results to prove its correctness in opting for negotiations. The NP needs results to beat the constitutional deadline for another round of all-white elections.

Both sides appear ready to make significant con-

cessions on the question of an interim government. The NP's opposition to it was badly eroded by the Inkatha/Uwusa funding scandal which injured its own case and swung its major parliamentary ally - the Democratic Party - around to favour an interim government.

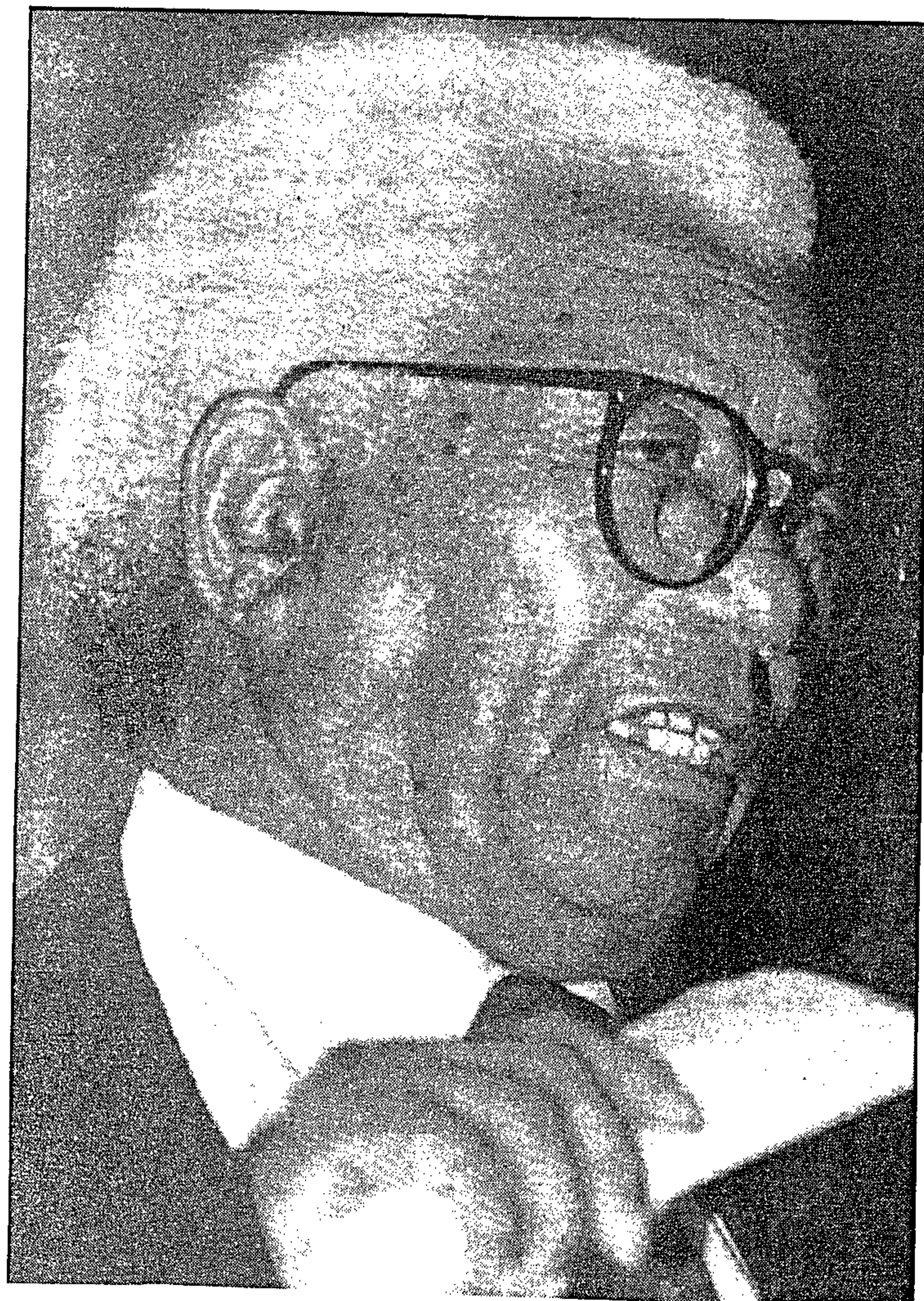
Both sides attach a degree of urgency to calling a multiparty conference but indicate there will be no definite moves until the Patriotic Front congress is over.

There is little doubt the ANC will use its contact with the PAC and Azapo to obtain their commitment to participation in any interim measures agreed to with the Government.

Irrespective of the outcome of the Patriotic Front talks, there are clear signs the ANC will go ahead with a multiparty conference, even if it has to do so alone.

With the UN High Commissioner for Refugees overseeing the return of the last exiles and the two security Ministers removed from their portfolios as demanded in the ANC ultimatum, the movement appears to have scored reasonably well in setting a favourable table for talks with the Government.

Further demands, unless the unforeseen once more scrambles the cards, are not likely to delay the process any longer. - Sapa.



Star 13/8/91
 Negotiations
 hinge upon
 interim rule,
 says Sisulu

SYDNEY — Anti-apartheid campaigner Walter Sisulu yesterday accused the Government of President de Klerk of fostering violence in South Africa in order to cling to power.

Peace would not return to South Africa until the Government was replaced by a multiracial interim government, the ANC deputy president told a public meeting in Sydney.

A patriotic front would be formed within the next two months to organise an all-party congress aimed at establishing an interim government, he said.

"Our next obstacle is to bring about an all-party congress which will be the basis of establishing an interim regime," said Mr Sisulu, who is on a 12-day visit to Australia.

Undermine

"The regime that is in power is unreliable and cannot stop the violence because it is the cause of violence itself.

"By allowing violence to go on he (De Klerk) undermines the very things he says he believes in. He knows the dangers but he is in a predicament — he still wants to hold on to power and he believes that can be done if he destabilises the African National Congress."

Mr Sisulu, who was jailed for 26 years by the South African Government, said an all-party congress could be achieved in the face of Government and right-wing opposition by the "mobilisation" of all South Africans.

"Unless an interim government is established, we are not willing to continue negotiating."

of a quick response to applications, designed to cut through red tape. And repayment terms tailored to meet the borrower's every need. Look no further than BOF

CP seeks demo at NP dinner

The Conservative Party caucus of the Alberton Town Council has applied to stage a protest and placard demonstration in front of the Civic Centre on Thursday when the Transvaal National Party holds its banquet there.

The secretary of the CP council caucus, H C Slabber, said the protest action would be in sympathy with the victims of the Ventersdorp violence on Friday night.

In the application, the organisers undertook that there would be no disruptive actions during the protest and there would be a maximum of 50 people taking part. — Sapa.

NEWS

By Mike Siluma
Star Bureau 13/8/91.

British papers blast 'bully boys'

LONDON — The weekend confrontation at Ventersdorp between the police and members of the AWB has led to calls in the conservative press on President de Klerk to take stern action against the right wing, or see his reforms go up in smoke.

Reacting to the Ventersdorp clashes, The Daily Telegraph, accusing the AWB of orchestrating the "mob violence", said the real danger posed by the group lay in its potential to undermine the will of the police to maintain law and order.

"The AWB represents only a small minority of whites. Many others on the extreme Right, particularly members of the Conservative Party, while apprehensive about the Government's moves to abolish apartheid, will have been dismayed by last Friday's violence."

"The main danger of the Afrikaner revolt is that it will sap the will of the police impartially to maintain law and order."

The natural sympathies of the police are with the Right. It would be disastrous for South Africa's faltering advance to nonracial democracy if they were to succumb to AWB injunctions not to betray their own folk and were to turn a blind eye to the movement's excesses," the editorial said.

It urged Mr de Klerk to ensure that the police were even-handed in dealing with "law-breakers, whether from the ANC, Inkatha or the AWB" to make sure that talks on a constitution proceeded smoothly.

The Daily Express took an even stronger line on the AWB's action, urging Mr de Klerk to ban the right-wing group.

It delivered the chilling warning to Mr de Klerk: "The Nazis were merely a small gang when they first raised their ugly heads. They were not put down. We all know what happened. If President de Klerk fails to put down his country's Nazi-type gang, we know what will happen in South Africa ..."

"If Mr de Klerk fails to rise to the challenge brought to a head by the Ventersdorp rioters, he and his country will lose everything that has been gained by men and women of goodwill from all sections of that divided community."

"He must ban the AWB and its uniformed bully boys who parade under the provocative banner of the updated swastika. They must not be protected by democracy so that they can live to smash democracy ..."

Govt may restrict, but not ban, private armies

Day 14/8/91
PRETORIA — Government could restrict the actions of private armies if they aimed to usurp the functions of the police and the Defence Force, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

However, government was not considering banning private armies outright.

He said the country could "do without private armies" because it had the security forces to maintain law and order.

Vlok said he was not at liberty to clear up conflicting reports on whether government or the State Security Council had discussed the issue of private armies in depth this week, since the council's deliberations were confidential.

Other government sources yesterday said they could not envisage the government clamping down on private armies.

The government could not act against groups without acting against the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, and it could not act against Umkhonto without torpedoing the shaky negotiation process.

The sources said militiamen would be driven underground and radicalised if steps

3047
 were taken against them.

Inkatha, in turn, has urged government to discourage the proliferation of private armies "before other parties may be compelled to match the growing number of private armies".

The AWB yesterday sent an urgent fax to the President, confirming certain rules about right-wingers' attendance at NP meetings agreed to by Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis.

The NP was also asked to urgently arrange another public meeting at Ventersdorp.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche confirmed in his fax that the speakers would be given the right to speak without interference, and that the audience would be allowed to attend without interference.

"The audience will also have the right to ask questions and put motions."

He said such a step would "normalise the situation in the white community".

A spokesman at the President's office said he could not comment as they had not yet received the fax. — Sapa.

Hendrickse agrees to pay church R20 000

Day 14/8/91
UITENHAGE — Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse has reached a R20 000 out-of-court settlement, without admitting liability, with the Uitenhage church at which he ministered until his dismissal five years ago.

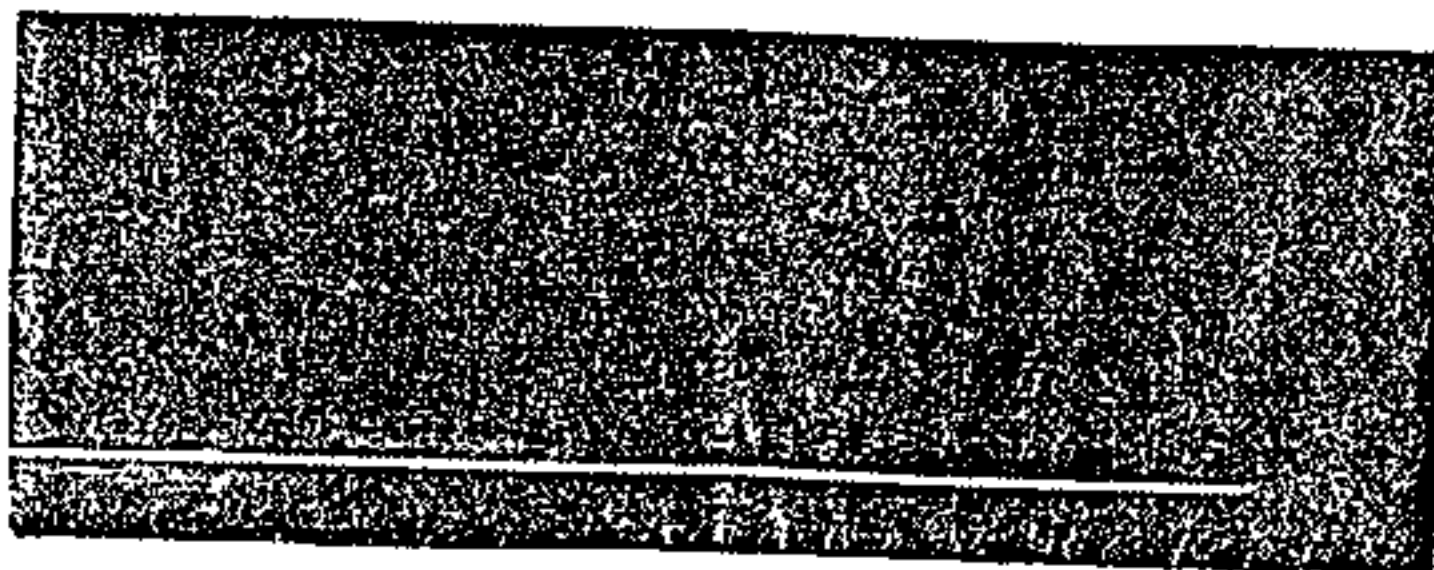
Hendrickse, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, was scheduled to appear in the Uitenhage Magistrate's Court yesterday with his sister, L A Dole, who was treasurer of the church at the time.

The church, which first sought an order against the

two in October 1988, had asked for a full and proper financial statement covering their period in office until their dismissal in April 1986.

It also disputed 20 financial transactions involving church funds, and asked for payment of any money owing to the congregation to a maximum of R10 000.

Following a pre-trial conference on Monday, the parties agreed yesterday to settle in order to avoid a drawn-out and costly court case. — Sapa.



August 14 1991

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

Check on guns at political meetings?

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

CODES of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a conference on ending violence in South Africa.

The climate for the conference, called for mid-September, has been created by what was today described as "astonishing" agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views.

This agreement was achieved at an earlier conference where church leaders and businessmen were appointed to act as facilitators to get together the main role players — the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

Only the white rightwing parties excluded themselves from these efforts which followed an earlier conference called by President De Klerk which flopped when the ANC and its allies declined to attend.

They said that the president had been too prescriptive and had only told, but not consulted, them about the conference.

The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons must be allowed at political meetings;
- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided;
- Political parties must avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night; and

● They must respect and uphold the right of all other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Sources involved in the peace conference described as "nearly unbelievable" the "extraordinarily good relations" that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.

They thought this boded well for future negotiations.

The finding of the working committees have been consolidated in one report which will be considered by government, ANC and Inkatha representatives tonight.

Accord a spur to all-party talks

Peace plan put to three key players

B/day 14/8/91

304A

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha today will consider a historic draft peace accord that could be adopted at a national peace convention planned for early next month.

If accepted, and sources close to the church-business initiative are confident that it will be, the accord will provide rules for future political competition and help end SA's spiral of political violence.

If the agreement proves a success, the mechanisms used to set it up could help to get all-party talks going.

The accord is the result of two months of behind-the-scenes meetings between the three parties.

It provides for a permanent peace secretariat, which would include political representatives and specialised negotiators. It is intended to be a statutory body, although this has yet to be finalised.

It would link up with the proposed standing judicial commission on violence and intimidation proposed by President F W de Klerk in mid-June, a source close to the process said yesterday. The exact nature of the link is still being discussed but it is expected that it would be the chief enforcement mechanism of the peace code.

A secondary multiparty committee will also be discussed today. This would be made up largely of church, business and political leaders, and would keep a watching brief on the peace process. It would also be charged with bringing the process back on track in the event of breakdowns.

PATRICK BULGER

The monitoring body could also form the basis of a multiparty conference, expected to be initiated in October.

A church source said yesterday agreement had already been reached on codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, as well as a code of implementation. The draft peace accord is an amalgam of the separate codes.

It has been drafted and backed in principle by senior figures among SA's three major political groupings, among them Cabinet Ministers. Yesterday it was being considered by the political parties, which will make their views known at today's meeting.

The peace accord provides for peace committees at national, regional and local level. Copies of the accord have been forwarded to non-participating political parties, among them Azapo, the PAC and the CP. All of the latter will be invited to take part in the convention, which could be attended by up to 300 political, church and business leaders.

The accord includes mechanisms to deter participants from engaging in disruptive political action. Anyone issuing an inflammatory political statement, for example, could be compelled to apologise publicly. In a similar vein, parties would confer with one another on potentially explosive public protests.

□ To Page 2

Peace plan

B/day 14/8/91

304A

It also provides for a more rapid judicial process in terms of which political killers would be brought to justice quickly.

There are no formal plans to involve the church-business initiative in helping set up multiparty talks, although the Constitutional Development Department has been drawn in to assist with secretarial and logistical arrangements for the peace convention.

Government sources would not comment on the peace process yesterday as it had reached a critical stage. They did say, however, that progress made in talks between the parties augured well for the

success of future constitutional talks.

The church source agreed with this, saying: "It has been an encouraging process so far. One might think that the church-business alliance might be the catalyst to keep the political process going."

The peace process was initiated by church and business leaders after a government-backed peace summit in May failed to attract politicians from the left.

Among the negotiators who have been involved in the peace meetings are Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.

□ From Page 1

Twist of fate led to tragedy

Sowetan 14/8/91
IN the bar-rooms of Ventersdorp, Boksburg and dozens of other right-wing towns across South Africa, the Aids question always generates animated discussion.

Rugby, Jews and gays are other conversational favourites.

But when the time comes for solemn political debate, one question unfailingly concentrates minds: Who is to be shot first once the Boers have retaken the citadels of power - (President) FW "Pienk Frikkie" de Klerk or the "communist terrorist" Nelson Mandela? But the outcome of the argument is a foregone conclusion.

De Klerk, found guilty of betraying the white nation, is always first to go before the firing squad.

Which was perhaps why something of a consensus has developed in white political circles that it was ill-judged of De Klerk to have delivered a speech last Friday night in Ventersdorp, home of Eugene Terre'Blanche's AWB.

In what the typically hyperbolic Terre'Blanche described as "a blood-bath", three AWB supporters were killed as a consequence and more than 50 people - policemen included - were wounded.

Dr Andries Treurnicht,

JOHN CARLIN of *The Independent* writes about the chain of events which led to last Friday's deaths in Ventersdorp.

leader of the Conservative Party, declared that for De Klerk to go to Ventersdorp was "a red flag to a bull".

The CP's defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said the president "was intentionally aiming to provoke a confrontation with right-wingers".

Officials of the Democratic Party said privately yesterday they suspected De Klerk might have acted with a certain cynicism.

That people died had to do, not with white-on-white violence, but with the untimely appearance on the scene of a minibus carrying four black passengers and a coffin containing a body.

AWB supporters attacked the minibus, forcing the driver to take evasive action, and in the process two AWB men were run over and killed.

Shots were fired into the minibus and a third AWB man was shot dead by the police.

It was a freak sequence of events, which would have been avoided had an alert policeman redirected the minibus.

Big thrust by parties to stop the violence

Political Staff

star 14/8/91

CAPE TOWN — Codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a major conference which is being called for mid-September. The aim is to stop and avoid violence in public life

This follows what was today described as "astonishing" agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views.

This flowed from an earlier conference which appointed churchmen and businessmen to act as facilitators to get together the main role players, the Government, the ANC and Inkatha.

It is expected to serve as a stimulant for an all party conference to prepare for negotiations on a new Constitution, but its aim will not be to help arrange such a conference.

The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons of any kind must be allowed at political meetings.
- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided.
- Political parties must avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night.
- Parties must respect and uphold the right of all other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Sources involved in the peace conference today described as "nearly unbelievable the extraordinarily good relations" that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups along with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.

They thought this boded well for future negotiations.

The findings of the working committees have been consolidated in one report which will be considered by Government, ANC and Inkatha representatives tonight.

The ANC's National Working Committee is a shadow Cabinet, says Shaun Johnson

A govt waiting in the wings

Star 14/8/91

3049

EVERY week, over decisions, the Cabinet has met to evaluate political developments and fashion strategies to ensure that the Government stays in control of South Africa, and in power.

It has made the decisions which changed our lives, or kept them the same. The executives of white opposition parties have met in similar conclaves, but have known that they never had any real chance of ousting the Nationalist Government — they were "shadow Cabinets" in theory only.

Now, however, there is a new shadow Cabinet, and at its weekly meetings in Johannesburg it deliberates in the full expectation of tasting power.

This is the National Working Committee (NWC) of the ANC, an entirely new body emerging from the organisation's national conference last month, and already in full swing.

It will, in the coming months, assume tremendous political importance. What does it look like and how does it work?

The NWC bears a strong resemblance in form to the NP Government's Cabinet, and its relation-

ship to the larger ANC National Executive Committee is similar to that of the Cabinet and the NP caucus.

According to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the NWC enjoys a great deal of political latitude within the ANC. It is only regarding the most momentous of issues that the key decision-making body would be required to get the say-so of the NEC.

"The type of issue (that would require the NWC to consult the NEC) would have to be of such a serious nature," he says, "that it could warrant review of policy, review of relationships with Government, or review of the negotiation process."

Like the Cabinet, the NWC is chaired by the organisation's chief executive — in this case ANC president Nelson Mandela. Its most important members besides him are Oliver Tambo, national chairman; Walter Sisulu, deputy president; Mr Ramaphosa, Thomas Nkobi, treasurer, and Jacob Zuma, deputy secretary-general.

According to Mr Ramaphosa, "the decision to form the NWC oc-

curred during the period running up to the July (ANC) conference, where many people felt that we needed a national executive committee that had basically three components.

"One, people from the regions who are rooted in regional organisation — to bring the regional or grassroots dimension to the work, thinking and decision-making of the NEC.

"Two, a group of people who would be working on a daily basis on the political issues that confront our country, and taking decisions. This was the NWC, people who are not just going to be observing what is happening, but observing, analysing, strategising, deciding, taking the process forward.

"The third group is made up of people who are part of the NEC, but not of the regions or the NWC. They are there to bring their wisdom, their experience, their insight into a whole range of issues, to bear on the work of the NWC."

The work of the NEC has many features, Mr Ramaphosa says. "Perhaps its tasks can be characterised as a combination of a revolutionary council, an implementa-

tion body, and a shadow Cabinet.

"It will be implementing decisions of conference and the NEC ... At the same time, it will be helping to shape and formulate policies for the transition period leading up to a democratic South Africa."

"It will also be dealing closely with the whole question of negotiations. Various departments and committees of the ANC will be headed by NWC members."

The NEC meets once every three months, and also on an emergency basis, depending on the issues of the day.

"For instance," says Mr Ramaphosa, "the Inkathaagate scandal led to an emergency NEC meeting being called, despite the fact that the NWC had met twice to consider the whole matter."

This was a case in which the full NEC was required to give "a verdict, or final decision" before the ANC issued a formal response to the scandal. The NEC meeting was informed, however, by a comprehensive briefing from the NWC.

The NWC meets weekly. Mr Ramaphosa says it operates according to a "normal quorum — a simple majority — but so far we've held five meetings and we've had more than six-eighths of the members of the NWC there". The attendance expectations of members are higher than for their NEC colleagues, says Mr Ramaphosa.

"They have to attend. Remember, these are full-time employees of the ANC, paid by the ANC, and they subject themselves to the staff discipline of the ANC, the code of conduct."

The NWC membership is skewed towards Transvaal-based politicians.

"We worked on the availability of people who could serve on the working committee, and it turned out that those people who were available to work full time for the ANC were mostly Johannesburg-based."

"But we were very pleased when two Cape Town-based people, Cheryl Carolus and Trevor Manuel, agreed to serve on the working committee. So they are going to leave Cape Town and re-settle in Johannesburg."

A key issue confronting the NEC at this stage of the negotiating process is the manner in which an all-party congress — the Govern-

ment calls it a multiparty conference — should be convened. The ANC has publicly committed itself to getting round-table talks off the ground as soon as possible.

Reflecting debates within the NWC, Mr Ramaphosa says the "shadow Cabinet's" current thinking "is that the all-party congress should be convened by a neutral body, and we still need to finalise it more closely with Government as to which neutral body can call it."

"One thing that (President) De Klerk concedes is that a neutral body should convene the conference, and a neutral chair should chair it. So we need to settle that ... It's not inconceivable that the (peace initiative conference) could become the convenor of the all-party conference."

Acceptance of, or refusal to attend, such a conference is a clear example of a situation in which the NWC will fashion strategy, and present it to the NEC for ratification or amendment.

In this sense, it appears that while the NWC enjoys considerable power, it remains more answerable to its parent body than does the NP Cabinet to its caucus. □

AWB wants NP meeting

By Peter Davies

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche has "urgently requested" that President de Klerk schedule another National Party meeting in Ventersdorp or risk right-wing violence and disruption at future NP meetings.

Mr TerreBlanche said in a fax yesterday that such a meeting, which he suggested be held at the Ventersdorp Agricultural Hall, would "to-

tally normalise" conditions in the white community.

According to Mr Terre-Blanche, the proposed meeting would abide by "democratic codes" as agreed upon by himself and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in a televised debate on Sunday.

Mr TerreBlanche added that speakers at the meeting would be heard without disruption and there would be no restriction on who could attend.

He said that if the majority of the audience was unhappy with the meeting's chairman, it could choose another one.

The new chairman would then be permitted to "make his own rules", he added.

A spokesman for the President's office said the fax had been forwarded to Mr du Plessis. The Minister was unavailable for comment.

● More reports — Page 2

Peace talks edge closer to deal

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LINDEN BIRNS

GOVERNMENT, ANC and Inkatha representatives met behind closed doors last night to discuss proposals for a draft peace accord aimed at ending political violence.

The delegates met at Barlow Park in Sandton to scrutinise the reports of five working groups on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces.

The groups, set up under a church-business initiative, also prepared proposals on socio-economic developments.

If an accord is accepted by all the parties it could be presented for formal adoption at a national peace convention planned for next month. Representatives from most of SA's political, church, labour and business groups and homelands are expected to attend the convention.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said he expected progress from last night's meeting, the

result of two months of behind-the-scenes talks. The talks were complicated by "Inkathagate" which raised tensions.

The accord would set up a permanent peace secretariat made up of political representatives and specialised negotiators. The intention was to make this a statutory body, but this still had to be finalised.

The establishment and role of a secondary multiparty committee was also thought to have been up for discussion at last night's meeting. This committee, probably made up of church, business and political leaders, would be charged with maintaining a watching brief on the peace process, and would be responsible for bringing the process back on track should breakdowns occur.

● Comment: Page 6

Skewed history of Afrikaans



(3044)

South

15/8-21/8/91.

EVERY year on August 14 Afrikaans speakers gather on a granite hill outside Paarl to celebrate the formation of the Fellowship of True Afrikaans, an organisation they believe was the first language movement in South Africa.

What they are in fact celebrating, Professor Hein Willense believes, has nothing to do with language — they are paying homage to the awakening of Afrikaner nationalism. "The whole issue of Afrikaans has nothing to do with language, it has to do with the question of survival of the Afrikaners and the privilege and power they want to enjoy in South Africa," he said.

Willense said in the last 80 years Afrikaners had "usurped" Afrikaans to serve the purposes of Afrikaner nationalism, denying the proof accumulated by historians that the language had developed among blacks. The language had developed in the "clash of cultures" in the slave colony of the Cape.

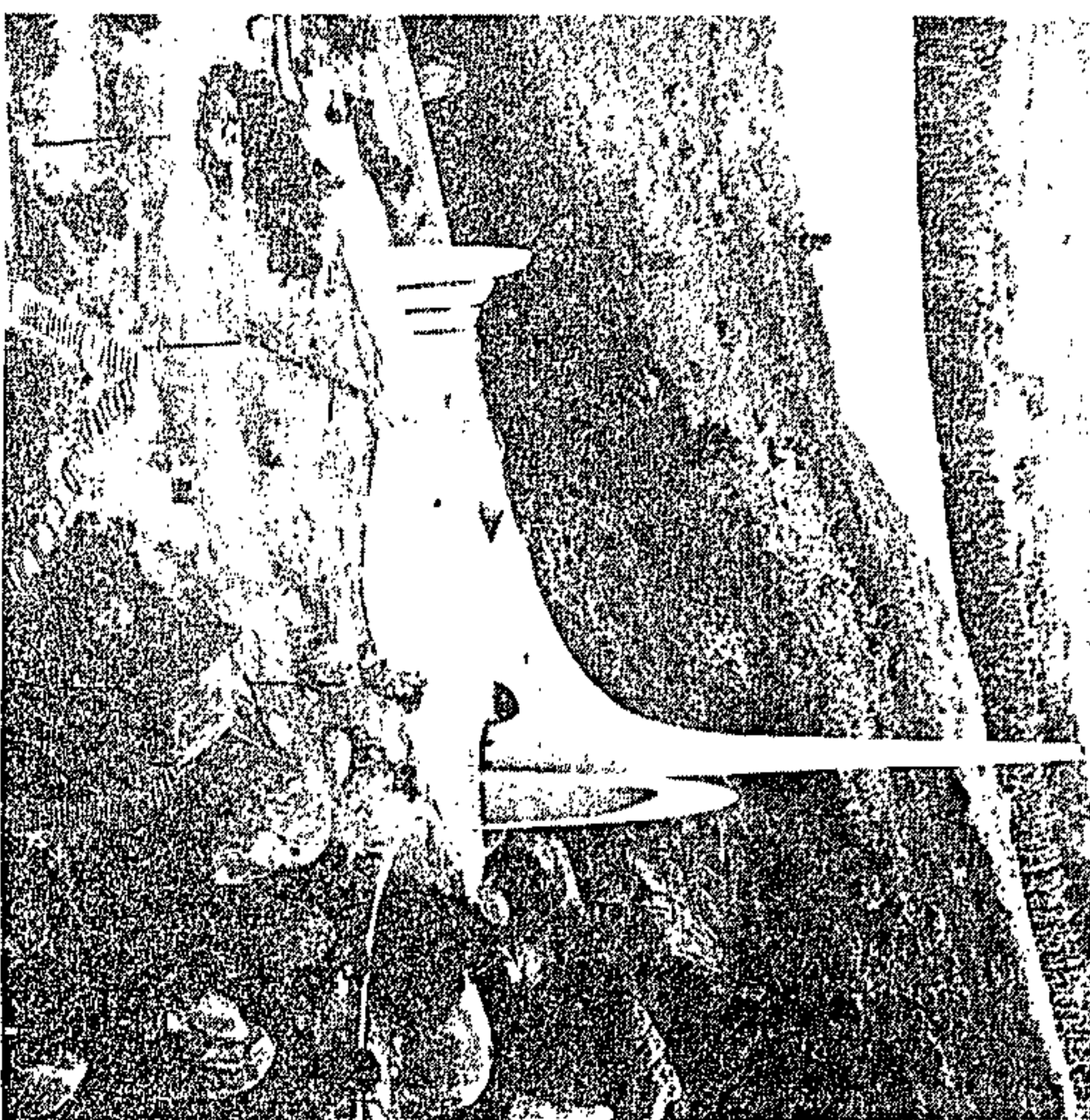
Contrary to the myths perpetuated by Afrikaner historians, the language had not originated in Europe or been sent to the Afrikaners by God, but developed among black slaves and was merely codified by whites to make it more accessible.

The pidgin-Dutch which was the forerunner of Afrikaans developed as an attempt by slaves to understand each other and their masters' language.

In the late 19th century Afrikaners became part of the Afrikaners' national pride and their racial identity.

Only one strand of the language's history — the codification by whites — was emphasised in history textbooks.

South Africa may be the only country in the world that has ever erected a monument to a living language. But the annual celebration of Afrikaans at the phallic-shaped Taalmonument in Paarl is a celebration of a "skewed history", University of the Western Cape linguist Professor Hein Willense told **REHANA ROSSOUW:**



"The black heritage of Afrikaans has been denied and silenced over the last century," Willense said.

"It has been formally excluded from the textbooks and a new mythology of 'white Afrikaans' has developed. "The history of Afrikaans is a history of manipulation of the facts."

Willense said the language had therefore "unfairly" acquired the connotation of a language of oppression, although a large percentage of blacks used it as their mother tongue.

In the Cape Province, for instance, it was likely that the majority of Afrikaans-speakers were black.

The last figures available, taken from the 1980 Census, showed that 47 percent of Afrikaans-speakers were black.

The relationship between Afrikaans and oppression was further stressed when National Party education ministers attempted to enforce the use of Afrikaans in black schoolrooms.

"But people in Mitchell's Plain and Bokaap who speak Afrikaans have a completely different experience of the language," Willense said.

"For them, it is something which has been handed down for generations and has no political connotations."

Willense said black Afrikaans-speakers had to say clearly that they distanced themselves from the celebrations at the Taalmonument.

"The celebrations are belittling the black history of Afrikaans and stigmatising the 'Kaaaps' patois used by black people as a sub-standard Afrikaans."

"This is not an attack against black Afrikaans but an attack against black people."

"I have a problem with people celebrating Afrikaans in such an environment because it excludes rather than includes everyone who speaks

the language."

At the Taalmonument, the Malayan contribution to the development of Afrikaans was merely depicted by a wall on the entrance steps as a reminder of the "slight influence" of the Malayo-Portuguese in the origin of Afrikaans.

Willense said linguists and the broader public had to decide which relationships they wanted to carry into the new South Africa.

At present in South Africa, the only two languages "celebrated" were English — by the 1820 Foundation at Grahamstown — and Afrikaans.

There were no celebrations for the Nguni languages although they were spoken by the majority of South Africans.

"What is being celebrated is not language but political dominance."

"Those days are gone in South Africa where languages and cultures of the minority enjoy dominance over others."

"We don't want a few black faces at the Taalmonument to legitimise the face of Afrikaans, what we want is people to divorce their nationalistic histories and celebrate the entire history of South Africa."

"We can no longer only associate Afrikaans with Afrikaners, there is a great divide between the two."

Willense said Afrikaans had never been the language of the Afrikaners. They had adopted it and over the last century and disseminated the myth that it was the "pinnacle of their achievements in South Africa".

"The celebrations on August 14 are irrelevant. Afrikaners are celebrating a skewed history of Afrikaans."

"The true history of Afrikaans has not yet been written."

Buthelezi, Pik contradiction

304A

Political Staff

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has declined to comment on an apparent contradiction in explanations by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on how R250 000 of slush fund money was spent.

In a speech to the Durban Sakekammer on Tuesday night, Chief Buthelezi said the money had:

- "helped buy an Imbizo meeting which His Majesty the King of the Zulus called to address the issue of internecine black-on-black violence", and;
- "enabled us to hold a prayer meet-

ing which I called as a thanksgiving meeting for the release of Dr Mandela and other political prisoners".

The IFP leader said the money was used for "honourable purposes of which I am not ashamed".

Mr Botha said on television on July 25 that the money had all been spent on an anti-sanctions campaign, and denied political funding of Inkatha.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that this matter did not need to be addressed.

ANC spokesman Mr Sakkie Macozoma said last night Chief Buthelezi's speech had "completely contradicted" the government's explanation.

CT 15/8/91

Govt may outlaw private armies

304A
CT 15/8/91

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The government is considering legislation to prevent the establishment of private armies, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok revealed last night.

"The government is completely against the existence and establishment of so-called private armies by, among others, political parties and organisations," said Mr Vlok.

However, it would prefer to convince leaders of various organisations with such armies that they should "rid themselves of their intentions", he said.

He added that there had been varying measures of success in negotiating with these leaders and "attempts are being continued".

It is understood that draft legislation banning private armies was compiled during this year's parliamentary session but was shelved.

A major concern over a ban on private armies is that it would have to be extended to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. This would almost certainly derail negotiations.

Other preliminary measures are understood to be in the pipeline. A source indicated yesterday that police were considering setting up units at all political meetings where people attending would be obliged to hand in their weapons.

In his statement last night, Mr Vlok said continued attempts to set up private armies were a source of serious concern for the government.

Bester set to be MP

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party's Mr Hennie Bester, 28, is set to become South Africa's youngest MP this morning when the nomination court for the vacant Green Point seat sits.

Mr Bester, a former Stellenbosch University student leader who had his passport removed when he tried to lead a delegation of students for talks with the ANC in 1985, is likely to be the only candidate.

The Conservative Party's Cape leader, Mr Jan Hoon, said yesterday the CP would not contest Green Point, which became vacant after the sitting MP, Mr Tian van der Merwe, was killed in a car accident.

The National Party is not contesting the seat.

304A CT 15/8/91

Intolerance in city 'high'

Political Staff

THE Cape's liberal myth has been shattered by a finding of a Stellenbosch university academic that the levels of intolerance is as high in Cape Town among both blacks and whites as it is in Durban and Pietersburg.

Dr Amanda Gouws, a political scientist, also found that the intensity of political intolerance in South Africa among both blacks and whites was higher than among comparable groups in strife-torn countries like Israel, as well as in the US.

"It is very pessimistic," she said yesterday.

Dr Gouws, who recently completed her

doctorate at the University of Illinois near Chicago, conducted a survey among black and white people in Cape Town, Durban and Pietersburg, as well as in Chicago, between April and June last year.

She found that blacks and whites rated socio-economic aspirations like houses and jobs much higher than civil liberties.

"Social and economic aspirations are held higher at the expense of freedom. It does not bode well for South Africa," she said.

"I think Ventersdorp is a very good example of intolerance that spills over into violent behaviour.

"You are not prepared to let other

groups talk and state their case. The idea is to shut them up by violence.

"In this country there is no understanding of civil liberties. Yet this is fundamental to a democratic country."

She found that while 81% of blacks had membership or understanding with the ANC and 47% of whites had sympathy with Inkatha, 70% of whites perceived the ANC to be violent and 82% of blacks regarded Inkatha as violent.

Dr Gouws added that the clashes between Inkatha and the ANC, and between the AWB and the National Party, were indications of the lack of tolerance in South Africa.

Ventersdorp victims buried

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AWB FUNERAL... Members of the AWB's Wenkoommando carry the coffin of slain colleague Mr Jacobus "Kotte" Conradie, 32, who was killed by gunfire in last Friday's confrontation with police at Ventersdorp.

Picture: AP



BEREAVED... Members of an AWB guard of honour strike solemn poses at the funeral of Mr Conradie. An AWB bugler sounded "the last post" at the burial.

JOHANNESBURG. — Two of the victims of the Ventersdorp clash between the AWB and police were buried yesterday.

At Randfontein, an estimated 4 000 mourners — including Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, CP MPs and wrestler Jimmy Abbott — attended the funeral of Mr Andries Badenhorst, a 37-year-old teacher.

No AWB uniforms were in evidence.

Abbott told reporters afterwards he blamed the police for not stopping the black taxi which knocked down Mr Badenhorst in the melee.

At Orkney in the Western Transvaal, slain AWB member Mr Jacobus Conradie was buried in a semi-military ceremony attended by about 500 mourners, including 65 khaki-clad AWB members.

Although AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche

— who is reportedly suffering from flu — and other prominent right-wingers failed to attend, a number of AWB "generals" carried Mr Conradie's coffin to the grave.

A former policeman, Mr Conradie, 32, was the only

Gerhard Koen, 36, died after being hit by vehicles, one a minibus, during the confrontation.

Mr Koen's funeral is expected to be held in the Bloemhof Town Hall today.

The AWB members gathered separately from other mourners at the Orkney funeral, greeting one another with their stiff forearm salutes and wrist-clasp handshakes.

The Rev JB Kritzinger of the NG Kerk referred briefly to "brothers killing brothers" during the sermon, and also said Mr Conradie had given his life in defence of his country.

Only one AWB man openly carried a firearm. At the graveside, an AWB member sounded the "Last Post".

Mr Conradie's father struggled to fight back tears, and one of the Con-

From page 1

AWB funeral

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radie brothers fainted as the coffin descended into the grave.

● Two members of the AWB appeared in the Ventersdorp Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of public violence, following the clash there last Friday.

They are Mr Henry de Beer, 40, of Krugersdorp, and Mr Cornelius Mostert, 46, of Stillfontein. They were not asked to plead and were released without bail.

They were warned to appear on September 23. Western Transvaal CID chief Colonel Henry Austin said more AWB members would be arrested within the next few days on charges of attempted murder, public violence, assault and malicious damage to property.

● In a speech at Queenstown on Tuesday, Dr Treurnicht, who had been under pressure to condemn the AWB, for the first time appeared to criticise the violence fomented by armed AWB members at Mr De Klerk's Ventersdorp meeting.

Attendance by armed people at political meetings should not be allowed, he said, and called for a return to "normal politics". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Yuppies OK new anthem

Sowetan 15/8/91

A NEW national anthem must be based on values common to all South Africans and spiritual in character, the Junior Rapportreverbeweging said yesterday.

(304A)
The organisation of predominantly Afrikaans-speaking young professionals said it recognised the need for new emblems in the new South Africa despite its sentiment towards the present flag, coat of arms and national anthem. -- Sapa.

Racial capitalism in South Africa

APARTHEID, according to some people who take themselves very seriously, is dead. Consequently, if logic has any meaning, we are now living in post-apartheid South Africa.

And yet, any ordinary black worker will tell you that this "new" South Africa is exactly the same as the old South Africa.

Anyhow, all this is such patent nonsense that we ought not to irritate your readers with a serious discussion of the notion that apartheid is dead.

Reason

But there is reason to consider the fashionable idea of "post-apartheid South Africa" carefully since our people are being duped to believe that we are about to see the end of racial inequality.

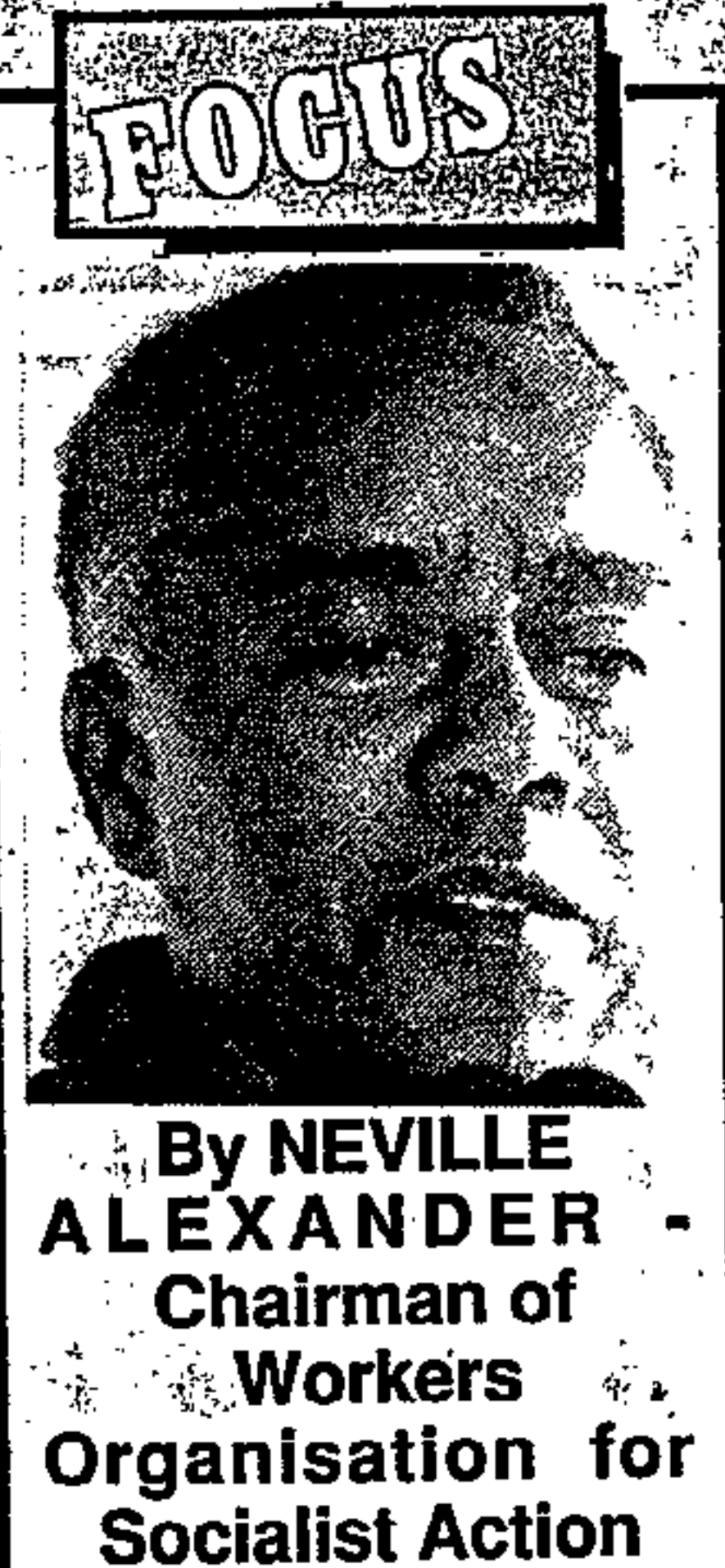
Why are the "old" and the "new" South Africa identical? Why is there no difference between the two? The answer is terribly simple.

Both are founded on the system of racial capitalism. In this system the normal class inequality (eg between workers and bosses) that is brought about by the capitalist system in its chase after profits tends to take the form of racial inequality.

Poorest

That is to say, in South Africa the poorest workers are mostly black while the ruling class and the overwhelming majority of the upper middle class are white.

This kind of system is the result of the peculiar development of capitalism in South Africa, which came out of colonial conquest, the dispossession of the African people of their land and other forms of wealth, slavery, indentured labour,



By NEVILLE ALEXANDER - Chairman of Workers Organisation for Socialist Action

migrant labour, the pass system, compounds, locations, labour bureau, etc.

Racial capitalism

While the house of racial inequality, segregation or apartheid was being built, the colonial and neo-colonial builders erected a scaffolding of discriminatory laws. They began with the Act of Union (the South Africa Act) of 1909 which made provision for a whites-only "Parliament".

Then, starting with the Native Land Act of 1913, the master-builders of the apartheid state added one piece of legislative scaffolding after another in order to make sure that social inequality, the cause and the result of capitalist profit, would remain largely racial in form.

This process has continued until the present.

However, as with any other

So where's the new SA?

building, once it stands firmly on its foundations, once the roof has been hammered on, you take away the scaffolding. Otherwise this scaffolding gets in the way of normal living. This is what has happened with the racial laws.

For this reason Mr FW de Klerk can strut around like some great enlightened hero, pulling down not the house of racial inequality (apartheid) but merely the scaffolding of discriminatory laws.

System

If you want to see how the system does this, all you need to do is to study what happened in the USA from the late fifties onwards. That scenario will be our future. And, let me tell you, as one who has just returned from a nine-month visit to the USA, it is not necessarily a pleasant prospect at all!

A three-fifths society?

If post-apartheid South Africa goes the way of the USA, we shall see perhaps a few hundred thousand black middle-class people, professionals, academics and skilled workers, being "lifted up" into the white establishment while the overwhelming majority of black people (the working class, employed and unemployed) will remain trapped in the ghetto.

Illiteracy

A large proportion of them will tend to form an "underclass" of marginalised, demoralised people oppressed and exploited by the capitalist

economic mechanisms, by drugs, by crime and by the repressive organs of the "nonracial, democratic" capitalist new South African state.

In all probability, we would become a three-fifths society, one where two-fifths of the population is expendable while the rest live in relative comfort.

We need only draw attention to some of the more obvious facts such as at the end of the last year, there was a housing shortage of some three million units (based on an average family of six people), an illiteracy rate of between 30 percent and 40 percent and an average unemployment rate of about 40 to understand that De Klerk and his team of converts from racism to nonracialism will change very little for the vast majority of our people by simply repealing the laws of apartheid.

Inequality

It is not enough to take down the scaffolding, we have to break down the house of racial inequality. Apartheid is not simply a set of discriminatory laws. It is the latest form of the system of racial capitalism in the second half of the 20th century.

It is that system that has to be destroyed if we and the next generations are ever to hope for a decent life where equality of opportunity can be realised.

Let us stop fooling our people by accepting De Klerk's definition of apartheid.

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Sowetan 15/8/91

Transkei dissidents sought Pretoria aid

By PETER FABRICIUS
and Sapa

15/8/91

THE SOUTH African Government has confirmed that it received a formal request from Transkei dissidents in 1989 to help them topple Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

However, Foreign Affairs chief director for the TBVC

states Dries Venter, wanted by the homeland for an "inter-view" in connection with last year's failed coup, has denied aiding the group.

Mr Venter said that after the letter was received, the South African ambassador in Umtata, Gert Terblanche, had informed General Holomisa of the planned coup against him by the so-called "Transkei Group".

The Afrikaans weekly journal Vrye Weekblad has published two alleged letters to the Government from Transkei dissidents urging SA to support efforts to oust General Holomisa, including support for a coup.

One was alleged to have been sent by the Transkei Group and the other by former Transkei president Kaizer Matanzima.

Mr Venter said he could not

even recall the letter from Mr Matanzima.

He did, however, confirm receiving a request personally addressed to him from the Transkei Group setting out various methods of ousting General Holomisa. These included various forms of political, economic and military pressure.

Mr Venter said he had received the letter in 1989. As

chief director of the TBVC states he frequently received complaints from dissidents in all four national states. (304/1)

The letter from the Transkei Group was so far-fetched that he had not taken it very seriously. However, Mr Terblanche had mentioned it to General Holomisa during one of their frequent routine conversations. □

Patrick Laurence appraises the significance of last week's clash in Ventersdorp

Sharp bends in the road ahead

Star 15/8/91.

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THE battle of Ventersdorp, in which three white rightists were killed in a night of violence, can be seen either as a dying splutter by the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or as an ominous warning to the De Klerk administration.

There are powerful reasons for viewing it as a tragic but relatively minor bloodletting, as an intra-Afrikaner feud whose repercussions are unlikely to upset the negotiations between the Government and black opposition forces.

But to do so without major qualification would be to gravely misread the situation.

The AWB, whose attempt to turn Ventersdorp into a "no-go" area for Mr de Klerk was the underlying cause of the violence, is a minuscule organisation numerically. It draws its support from the extreme fringe of the white right wing, which won less than a third of the vote in the September 1989 general election.

As the white community constitutes less than 14 percent of the total South African population of 37 million, the white right wing is a minority of a minority. The AWB membership is but a fraction of that double minority.

The AWB, moreover, does not oc-

cupy an uncontested position on the far right. It jostles for space with several ultra-right organisations, including, significantly, the Boere Vryheidsweging (BVB) and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB).

Founded by dissidents who broke away from the AWB, these organisations are fiercely critical of the AWB and its controversial leader, Eugene TerreBlanche.

The BVB's founders include the former AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald, the founder of BWB, Andrew Ford, is a former commander of the AWB armed wing, Wen Kommando, alias Aquila.

The AWB's relations with them border on fratricide: two AWB members have been charged with attempting to murder Mr Ford, allegedly at the instigation of the AWB deputy leader, Piet Rudolph.

Add to these considerations the role of the mainly Afrikaner policemen at Ventersdorp: obedient to civil authority, they opened fire on their kinsmen in the AWB and intervened to rescue black civilians when a black taxi driver, under attack from AWB stone-throwers, lost control of his vehicle and crashed into a crowd of AWB zealots.

Mr TerreBlanche may even have committed a strategic blunder by allowing his men to get involved in

a fight with policemen. A former policeman himself, he has until now wooed policemen assiduously while criticising their political bosses.

Many policemen are known to have rightist sympathies but Ventersdorp, where policemen were wounded by AWB gunmen and assaulted with clubs, sneeze powder and teargas, may have caused a hardening of attitudes towards the AWB.

But the situation is still potentially dangerous for President de Klerk and much will depend on how he handles post-Ventersdorp developments.

Ventersdorp should not be seen as an isolated episode but rather as a climax to a long-standing right-wing revolt against the reformist policies of President de Klerk and those of his predecessor, P W Botha.

The rebellion, which started in 1982 when 17 members of the ruling National Party seceded to form the Conservative Party, has been marked by steadily growing right-wing successes at the polls.

Since the 1989 general election, in which the CP won 31.5 percent of the vote, it has continued its advance with a series of by-election victories, most spectacularly at Umlazi in June 1990 where it increased its support by more than

100 percent. Extrapolating from by-election results, the Centre for Policy Studies estimates that right-wing resistance in the white community may be running at an "uncomfortably high" 45 percent.

Two points may offer solace to those who believe the CP can take South Africa down the road to anarchy: first, the white community forms only a tiny segment of wider South African polity, and, second, the CP and the AWB are not synonymous.

Two counterparts, however, have to be considered.

President de Klerk is committed to securing approval from the white electorate for whatever deal emerges from the envisaged negotiations with black organisations, chiefly the African National Congress. Thus he cannot duck the challenge of growing rightist resistance.

While the CP and the AWB are — in the words of CP spokesman Fanie Jacobs — two separate organisations, they have an overlapping membership and, as important, overlapping sympathies.

Mr Jacobs defines the AWB as a "cultural organisation", one of whose chief objectives is to prevent the "surrender of power to a black majority government". It is a "cultural aim" with which CP

members concur readily.

The boundary between the CP and the AWB is porous, so much so that they are de facto allies in the political field. Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party reiers, with justification, to the CP-AWB alliance.

The growth of the white right wing must be set in an economic context. With inflation running at 15.2 percent, white middle and lower middle classes are struggling financially. Their plight is compounded by fiscal drag: salary increases put them in a higher tax bracket, which, together with inflation, make them poorer.

Personal disposable income will fall by 2.5 percent during the 12 months ending December 31, 1991, according to Econometric calculations. Many white families, particularly if they are Afrikaans-speaking, blame the De Klerk administration. Their bitterness is strengthened by their perception that Government is in alliance with big business, a perception which is encouraged by the rising share of revenue obtained by the Government from personal tax (up from 17 percent in 1981 to 37.5 percent in the latest budget) and the falling share of revenue from company tax (down to 18 percent against 41 percent in 1981).

Their financial worries are com-

pounded by political anxieties. They do not know what the future holds. They fear that Mr de Klerk is ushering in black rule without adequate guarantees.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, of the Centre for Policy Studies, estimates that AWB has a hard core of between 50 000 and 70 000 supporters and has a wider support group of about 300 000. He notes ominously that the AWB has relatively more support in South Africa than the IRA in Ireland.

His colleague, Professor Hermann Gilloree, of the University of Cape Town, draws another Irish analogy: Mr TerreBlanche has the potential to become another Ian Paisley, the Protestant leader who, once rejected as an obscure extremist, has wrecked every attempt to introduce power-sharing in Northern Ireland.

President de Klerk has already lost contact with a major proportion of the white electorate, Professor Gilloree says. If he continues to do so, if they feel that they are being governed by an "NP-ANC leadership cartel" the right-wing revolt could become increasing physical.

Much will depend on how Mr de Klerk manages the transition phase. As the Centre for Policy Studies has noted: "The road ahead clearly has some very difficult patches." □

'Big three' set day for peace after breakthrough

Political Staff

September 14 has been set by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party as the day for peace in South Africa when a national conference will discuss the bulky draft peace accord forged last night.

Negotiators from the "big three", and facilitators from church and business sectors, achieved a breakthrough in Sandton last night when they collated reports from various working groups in the peace initiative into a draft accord.

It is understood participants will now consult other political groups on the draft, and try to draw them into the conference.

A formal statement is expected later today about last night's event.

"The mere fact that we've succeeded is quite remarkable," said one negotiator after hours crafting the peace accord from working group reports on codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces, socio-economic development, and peace monitoring mechanisms.

Agreement was reached in spite of clear tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

"Obviously this doesn't mean all parties are in total agreement with each other about all things," said one participant. "What is apparent is that all parties are prepared to work for peace."

One prominent facilitator said the draft accord was important not only for its contents but symbolism as well. It boosted hopes for a multiparty conference and negotiations for a new South Africa.

While the "big three" and their many allies seem certain to attend the indaba with church, business and homeland leaders, the right wing remains a problem. "They must be included," a church facilitator said. "We are busy negotiating with them on a personal basis to get them interested."

Participants in the peace initiative were careful today not to discuss the contents of the draft accord.

US will provide more aid for SA, says Swing

8/0aw 16/8/91 304A
THE US Congress is considering substantial additional monetary aid to SA, over and above the R200m promised by President George Bush when he recently doubled the assistance package.

This was announced by US ambassador William Swing last night in an address at the annual Four Outstanding Young South Africans (FoySA) awards banquet in Johannesburg.

Swing said the US was as committed to assisting the architects of a "new, market-based, multiparty democracy in SA" as it had been to dismantling apartheid.

The aid package was the US's largest on the continent.

Areas targeted for aid were black private enterprise, bursaries, labour development and human rights, said Swing.

Further development programmes in education, health care and housing were also likely.

A further R11m would be made available for the repatriation of about 40 000 SA exiles once there was an accord with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), he said.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that versions of the 1991 International Co-operation Act separately adopted by the US Senate and House of Representatives presage important shifts in US aid policy towards SA, including an unprecedented willingness to work with government-supported institutions.

For the first time since the US government started providing educational and other support for "victims of apartheid", the Senate has agreed that such assistance may be channelled to "health, educational and housing institutions or facilities ... financed or controlled by the SA government."

Sen Edward Kennedy, who sponsored the change, added the proviso that the President must consult in advance with "the appropriate Congressional committees and South African organisations representative of the majority population".

Potential beneficiaries include Baragwanath Hospital and universities.

The House of Representatives, meanwhile, has approved funding for the "development, construction and financing of low-cost housing" for black South Africans.

The Foreign Affairs Committee is recommending that the US Agency for International Development (AID) set aside \$40 in the next two fiscal years for this purpose, and has singled out the New SA Housing Association as a potential recipient.

Swing identified the principal requirements for growth with equity as:

- ☐ Intelligent economic policies and programmes;
- ☐ Political stability and an end to violence and intolerance; and
- ☐ The recognition that SA's future prosperity lay in the development of its talent and the fulfilment of all its people's needs.

Safeguards and guarantees were necessary for any lasting political order, he added.

These would include agreement on a set of constitutional principals, which included a bill of rights, the separation in practice of executive, legislative and judicial powers, and a robust set of checks and balances.

Other safeguards were consensus among all parties that the preservation of "the democratic rules of the game" was the highest democratic imperative, even in times of political or economic crisis.

LINDEN BIRNS

'DP plan to encourage NP to abolish apartheid'

Political Staff

(3047) ARC 16/8/91
A BROAD democratic coalition or alliance of the centre would give the new South Africa the best hope of success, said Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party.

Addressing 60 people at a meeting in the Green and Sea Point civic centre last night he said the DP's strategy was to encourage the National Party to move ahead to the final abolition of apartheid.

The school system and dis-

criminatory social pensions showed that there were still elements of apartheid left.

It was also DP strategy "to fight against the rightwing in every way we can and to use the influence we have to bring about a convergence of political parties towards moderation, tolerance and co-operation".

The National Party had moved a long way towards accepting a policy based on equal rights for all, personal and economic freedom and upholding

the rule of law. The attitude of the ANC had also moved to the centre.

Sooner or later the problem of the communists within the ANC would have to be resolved and then the way would be open for a broad coalition.

A broad-based government was also necessary to attract investment, both South African and foreign. The path to recovery lay through investment.

It was also the party's duty to watch the National Party carefully and to blow the whis-

tle when it got up to some of its bad old tricks. This was what it did in the recent Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Hennie Bester, the new MP for Green Point, said that some white liberals thought they had been reduced to mere spectators in the country's political life. But this was "utter rubbish".

What the future South Africa looked like depended on the contribution of all South Africans at all levels of society.

Bester on shape of new SA

Political Correspondent

THE new MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, said last night that the widely held view among liberal whites that they had been reduced to mere spectators in the political life of South Africa was "utter rubbish".

In his first address to constituents after being elected unopposed earlier yesterday, Mr Bester said the shape of the new South Africa would be determined by all South African on all levels of society.

Speaking at the Green Point-Sea Point Civic Centre, he said his decision to enter parliamentary politics at this stage was a personal vote of confidence in the future of South Africa.

Mr Bester appealed to all young South Africans, particularly whites who were "despondent and ready to abandon the country", to stay and make a contribution.

"I believe that South Africa now, more than ever, needs young people who are committed to the country and its future."

Walmer NP chairman resigns

304A CT16/91

PROFESSOR Humphrey du Randt, chairman of the Walmer branch of the National Party, has resigned after being a member of the party for 36 years and branch chairman for a total of 11 years.

He announced in Port Elizabeth that several incidents had convinced him that he was being victimised to the extent that he could no longer remain a member of the NP.

A dominating feature of the NP rule, he said, was its arrogance as

well as a lack of public accountability, which was illustrated by the recent slush fund disclosures and the fact that nothing had been done to change the situation until it was exposed.

"I say the NP has a double agenda and I no longer accept its credibility."

There was an Orwellian situation of double-speak and it was no use sitting at the negotiation table with "nice smiles" but, at the same time, knowing the mili-

tary could take over if things went wrong.

The State President was doing a marvellous job but "I am not convinced that the political intentions of the NP are honourable. Anyone who knows the NP like I do, knows there is an arrogance and little interest in democracy", Prof Du Randt said.

He said it was, for him, also totally unacceptable the way the SABC was being manipulated by the government. — Sapa

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AWB, CP egg on FW

JOHANNESBURG. — Eggs and abuse were hurled at president FW de Klerk by placard-and-flag-wielding AWB and CP supporters as he arrived at a banquet in his honour in Alberton last night.

More than a hundred AWB and CP supporters, about half of them youths and children, joined the legal CP-organised picket outside the Alberton civic centre to protest at police action against right-wingers during the AWB-SAP clash in Ventersdorp last

Friday night in which three people died.

Police closely monitored the picket while the right-wingers shouted at arriving dignitaries and guests and held placards reading "FW — Blood on your hands" and "Armoured vehicles won't stop us".

The demonstrators shouted "murderer" and "traitor" as the presidential cavalcade drove into the basement.

Eggs were thrown at Mr De Klerk,

landing on the tarmac at the entrance to the underground parking to the civic centre.

Following the egg-throwing incident, police dogs were brought in to patrol the roadway between the protesters and the civic centre.

Unruly AWB members swore at black photographers and tried to seize a cassette from a radio reporter before rolling up their flags and dispersing once the banquet got under way. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

New bid to stop killings

304A
CT 16/8/91

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA'S long-awaited multi-party conference could take place as early as next month, after yesterday's historic draft peace accord between the country's major political players.

The draft accord — accepted by representatives of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and the government — will now go before a national peace convention on September 14 in Johannesburg.

The accord is designed to arrest the violence sweeping the country and provide rules for future political competition.

The accord, drafted by senior figures among South Africa's major political groupings and church and business representatives, provides for a permanent all-party peace commis-

sion and a peace secretariat which would have legal powers.

Sources from all three quarters believe the all-party commission could form the basis for the multi-party conference.

In a statement issued yesterday by the preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative, it was announced that the draft consists of recommendations dealing with:

- A code of conduct for political parties;
- A code of conduct for security forces;
- Socio-economic development; and
- Implementation and monitoring mechanisms.

The ANC was represented on the committee by foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, the government by deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and the IFP by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The statement added that the com-

mittee had also agreed to appeal to all parties and organisations to end verbal attacks on each other "which could jeopardise the process, now in a critical and delicate phase".

Part of the code of conduct for political parties stated: "No language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation should be used at any political meeting. Nor should pamphlets, posters or written material containing such language be prepared, printed or circulated, either in the name of any party or anonymously."

The statement said the group had worked late into Wednesday night on amendments to the draft. It was hoped that the major political organisations would sign a binding agreement to end violence at the peace convention.

This week ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg newspaper that "it's not inconceivable that the (peace convention) could become the convener of the all-party conference".

Codes of conduct planned

CODES of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a major conference which is being called for September.

The aim is to end and avoid violence in public life. This follows what was this week described as 'astonishing' agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views.

This flowed from an

Sowetan 16/8/91
for parties

earlier conference which appointed church and businessmen to act as facilitators to get together the main role players - the Government, ANC and Inkatha.

It is expected to serve as a stimulant for an all-party conference to prepare for negotiations on a new constitution, but

its aim will not be to help arrange such a conference.

The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons of any kind must be allowed at political meetings;

- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided;

- Political parties must

avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night;

- Parties must respect and uphold the right of other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Reports submitted by a number of working

groups also deal with the implementation of a peace secretariat as a monitoring and dispute-settling mechanism at regional and local levels.

There has also been an attempt to identify socio-economic problems contributing to violence in areas such as hostels.

Only the white right-wing parties excluded themselves from these efforts which followed an earlier conference called by President FW de Klerk which flopped when the ANC

and its allies declined to attend.

They said De Klerk had been too prescriptive and had only told, but not consulted, them about the conference.

Sources involved in the peace conference this week described as "nearby unbelievable" the "extraordinarily good relations" that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups along with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.

Egg-hurling Star 16/8/91 protesters

greet FW

304A

By Montshiwa Moroke

President de Klerk was greeted by about 200 AWB and Conservative Party demonstrators amid tight security when he arrived at the Alberton Civic Centre last night as a guest at a fund-raising banquet.

Police threw a security cordon round the Civic Centre hours before Mr de Klerk's arrival.

Rowdy rightwingers, intermittently hurling abuse at police with dogs keeping them away from the centre, held placards aloft as Mr de Klerk arrived.

Many of the militant protesters wore black armbands in support of their colleagues who were killed or injured at Ventersdorp last Friday.

Some of the posters read: "Tsafendas de Klerk", "Ventersdorp and F W equals Flenstersdorp", "F W blood op u hande", "F W Boere hater" and "Ons sal sterf vir ons reg".

The Star photographer Alf Kumalo was hit on the foot by an egg thrown by a man clad in AWB uniform and threatened several times by another aggressive khaki-clad man.

Earlier, one of the organisers told the group that they were not allowed to carry firearms and other weapons. He warned that if firearms were found, the gathering outside would be declared illegal and they would be ordered to leave.

"We should do nothing to obstruct traffic. We should not molest or obstruct people. Let us show them we're better people. We should do nothing," the man said.

New anthem 'should be acceptable to all'

Star 16/8/91 304A

A new national anthem must be based on values common to all South Africans and be spiritual in character, according to the Junior Rapport-reyerbeweging (JRB).

In a statement, issued in Johannesburg, on emblems in a new South Africa, the organisation of predominantly Afrikaans-speaking young professionals said it recognised the need for new emblems in the new South Africa despite its sentiment towards the present flag, coat of arms and national anthem.

The JRB, however, stressed it was not prepared to negotiate on monuments and language as these were a direct identification of the Afrikaner people.

It said the new national anthem should be acceptable to all South Africans, in particular the minority groups, and must not be connected to any political party.

Regarding the flag, the

organisation said it was prepared to negotiate a new one but rejected those of the ANC, Inkatha and the PAC as unacceptable alternatives.

It was prepared to accept certain aspects of these emblems to be included in a new flag, which represented the diverse values and aspirations of all those who were serious about a developing and peaceful South Africa.

It said talks should take place between all interested parties.

However, the JRB said it would strive to maintain names such as Jan Smuts Airport, Verwoerdburg and Rhodes University because the impact made by the people honoured was of historical importance to South Africa.

It did not object to future streets, squares and State institutions being named after historical figures of other race groups or opposing ideologies. — Sapa.

'SA could set example for Africa'

304A

Star 16/8/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

South Africa had the potential to be one of the leaders in Africa's "long-stalled march towards democracy" and might even show the entire continent the way, United States ambassador William Swing said last night.

Speaking at the presentation of the Four Outstanding Young South Africans awards in Johannesburg, Mr Swing said that although the rest of Africa was experiencing change, nowhere on the continent had developments been more dramatic or promising than in SA.

Americans were optimistic that national peace initiatives and an all-party conference would be successful.

Mr Swing, who has had all but one of his postings in Africa in his 28 years as a diplomat, said one of the healthiest developments in the country was the recognition by most political leaders that South Africa was an African country.

However, it was also important that South Africans continued to respect their uniqueness on the continent, realising that their cultural, ethnic and linguistic differ-

ences could prove to be the country's major asset.

"If violence can be ended and an ethos of tolerance established here, then the world faces the exhilarating prospect that ironically it may well be South Africa which shows much of Africa the way to democracy."

Mr Swing said that while the US recognised the establishment of a new constitution was "a South African task", it was nevertheless prepared to share its national experience and a belief that a number of safeguards were necessary for any lasting political order.

These included agreement on a set of constitutional principles, a consensus that preserving the democratic "rules of the game" was the highest imperative in any democracy, a willingness to distinguish between dissent and disloyalty, and consensus on the economy.

A weak economy, said Mr Swing, would make the transition more complicated.

Chief requirements for economic growth were "intelligent economic policies and programmes, political stability and an end to violence and intolerance, and recognition that the country's future prosperity would come from the development of the talent and the fulfilment of the needs of all South Africans".

Old champions

PROGRESSIVE ODYSSEY: Towards a Democratic South Africa by Ray Swart (*Human and Rousseau*, 214pp, R59,99).

This is an unadorned chronicle, a plain politician's tale told by a patently nice man who tries to find something kind to say about even his most unappealing opponents. At times he allows fellow politicians to condemn themselves out of their own mouths, as when he quotes the former Natal United Party (UP) leader, Douglas Mitchell: "Policy? Why should I state my policy? I don't want a millstone about my neck."

At worst, Swart expresses his displeasure in headmasterly tones, as he does about the contacts made with the ANC after the 1987 elections by new MPs like Pierre Cronje and Jan van Eck. It was not so much the contacts themselves that earn Swart's rebuke — "uncertain and unpredictable attitudes seemed to have developed among elements in the party" — as the manner in which they were carried out. Besides being nice, Swart is also clearly a stickler for good form and appropriate procedure — values to be appreciated whenever evinced, not only by politicians.

For anyone interested in SA politics over the past 40 years, the "odyssey" is an arresting one. It starts with Swart's election as UP MP for Zululand at the age of 25 in 1953



Swart ... values to be appreciated

and ends with his resignation in 1989 as caucus chairman of the Democratic Party (DP) — that amalgam of the old Progressive Federal Party, Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement. In between these events, Swart was closely involved in all the major alliances and mergers that took place in white politics to the left of the governing National Party. Over the years, this has amounted to a complex process and, for most of us, the details have become fuzzy.

The DP is little more than two years old. How many of us can clearly recall (in the

face of the astonishing developments since February 1990) the intricate dance of wooings, hesitations, seductions and couplings that led to its formation — and that caused such delicate *frissons* of anxiety and anticipation in white liberal circles at the time?

Another virtue of Swart's memoir is that it helps us to look back on the long and arduous road that has had to be travelled to the point where the NP itself has now largely adopted the values and principles of what Swart likes to call the early missionaries, meaning the Progs and their successors (he does not pay homage to other liberal visionaries, or to earlier champions of non-racialism and democracy).

It is useful to be reminded, especially by someone who was in that thick of the party political battle during the four decades that saw the ruthless imposition of apartheid and its subsequent abandonment, of the glacial rate of political change before 1990.

And it is not long ago that Worrall could pronounce that the possibility of whites agreeing to share power in the direction of a common society was "far too remote even to warrant attention." It is partly by seeing how far we have come in a relatively short time that we can sustain hope for the future.

It is interesting also to be reminded of forgotten actors who once strutted the political stage. How many of us remember Theo

Gerdener's Democratic Party? Or Blaar Coetzee's short-lived Conservative Party? (How the names keep coming back.) What the chronicle records in essence is the slow shift in political values among the white parties, accompanied by a seemingly endless process of grouping and regrouping among the opposition forces.

For this alone, *Progressive Odyssey* is a valuable part of the political record. The style is somewhat rough-hewn ("refreshingly unintellectual," is how the publisher describes it) and rather given to such quaint usages as "the error of his ways" and "amidst scenes of great enthusiasm."

Do not read it in hopes of any major revelations or juicy political scandals, or even for some inner caucus dirt. Swart is far too much of a gentleman for that; the furthest he goes is to describe, without heat or rancour, some of the inevitable tensions in both the UP and its successors in opposition.

Nor should one read the book in the hope of learning much about Swart himself. It is almost entirely a record of his political career; his family life, for example, features very little.

Finally, *Progressive Odyssey* is a well-deserved tribute to some of those who fought for liberal values during the long, dark years of repression. Its leitmotiv is best expressed in the writer's own words: "In later years, when others who belatedly come to reject the

horrors of apartheid and racism tended to belittle or fight shy of what they termed the Prog image, or made snide remarks about so-called cosy white liberals, they did a grave injustice to those selfless political pioneers who ... were out championing liberal values in election after election without any hope of being rewarded by electoral successes."

Peter Randall



Martin Capito, Chris Gibbons, Jabulani Mabaso and Valerie Mizrahi.

A generation's finest inspire their fellows

The annual Junior Chamber of Commerce and Industries awards pay tribute to men and women making an impact on South African society. STAN HLOPHE takes a look at the winners.

THIS year's Four Outstanding Young South Africans were announced at a banquet in Johannesburg last night. Aids researcher Dr Valerie Mizrahi (33) epitomises the application, dedication and foresight which are symbolised by the awards.

In her work as a senior research officer in the department of haematology at Wits University's medical school, and as head of the molecular biology unit at the South African Institute for Medical Research, Dr Mizrahi has employed certain techniques as a first step to the rational design of anti-HIV agents.

Her team's research results have been published in international journals and presented at two major international conferences. Apart from these achievements, she lectures biotechnology groups at top research organisations and serves as a consultant to these groups.

Chris Gibbons' dislike of bias, distortion and propaganda won the day for this top radio journalist.

Gibbons (36) heads Radio 702's news, sports and information services, and acts as anchorman in "Newstalk".

The weekday news and background show has been hailed as setting new standards for broadcasting journalism in South Africa.

Gibbons also contributes to his industry by training and developing others, and is among those spearheading the move towards deregulating broadcasting in South Africa.

The youngest winner is Jabulani Mabaso (22). He is co-ordinator of the Matric Student Movement and Study Improvement Project (Masmov), which gives students who have failed matric a second chance to get their certificate.

In only three years Mr Mabaso has built up an organisation operating eight learning centres catering for 600 students, with dramatic improvements to pass rates.

Although his own school results were impressive, he was spurred to form Masmov when he saw more than half his class fail matric in 1987.

In a country plagued by violence and a chronic lack of concern, Martin Basil Capito (39) has risen to the challenge of solving a myriad problems in deprived communities.

Among his achievements is a project to accommodate pupils studying after school, as a response to pleas from pupils who could not study in their overcrowded homes.

In 1984 he accepted the position of executive director of Atlantis Community Care, an interdenominational organisation addressing issues in the community.

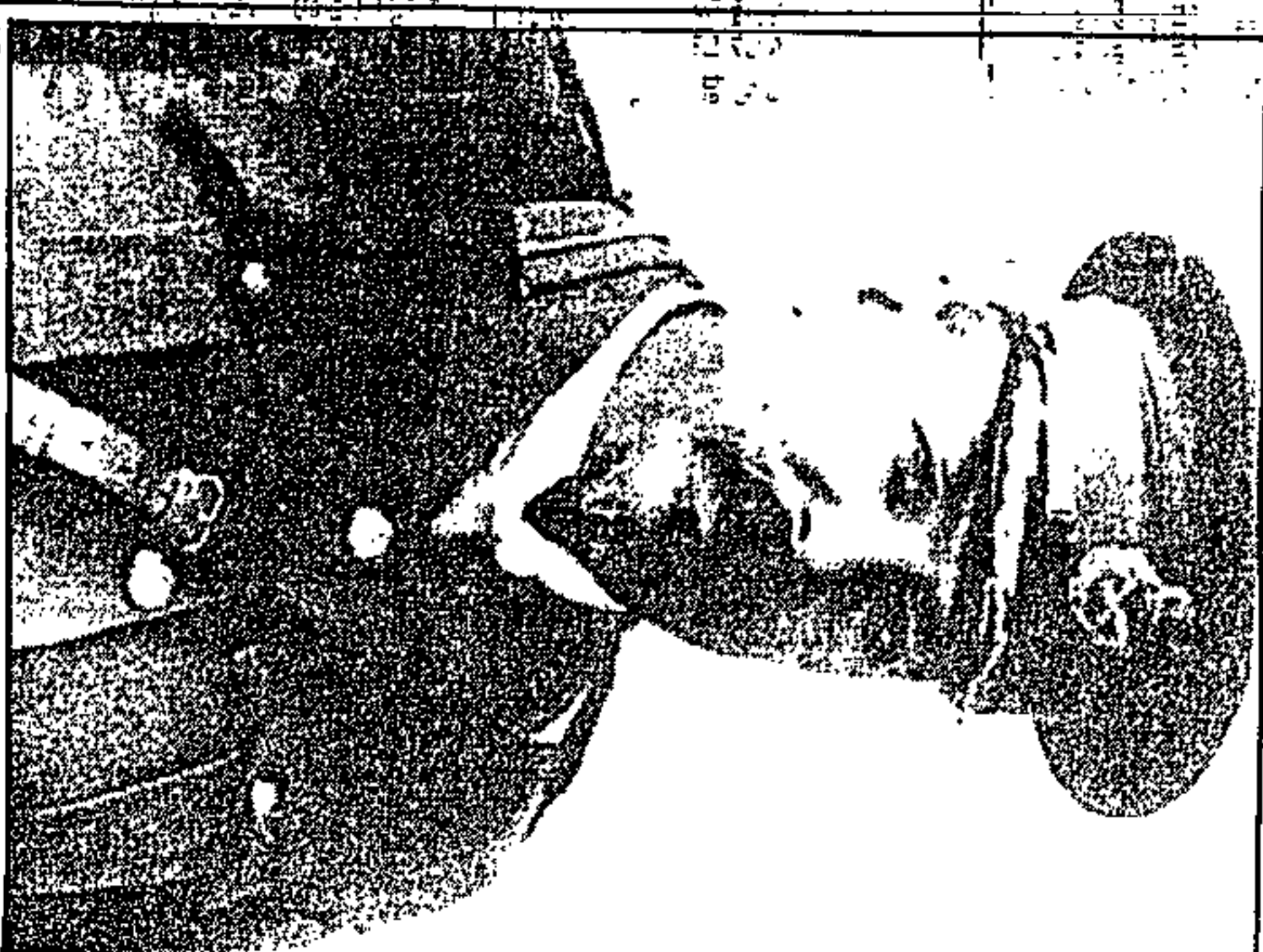
He has supported families of political detainees, as well as acting as peacemaker in communities, constantly urging unity.

Mr Capito also initiated a self-help protection programme aimed at obviating the need to carry dangerous weapons, and increasing safety among families, communities and employees. □

Shades of 1914 revolt in Boer backlash

Spier 16/6/91

(3047)



General Louis Botha . . . used the fledgling defence force and loyal burgher commandos against rebels.

THE CLASH in Ventersdorp was like an echo from the past — but a muted one — for what happened last Friday is small potatoes compared with what happened in 1914.

In that year, thousands of Boers took their rifles and rose in rebellion against Prime Minister Louis Botha's government. Over the next few months, rebels fought loyal troops and police across the northern part of South Africa — from the border with South West Africa to the eastern Free State — and by the time it was over, hundreds were dead.

The rebels of 1914 were fighting against South African participation in Britain's war against Germany, specifically in German South West Africa. It was, in a way, an extension of the Anglo-Boer War.

The rightwingers who clashed with the police at Ventersdorp were opposing something they probably consider an even greater threat to Afrikanerdom than British hegemony ever was: the threat of black domination.

Whether they will go to the same lengths to oppose it remains to be seen. Whether Ven-

tersdorp was the beginning of something bigger or an isolated flare-up may depend on how much support the extremists get from others.

In 1914, most whites sided with the government, and the rebels were in the minority even among Afrikaners, although about 10,000 took up arms against the government.

The rightwingers who confronted the police at Ventersdorp appear at this stage to be unrepresentative of the majority of Afrikaners, but the extent of their support has not yet been fully gauged and could in any case fluctuate.

While the catalysts were different, the motive for rebellion was the same in 1914 as in 1991: an urge to protect cultural sovereignty.

In 1914 the danger of being swamped by blacks was far from the minds of whites.

Conservative Afrikaners were angered then, not by government moves to share power with blacks, but by the decision of the Cabinet of the Union of South Africa to commit the country to war against Germany under the British flag. Only 12 years had elapsed

White rightwingers are talking loosely of a "Third Boer War", but it might be more accurate to relate the present opposition to the De Klerk reforms to the rebellion that rocked South Africa 77 years ago — and was crushed by the government. **GERALD LANGE** reports.

since the Anglo-Boer War, and its wounds had not healed.

Memories were still strong and bitter among many Afrikaners, and there was indignation that Botha's government should expect them to fight for their erstwhile enemy against the Germans, with whom many Afrikaners felt closer kinship than with the English.

For some, Botha's call to arms under the Union flag was an excuse to rise and break the hated ties made with Britain in the Treaty of Vereeniging.

The hope of assistance from the Germans across the border in South West Africa was an additional incentive to rebellion, as was the defeat by the Germans of the invading South African forces in the first battle of the campaign, at Sandfontein. While like-minded Afrikaners were still holding protest meet-

ings against the invasion, Lieutenant-Colonel "Manie" Maritz, commander of the Union Defence Force units in the northern Cape, went into open rebellion, taking some of his troops with him and handing others to the Germans as prisoners.

Meanwhile, rebellion flared through the Transvaal and Free State. Tempters had been inflamed by the accidental shooting of the Anglo-Boer War hero, General Koos de la Rey, at a roadblock set up at Langlaagte by police trying to catch the notorious Foster gang of robbers.

In the Transvaal, the rebellion began not far from Ventersdorp, at Lichtenburg, and was soon joined by the recently resigned Commandant-General of the Union Defence Force, General Christian Beyers. He assembled a burgher force in the Magaliesberg but

was defeated by government troops at Kommissiedrif near Rustenburg. After being pursued into the Free State he was trapped against the flooded Vaal River and drowned when he tried to swim across it.

At Nooitgedacht in the Transvaal, Jopie Fourie, a serving soldier, won martyrdom among supporters of the rebellion when he was executed by a firing squad after his rebel force had been captured in hand-to-hand fighting that followed a bayonet charge by troops and police.

By January 1915 the rebellion had been crushed. General Botha went off to South West Africa to lead the South African forces in their invasion from land and sea.

He went on to conquer the German territory in dashing style, and he and his army were showered with praise from around the Empire.

But the agony of fighting his kin in the rebellion, of taking the field against generals alongside whom he had fought in the Anglo-Boer War, took a heavy emotional toll, and is thought by some to have contributed to his death in 1919 at the age of 57.

President de Klerk has not yet had to face the awful choices General Botha confronted in 1914. But the decisions facing him may become tougher for the issue that is dividing Afrikanerdom now — whether land and power should be shared (some say surrendered) to the blacks — is potentially more divisive than was the 1914 issue of whether Afrikaners should fight for the British.

General Botha, with the support of General Jan Smuts as Defence Minister, used the fledgling defence force and loyal burgher commandos against the rebels.

Mr de Klerk, by having a strong force of troops in Rauts deployed near Ventersdorp, has indicated he will do so, too, if necessary.

At Ventersdorp the SAP stood by their duty to maintain order, as they did in 1914. If President de Klerk faces hard choices in the future, so will the SAP.

Gerald Lange is the author of a new book, "Urgent Imperial Service", published by Ashanti, about the rebellion and campaign in German South West Africa. □

The State must retain sovereignty in the transitional phase, says Hermann Gilimoe

The choice is control or chaos

Star 16/8/91.

2044

THE battle of Ventersdorp and the ANC's demand for an interim government which also controls the security forces raise, in stark terms, the most fundamental problem of the transition in South Africa. The question is whether violence will engulf the negotiation process before a generally accepted constitution can provide a new base for stability.

Although people often fear a military coup in a divided society, the much more imminent danger is the polarisation of the community into extremist factions. The British expert, Paul Wilkinson, describes the phenomenon as follows, in his classic study "Terrorism and the Liberal State": "Each side will tend to paramilitarise, to rely on forming its own private armies to counter the other, for in such crises neither extreme trusts the government to do its job of ensuring both social justice and political order." This was the pattern in pre-Hitler Germany, pre-Mussolini Italy, France between the wars, and the Lebanon and Northern Ireland of recent times.

In South Africa there is a tendency to depict the right wing as a spent force, since the great majority of the population favours negotiations. Although the right wing is

unlikely to come to power, its capacity to wreak widespread havoc, to inflame black-white passions and to trigger a war between private armies should not be underestimated.

Thus, the mere fact that South Africa has embarked on the normalisation of its politics, does not mean that one must ignore the built-in propensity in our society for incremental violence — extra-legalism, vigilantism, selective terrorism and finally indiscriminate violence. In such a chain of events it is virtually impossible for the security forces to remain neutral and serve as a base for constitutional transformation.

It is in this context that one must assess the ANC's demand for an interim government. What it envisages, according to spokespeople like Dr Pallo Jordan, is Parliament suspending itself and an Interim Government of National Unity (Ingou) being given the right to rule by decree and to control the security forces.

Given its scepticism about the Government's ability to manage the transition impartially, the ANC understandably wants to be invited into the engine room of political action. On the other hand Ingou could set in train exactly

those events which could lead to the destabilisation of society and the paralysis of the security forces as described above.

There are two powerful forces which will come into play if the ANC's demand for an Ingou is successful. The right wing (and elements in the ANC) would undoubtedly portray this as a rupture in the constitutional evolution of South Africa and a revolutionary victory for the ANC.

In this scheme of things, the South African state from 1910 to the present, is reduced to an illegitimate colonial regime of a status not much higher than Mudge's Namibia or Smith's Rhodesia. I can think of nothing which would better guarantee the NP losing the majority support of whites to the right wing.

Even if the right wing could be held at bay, would Ingou be capable at all of providing stability during the transition? To ask a concrete question, if the widely respected Jacob Zuma of the ANC is appointed to the position of Minister of Law and Order, what would he do if the police open fire on black demonstrators? It is fair to assume that whatever he does has a good chance of splitting the police force along racial lines.

Once the security forces are unable to act, the paramilitaries take the field.

It is for these reasons that opposition movements which want to come to power constitutionally refuse to assume responsibility for the police in an interim government. A recent example is Solidarity in Poland which allowed the communists to retain control over the army and police in the interim government despite having won a spectacular victory in the election of June 1989. Another example is John Hume's Social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland which refused to assume responsibility for security matters in the power-sharing government of 1974.

Keeping these examples in mind, the ANC should carefully consider whether a self-limiting transformation is not in its own best interests.

This does not mean that the ANC must be content with simply being co-opted by the Government into transitional structures without any constitutional sanction. As the Democratic Party has argued, a transitional government cannot be introduced unless constitutional amendments are made. Among the changes it envisages are

amendments to the constitution which would allow black representatives to take their place in Cabinet and in parliamentary standing committees.

Where the DP differs strongly from the ANC, is that it insists on constitutional continuity and a broadening of existing structures. However, the DP should realise that the Government's room for action is limited. Far-reaching constitutional changes would pre-empt a constitutional referendum. If President De Klerk is seen as a reneging on his promise to hold a referendum, the right wing's potential for wreaking havoc may well be realised.

Managing a radical transformation of the political system — in which the leadership is engaged at present — has historically been regarded as the ultimate test of statecraft. It is little wonder that one can once again turn to Nicolo Machiavelli, the master political strategist. As a clear-eyed pragmatist, he had strong views on how the process could be managed in a way that both order and liberty are preserved in a republican form of government.

He believed that the transformation of a government is rarely successful unless it is done by one

person. However, Machiavelli adds immediately that, "the new order this person has organised will not last long if it continues to rest on the shoulders of one man, but may well last if many remain in charge of and many look to its maintenance."

The key issue is not, whether the constitution produces desirable results. "When the effect is good," Machiavelli concludes, "it always justifies the action."

Translated into 20th-century South African terms, this means that sovereignty cannot be compromised during the period of transition. If the existing state is not defeated — and the South African state is far from that — the government of the day musts full control over the security forces and the state to protect society against political disintegration and widespread violence.

However, the task does not end there. The ultimate test, as Machiavelli noted, to produce a constitution in which "many remain in charge and many look to its maintenance". Only once this is achieved can the right wing truly be regarded as a spent force.

● Professor Gilimoe teaches politics at the University of Cape Town.

Draft accord bodes well for peace talks

By Carina le Grange

The draft peace accord agreed on by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party provides a firm foundation for a "peace convention" which will take place next month, the National Peace Initiative (NPI) said yesterday.

Apart from political representatives, top-ranking church and business leaders were also represented at the NPI meeting in Sandton at which the draft accord was agreed upon.

Agreement was reached in spite of clear tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

The accord, aimed at quelling political violence and boosting negotiations, will be on the agenda for the September 14 peace convention.

It was hoped the ANC, Inkatha and the Government (the "Big Three") as well as other parties would sign a binding agreement to end the violence, the NPI said.

The draft accord will also be circulated within the next few days to other (unnamed) political parties and organisations.

The NPI said it was agreed that the draft addressed key issues related to violence.

The meeting also agreed to appeal to all parties to stop making verbal attacks on each other which could jeopardise the peace process, now in a "critical and delicate phase".

The draft includes a code of conduct for political parties

which states that "no language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation, should be used at any political meeting".

It also says pamphlets, posters or other written material containing such language should not be prepared, printed or circulated either in the name of any party or anonymously.

The draft also includes a code of conduct for security forces.

It was drawn up late on Wednesday night and one negotiator said: "The mere fact that we've succeeded is quite remarkable."

Another said: "Obviously this doesn't mean all parties are in total agreement with each other about all things. What is apparent is that all parties are prepared to work for peace."

One prominent facilitator said the draft accord was important not only for its contents but also for its symbolism.

It boosted hopes for a multi-party conference and negotiations for a new South Africa.

While the "Big Three" and their many allies seem certain to attend the September indaba with church, business and homeland leaders, the right wing remains a problem.

"They must be included," a church facilitator said. "We are busy negotiating with them on a personal basis to get them interested."

The ANC alliance was led by Thabo Mbeki, the Government delegation by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer and Inkatha by Dr Frank Mdlalose.

A black perspective on the warring white right

IN AN ironic twist — many blacks

who have been at the receiving end of police action would call it a *boere twis* — it took the tragic events at Ventersdorp for the state president to demonstrate that the playing field is being levelled in the land of apartheid.

When public safety is seriously endangered and when life is mindlessly lost, it is a national tragedy. Perhaps now many whites who have turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to such loss of life when it was black, will begin to appreciate some of the bitterness and real sense of grievance that most blacks have, particularly when it comes to police treatment.

In the circumstances, the huge police presence and their actions may have been justified. Tragic, needless, but justified when weighed against the apparent intention to create deadly confrontation.

However, one cannot help wonder-

By SATHS COOPER

Psychologist and National Director of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy

ing at the president's tough law-and-order position on protection at political gatherings when the same has not been done in the case of black organisations and national figures. Nelson Mandela was not similarly protected at the University of Pretoria when right-wing students and their leaders prevented him from being heard.

The police duty is to maintain law and order without fear or favour. Concerns of public safety should be the guideline.

The question many observers ask is whether President Fw de Klerk could have avoided the events at Ventersdorp last Friday.

Right-wing spokesmen self-right-

2-28/91
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ously claim to represent the true interests of *die volk*, yet ignore De Klerk's own roots with the very same *volk*. Afrikaner hubris and machismo has been a bedevilling feature of South African life. The obdurate determination displayed by Eugene TerreBlanche, Piet Rudolph et al is also a quality that De Klerk is made of.

The president is not only unaccustomed to allowing public humiliation, but also has the right to address his constituency anywhere in this country — a right he has not conceded to opposing views before, a right that he may very well not like, but a right that is fundamental to democratic practice, respect for human rights and difference of opinion.

Until last Friday the one thing black organisations could have learnt from white parties was that they did not kill each other even when they disagreed. It may be a moot point whether the police

not.
were acting for partisan interests or

The term "black on black violence" has to be redefined, and looked at in the context of the inherent violence and triggers for violence in the structure of South African society. Those jingoned observers who have constantly put the blame for political intolerance at the door of black organisations have to locate the seeds of intolerance within the strictures of the ruling class, rather than pointing to responses from the ruled.

Perhaps more careful analysis will be given to the seriousness of the issues confronting the democratisation process in this country. Declarations about negotiations and peace are patently insufficient unless the realities of what apartheid has created are urgently addressed.

No one who claims to be standing for peace, security and stability in our country can also use methods that pro-

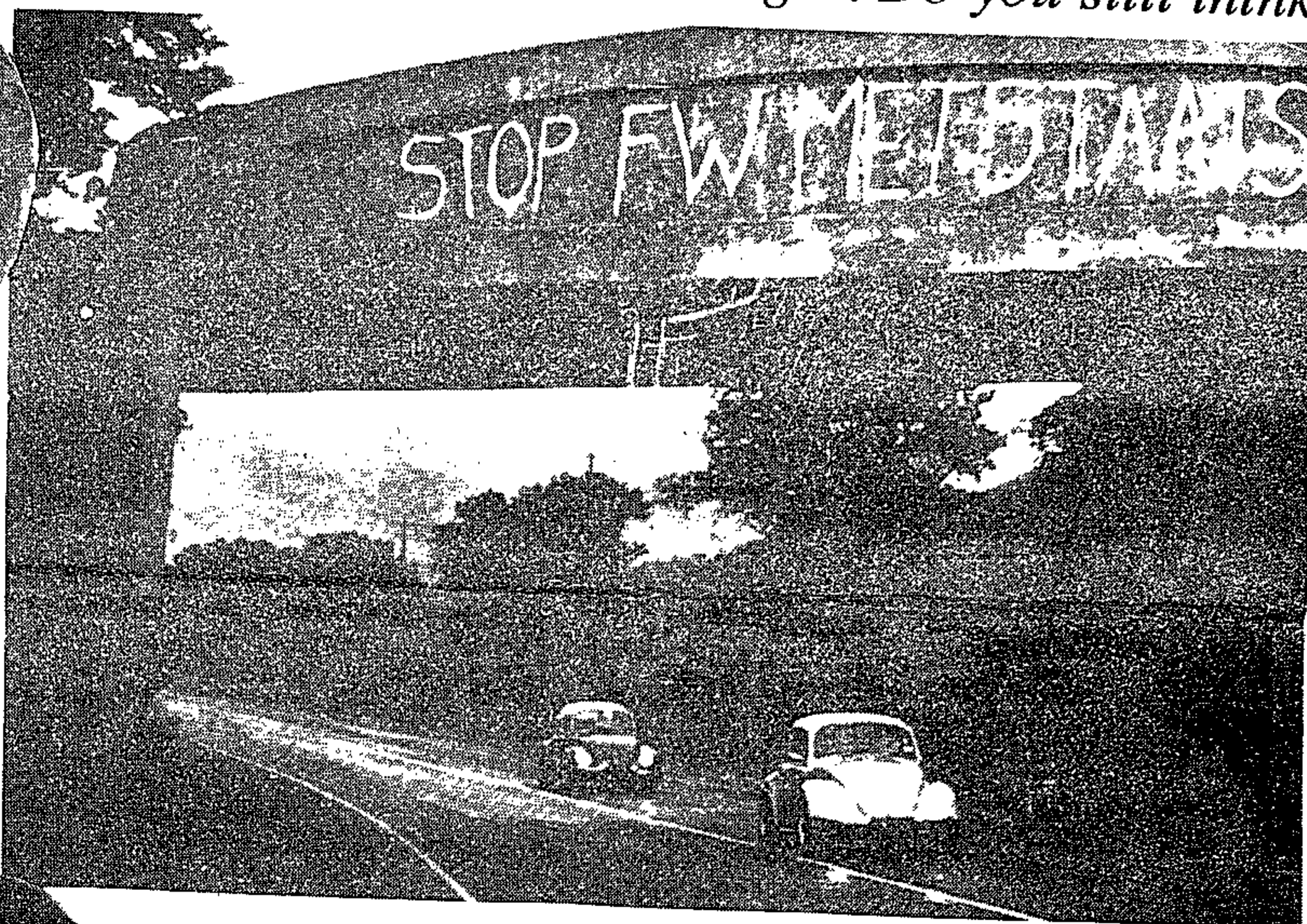
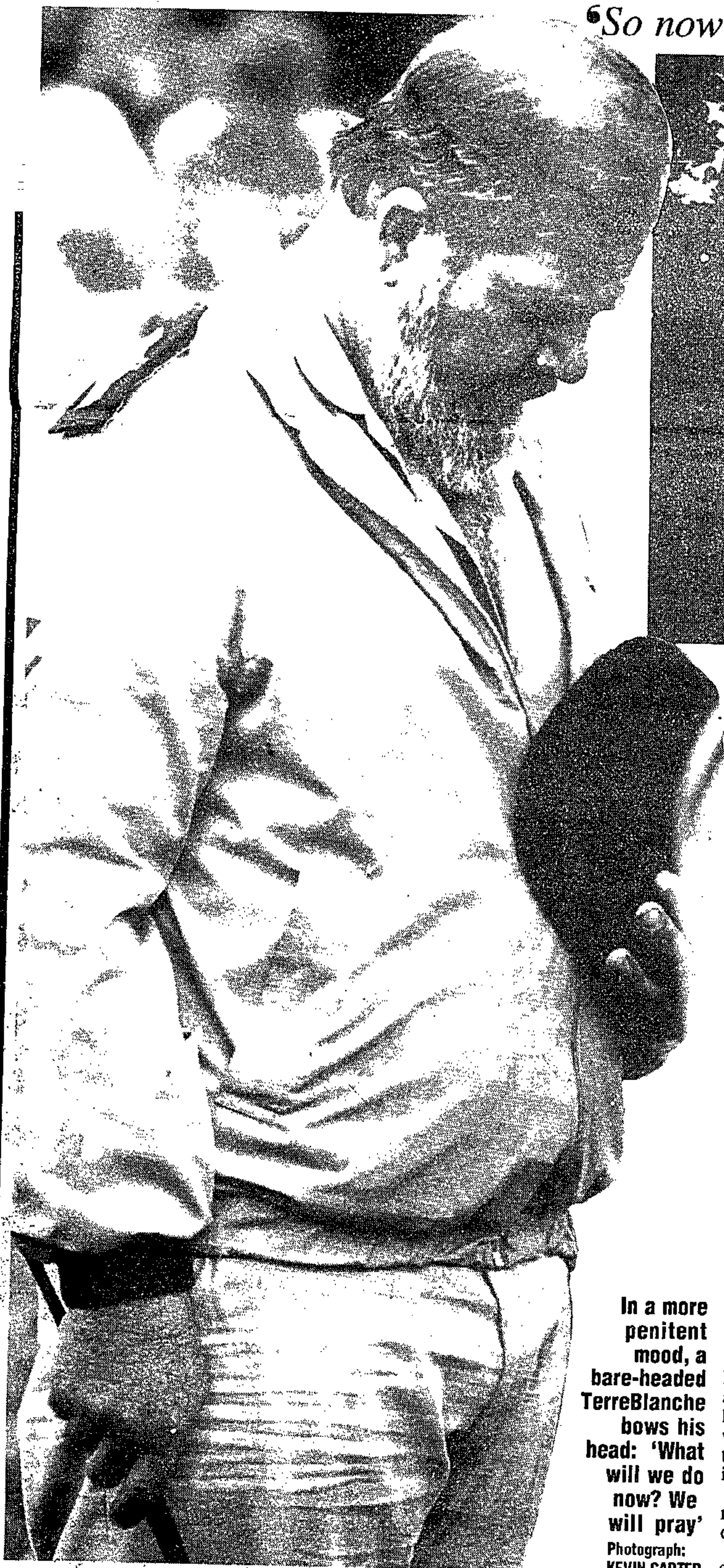
voke war, insecurity and instability. It insults commonsense for some right-

wingers to claim that they merely went to the National Party meeting in Ventersdorp to ask the president questions. One does not go to a public gathering with the intention of being informed, of challenging, of dissenting and of making public officials accountable when armed, even if it is with "mace" sprays.

The provocative behaviour of the *boere*, with their "traditional weapons", was clearly designed to embarrass the president and to muster sympathy for their own diminishing cause.

Many conservative whites cannot be proud of the events at Ventersdorp. Indeed, those conservative whites who may have had doubts about the transition process are likely to have had their doubts removed. Right-wing militants will soon realise that such action, far from creating support, only serves to alienate most South African citizens.

'So now you've met the militant right. Do you still think



An intimate evening

W/mail 16/8-22/8/91

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EUGENE TERREBLANCHE took out a bullet and propped it on the bar in front of a curly-haired blonde. "This one's for FW de Klerk," he sniggered.

The company of about seven, gathered in the dingy "ladies bar" of the Ventersdorp Hotel, were in a strangely jovial mood given the events that had befallen the town only 24 hours before.

TerreBlanche had led a phalanx of about 1 000 members of his neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging into clashes with police and blacks which left at least three rightwingers dead.

Broken glass and barbed wire still littered the now deserted streets. Armoured vehicles outside the police station had been daubed with a red hammer and sickle intertwined with NP and had their tyres deflated.

It was Saturday evening, the international media contingent had gone home and we had stumbled on the bearded TerreBlanche, the man on whom the hopes and fears of a white rightwing revolt depend, knocking back a succession of brandies mixed with coke.

We asked innocently what had happened.

"They killed three of our people," he said with righteous indignation, hurt that fellow boers could have been the perpetrators of this dastardly act. "I asked them not to shoot and still they shot — to the left and the right of me.

"These were men with wives and children." His voice resonated in its familiar oratorical style as he informed us that the whole sorry episode had been an outrage against innocent boers who were doing no more than peacefully exercising their right as taxpayers to come and hear the president speak.

We pointed out to TerreBlanche that it had been reported that the AWB brutally attacked a number of innocent blacks.

TerreBlanche threw us a suspicious look, then explained. "For no apparent reason, seven com-

The day after the blood and anger of Ventersdorp, Eugene

TerreBlanche took to the bar at the Ventersdorp Hotel, where he spent several hours in the company of, among others, journalists

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and GISKA MATTHES

bis came driving right into the middle of our people. We think the National Party put them up to it. Maybe they were Inkathas."

What would they do now? "We will pray," said TerreBlanche. A man known as the professor, later identified as Derek van Vuuren, added, "it's going to be war."

"The land is ours," he said. "We got it through fighting. If they want to take it back from us, they're going to have to fight. We will fight them to the end. We will never surrender."

The bar was growing more relaxed as the drinks continued to flow, the bluster began to fade and TerreBlanche's eyes grew smaller and more focused on the women in the room.

"I like women," he mumbled, looking around at the four women in the small, intimate bar.

TerreBlanche showed more than a passing interest in Matthes — he came over, kissed her hand and stared at her intensely.

We had a long and lively discussion at the bar where TerreBlanche continued to impress the company with tales of innocence and being a righteous knight of his people.

Another mysterious darkish gentleman in TerreBlanche's company was wearing a light khaki uniform with a sea captain's hat, his hands covered in golden rings and bracelets, and disclosed that he was a Basque.

Every now and then TerreBlanche went to him and they spoke conspiratorially in low voices.

In a more penitent mood, a bare-headed TerreBlanche bows his head: 'What will we do now? We will pray'

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

'Mafia' make NP decisions

W/Mail 16/8-22/89/304A
By BEVERLEY GARSON

THERE is a "political Mafia" in the National Party who have a "hidden agenda" to make it impossible to establish a climate of democratisation in the build-up to negotiations.

The claim was made this week by NP Walmer branch chairman Humphrey du Randt who has resigned from the party.

Du Randt said this "Mafia" did not consult widely within the party when making decisions. He said members of the NP had lost the power to determine party policy and had been presented with ideas, propositions and proposals from outside the party.

He said people in the party had tried to sideline him since the NP's Cape congress last year, when he suggested the congresses had become a "mere rubber stamp" for proposals which originated in the Broederbond.

Du Randt said he supported the idea of an interim government to ensure a true democratic process during negotiations, because presently the "political Mafia" controlled vital parts of society.

But he did not think the government would agree to hand over power to such a body.

He said the government was playing a political game and the changes it had introduced to date had been "cosmetic".

"The government is the old establishment dressed in new clothes. We don't have time for superficial changes. We want a clean up (of the party) and we want the Mafia out." — Pen

A BY-ELECTION IN ATHLONE

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

3044

Historic
victory
— Nats
in 2,9%
poll

IT was a scene in the New South Africa.

The setting was a by-election for the Athlone (coloured) management committee. The leading characters were the National Party, the Labour Party (weakened by defections to the NP) and the African National Congress.

Jubilant Nats and supporters hailed their candidate's victory — by a narrow 77 votes — as an "historic breakthrough" and a severe setback for the Labour Party and the ANC in the Peninsula. It was the first poll of its kind since the Labourites defected to the NP this year.

The winner was the NP's Mr Basil van der Ross who polled 583 votes against 506 by Labour's Mr John Miranda.

The percentage poll was only 2,9 — described by a senior official of Cape Town municipality as "surprisingly high" for a management committee by-election.

Observers see the election, on Wednesday, as the first indication of the emerging election pattern of the future when race no longer will be a political factor.

Those present say there were stormy scenes, especially during the final stages. At one stage, according to witnesses, police intervened when ANC supporters allegedly tried to prevent potential NP voters from entering the Bonteheuvel polling station.

Tension rose as rival groups confronted each other, shouting slogans and accusations. Several National Party MPs, including Mr Paul Kleinsmith (Elsiesrivier) and Mr James Kuiler (Manenberg), reported that their car tyres had been slashed.

Among those present was Mr Peter Marais, a National Party member of the President's Council. He told Weekend Argus there was a clear ANC presence, including school children waving ANC flags, people chanting "A-N-C, A-N-C" and "Viva A-N-C", displaying ANC banners and distributing pamphlets with the ANC's name and emblem.

Some of the pamphlets contained allegedly libellous statements against the NP and its candidate and seemed to contravene the Electoral Act in that they did not contain the name and address of the author, printer or publisher.

Mr Marais said he had consulted NP lawyers who told him there might be grounds to sue for libel.

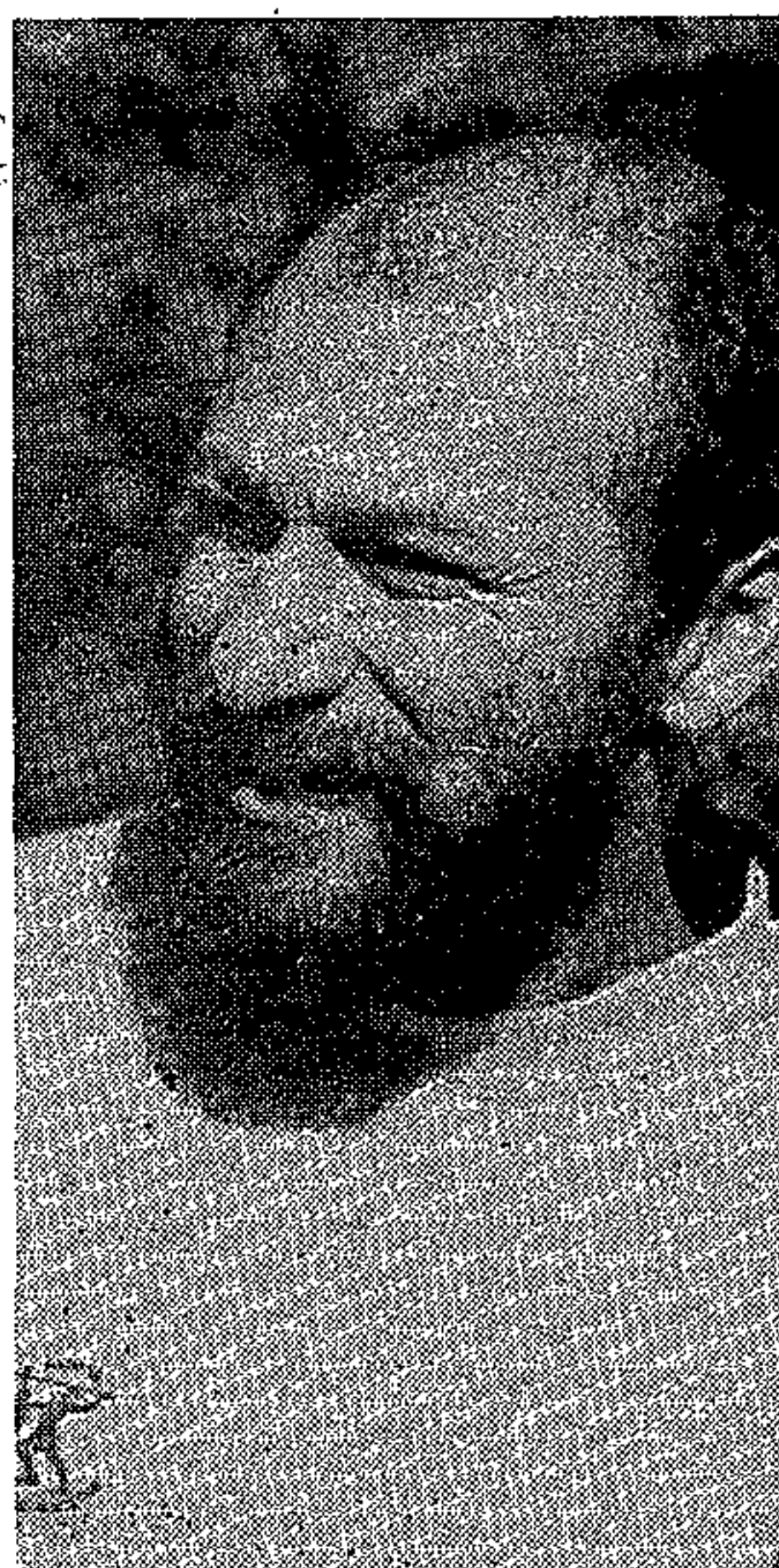
DESCRIBING scenes at the polling stations, Mr Marais said the ANC and Labour Party supporters clearly demonstrated their opposition to the NP.

While NP supporters shouted "FW, FW", Labour Party supporters were chanting "Coloured traitors" and other accusations against the NP.

Mr Marais said that, at one stage, he saw ANC official Mr Trevor Manuel arriving at the Athlone Civic Centre. He was applauded by LP supporters and shook hands with a Labour Party official.

Before the polling booths closed at 8pm a few hundred NP voters who had arrived in cars and combis had to turn back because they were unable to get into the polling station. Their entry had been obstructed by rival groups.

Mr Marais said: "When the announcement came that we had won, people shouted that we had beaten both the Labour Party and the ANC.



TREVOR MANUEL: Not involved

I'm now looking forward to an election where the NP can fight the ANC directly."

Winner Mr Basil van der Ross said he was "delighted" at his victory. "It was a tough battle seeing I had to face a double opposition — the Labour Party and the ANC."

He said there was a clear ANC presence, with pamphlets, flags, emblems and slogans. It appeared that children from three high schools were involved in demonstrations with ANC flags and placards.

Mr Manuel, elected recently as a member of the ANC's national executive committee, denied he was involved in any way with the election.

He told Weekend Argus he had been invited to speak at a meeting of the Western Cape Traders' Association at the Athlone Civic Centre.

He had not even known about the election, but on his way to the meeting he found himself at the civic centre polling station. He made inquiries and was directed to the minor hall where the meeting he was to address was held.

Asked about an ANC presence at the election, Mr Manuel said: "All this is news to me." However, because of the serious nature of some of the allegations about ANC involvement, he would "go into the matter".

Defeated Labour Party candidate Mr Miranda confirmed that ANC supporters were active, but denied emphatically that their demonstrations were in support of the Labour Party.

"I have pamphlets showing clearly they (the ANC) were against both candidates in the election. The ANC supporters, in fact, were demonstrating against the election and were exercising their right to express their viewpoint. It is not true that they demonstrated for the Labour Party."

The Cape leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, declined to comment.

Inkathagate: Slush Funds and the State

New Nation (Learning Nation)

16/8 - 22/8/91.

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The recent revelation in the local and British press that the SA state has been funding Inkatha and UWUSA has raised great interest amongst the people. The ANC has called for an interim government because the state's support for Inkatha proves that it cannot be a "player and a referee". The press focussed on the fact that the tax-payers' money had been spent on party-political matters. This article will look at what the question of secret funds tells us about the nature of the state under capitalism.

The nature of the state

The state consists of a number of institutions which ensure that it can carry out its purpose. These are the government (the political party in power); the civil service; the army; the police; the judiciary (the judges and magistrates) and the treasury (the Reserve bank and the state mint). In any society in which people are divided into classes the state and its institutions are not neutral but serve the interests of the ruling class. Under capitalism the state serves to unite the interests of the bourgeoisie against that of the working class. The capitalist class is made up of many individual capitalists who compete with one another. What unites them, however, is the need to keep capitalist accumulation and profit going and this is ultimately the responsibility of the state.

How does the capitalist class rule?

The capitalists are only a small minority in society which is dependent on the working class to produce its wealth. The capitalist class rules through the institutions of the state. At times of extreme crisis the armed wing of the state ensures that demonstrations are put down, that "law and order" is kept, that strikes are broken and that production is maintained. But mostly the capitalist state is able to rule because the institutions of the state are regarded as normal by the majority of the working class and the middle classes. The civil service appears to administer social services like sewerage and road maintenance on behalf of everybody; the police arrest rich and poor; and the judiciary judges everyone as equal and that no-one is above the law. In democratic capitalist countries this belief that the institutions of the state are neutral and in the service of all citizens is bolstered by the fact that the working people actually elect the governing party. This belief in the neutrality of the state - that its institutions are above the separate interests of the different classes - is the greatest reason why a small minority of capitalists is able to keep the vast majority of the people under its rule.

The capitalist state needs checks and balances

The fact that the capitalist state is so dependent on the acceptance of its status by the working class is a problem for the capitalist class however. Struggles around the quality of life on the part of the working class and even amongst middle classes people can shatter the illusion that the state is neutral. And even the limited space offered to the working class to influence political life, such as during elections, can open the possibility that the interests of the capitalists can be threatened.

Together with its watchdog of the armed forces, the capitalist state always tries to keep the real decision-making about all aspects of people's lives out of public scrutiny. So the country is really run through parliamentary subcommittees and caucuses, when the electorate cannot even recall their MPs between elections! The civil

service, meanwhile, is staffed by professional bureaucrats and the judiciary is independent of parliament or any democratic elections.

Amidst all these mechanisms for keeping the majority of people out of the democratic process the capitalist state also keeps a special department for secret services. In the interest of "state security" the people are not allowed to know about these shadowy services (from spies to the security police) and their funding. The activities of the secret police are together with the activities of the diplomats, deemed to be too sensitive for the people to know about. All of us have grown up in the period of the Cold War world of the CIA and Britain's MI6 while Hollywood agents such as James Bond lived charming secret lives. The Stalinists in Eastern Europe in turn built up secret police such as the GPU and the KGB to eliminate what they called "the enemies of the people". At the same time all the capitalist states, even the most "democratic" maintain a professional diplomatic team under the parliamentary responsibility of the Foreign Affairs department but whose finances and deals are secret.

Nothing illustrates the undemocratic nature of the capitalist state more than its need to protect itself from involvement of the people in its decisions; its need to conduct investigations against its own people; and to carry out diplomatic deals secretly, behind the backs of the people.

There are however variations in the degree of involvement of people in some of the affairs of state in different capitalist states. Usually this depends on the degree of mass involvement in the formation of the state. For instance the history of the American Constitution which came about as a result of a popular war of liberation against British colonialism has left a limited legacy today where American district attorneys are elected and Supreme Court judges appointments must be ratified by an elected body such as Congress. However, the CIA and the diplomats (and their finances) operate entirely outside of public scrutiny, even if Congressional subcommittees do investigate them and can make aspects of their investigations public.

The Slush Funds and the De Klerk State

When the South African and the British newspapers first revealed that they had proof that the SA state had funded Inkatha and set up UWUSA, most of the press focussed on the fact that taxpayers' money was being used and that De Klerk was not acting fairly at a time of negotiations. The response of the SA state was to deny that De Klerk knew about the money; to argue that the money was only for

An interesting counter-example to a capitalist state is that of early Soviet Russia where a department such as the CHEKA was created by Lenin to investigate acts of industrial sabotage by the individual capitalists who remained as managers or owners of factories after the Revolution of 1917. The members of CHEKA were volunteers from the Party and were known publicly amongst their fellow workers. One of the first acts of the new Bolshevik government was the release of all secret documents and signed treaties in the mass media. In addition the negotiations between the German diplomats and Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk were conducted publicly through open newspaper and radio reports. With the growth of the bureaucracy under Stalin the groups under CHEKA became more full-time and secret and eventually began to spy on opposition elements within the Party until CHEKA was absorbed into the GPU which was a secret police much like exists in capitalist states.

anti-sanctions purposes; and that the auditor-general had authorised the money in terms of the parliamentary allocation of money for secret projects. The fact that secrecy is therefore a necessary part of government was taken for granted. In fact this allowed Pik Botha to brazenly face the press with statements like "I'll do it again!" From the side of Western governments, such as Britain and the USA there was mild concern but, given the fact that they too operate on the principle of secrecy, they understood the need for secret funds and projects.

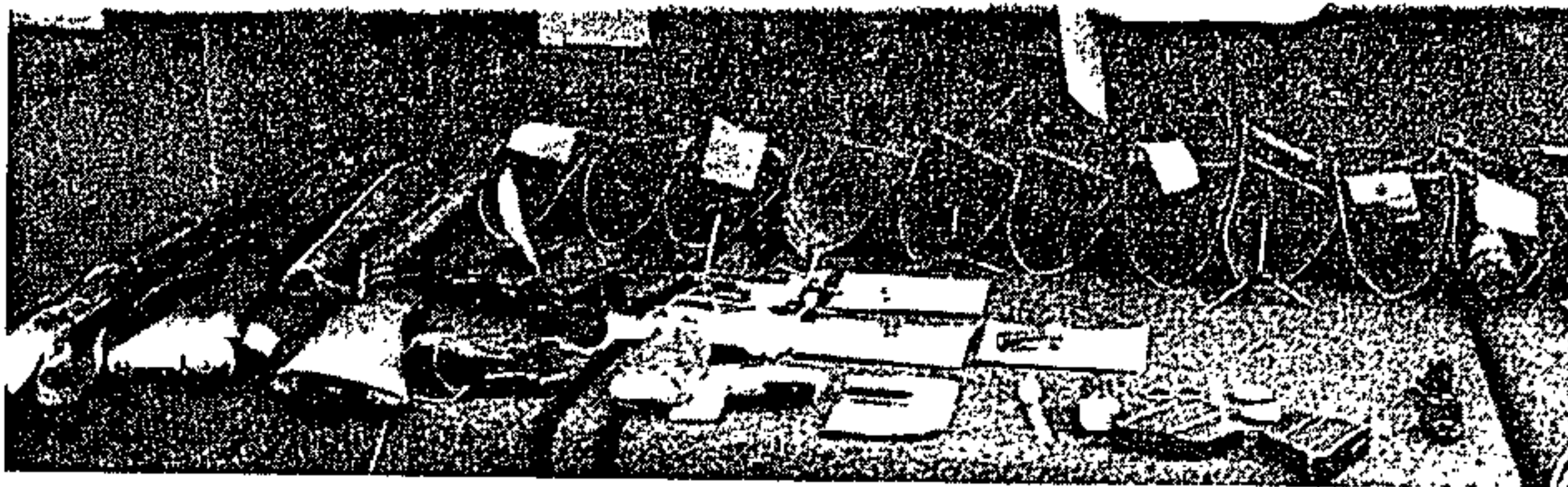
The real problem lies in the nature of the capitalist state - which excludes the people from decision-making and even the knowledge of those decisions taken. In the preparation for a new constitution for South Africa, through a Constituent Assembly, the working people have a chance to ensure that the principle of public knowledge, elections and accountability is built into every part of the future state. In that sense Inkathagate has lessons beyond just De Klerk's act of bad faith against the people.

What do you think?

Please write to us at Learning Nation, P.O. Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2000 and tell us what you feel about Inkathagate and secret state departments.



confrontation by the rightwing Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) with the government at the "Battle of Ventersdorp" last weekend? Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports on the response of experts who see danger signals for South Africa...



□ LETHAL: Some of the weapons confiscated from rightwing members during last weekend's "Battle of Ventersdorp"

304A ARG 17/8/91

'Disarm gun-toting political cowboys'

STOP private armies now. Also disarm gun-toting political cowboys and potential criminals who carry dangerous weapons in public places.

This is the message from politicians, academic specialists and opinion-makers across a wide spectrum — and most of them warn that the government can no longer afford to delay decisive action on this issue.

There are signs of mounting pressure on the government for an outright ban on certain war-like activities by militant groups on the right and the left.

The role of the AWB's nazi-style private "army" during last week's "Battle of Ventersdorp" has drawn fresh warnings from experts that a Lebanon-type conflict situation could develop if the government fails to take effective steps soon.

The most chilling of such warnings has come from a research specialist in conflict analysis, Dr Chris de Kock of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). He has focused on the narrow dividing line between defence and attack — a blurred area where one false move in a conflict situation could mean death, chaos and disaster.

"Should the government permit private armies or private police, it would be only one small step before a Lebanon-type situation comes into being, where each party or group uses its own private army or police to control and defend an area against another party or group," he says.

This week he still stands by earlier conclusions from his research indicating an urgent need to stop the activities and growth of private armies and to clamp down on the carrying of firearms and other dangerous weapons in public, especially at political meetings.

He rejects as "unacceptable" the argument that such self-defence mechanisms — like the neighbourhood watches — are needed to prevent crime and violence. He draws a distinction between the neighbourhood watch system and private armies. Unlike neighbourhood watches, the groups forming private armies will be armed and trained to use their weapons.

"In a competitive and tense situation between the different parties, it would take only one rumour to trigger the transformation of defence mechanisms into attack mechanisms."

The kind of thinking that brings this about is on the lines of "those who think they will attack us first will be surprised by an attack from us." Besides such preemptive strikes that can be set off by mere rumour, the "defence mechanisms" can also be used for intimidation.

Another call for urgent action to do away with private armies operating outside the state security system and to ban the carrying of firearms and other dangerous weapons at public gatherings has come from the Democratic Party's law and order spokesman, Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central.



Like Dr De Kock, he sees a real danger of a Lebanon-type situation developing in South Africa if timely action is not taken.

"IN Lebanon, the existence and growth of private militias were a major cause of the long civil war which wreaked such destruction," says Mr Gastrow. "It took 16 years of conflict to exhaust private militias before they agreed to hand over weapons and disband at the beginning of this year. A fragile attempt at nation-building has now started again."

"South Africa, which has arguably deeper divisions and a greater potential for conflict than Lebanon, therefore urgently ought to address the phenomenon of private armies and partial police forces."

He regards South Africa's large assortment of private armies and military-style groups as "a recipe for conflict". Mr Gastrow notes seven legal police forces operate in South Africa if the six self-governing states are taken into account. In addition, almost a dozen private armies, commandos and defence organisations are attached to political groups across the spectrum.

However, he warns that banning private armies by law or curbing them through one-sided executive action may not be as attractive an option as it may seem on the surface.

The consequences of such steps could exacerbate the deep divisions within the country, drive armed groups underground and start off a new cycle of repression and violence.

An approach with more lasting consequences for peace and stability would be a negotiated agreement to dissolve all private armies, militias, defence committees, and homeland police forces, and to incorporate their members into a broad

South African police force which was subject to all-party civilian supervision.

Mr Gastrow says he regards it essential that such an agreement be reached soon by all parties concerned. He suggests that it be done at the proposed all-party constitutional conference.

"Joint responsibility is required for the maintenance of law and order during the transition and steps to achieve this ought to commence now."

A broadly-based national police force should be subject to an agreed code of conduct and have greater all-party civilian supervision at all levels.

A real danger posed by private armies is that they feed on differences in society. This, according to Mr Gastrow, results in opposing political groups establishing their own armies. Private armies have a vested interest in maintaining divisions and even exacerbating them to justify their own existence.

On the issue of firearms and dangerous weapons at public gatherings, Mr Gastrow says stricter control measures, including prohibitions and heavy penalties for contraventions, are justifiable — "certainly during the present period of tensions and change in South Africa."

"This is something that must be dealt with by legislation as soon as possible. There has been too much prevarication on the question of carrying of weapons, including cultural weapons, in public places."

Warnings also have come from academic specialists about the dangers of private armies and of relinquishing control over security forces too soon during a transition period.

POLITICAL scientist Professor Hermann Gillmore of the University of Cape Town sounded a warning this week

about rightwing forces and their capacity "to wreak widespread havoc, to inflame black-white passions and to trigger a war between private armies." He also warned that the ANC's demand for an interim government — with control over the security forces — could lead to the destabilisation of society and the paralysis of the security forces.

What is the government doing about the issue of private armies and dangerous weapons in public?

After a seemingly lethargic response to numerous warnings from experts, the government at last seemed to be shaken into some kind of action — or at least a promise of action — this week by events at the "Battle of Ventersdorp".

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's early response was that banning of private armies was an option under consideration, but he said he preferred a different approach.

He warned that private armies were liable to contribute to violence, as had happened at Ventersdorp last weekend.

After a Cabinet meeting this week, Mr Vlok said in a statement the government was considering legislation to prevent the establishment of private armies.

On the issue of firearms and dangerous weapons, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said an outright ban on carrying firearms would cause problems.

Farmers, for example, claim a need to exercise their legal right to carry their licensed firearms for self-defence when travelling along lonely country roads. If they attended a meeting in town, they could not leave their firearms in their vehicles because of the danger of theft. They therefore might argue that they needed to take their firearms with them and that this was done in accordance with the law.

Dr T issues warning on force

Star 17/8/91

BRENDAN TEMPLETON

VENTERSDORP A Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night issued a strongly worded warning to President de Klerk that he had "mobilised the volk" by shooting at them in the town last week.

He was speaking at a memorial service held to commemorate the deaths of the three men who were killed last Friday after righthingers and security forces clashed during Mr de Klerk's controversial speech.

No sign remained of the carnage which swept through the town.

Dr Treurnicht said the tragedy could have been avoided if the Government had listened to the warnings about the consequences of his reform policy.

"I said a day would come when he would have to shoot at his own volk and now it has happened," he said.

But he warned the way to the Afrikaner volk's heart was not through force. "You don't alienate this freedom-loving volk by force, you mobilise them — and you alienate yourself."

"This volk to which we belong can bend. It has its faults and it can rest in the will of God."

Thundering leader of the Boers dreads democracy

EUGENE TerreBlanche, leader of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is a potential local equivalent of Irish Protestant leader Ian Paisley, remarks Hermann Giliomee, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town.

PATRICK LAURENCE

His comparison does not imply any ideological identity between the two but rather that Mr TerreBlanche could rise to the

same political eminence in South Africa as Mr Paisley has done in Northern Ireland and play the same role in thwarting moves towards power-sharing.

The two share several traits. Physically big men with an imposing presence, and superb orators, they are leaders in minority communities which fear absorption: Mr TerreBlanche in the Afrikaner community and Mr Paisley in the Protestant.

Mr TerreBlanche is dismissed by some political analysts as a fanatical demagogue operating in, and essentially confined to, an extremist fringe. Mr Paisley was once regarded in much the same way.

Whether Mr TerreBlanche, too, can move to the centre of the stage is a matter of intense speculation and of critical importance to our future.

BORN into a staunchly Afrikaner nationalist family in January 1944, Mr TerreBlanche, who captained his school first rugby team, served as a policeman for nearly five years after matriculating.

A failed parliamentary candidate — he stood in the early 1970s for the Herstigte Nasionale Party, which was formed by dissident members of the ruling National Party in 1969 — Mr Terre-



ENFANTS TERRIBLES: Eugene TerreBlanche and Ian Paisley ... both able to ignite crowds with their oratory. Opponents dismiss them as rabble rousers.

Blanche's political career really started in 1973.

In that year he and six "Afrikaner patriots" founded the AWB in a garage in the town of Heidelberg.

The AWB won notoriety after functioning as a semi-secret organisation for five years.

Its first public action, undertaken in 1979, was to tar and feather the eminent Afrikaner historian, Floors van Jaarsveld, for calling for the de-sanctification of the Day of the Covenant.

In the same year the AWB held its first meeting, displaying its Nazi-like insignia and declaring its vehement opposition to parliamentary democracy. Multiparty de-

mocracy, thundered Mr TerreBlanche, was a British-Jewish concept devised to divide Afrikaners on party lines.

FROM then on Mr TerreBlanche became a familiar figure as he tramped the length and breadth of South Africa, calling for the establishment of an Afrikaner "volksstaat" in which there would be no equality between white and black and a racially based citizenship restricted to whites.

The volksstaat would not grant citizenship to all whites, however. They had to fulfil two criteria:

they had to be Christians, and identify and be assimilable with the Afrikaner volk. Jews would be excluded.

The status of blacks would be that of helots or, if they were lucky, *gastarbeiders* (guest labourers). "If they do not like it, they can leave," Mr TerreBlanche once proclaimed.

His furious denunciation of the "traitors" in Pretoria was reinforced with threats of violence, of an AWB "revolution" to forestall surrender to the ANC and its communist allies.

In 1983 Mr TerreBlanche was one of four men, all AWB members, charged under the Terrorism Act after weapons

Star 17/18/91

304A

of war were found buried on the farm of his brother, Andries. Mr TerreBlanche was acquitted of the terrorism charge but found guilty of illegal possession of weapons and sentenced to two years' jail, suspended for five years.

In the same year two former members of the AWB were charged under the Act for conspiring to overthrow the government and assassinate black leaders. The two men resigned from the AWB about two weeks before the start of their trial. They were convicted, jailed for 15 years and refused leave to appeal.

One of the two men, Jacob Viljoen, had been charged earlier with Mr TerreBlanche for illegal possession of arms, including an AK-47 rifle. They were found guilty. Mr Viljoen was fined. Mr TerreBlanche was given a suspended sentence and fined.

Mr TerreBlanche was undeterred by these setbacks and continued his campaign throughout the 1980s against the reformist policies of President P W Botha. He denounced Mr Botha's tricameral Parliament — which gave coloureds and Indians a voice in Parliament — as a rickety foundation built on curry and samoosas.

Mr TerreBlanche, whose oratorical style is distinctly Hitlerian, drew huge audiences wherever he went. In 1987 the AWB sent a representative to a

memorial service for the former Nazi leader Rudolf Hess.

Mr TerreBlanche suffered a setback in 1989 when he was arrested in the company of journalist Jani Allan for allegedly breaking the gate to the Paardekraal monument commemorating the fight for freedom by Boers against the British.

He was later acquitted in court, but the incident sparked a round of embarrassing publicity.

Reports emanating from within the AWB depicted him as a womaniser and a heavy drinker, contradicting his public persona as a sober family man.

Mr TerreBlanche staggered, politically speaking, through the next few months until, in February 1990, he was reactivated by President de Klerk's momentous decisions to unban the ANC, free Nelson Mandela and initiate settlement talks with black organisations.

Last Sunday night, after the battle of Ventersdorp in which three rightwingers were killed, he was on TV, crossing swords with Barend du Plessis, Transvaal leader of the National Party, and bargaining with him on the country's future.

He seemed — temporarily at any rate — to have put the humiliations of 1989 behind him.

Jani flies the GEW flag

3044

Stew 17/8/91

Undercurrent
Affairs

SHAUN
JOHNSON



PERHAPS the Conservative Party knows something I don't about shifting political sentiments in the suburb in which I reside. Why else, I ask myself, would the CP have put so much of its time — and money — into suddenly saturating the area with posters advertising the latest edition of its official organ, the Patriot? Heaven knows Melville has many idiosyncracies, but rightist politics has never, to the best of my knowledge, numbered among them.

Ah, but a good look at the new Patriot explains all. It features the debut of the CP's just-appointed London correspondent ... Jani Allan. The CP must have decided that her designer khaki outfits notwithstanding, she is the sort of scribe to whom the average Melville will relate.

Readers will recall pert, pouting Jani variously from the Sunday Times, the Paardekraal Monument, and Scope magazine. She was the one, remember, who succeeded where Adrian Vlok failed: she reduced Eugene Terreblanche to a simpering supplicant.

Well, Undercurrent Affairs can

reveal that she has put all of these personas behind her, and has now, from her anchorage in London, nailed her political colours to the mast. Her outpourings reveal that were Ms Allan indeed a ship, she would list more precipitously to starboard than the Oceanos.

Our Jani has a theory. It is that Big Capitalists, Big Broeders and Big Communists are in league in this country, plotting to sell we of the fairer-skinned persuasion down the proverbial river into the arms of "deeply odious men like Joe Slovo".

The "Great European White" — Slovo presumably does not qualify for this honorific — is "an endangered variety". GEWs will soon be outnumbered 12 to 1, she shrieks, "and for (President) De Klerk to imagine that powersharing will be

the crucible for a common loyalty or a distinct South Africanism is political imbecility".

There is more, much more: "The British," she informs us "are asking: Is De Klerk pro-communist?" (This is not a question I have often heard put in London, outside, perhaps, the National Front pub.)

She quotes with approval Dr Verwoerd's contention that "almost all of the propaganda used against South Africa actually originates in South African newspaper offices", and says that given "De Klerk's somewhat shabby record of integrity, we should not be surprised if, in the end, he turns out to be the Judas goat at the abattoir who frisks away through a side door after leading the sheep into the slaughter pen. A non-racial slaughter-pen, of course."

Ah, the Queen of Hyperbole. She has taken a very distinct dislike to poor old FW, whose face she likens to an "anxious yam". A yam, as we all know, is the edible starchy tuber of a tropical climbing plant. If I understand her correctly, then, she is referring to the State President as a nervous fruit.

Not the most temperate of

scribes, onse Jani.

In a way though, the Patriot is the flagship of South Africa's new "alternative press". Whereas all other shades of published opinion now agree — at base — on the desirability of a peaceful, negotiated resolution to our problems, the Patriot takes a much more radical line. But will it strike a chord?

I have my doubts. Melville looks to me to be unmoved, even by the latest comeback of the self-exiled Right-wing Redeemer.

Having been given the heave-ho by the Sunday Times and now Scope, our comrade-in-arms has done well to land the Patriot slot. But there is no immediate indication of an imminent return to the fatherland to fight the good fight on home soil. "If this is the new South Africa," she spits, "then I am pleased to have no party of it. It is an unholy creation."

She also sees positive advantage to staying in London, which "affords a grandstand view of events in the world arena". Would it be uncharitable to propose a whip-around for the price of a season — or better still, several-season — ticket?

SA rightwingers must get it right

SOUTH Africa has just emerged from the so-called Battle of Ventersdorp, in which three members of the AWB were killed in clashes between that organisation and the police. The occasion was a National Party public meeting addressed by the State President.

Earlier during the week, the AWB and the CP had warned that President de Klerk "would not be welcome in Ventersdorp" and pressure had been put on him to cancel the meeting.

One would have thought that the era of creating no-go areas for political opponents had long passed. Apparently it is not so with the rightwingers.

AWB leaders have publicly admitted that they advised their members to bring their licensed firearms to the meeting but at the same time they claim that they wanted to gain admission into the hall so as to put questions to the State President. That is a new version of democracy where you need to be armed to the teeth in order to be able to question your political opponent at a public meeting.

The conduct of the AWB and its fellow-travellers is surprising, to say the least.

These are people who have all the political rights under the sun, including full representation in Parliament, and various other exclusive social privileges.

They are now turning their backs on all these rights and are choosing to put their case violently.

Not only that, they are also dragging in innocent black people as scapegoats in their war against civilised political standards and democracy.

The CP does not want to talk peace either, as it claims it is not involved in violence.

But, each time there is right-wing violence, CP leaders make very unhelpful statements

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



which border on justifying the violence.

It is high time the CP leaders realised that they can't be democrats and closet revolutionaries at the same time.

They must publicly make a choice between peaceful and violent change.

I am not the one who blames the National Party Government for everything including the inclement weather, but I believe the Government is also to blame here.

The rightwingers are adherents of past National Party policies who feel betrayed by the sudden policy changes in that party.

While the National Party now sees democratic political transition as the answer for South Africa, the rightwingers still see it as the greatest threat to their salvation. The latter was National Party policy not so long ago.

Therefore, it is the duty of the National Party Government to take steps to condition the rightwingers and all South Africans so as to prepare them mentally and attitudinally for the changes that are coming with political transition.

The Government has radio and television to do this.

I am sure that once the Government takes up this challenge seriously, our own black political leaders, the press, church leaders and everybody else would be pleased also to make a contribution in promoting national reconciliation and political tolerance among all South Africans, including the rightwingers.

Going to Ventersdorp was right off the mark

Star 14/8/91.

ROLL UP, roll up. Yes, folks, welcome to the all-singing, all-dancing F W de Klerk show. Playing tonight in Ventersdorp for one night only.

And believe me, wrote critics afterwards, there certainly was plenty of action and all the fun of the fair.

But I regret to point out that this is South Africa — not a fairground. F W de Klerk is the man supposed to be leading the nation forward into peaceful negotiation, not a cross between a fairground barker and a TV soap opera good-guy.

Frankly, whoever advised him to stage his meeting in Ventersdorp deserves to be horsewhipped in public for gross stupidity.

From the moment the rally was announced — set in the very centre of AWB territory — violence was certain. The authorities knew as much, too, or they wouldn't have had extra forces on standby outside the town.

To what end, then, was this violence unleashed?

Perhaps to prove to the rest of the nation how serious the threat is from the right wing? But we know that.

Perhaps to prove how determined F W de Klerk is to deal with it, then? But if that's the case, we must question very closely the strong-arm tactics he seems to want to use.

Such tactics did not work against the Left, against organisations like the ANC and PAC. Nor will they



work against the Right. (And perhaps someone could remind Nelson Mandela of this when next he feels a need to add to the debate.)

So what other reason for Ventersdorp could there have been? Well, a real cynic might suggest it was a wonderful opportunity for President de Klerk to re-establish his image and deflect some attention away from Inkathagate.

Even those awful press people might now realise there are more important things on his agenda than a few rands here or there to Inkatha.

But if that were indeed the motive, it backfired. TV viewers saw a president who looked uncertain and nervous, ill at ease with the anger and violence of both rightwingers and police.

To have allowed him to attend the meeting really was a mistake. To have allowed him to do so, apparently badly prepared for the outcome, was a severe error of judgment.

What has happened is that the right wing itself has been galvanised. Even the staunchest critics of Eugene TerreBlanche now agree

that unity is necessary.

If De Klerk's aim was to force the rightists to cower, then the result was the opposite. Hence the charge of political incompetence.

TerreBlanche has also taken the high ground by inviting De Klerk back to Ventersdorp. De Klerk is now in a Catch-22 situation. If he goes, he will be dancing to TerreBlanche's tune; if he stays at home, he will be branded a coward.

You may indeed believe that the AWB and other groups like it belong in the realms of the circus or the comic opera. If you do, you are making a fatal mistake.

They have the potential to write a heart-rending tragedy, a tale of civil war and destruction on the lines of Lebanon and Cyprus.

They must be taken just as seriously as the ANC, the PAC and the rest of the black opposition. All the players who would sit at the negotiating table must shift up to make room for the likes of the AWB. These players must formulate their responses to the right-wing demands.

But most important of all, the right wing has to recognise the need to negotiate. This is critical. If it refuses at all costs and resorts to violence, it will achieve nothing.

It will only give ammunition to those who believe it should be ground under the heel.

●Chris Gibbons is head of news, sport and talk shows on Radio 702.

Tolerance, liberal values pledged in anti-violence pact

PEACE PACT

18/8/91
SITUES

FIRST WITH THE NEWS
By MIKE ROBERTSON Political Correspondent

IN A historic peace pact, the ANC, the government and Inkatha pledged this week to uphold basic democratic values and promised to work towards creating a culture of political tolerance.

The 70-page draft accord — full details of which can now be disclosed by the Sunday Times — sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision.

But it also anticipates the coming constitutional negotiations by uniting the three main political parties in support of a set of common values that may well form the basis of a liberal, democratic state.

The tone of the agreement is tolerant, and it firmly asserts the primacy of the individual over the state. While intended as an interim measure, the effect of the pact is to bind all three signatories to Western-style democratic norms well in advance of the constitutional talks.

The accord, now being considered by other political parties, will form the basis of a national peace summit on September 14.

Key elements of the draft proposals accepted by the parties this week are:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society — not the government;
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;
- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge

To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal

Annie's baby takes a bow



Cops hurt

as rugby

fans go

berserk

THREE policemen were hurt when they were pelted with stones as they tried to stop angry fans invading the field during a rugby match between Western Province League and Free State at Paarl.

Fans at Daljosaat stadium also hurled bottles and stones at the Free State players and Western Province referee Paul van Blommestein.

The referee, whose decisions against the WP League team angered local supporters, had to be taken from the stadium in a riot truck.

Free State captain Pote Human led his men off the field 20 minutes into the second half with his team 34-3 ahead.

Accord
Stilles
GOVERNMENT
18/8/91
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Accord stifles covert action

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

THE draft peace accord agreed to this week empowers a standing commission on violence to seize state records if it believes the security forces are engaged in operations biased against a particular party.

The steps agreed to by the government, ANC and Inkatha are designed to prevent a recurrence of the Inkatha funding scandal.

The setting up of the commission was approved by Parliament earlier this year. It will be headed by a judge or retired judge, but representatives of the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party will also serve on it.

In terms of the accord, the SAP and SADF "shall not countenance the establishment or maintenance of any clandestine or covert operation which is

COPS AND COMMUNITY See Page 21

contrary to the letter and spirit of the agreement".

This includes:

- Any operation biased towards or against a political party;

- Any operation which seeks to promote, undermine or influence a political party by means of illegal acts or disinformation;

- Channelling funds to any political party, trade union, political association or group;

- Training or providing funds, weapons or ammunition to non-security force members to carry out actions which support or undermine a political party.

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- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;

- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;

- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge

To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal

FROM THE PREAMBLE TO THE PEACE AGREEMENT

or a retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence;

- The appointment of a police board — with equal representation for the force and members of the public — to advise on future policing policy;

- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;

- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;

- The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence;

- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The agreement was crafted by members of the preparatory committee, in many sessions mediated by church and business leaders. Among the key figures involved were Middelburg Steel's John Hall, Anglo American's Bobby Godsell, former NGK Moderator Johan Heyns, National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry president Sam Motsuenyane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rustenburg Church Group co-chairman Louw Alberts.

The government's representatives included Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers and NP defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys.

Charged

The ANC alliance delegation included International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki, NEC member Aziz Pahad, Cosatu's Sydney Mufamadi and the SA Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin.

Inkatha representatives included national chairman Frank Mdlalose and central committee members Denis Madide, Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos.

Central to the functioning of the peace accord is the National Peace Committee. All signatories to the accord will be represented on the committee, which will have a businessman and church leader as chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

The NPC will be charged with implementing the accord and resolving any disputes which may arise. All decisions will be made by consensus.

If consensus is not reached, an arbitrator will be appointed, whose decision will be final.

A National Peace Secretariat will be appointed to set up structures to actively combat violence and intimidation at grassroots level.

The NPS will consist of full-time representatives of the ANC alliance, the NP, Inkatha and the Department of Justice, as well as five other members.

The function of the secretariat will be to establish and co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees (RDRCs) and Local Dispute Resolution

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Now for a new vision of freedom

S Times 18/8/91

CHARLES SIMKINS puts the liberal case for rights of individuals (304A)

HISTORY may be servitude, history may be freedom. Liberalism is nothing if not the defence of freedom. The South African liberal tradition has two components, borne by two rather different social groups.

Business liberalism presents a robust, generally optimistic face (though subject to a degree of affective disorder during the recessionary phases of the business cycle): all things considered, it has done quite well during the past decade, playing a considerable role in the dismantling of coercive political structures.

But business liberalism represents only a part — essentially the material progress part — of a rich tradition. It has been left to an always fragile — and now almost extinct — missionary and philanthropic liberal tradition to try to interpret its cultural aspects.

Concepts

The clearest defences of this part of the liberal tradition in SA have been the most poignant contrasts of visions of freedom with the imposition of new forms of servitude — a missionary bishop denouncing colonialism in its most brutal, shortsighted form, a professor of philosophy foreseeing with harsh clarity the consequences of the political rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

Against the intolerant, coercive forces in our midst, liberalism would do well to take its stand on the two central concepts of Kant's moral philosophy: individual autonomy and universalisation. Unshackling individual fates from state-imposed racial identities is a great step forward to the achievement of individual autonomy.

But the liberal programme will not be realised if social structure continues to dominate individual capacities in determining what people may become. The creation of an open political system and attending to poverty are both central.

There are many who claim the denial of the former is an essential requirement for achieving the latter. Neither international experience nor a close reading of our domestic circumstances support such a view.

Universality — equality of respect — is always and every-

where a greater problem since, unlike autonomy, it is not an interest but an acknowledgement of the interests of others.

Great cultural heterogeneity makes it even harder to achieve: in SA, moreover, the destructive logic of ethnic conflict (which militates against the habit of

counting "each person as one") has not yet come to an end.

There are many fields of action, many forms of life: the prospects for liberalism depend on people coming to see attachment to their own fields of action in a broad enough perspective not only to tolerate others, but to enjoy them.

● Extract from Professor Charles Simkins' inaugural lecture to the Helen Suzman Chair of Political Economy at Wits University this week.

Lekota challenges political groups to let vote decide

(304A) ARG 19/8/91

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC executive member Patrick "Terror" Lekota has challenged the government, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and all other parties to a non-racial one-man one-vote election for a constituent assembly to prove who has the most support.

A member of a panel at a public debate on "Transitional Mechanisms and Secret Funds" in Johannesburg last week, National Executive Committee member Mr Lekota said many organisations had made exaggerated claims about membership.

The controversy could be put to rest once and for all by holding an election for a constituent assembly.

"Let's hold an election for a constituent assembly to decide on the different parties' and organisations' support in the country. We are ready for an election. Let's leave our traditional weapons at home and move on," he said.

Mr Lekota, a member of the ANC's national working committee, said it was strange that IFP leaders insisted they did not know about their party's secret funding by the government.

It was unbelievable, he said, "that people who have been receiving salaries from the apartheid government publicly for so many years will suddenly be shy to receive some monies in private".

The Inkathagate scandal, Mr Lekota said, had disqualified the National Party government from supervising the transitional process and made it imperative that an interim government be established.

IFP central committee member Mr Musa Myeni reiterated his party's position that the government's secret funding of the IFP was not sanctioned by the leadership.

"I agree that all governments have secret funds, but we (in the IFP) did not need the money. We never asked for it and that's why we returned it. We will not apologise to anybody. We did not know," Mr Myeni said.

The money given to the IFP by the government through the police was not intended to help in the fight against sanctions.

He said the first rally funded by the police in 1989 was meant for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to address his subjects, and the second rally last year was to celebrate the release of political prisoners, in-

cluding ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Boy Geldenhuys, a Nationalist MP, and Mr Myeni rejected calls for both an interim government and a constituent assembly.

However, they agreed to transitional arrangements which would accommodate other political organisations and parties in the interim.

Such transitional arrangements, Mr Geldenhuys said, could include the appointment of extra-parliamentary organisations' leaders to Cabinet, the formation of a multi-party executive body to liaise closely with the government, or the formation of joint committees to function along the lines of parliamentary committees.

Other speakers at the public meeting, which was arranged by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, were Democratic MP for Umhlanga Mr Kobus Jordaan and Mr Mosebyane Malatsi, the head of the manpower department in the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Malatsi said the government was not only illegitimate but also illegal, and it therefore had to give way to a democratically elected constituent assembly to write the new constitution.

Slush funds group (304A) ARG 19/8/91 named and sittings begin next month

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk has announced his advisory committee from the private sector on special secret projects pending the revision of legislation on secret funds.

The committee will be chaired by Professor Ellison Kahn SC. He will be assisted by Professor S A S Strauss SC, Mr J O McMillan and Mr J A Crafford, and is expected to begin work on September 2.

President De Klerk said the committee would advise him on whether continuing special secret projects met the requirement that political parties or organisations should not benefit from them, and whether these projects were in the broader national interest and were able to play a positive part in promoting peace and counteracting violence, intimidation, sanctions and isolation.

The committee would determine its own guidelines for evaluating the projects.

President De Klerk said the committee would also advise him of the adequacy of the existing control of special projects, as well as on the completion of contractual obligations for cancelled projects.

He added it was not intended for the committee to function on a permanent basis as legislation containing new controls was envisaged.

Mr De Klerk said opportunities would be given to individuals and institutions to submit contributions on the planned changes to legislation on secret funding.

Those already submitted would be followed up and given thorough consideration.

Professor Kahn is a retired dean of the faculties of Law and Commerce at the University of

the Witwatersrand, and previously vice-chancellor. At present he is professor emeritus and has been the editor of the South African Law Journal since 1950. He holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Cape Town, Natal and Wits.

Professor Strauss is a professor of law at the University of South Africa, a member of the University Council, the South African Media Council and the South African Medical Research Council, and also one of the vice-presidents of the World Association of Medical Law.

Mr McMillan retired in March this year after 40 years in journalism and 26 as editor of the Natal Mercury.

Mr Crafford is a retired chartered accountant with 38 years auditing experience. He served on the Task Group for Budgetary Procedures and is at present a director of companies. — Sapa.

POLITICAL economist John Sheahan observes that economic policy in support of democratisation must meet two conflicting requirements. On the one hand, economic growth requires the ability to limit claims which would seriously damage efficiency or outrun productive capacity. On the other hand, policy must deliver sufficient fulfilment of politically aware groups' expectations to gain and hold their acceptance.

Both external economic circumstances and internal political conflicts are capable of rendering impossible the striking of a viable balance between these requirements, with the result that the process of democratisation aborts. The position is complicated in countries which have long histories of import substitution resulting in high levels of protection but which now need to reorient themselves in order to promote exports.

In such cases, the timing of structural adjustment and increases in domestic demand pose tricky problems of economic management. The overall objective must be to permit the most rapid and broadly based rise in domestic demand while maintaining external balance, subject to the constraints arising from the domestic labour market's structure.

Part of successful management must involve the greatest possible exploitation of the new willingness to co-operate induced by the democratisation process itself. Adroit proposals are needed which reduce initially high risks and increase incentives to support economic growth among the principal parties at each stage in the process. Intelligent international support allowing constraints to be relaxed at crucial junctures is also important.

It is sometimes supposed that the transformation of an authoritarian regime into a democracy is a fragile process, for the success of which a range of necessary conditions has to be present.

Striking a balance between economic and political reform

CHARLES SIMKINS

3044

In particular, it is argued both that a democracy has small chance of survival if it does not deliver social and economic improvements for the population at large, and that democracies are unable to administer the economic medicine required by crisis conditions.

But a study of Latin American countries since 1982 found that democracies not only handed economic crises as effectively as authoritarian regimes, they also achieved a far better record of avoiding acute crises in the first place.

The puzzle turns out not to be the fragility of democracy, but its vitality. On the one hand, democratic governments that displace highly repressive or widely discredited authoritarian regimes may count on special reserves of political support and trust to carry them through economic crises. On the other, elected officials may understand the self-defeating nature of enhancing their legitimacy by delivering material payoffs to the bulk of the population, even at the cost of financial disaster.

On the contrary, the prospects for the poor will be served by rapid economic growth, far from there being a conflict between growth and equality in SA, the two processes will reinforce each other, especially given appropriate policies.

In the light of the importance of a widespread improvement in standards of living to the sustenance of the process of democratisation, it is in the interests of all parties who desire a negotiated settlement to support developments which increase growth.

But where is this growth to come from? All the contemporary evidence suggests that the balance of payments is critical. It is possible to argue in theoretical terms that there ought to be no such thing as a bal-

households in poverty did not increase between 1985 and 1990. It probably declined slightly despite a drop in real per capita incomes.

The burden of the decline has been borne by the relatively well-to-do, if not by the very rich. But this trend is unlikely to be sustained in the face of further economic decline.

ance of payments constraint. But there is no policy purchase to be had from a static comparison between our present situation and a superior one. A path from the one state to the other has to be specified.

There are two difficulties in doing so. Firstly, the path to a better state depends on what other countries are doing — as the existence of the GATF system testifies. Secondly, since the process has to be supported politically, the distribution of the costs of adjustment born by domestic actors has to be taken into account. Either the costs have to be imposed unilaterally by the exercise of political power, or compensation has to be negotiated. Interest group battles over the determination of the various aspects of balance of payments policy are central.

Another major determinant of macroeconomic policy in recent years is the desire of the state not to make itself vulnerable to international political pressure through loss of control over external balances. This would have meant risking the loss of control over the timing and extent of concessions.

Monetary policy, for instance, has been discussed mainly in terms of domestic variables, notably the rate of inflation. But avoidance of ad-

verse developments on the short-term capital account must always have been a major consideration. Here, analysis of domestic interest groups does not help at all; it will take favourable developments on international markets or purposeful risk reduction to permit a more expansionary policy.

A further issue involves efficiency gains from improved taxation and expenditure policy. So far, discussion of the economic role of the state has consisted largely of old-fashioned arguments over size and ownership, which have been driven by (often imaginary) conceptions of political interest.

But a determined effort to raise popular living standards will require quite a different approach. Its principal component will be a restructuring of government expenditure, particularly that relating to social services, urban infrastructure and rural development, in order to create new opportunities for formerly discriminated against or excluded groups. There are more gains to be had from restructuring the expenditure side of government economic activity than from changes on the revenue side.

At the political level, SA needs a deeper analysis of fundamental concepts — power in its various aspects, the nature and dynamics of transition, the incentives facing various actors and their strategic choices, the real scope and prospects for legality and, above all, whether steering capacities are being lost or gained by the political system.

The quality of the terms on which the new public order is created will depend on the efficacy with which the private sector can function and evolve. For this reason, and because it requires rather more than animal spirits, it is the quality of what goes on in the public sector that is the test of the degree of civilisation achieved in any society.

□ This is an extract from Prof Simkins's inaugural lecture last week. He has been appointed to the Helen Suzman Chair of Political Economy at Wits University.

Secret funding group appointed

304A

CT 19/8/91

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has announced the appointment of a four-man private sector advisory committee to monitor the funding of secret projects, despite opposition by the ANC, Cosatu and the Democratic Party.

The committee, which is to be chaired by Professor Ellison Kahn, Emeritus Professor of Law and former deputy vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, is to oversee the government's special secret projects until the completion of a revision of the legislation on secret funds.

The other members of the committee are another legal academic, Professor S A S Strauss, Professor of Law at the University of South Africa, Mr Jimmy McMillan, the recently-retired

editor of the Natal Mercury, and Mr J A Crafford, a retired chartered accountant.

The committee was expected to commence its activities on September 2, President De Klerk said in a midnight statement. Its appointment follows the Inkathagate slush fund controversy.

The ANC and Cosatu earlier called on the private sector not to become involved in the government's "dirty work", while the DP said the supervision of secret projects should be conducted by a standing committee of Parliament, not a private sector committee.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk said the committee would advise him on whether continuing special secret projects met the requirement that political parties or organisations should not benefit from them.

CP meets in wake of 'war'

304A
Burefem
19/8/91

THE Conservative Party could make important decisions about its future when it holds its second provincial congress in Bloemfontein this week.

More than 300 delegates are expected to meet in Bloemfontein tomorrow and on Wednesday following last Friday's "war" in Ventersdorp.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a public meeting on Tuesday night, at which time he may indicate whether the party will continue encouraging people to "use every means at their disposal" to counter the Government's reform initiatives.

Some observers say that Treurnicht, as the right-wing's parliamentary leader, has a responsibility to steer supporters away from violence.

Observers also feel that the CP leader, not being a violent man at heart, may well have been shaken by the events of Ventersdorp.

Early last week, Treurnicht spoke in Queenstown and made, say some political observers, a surprising about-turn on the violence issue when he appealed for people not to attend political meetings bearing arms. - Sapa.

CP, DP reject 'secret projects' committee

By Shirley Woodgate

THE appointment of a four-man secret projects committee to advise the State President on secret projects has been rejected by the both the Conservative and Democratic parties.

DP MP Kobus Jordaan, who played a major part in revealing the Inkathagate scandal, claimed that whatever the capabilities of the appointed team, the job should have been left to the Parliamentary standing committee on public ac-

counts. This is the reaction to the announcement that Mr F W de Klerk had appointed former Wits dean of the Law and Commerce faculties Professor Ellison Kahn SC as chairman, assisted by Unisa law professor S A S Strauss SC, former Natal Mercury editor J O McMillan and retired accountant J A Crafford to investigate ahead of revised legislation relating to secret funds.

They will advise on whether continuing special secret projects meet the requirement that political parties or organisations should not benefit from them and whether these projects are in the national interest.

He said, ideally, legislation should be altered to allow the inclusion of extra-parliamentary representatives on the standing committee.

of the Government.

Exposure of peace plan 'premature'

304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative (NPI) yesterday stated the "premature" exposure of a draft peace agreement in the Sunday Times, denying the existence of "an authorised version of a draft peace accord".

In a statement, the committee — comprising representatives of the ANC-led tripartite alliance, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government, and business and religious leaders — said the peace process was at a very sensitive stage.

Some issues, the statement said, needed to be finalised and other political parties still had to be consulted for their inputs.

The committee said the draft peace accord, reported on extensively in the South African Sunday newspaper, would be put as a proposal to a national peace convention on September 14 and would become a binding document only once all the par-

ties had signed it.

Urging the media to "act responsibly", the preparatory committee said the Sunday Times report was based on an earlier draft which had not "even been confirmed or cleared with any of the parties involved".

According to the 70-page draft accord, the ANC, the IFP and the Government have committed themselves to the creation of a culture of political tolerance and upholding of basic democratic values.

The draft agreement, likely to be the most comprehensive ever approved, would empower a standing commission on violence to seize State records if it believed security forces were engaged in operations which would harm or prejudice a particular organisation.

A national peace committee (NPC), to which all signatories to the accord would be represented, would be charged with implementing the accord. It would be headed by a busi-

nessman and a church leader as chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

Also to be appointed would be a national peace secretariat (NPS), whose function would be to establish and co-ordinate regional dispute resolution committees and local dispute resolution committees.

The NPS would consist of full-time representatives from the ANC-led tripartite alliance, the NP, the IFP, the Department of Justice and five other members. Both the NPC and NPS would take their decisions by consensus.

The draft accord would also prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons at any political or cultural gatherings and the formation of private armies.

Key elements of the draft accord were:

- The adoption of a code of conduct for the police, holding them accountable to society and not to the Government.
- The adoption of a code of conduct for political parties, com-

mitting them to democratic tolerance.

- The setting up of special courts to deal only with cases of political violence.

- The appointment of a statutory commission, to be headed by a judge or retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence.

- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of complaints against the police.

- The appointment of a police board, with equal representation for the SAP and members of the public, to advise on future policing policy.

- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by the police.

- The creation of a special police unit, also headed by a general, to investigate violence.

- The appointment of a network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under the NPC to enforce the accord and resolve conflict.

Government power must be sapped — Ramaphosa

304A CT 20/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The formation of an interim government of national unity was crucial to transferring power to the people, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told the annual conference of the National Federated Chambers of Commerce at Sun City yesterday.

He said the transition should be guided by the need to: weaken the government's capacity to act against the people; end the white monopoly of power; and move rapidly towards adopting a democratic constitution.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the new constitution should enshrine mechanisms for the distribution of land and the country's wealth among the people.

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said Pan Africanism aimed to reverse the impact of the colonial experience on the African people. He claimed the government was fomenting violence to salvage what political and economic power it could. — Sapa

AWB 'will be at NP meeting'

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Afrikaner Weer-
standsbeweging yester-
day vowed to attend a
National Party public
meeting in Parys next
Monday.

Apparently the meet-
ing — to be addressed by
the Minister of Agricul-
ture, Dr Kraai van Nie-
kerk — has been organ-
ised along the same
lines as President F W
de Klerk's ill-fated Ven-
tersdorp address.

In a press statement
the AWB accused the NP
of breaking an agree-
ment between its leader,
Mr Eugene Terre'B-
lanche, and Transvaal
NP head, Mr Barend du
Plessis. — Sapa

Outcry over FW's advisers on funds

Sowetan 20/8/91 (304/1)

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party has slammed President FW de Klerk's appointment of a four-person team from the private sector to advise the Government on the funding of secret projects.

The DP's spokesman on finance, Mr Jasper Walsh, yesterday said the appointment of the advisory committee was "totally inadequate". He said extra-parliamentary organisations needed a say in how the Government was spending State funds.

Walsh said the committee would not instil faith among the majority of South Africans as the Government had for many years "utilised State funds to further its own political ambitions".

"Control over State spending is a political function, traditionally carried out by the Public Accounts Committee.

"The DP has called for this committee to be expanded to include political organisations not in Parliament, and to have the power to investigate secret

funds," Walsh said.

The committee's appointment follows De Klerk's reaction to the Inkathagate scandal on July 30.

The committee is made up of Professor Ellison Kahn, retired dean of the faculties of law and commerce at the University of the Witwatersrand; Professor SAS Strauss, professor of law at the University of South Africa; Mr JO McMillan, retired editor of the *Natal Mercury* and Mr JA Crafford, a chartered accountant who, before his retirement in 1985, worked as an auditor for 38 years.

Walsh said of the committee's members:

"While we have no criticism of the individuals concerned, we note with concern that they are chosen from one section of the community.

"Furthermore, it is a toothless body which only has an advisory function... we fear four more people will have knowledge of secret fund spending but will be powerless to act."



Graham Stephen and Vusi Langa of Oh-Zone Clothing hold up the real Bart Simpson T-shirts. SA police have begun a clampdown on pirate copies of clothing bearing the now-famous character.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

SAP takes steps for Parys meeting

JONATHAN REES

POLICE said yesterday they would take all necessary precautions to prevent a repeat of the Ventersdorp police-AWB clash when Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekirk speaks in Parys on Monday.

The AWB has said it will be there in force next week, and has warned that any NP attempts to restrict access to the meeting could turn into conflict.

NP Transvaal leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has said that right-wingers would be welcome at NP meetings if they were unarmed and did not disrupt proceedings.

Police have declined to give details of planned precautions.

C

Treurnicht throws down the gauntlet

Star 21/8/91.

(304A)

BLOEMFONTEIN — There was a difference in style between the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, but the two parties had several things in common, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

"What we have in common with the AWB is that we belong to the same people, speak the same language, have the same opponents and enemies and the same ideals to have our own fatherland governed by our own people," he said.

Dr Treurnicht was addressing about 1 300 people in the Bloemfontein City Hall at a public meeting to open the Free State Congress of the CP.

"But what about the NP-ANC alliance which is trying to persuade whites to give up their political power? The ANC has not given up its goal of taking over exclusive power," he said.

The consensus government which the National Party was trying to sell was nothing but an illusion and President de Klerk

should not try to trick people.

The CP would take part in a referendum under certain conditions.

"We are busy compiling a package of our propositions and our own vision for the future.

"We have no peace with Mr de Klerk's initiatives that are leading to black majority rule, nor with his so-called irreversible course. We say it will be reversed."

Rejected

Referring to recent incidents at Ventersdorp, Dr Treurnicht said if Mr de Klerk wanted to show the ANC how strong it was, "then we say you can't smother a nation's spirit through intimidation, you awaken it. You don't destroy a nation by shooting, but you mobilise it.

"If you do not love your own people, then you are rejected. We will not let ourselves be intimidated into a 'yes boss' attitude.

"I say to F W de Klerk: your jurisdiction doesn't reach as far as the nearest Ratel to Venters-

dorp. You are light years away from the heart of the nation."

The Government had become a suppressor of its own volk and was engaged in a total onslaught against the nation. "Then Mr de Klerk says we must get rid of our hate and spite. If there is something to get rid of it is the NP Government.

"We feel aggrieved that other nations can become independent while our independence is taken away. We are not temporary settlers, this is our land."

The Government was trying to build a Tower of Babel with artificial nation-building which had failed elsewhere.

It was also wrong in saying that communism was dead.

Before the new leader in the Soviet Union even had things under proper control, he was promising aid to the SACP. Was this to aid a communist victory in South Africa and for the white Government to be replaced by a so-called people's government, Dr Treurnicht asked. — Sapa.

Nafcoc boss urges interim govt

MMABATHO. — Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane yesterday urged the South African government to reconsider its objections to an interim government and the creation of a multi-party constituent assembly supervised by an honest broker, and not by the government itself. (304A) 17 2116(91)

He said this in his presidential address at Nafcoc's 27th annual conference at Sun City. — Sapa

Forum for party?

By BARRY STREEK ^{304A} ET 21/8/91
A NEW forum, which could possibly turn into a political party, was being discussed by people who did not feel comfortable with any of the existing groups, Dr Richard van der Ross said yesterday.

He emphasised in an interview that no decision had yet been taken to form a party but the proposed forum would give people an additional option in the political set-up.

Dr Van der Ross, a former rector of the University of the Western Cape, declined to give names of the people involved at this stage.

In the minds of many people, the National Party was understandably associated with apartheid and all its evil.

"If you look at the ANC, people, especially in the Western Cape, have a number of problems."

3 Soviet women defect to SA

By Alan Dunn
and Esther Waugh

Three members of the Soviet Embassy and trade mission in Maputo have defected to South Africa and applied for asylum.

Delicate discussions are taking place between the South African and Soviet governments over the three women. It is understood that the trio is seeking residence in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Soviet Interest Section in Pretoria said yesterday that the matter was in the hands of the Government.

The safekeeping of the South African authorities since their defection several weeks ago, before the visit of the Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs responsible for Africa, Valery Nikolayenko.

It is believed they entered South Africa via Swaziland with the help of friends in Maputo who assisted in obtaining travel documents.

The authorities in Pretoria are reportedly satisfied that they entered the country with the necessary paperwork.

The three women, who are unmarried, worked as typists at the embassy in Maputo. The incident has been reported in the Soviet press.

Typists at embassies usually have security clearance.

Some are involved in highly confidential work such as coding and decoding daily message traffic to and from their home offices.

Two of the defectors were apparently typists on the administrative staff, and the third was from the Soviet trade mission to Mozambique.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs has confirmed the defections, saying the applications for residence were under consideration. He would not divulge the identities of the women.

It is understood that the Department of Home Affairs, and possibly the National Intelligence Service, have also been involved in the matter.

The precise reasons for the

defections are not clear, but they happened before hard-liners ousted President Gorbachev in a coup that shocked the world.

The incident is not expected to have any major effect on newly established South African-Soviet relations.

The two countries recently set up reciprocal interest offices attached to the Austrian embassies in Pretoria and Moscow.

The status of diplomatic relations between the two countries are not expected to be upgraded in a hurry because good channels of communication exist between the two governments through the interest offices.

Ratsiraka holed up as opponents sack him

ANTANANARIVO — President Didier Ratsiraka remained holed up in his bunker-like palace yesterday, a day after opposition leaders announced they had stripped him of power.

The situation appeared calm in the capital, and it was uncertain how Mr Ratsiraka would react to the new challenge to his 16-year rule.

Opposition leaders called a suspension of the mass daily

rallies until tomorrow, when provincial leaders are to appear in a show of solidarity against Mr Ratsiraka.

In an address yesterday in Antananarivo, opposition spokesman the Rev Richard Andramanjato announced the "dismissal" of Mr Ratsiraka and "the suspension of all the republic's institutions".

Tens of thousands of people cheered as Mr Andramanjato announced the installation of a

transitional government formed by the six-party coalition opposed to Mr Ratsiraka.

The government will organise a national conference to draft a new constitution and hold democratic elections within 18 months, Mr Andramanjato said.

The declaration was essentially on paper only, but seemed boosted by a possible alliance with the military

against Mr Ratsiraka's attempt to divide the island into six independent republics.

At the weekend he announced he was restructuring the island into a federation of independent republics, with himself at the head.

Mr Ratsiraka stayed in his palace protected by his North Korean-trained guard and showed no indication of relinquishing power. — Sapa-AP.

AWB plans to attend

NP meeting

By Kaiser Nyatumba
Political Staff

The AWB has threatened to attend a National Party public meeting to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk in Parys next week, in spite of the NP's objections.

AWB chief secretary Ernst van der Westhuizen said the Government had to "adhere strictly" to the agreement AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had reached on SABC-TV's "Agenda" programme two weeks ago.

The AWB, Mr van der Westhuizen said, would attend Dr van Niekerk's meeting on Monday and would not allow itself to be turned back "by closed doors, barbed wire and police dogs".

The AWB warned of a potential further tragedy if the NP meeting in Parys was held on the same basis as the recent Ventersdorp meeting.

The AWB expected Dr van Niekerk and the chairman of the Parys meeting to take note of the fact that the right of admission reserved to such meetings had fallen away in the light of the TV agreement.

Clarify

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent
The Government has called
on the ANC to clarify its
stance towards the new re-
sime in the Soviet Union in
the light of apparent close
links between the new re-
sime and the ANC's

alliance partner, the SA
Constitutional Party, the SA
Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said
questions about the raised new
between the ANC and the SACP.
The stated standpoint of the
ANC — and by implication of the
SACP — is that the communist

system rather because it was
not implemented because it was
democratic socialism. They therefore proclaim
"But one wonders, does 'democratic socialism' include the use of tanks to force an arbitrary takeover of power? Does 'democratic socialism' mean the proclamation of a state of

emergency and imposition of restrictions on news media?"
The ANC owes the country a clarification, in the light of its partnership, in the light of its actions of the new Soviet re-
sime?" Dr Viljoen asked.
"If so, how does this tally with the ANC's own plain state.

Or does the ANC distance itself from the coup in Moscow?
"If so, what becomes of its partnership with the SACP and its close links with the Soviet re-
sime?"
"It is remarkable that the ANC and the SACP — usually quick and lavish in their utter-

ances on current affairs — have been slow to say anything about the events in Moscow.
"The changes in Moscow offer no advantages — have masked already been un-
rupt ideological groups in Moscow Soviet Union but also in central Europe."

ANC urged

The benefits of Gorbachev's policies for southern Africa will stay, says Gerald L'Ange

No turning back the clock

Star 21/8/91.



3047



THE reform of apartheid will not have to be reversed and the ANC will not return to exile. The Cubans will not come back and neither will total onslaught.

None of the trends in southern Africa that were associated with Mikhail Gorbachev's coming to power in Moscow will be turned around by his ousting as president of the Soviet Union.

What many South Africans have come to regard as the bad old days of the Red Menace in Africa have gone for good and the Kremlin hardliners who have toppled Mr Gorbachev will not be able to bring them back, even if they succeed in making his ousting permanent.

The clock has gone too far to be turned back — in Africa, at any rate — since Mr Gorbachev's arrival on the scene signalled the start of perestroika and glasnost.

Those anxious times when ANC insurgents brought in bombs and bullets from across the borders, when white South Africa's sons went to fight in distant Angola, when the sanctions screws were made tighter and tighter, when South Africans were conditioned to resist a total onslaught, were

directly related to the era of Soviet expansionism in Africa.

The Kremlin at that time found it necessary to compete with the West, and the United States in particular, on a worldwide front and to promote the influence of communism and Soviet hegemony as widely as possible.

Armaments were poured into the wars in Africa: in Angola, Namibia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rhodesia and elsewhere. Arms, training and other support was given liberally to the ANC and Swapo.

In this atmosphere, the South African Government would have found it extremely difficult — even if it had wanted to — to abandon apartheid and the destabilisation of neighbouring countries that was considered essential to its defence.

But the cost of the Soviet Union's hegemonic efforts and of trying to match the United States in armaments and other technology was too much for its economy and it began to collapse, opening the way for perestroika and glasnost.

The Soviets began to make peace with the US and to support political rather than military solu-

tions to regional conflicts.

Abandoning its hopes of a Red Africa, Moscow collaborated with Washington in bringing about independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

It left its former proteges in Ethiopia and elsewhere to fend for themselves and made no effort to oppose the rising opposition to Marxism and one-party rule in Africa.

Even if the new bosses in Moscow want to return to the status quo ante, they will not be able to do it. They might cool the rap-prochement with Washington, put brakes on arms control and reverse the trend towards democratisation within the Soviet Union.

But they will not be able to get back to where the Soviet Union was in Africa, any more than they will be able to divide Germany again.

The Soviet Union does not have the economic wherewithal to again fund political movements and back wars and in any case Africa's wars are fading out.

Political currents in Africa today are driven more by a desire for multiparty democracy and free-market economies than by

the Marxist-Leninist dogma that tended to fill Africa's post-colonial ideological vacuums.

Namibia is happily independent, Angola seems set to find peace, Mozambique is heading fitfully in the same direction.

Cuba is not going to return for more Angolan-like adventures in Africa because it will no longer get funding from Moscow and can not finance them itself.

South Africa remains volatile, poised precariously on the edge of an unknown fate but driven by a powerful and universal urge to find a sane and safe future.

It would take more than interference from Moscow to upset this balance. For it would not be easy for the ANC to return to armed struggle and to again establish the necessary bases in or transit routes through neighbouring territories.

It is in any case highly unlikely that it would see any profit in doing this.

The long and short of it is that nobody in southern Africa wants to return to the old situation and it is doubtful that the Kremlin will want to either. They will be too preoccupied there with urgent internal politics to worry about all

but the most essential international affairs.

The new regime has in any case professed a desire to maintain the new thinking of which Mr Gorbachev was the chief exponent.

One of the main worries in Africa has already been identified by Zimbabwe's leading newspaper, *The Herald*, which usually reflects government thinking. It expressed the hope that the fall of Mr Gorbachev would not lead to a reduction in Soviet aid in Africa.

Sharp cuts in this aid were predicted even before Mr Gorbachev's removal, however.

Despite the Soviet Union's own economic problems it had budgeted to provide for R22.4 billion in assistance to African countries between 1986 and 1990, according to figures reported by the Soviet news agency, Novosti. Much of this was in the form of credits and delayed loan repayments.

This year the Soviet Union was expecting to get only R4 200-million of the nearly R22 000-million due to it from Third World debtors.

Soviet academics had warned that a drastic cut in Soviet foreign aid was inevitable, although some had warned against the ending of

all aid because of the damage this would cause to relations with developing countries.

"Oaths of ideological loyalty will substitute for all-round economic expertise, while joint projects will be given priority over free tank and missile deliveries," Novosti said.

Moscow's influence in Africa — as in the rest of the Third World — will be reduced more or less in proportion to the reduction of its aid. Given that a prime preoccupation of the new regime in Moscow will be to resolve the economic problems for which Mr Gorbachev is blamed, it is highly unlikely that it will reverse the reduction of foreign aid.

This will become even more unlikely if the Western countries implement their threats to withhold aid to the Soviet Union because of Mr Gorbachev's removal.

All in all, then, the prognosis must be that the toppling of Gorbachev from his pedestal will not reverse any of the benefits that came to southern Africa from his ascent to the pedestal.

It could affect benefits that might have been gained in the future, but it is unlikely to change the past. □

CP warns it will turn to violence to win volkstaat

BLOEMFONTEIN — The CP would use violence if it failed through means of democracy to persuade government it was serious about the creation of an Afrikaner Volkstaat, the party's Orange Free State leader warned yesterday. B10ay 22/8/77 (3c4A)

Speaking at a media conference after a day-long CP congress held behind closed doors in Bloemfontein, Cehill Pienaar said: "If the government is an ANC-controlled one, then I can guarantee that the future will be violent".

The main aim at present, however, was to force — and win — a general election.

It was in the government's hands whether or not its path would be a peaceful one but, "if the government is going to ignore democratic means, then other methods will have to be used".

"We will use the democratic way until all avenues have been explored but if these are closed to us and there remains no doubt that the ANC is to take over the government then the possibility of guerrilla war will become real." — Sapa. wailot as

AWB threat to attend NP Parys meeting

3044
APR 22/8/91

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has threatened to attend a National Party (NP) public meeting to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekirk in Parys in the Free State next week in spite of NP objections.

In a Press statement, AWB chief secretary Ernst van der Westhuizen said the government had to "adhere strictly" to the agreement AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis reached on the SABC's *Agenda* two weeks ago.

The AWB, Mr van der Westhuizen said, will attend Mr Van Niekirk's meeting on Monday and will not allow itself to be turned back "by closed doors, barbed wire and police dogs".

The AWB warned of a potential further tragedy if the NP meeting in Parys was held on the same basis as the Ventersdorp meeting addressed by President De Klerk.

Three people died and many were injured when AWB members con-

fronted the police and later allegedly assaulted blacks.

Mr Van der Westhuizen said the AWB executive council wanted to draw NP leaders' attention to the "agreement" between Mr Du Plessis and Mr Terre'Blanche on television.

The AWB leadership expected Mr Van Niekirk and the chairman of the Parys meeting to take note of the fact that the right of admission reserved to such closed meetings had now fallen away in light of the agreement.

"The AWB will fulfil agreements as witnessed by millions of television viewers.

"The audience will be orderly but will have the right to put motions, and nobody will be refused admission into the hall unless he is guilty of violence or bad behaviour," said Mr Van der Westhuizen's statement.

Contacted for comment this morning, NP spokesman Piet Coetzer referred questions to Mr Du Plessis's office.

A spokesman for the Transvaal NP leader's office, Mr Pieter Coetsee, said he had not yet spoken to the Minister who was attending a meeting.

FW fund step 'inadequate'

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's decision to appoint a four-person private sector advisory committee to help monitor secret funds was "totally inadequate", the Democratic Party said yesterday. (304A) (12)

DP finance spokesman Mr Jasper Walsh said the move would not instil faith among the majority of South Africans.

"We fear four more people will now have knowledge of secret fund spending but be powerless to act," he said.

New English rightist group

A NEW right-wing, English-language organisation, the Republican Unity Movement of South Africa (Rumosa), had been formed to promote "settler identity", its first president, CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said yesterday.

The organisation, which formed after a meeting in Rondebosch over the weekend, came into being because of the desire of thousands of English-speakers to be part of a "united White Republic of South Africa" (304A) CT 22/8/91

Mr Derby-Lewis said: "English-speakers can no longer afford to stand outside the struggle for the survival of our Western culture."

SOWETAN-BUSINESS

Business steps into peace plan

Concern over outcome of negotiations

BLACK business has been invited by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to present its views on the proposed negotiations for a future democratic and nonracial South Africa.

This was said at the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce's 27th annual conference held in Sun City near Rustenburg.

In his presidential address, Mr Sam Motsuenyane said while his organisation had previously favoured in principle the objective of a negotiated settlement of the country's present political dilemma, "We have at the same time also raised serious reservations and concerns about the unpredictability of the outcome".

Danger

He said the greatest danger to peace and stability could arise if and when the negotiations failed to achieve their intended purpose, about which there could be no guaranteed measure of certainty.

"In the memorandum to the Minister, Nafcoc emphasised the sensitivities inherent in the negotiation process,

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

and in the light thereof urged the Government to reconsider its objections to the idea of an interim government and the creation of a multiparty constituent assembly, supervised by business brokers and not by the present Government itself," he said.

"Under the prevailing circumstances, it appears as if this would be the only way to ensure the participation of the ANC and other black political organisations in the envisaged negotiations.

Violence

"The only negotiations that will have a reasonable chance of success are those that focus specifically on the limited option of how an interim government of a constituent assembly should be constituted."

The conference was also told that, apart from participating as a member of the peace-facilitating committee comprised of church and business leaders, Nafcoc has had formal and informal discussions with various political organisations during the year.



Mr JJ Lesolang and other delegates to the 27th annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce held at Sun City on Monday.

Every effort was being made at present to restore peace and stability to a troubled South Africa.

The constant danger that would continue to face it during the delicate transition towards a true democracy was a possibility of losing control of the process and in that event, plunging the country into a situation of anarchy and increased violence.

Referring to the socioeconomic prospect in South Africa, Motsuenyane said it must be conceded that the complete lifting of sanctions and other punitive measures directed against the country because of the apartheid policy would not be done abruptly and without due caution.

The EEC countries, the United States and Japan

had taken the lead in lifting sanctions against trade and flow of new investments.

But, he said, there was no anticipation of a massive inflow of foreign investments into the country until some reasonable certainty about the country's stability was clearly established.

He said recent revela-

tions of secret Government-funded Inkatha projects had evidently dealt a severe blow, not to the peace process per se, but also to the credibility of the Government and that of Inkatha.

He said the economy was going through a period of recession which was characterised by massive

unemployment, poor business performance on the part of many large and small enterprises, a low rate of savings, high inflation, and continually rising costs in the price of consumer goods.

Against that background, Motsuenyane added, it was quite clear that economic prospects would not be bright for

the rest of the year, although a slight economic upturn was expected to take place during the last quota of the year.

Motsuenyane outlined Nafcoc's future projects, including a black insurance company, a shopping centre, job creation centre and the revamp of the Masikela/Mavimbela Bursary Funds.

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GENERAL EQUITY FUNDS

	Buyers	Sellers	Yield
Allegro	109.53	120.28	5.27
BOE Growth	135.15	126.29	4.62
Fedgro	116.86	109.11	11.22
Guardbank Growth	2243.92	2101.38	5.68
Momentum	227.77	212.95	5.92
Motfund	176.04	164.03	4.79
NBS Hallmark	680.40	822.30	6.94
Norwich NBS	338.33	315.99	7.90
Old Mutual Investors	2679.44	2499.91	4.81
Salagro	125.42	117.33	6.75
Saga	2300.40	2147.97	4.60
Sanlam	1607.56	1501.67	5.24
Sanlam Index	1268.66	1184.84	4.92
Senbank General	117.19	109.26	N/A
Southam Equity	172.38	161.11	5.51
Standard	1066.89	1002.77	7.75
Sytrets Growth	243.75	229.20	5.77

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Speakers at the 27th annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce included, from left: Mr Joe Hlongwane, Mr Max Tlakula, Mr Matome Maphonya and Mr SHL Matebeso.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

HUNGER STRIKERS

ABOUT 450 prisoners embarked on a hunger strike at Pollsmoor Prison this week, said the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union.

The fast is a protest over differences in treatment between white and black prisoners, as well as a demand for general amnesty for prisoners.

■THREE political prisoners at Pollsmoor Prison have been on a continuous hunger strike since the beginning of July.

The two who are presently on a fast are Reverend Dan Nkopodi, serving 10 years, and Monde Khakaza, serving 24 years. They are both members of the Azanian People's Organisation. The third hunger striker is Pan Africanist Congress aligned Litha Mlahleki, serving 42 years.

■UMKHONTO weSizwe member Joseph Koetle has been admitted to Johannesburg hospital. He is in the second week of a hunger strike in protest over the lack of progress regarding his indemnification. He faces, among other charges, a count of murder for the death of a policeman.

■THREE right-wingers are still on hunger strike at the HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria. They are awaiting trial prisoners Henry Martin, Adriaan Maritz and Dr Lodewyk van Schalkwyk.

Fodder, the political cannon from the right

Wimail 16/8 - 22/8/91

By SHADLEY NASH: Port Elizabeth
NEVER mind political cannon fodder. Right-wing farmers are now using fodder as a political cannon.

Last week a large consignment of animal fodder arrived in Uitenhage, destined for drought stricken farmers in the Eastern Cape.

The fodder, from a right-wing group, Boere Krisis Aksie, was donated only to farmers who were not members of the Broederbond and were prepared to go on record as being opposed to President FW de Klerk's land reform initiatives.

This was the second politically-loaded consignment of drought aid to farmers in the region.

The first arrived about a month ago. While some farmers accepted it gladly, others were angered and refused to sign a memorandum stating their opposition to land reform measures.

Conservative Party MP for Uitenhage Willem Botha received the latest fodder saying: "There are no words that can describe what you have done for us."

"Aiding the farmers is just a drop in the bucket compared to the way you have lifted the morale of the Afrikaners of Uitenhage," he said after dozens of heavily laden trucks rolled

into the CP-controlled town.

The wife of one farmer said 270 farmers had accepted the aid.

But farmers in the southern districts, closer to Port Elizabeth, are unequivocal in their rejection.

"I don't believe in any form of aid," was the response from Van Stakens farmer Niel Knott.

He said those farmers who were not profitable — and always the first to run for aid — should quit the business, and the tax structure should be revised.

Another Van Stakens farmer, Charles Heskill, an executive member of the Eastern Cape Agricultural Union, said: "Organised farmers' unions are presently busy negotiating aid from farmers in the Transvaal."

"However, we have not even been approached and I doubt if we would have qualified for aid from the Boere Krisis Aksie."

Reports said members of the Broederbond and its youth wing would not be entitled to aid.

A BKA representative said: "If the government can give the taxpayer's money to organisations such as Inkatha, I don't see why we can't give aid to our own people." — Pen

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

No. 2035

304A

23 August 1991

APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS AND DEPUTY MINISTERS

It is hereby notified for general information that the State President has, in accordance with sections 24 and 27 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), appointed the following persons as Ministers and Deputy Ministers with effect from—

(a) 30 August 1991 —

(i) Genl. Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister of Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly;

(ii) Mr Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Minister of Correctional Services and of the Budget in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly;

(iii) Mr Samuel Johannes de Beer as Minister of Education and Training;

(iv) Dr Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly;

(v) Mr Hermanus Jacobus Kriel as Minister of Law and Order;

(vi) Mr Roelof Petrus Meyer as Minister of Defence and of Communication;

(vii) Mr Leon Wessels as Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing and of Local Government in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly;

(viii) Mr Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister for Administration;

(ix) Dr Theodorus Gerhardus Alant as Deputy Minister of Finance and of the National Intelligence Service;

(x) Mr Abraham Williams as Deputy Minister of National Education and of Planning;

(xi) Mr Daniel Pieter Antonie Schutte as Deputy Minister of Justice and of Education and Training;

(xii) Dr Jacobus Tertius Delpoort as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development;

(xiii) Mr Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers as Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Development Aid;

(xiv) Mr Stefanus Johannes Schoeman as Deputy Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly; and

(xv) Mr Renier Stephanus Schoeman as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs;

(b) 1 October 1991 —

(i) Genl. Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry;

(ii) Dr Peter Johannes Welgemoed as Minister of Transport and of Posts and Telecommunications; and

(iii) Mr Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister of Education and Culture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT

No. 2035

23 Augustus 1991

AANSTELLING VAN MINISTERS EN ADJUNK-MINISTERS

Hierby word vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat die Staatspresident kragtens artikels 24 en 27 van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die volgende persone as ministers en adjunkministers aangestel het met ingang van—

(a) 30 Augustus 1991 —

(i) Genl. Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister van Behuising en Werke in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(ii) mnr. Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Minister van Korrektiewe Dienste en van Begroting in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(iii) mnr. Samuel Johannes de Beer as Minister van Onderwys en Opleiding;

(iv) dr. Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister van Nasionale Gesondheid en van Gesondheidsdienste en Welsyn in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(v) mnr. Hermanus Jacobus Kriel as Minister van Wet en Orde;

(vi) mnr. Roelof Petrus Meyer as Minister van Verdediging en van Kommunikasie;

(vii) mnr. Leon Wessels as Minister van Beplanning, Provinsiale Sake en Nasionale Behuising en van Plaaslike Bestuur in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad;

(viii) mnr. Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister vir Administrasie;

(ix) dr. Theodorus Gerhardus Alant as Adjunkminister van Finansies en van die Nasionale Intelligensiediens;

(x) mnr. A. Williams as Adjunkminister van Nasionale Opvoeding en van Beplanning;

(xi) mnr. Daniel Pieter Antonie Schutte as Adjunkminister van Justisie en van Onderwys en Opleiding;

(xii) dr. Jacobus Tertius Delpoort as Adjunkminister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling;

(xiii) mnr. Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers as Adjunkminister van Wet en Orde en van Ontwikkelingshulp;

(xiv) mnr. Stefanus Johannes Schoeman as Adjunkminister van Nasionale Gesondheid en van Gesondheidsdienste en Welsyn in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad; en

(xv) mnr. Renier Stephanus Schoeman as Adjunkminister van Buitelandse Sake;

(b) 1 Oktober 1991 —

(i) Genl. Magnus André de Merindol Malan as Minister van Waterwese en Bosbou;

(ii) dr. Peter Johannes Welgemoed as Minister van Vervoer en van Pos- en Telekommunikasiewese; en

(iii) mnr. Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister van Onderwys en Kultuur in die Ministersraad van die Volksraad.

Star 23/8/91

Free speech 'not an absolute right'

MARITZBURG — There is hope that freedom of speech will be protected by independent courts under a future SA government, says the editor-in-chief of The Star, Richard Steyn.

Addressing a Five Freedoms Forum meeting at the Natal Society Library last night, Mr Steyn said the right to free speech was not absolute, but was limited by respect for the rights and freedoms of others.

The African National

Congress had promised to protect freedom of speech and information, but it would not allow anyone to propagate racism, fascism or ethnicity, he said.

"I would plead for the definition of racism to be narrowly drawn and confined to calculated expressions of contempt, insult or incitement. We should outlaw only that which is genuinely inflammatory or intended to be demeaning and insulting, not that which is

merely unpalatable or offensive to some ears.

"Given our history, to prosecute every racial insult or racist political remark will probably heighten ill-feeling rather than reduce it," he said. (304A)

A future government should prohibit only those views that could be reasonably regarded as having no redeeming social or political value whatsoever, Mr Steyn concluded. — Sapa.

DP may be at patriotic front conference

THE DP would consider taking part in a proposed patriotic front conference, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

The patriotic front is being set up to press government to accept an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. *8/04 23/8/91*.

De Beer, who recently led a DP delegation that held talks on the conference with the PAC leadership, said the DP would consider an invitation if it were issued.

He said while the DP did not back the idea of a constituent assembly in the form it was being proposed, the party would have to consider any proposition in the light of its long-standing commitment to a national convention.

PATRICK BULGER

PAC national spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday the PAC was impressed with the DP's interest in the PAC's idea of participation in the conference being as broadly based as possible. *(3044)*

Desai said the bottom line for participation in the conference — which will take place in about a month's time — was acceptance of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one man, one vote.

A PAC delegation this week met a delegation from the ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party which undertook to convey conference details to its principals.

ay, August 23 1991

NP and CP reach deal over meeting

JONATHON REES

THE NP and the CP have struck a deal over the controversial NP meeting in Parys on Monday night.

It has been agreed that the meeting will be open to all members of the public and the two parties will co-operate in maintaining good order.

The AWB, having warned earlier this week of possible violence if the meeting was a closed gathering, said its members would be instructed to attend in force, but would be "well behaved".

An AWB spokesman said all their weapons would be locked up in a guarded truck outside the building during the meeting.

CP OFS secretary Gustaf Claasens said his party and the NP had reached a "fantastic agreement" for CP members to attend the meeting.

In terms of the negotiated agreement, there will be a question time and an opportunity for a motion of confidence or no confidence in the NP, Claasens said.

The Parys agreement was between local representatives of the NP and CP and was in response to queries from CP members about the

status of the meeting.

Claasens said a police-AWB clash in Ventersdorp two weeks ago had been debated at the CP's Free State congress this week and delegates had resolved to try to attend meetings peacefully, and negotiate the conditions of attendance where possible.

The AWB had said earlier it would be prepared to stay away from the Parys meeting on certain conditions if it was restricted to NP members.

It said the meeting would not be disrupted as long as taxpayers' money was not used for the meeting, or its security, and the meeting's contents were not made known to the media.

If these conditions were not met, the AWB warned, the NP would never again have the opportunity to use tax-payer's money or the media at meetings without hindrance.

Sapa reports the AWB's chief secretary, Ernie van der Westhuizen said the meeting would be a test of government's credibility.

The meeting will be addressed by Agriculture Minister Kraai van Nierkerk.

THE failure of the coup by hardline communists in Moscow is a shot in the arm for liberal democracy, not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the world and not least in South Africa.

In spite of the great differences in their situations, Mr Gorbachev and President F W de Klerk have a great deal in common as reformers who have had to steer a tricky course between hardline militarists and forces favouring democratic reform.

Both leaders have chosen to pursue cautious tactics of containment of hardliners in their security establishments by avoiding confrontation — lest it provoke resistance on a scale which might bring them down.

In the Soviet Union, Mr Gorbachev sought to palliate the hardliners in his midst by keeping them in positions of authority and by making appointments designed to reassure the military and the KGB. So much so that he alienated key colleagues and early supporters such as Mr Edward Shevardnadze and Mr Boris Yeltsin. Yet his vacillation was just as unacceptable to the military and KGB leadership. Hence this week's attempted coup.

Celebrated pledge

And Mr de Klerk? Is his leadership at risk? Could a military coup happen here? I think it unlikely. Yet there are still many unanswered questions about control of the security forces. From the start his vulnerable spot has been the security establishment and its entrenched culture of clandestine operations.

The death squads scandal shocked him into his celebrated pledge to cut the scandal "open to the bone" and he tried to begin such a process by appointing the Harms commission. But the SADF orchestrated a cover-up. Mr De Klerk could no doubt have had the recalcitrant officers court-martialled for refusing to obey a lawful order by the Chief of the Defence Force. He chose not to do so.

It appeared that he did not feel strong enough in the saddle to confront the hardline clique in the security establishment. To keep them on board he retained General Magnus Malan as Minister of Defence and appointed General Kat Liebenberg, a key figure in special forces and clandestine operations, as Chief of the Defence Force.

Gorbachev and FW — walking on a tightrope



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

What forced Mr De Klerk to act eventually was the manifest failure of the security establishment to stop the political violence sweeping the country. Their failure led to a widespread perception that much of the mayhem might in fact be attributed to the security forces themselves, who still seemed to be pursuing Botha-era policies to destabilise the ANC and weaken it as a political force.

After waiting for much too long to take control, and after thousands of people had been killed, Mr De Klerk at length used the Inkathagate scandal as a pretext to shift Messrs Malan and Vlok sideways out of their key posts in the security establishment.

At the same time he showered the two ministers with praise, indignantly repudiating suggestions that the security establishment had been involved in fomenting violence. Nevertheless, his action appeared to be a tacit admission of the contrary.

Murderous attacks

In shifting General Malan to the sidelines in easy stages, he is enabling that old warhorse to depart the scene with honour and dignity. And Mr De Klerk seemed to want a tougher man than Mr Vlok in charge of the police.

So far Mr De Klerk has got away with it. The prospect of a coup is

remote. But he still has worries on the security front. Political violence continues, much of it in the form of murderous attacks by shadowy nocturnal marauders, aimed at ANC-supporting families in the townships.

The peace agreement to be signed in a few weeks between all the major players, which will bind police and political parties alike to codes of non-violent conduct, could be a step ahead.

Yet the threat of right-wing violence will remain. If the peace agreement is followed by a multi-party conference, agreement on interim arrangements and, ultimately, by a new constitution, there may well be a last-ditch resort to violence by the Right, testing the loyalty of the security forces.

The battle of Ventersdorp was reassuring on this score but there is no cause for complacency. Given the importance of their work in the transition, Mr De Klerk should see that the police have no cause to complain about salaries and working conditions and are given the best training, vehicles and equipment that money can buy. For too long the SADF has been at the head of the queue on Budget Day. Now it is the SAP's turn.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk walks a tightrope, as did Mr Gorbachev. Let us hope that both men are emboldened by the events of this week to throw caution to the winds, moving resolutely ahead to democracy and economic recovery. The hardliners are on the run in Moscow. The meaning of the events of this week, we may hope, has not been lost on their counterparts in South Africa.

President Bush was right. Once people have had a taste of freedom, they are not easily persuaded to relinquish it.

C'weath invite to 'unified SA'

HARARE. — Representatives from an interim arrangement involving all major political parties in South Africa will be allowed into the corridors of the October Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) here, its secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku told Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziana, yesterday.

"If by that time, you have a unified movement towards non-racial democracy, it may be possible to have representatives to give a briefing," he said yesterday.

He ruled out participation by the South African government, but the meeting would listen to liberation movements.

— Sapa (30419) CT 23/8/91

2 Cape Times, We

Call to boost democracy

PRETORIA — A democratic culture needs to be promoted in South Africa now, or apartheid could be replaced by a far more vicious and unjust political system, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, said yesterday.

Addressing the SA Institute for Librarianship and Information Science in Pretoria, Dr Dhlomo said nation building in SA could succeed only if the values of democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation were made the "foundation of all we do in our respective professions".

All South Africans had to share responsibility for educating fellow citizens on the virtues of democracy. — Sapa

Interim govt
is 'unlikely'

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was unlikely to accede to the ANC's demand for an interim government, SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) President Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Delivering the SAIRR presidential address in Johannesburg, the former DP MP said ANC president Nelson Mandela's demand amounted to a transfer of power before a constitution with checks and balances against abuse of power had been agreed to by the major players. 61/23/8/91

Suzman said it was much more likely that De Klerk would try to devise some form of transitional government of national unity.

She speculated that in terms of this arrangement, representatives of the main parties would be included not only in the Cabinet but in the SADF, the police force and in high positions in the civil administration.

Government warned on VAT

THE Government should postpone the introduction of Value Added Tax to avoid mass industrial action, delegates attending an Anti-VAT meeting were told yesterday.

The meeting, held in Johannesburg, resolved to urgently meet Finance Minister Barend du Plessis "to warn him of the dangers that lay ahead" if he went ahead with implementing VAT

on September 30

Delegates warned that if the Government did not heed the people's demands there "will be general industrial action countrywide".

AWB may 'allow' NP meeting

Star 23/8/91

By Kalzer Nyatumba
Political Staff (304A)

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has undertaken to allow the National Party meeting in Parys next week to "proceed unhindered" if certain "requirements" could be met.

In a statement last night, AWB chief secretary Ernst van der Westhuizen said the AWB's executive council, which this week announced it would attend the meeting in spite of NP objections, has reviewed its position.

He said that was because of NP claims that the meeting, to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk, was "an informa-

tion meeting only for invited NP members".

Mr van der Westhuizen said the AWB would allow the meeting to "proceed unhindered" if the Government could prove that taxpayers' money would not be used "in any way" for the meeting.

The AWB's other "requirement" for not attending was that proceedings be kept secret and not be made available to the press.

Mr van der Westhuizen said the NP's holding of closed "information meetings" for members only suggested the Government was afraid the public would put motions of no-confidence.

"The decision's implication is that it (the NP) ac-

knowledges that it is the minority party in SA. That means the Government should either resign or call a general election," said Mr van der Westhuizen's statement.

He said if the Government did not meet the AWB's "requirements", the NP would never get another opportunity "to misuse taxpayers' money and the public media".

Conservative Party MP for Parys, Plet Gouws, said the CP and the NP have agreed on guidelines for Monday's meeting and would try to keep it peaceful.

NP spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

Diseases threaten

1991

NE

Suzman: negotiations on irreversible track

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 23/8/91
3048

The Government and the ANC had now reached consensus on a number of important issues and neither negotiating partner could abandon negotiations, according to former veteran opposition parliamentarian Helen Suzman.

Delivering her presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in Johannesburg last night, Mrs Suzman said neither the Government nor the ANC could abandon negotiations.

The ANC, she said, could not overthrow the Government by force, and its talk of resuming the armed struggle was "largely rhetoric". She said strikes and other forms of mass action were "certainly potent weapons" but would not be sufficient to dislodge the Government from office.

"And, as for the Nationalist Government, it is on an irreversible track. It has to proceed with negotiations. It has aban-

doned apartheid (and) it must now try democracy to show that it will work."

Mrs Suzman said the ANC and the Government had now reached agreement on a number of issues, including the need for a justiciable bill of rights, an independent judiciary and a universal adult suffrage. These were "hopeful signs".

Mrs Suzman, who said President de Klerk deserved the international recognition he had gained in the wake of his reforms, believed the recent Inkatha funding scandal had impaired his credibility and strengthened the ANC's call for an interim government.

However, she did not expect Mr de Klerk to accede to the ANC's demand, "for in essence it amounts to a transfer of power before a constitution with checks and balances against abuse of power has been agreed to by the major players, and before it has been put to a referendum of all the people".

Mrs Suzman reiterated her

stance against sanctions, saying the reform process had to be underpinned by a strong, viable economy. She said sanctions had to bear part of the blame "for the terrible violence in South Africa, in which thousands of lives have been lost over the past few years".

She called on African countries to review their position on sanctions.

"It is time for some of our neighbouring states and for the Organisation of African Unity to come clean ... There is only one word to characterise the position of governments that trade briskly with SA while at the same time advocating trade and other sanctions against her, and that word is hypocrisy."

Welcoming the release of political prisoners over the past few months, she said she found it "rather astonishing" that the Government had also released murderers and rapists.

She said such people would not qualify as political prisoners in the US.

WS

Star 23/8/91
**Nats set to hold
federal congress**

The National Party has shifted its organisational and policy programme into top gear and is due to hold a federal congress — only the fifth called since 1948 — next month.

Topping the agenda will be constitutional proposals that can be taken to a multiparty conference. (304A)

Senior party sources said yesterday that this had become more vital since a multiparty conference was expected to follow the signing of an all-party peace accord in Johannesburg on September 14.

The federal congress will be held in Bloemfontein on September 4.

This decision arises from a federal council meeting in Pretoria on Wednesday at which it was also decided to appoint outgoing Minister of Education and Training Dr Stoffel van der Merwe to the new post of NP secretary-general.

Although federal congresses of the NP have no decision-making powers, they have traditionally been called to obtain agreement in principle for major policy shifts or advances, such as the decision to call a referendum for a republic (1960) and introducing the tricameral Parliament (1982). — Sapa.

Star 23/8/91
**League objects to
Marike as guest**

By Kaizer Nyatumba

(304A)

The ANC Women's League has pulled out of the Goodwill Foundation's "Peace and Reconciliation" programme next month, citing as a reason the choice of President de Klerk's wife, Marike, as the guest speaker at an event at the First National Bank Stadium.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Women's League president Gertrude Shope said that while the league believed peace and reconciliation were priorities, it would nevertheless not allow itself to be used to promote Pretoria's image here and abroad.

Mrs Shope said the Goodwill Foundation's choice of Mrs de Klerk as guest of honour and the main speaker at a function on September 28 was "a political statement".

She said it was strange that the Goodwill Foundation, an organisation which claimed to be non-political, could have picked Mrs de Klerk. That, she said, gave "the distinct impression that the Goodwill Foundation intends to promote the present Government with a view to improving SA's image worldwide".

Mrs Shope was also critical of the involvement of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

THERE ARE STRONG PARALLELS BETWEEN THE USSR AND SOUTH AFRICA. COULD HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

Could this happen to you, De Klerk?

Who needs a coup? The violence of the security forces, it could be argued, is an advance coup aimed at weakening an African National Congress government before it comes to power.

Professor Andre du Toit, of the Political Studies Department at the University of Cape Town, says that while there are similarities at the level of change between South Africa and the Soviet Union, the latter has no structures to rival its Communist Party.

"There is splintering away from the (Soviet) party but there is no alternative," he said. "In purely organisational terms, the Communist Party is the only show in town. The same goes for the huge army and security apparatus with its enormous resources.

"When it comes to coup like this, the role of party and the army is decisive. If there is going

● TO PAGE 4

Do you think this could happen to you, FW?

● FROM PAGE 2

to be a coup it must come from them, and success is going to depend on whether support is forthcoming from the party and the army. In this case it seems not to have happened."

Du Toit said that in the South Africa, there were rivals to the National Party — and the party was squarely behind De Klerk.

"If there is a coup it must come from some other rightwing party," he said. "The picture of the military establishment is much more complicated.

"We don't have a large standing army. We have small permanent force and a large number of conscripts.

"Here there might be colonels and brigadiers hostile to the changes, but when push comes to shove they have to mobilise forces outside the permanent army where there are quite a large spread of political views and ideas that they can't rely on.

"The whole role of military in South Africa is different — we haven't had coups because we haven't needed them. But if we should have one, I'm not sure they're that well positioned."

Perhaps a more important question is what happens when the country enters the more vulnerable phase of transition, such as an interim government or after a new black dominated government takes over.

It will have a mainly white civil service, military and police force — people who will have it in their time-honoured power and ability to destabilise the economy and the country.

Without the economic wherewithal to meet the expectations of the newly enfranchised millions, a deep sense of

disillusionment familiar to newly independent Africa could emerge. Imagine the scenario of bread queues, resentment in the burgeoning squatter camps — and the spectre of a black majority government using the security forces to put down a hungry black proletariat.

By then the international community's attention would have shifted elsewhere. Popular apathy or even sympathy might mount for a force that overthrows an incumbent regime. And not even a Boris Yeltsin to save us.

This week the leader of the Soviet Union was briefly ousted in a Third World-style military coup.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK weighs up the possibilities of it happening in South Africa

EVER since President FW de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress and released Nelson Mandela, he has been compared to his equally bald counterpart in the Kremlin. Some international journals even dubbed his reforms Pretoriastroika.

So it is not impertinent to ask whether the Soviet Union's Third World-style coup could ever happen here. *W/ma 23/8-29/8/91*

Could we awake tomorrow to the sight of David Hall-Green on *Good Morning South Africa* telling us that De Klerk has been toppled and some faceless military council has assumed all his executive powers?

Can one picture tanks lumbering through the streets of Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town securing parliament, Auckland Park and the Union Buildings?

Despite the fact that South Africa and the Soviet Union have a lot in common, the answer has to be no.

Under the term "reform", De Klerk and Mikhail Gorbachev have gone to considerable lengths to reverse out of the cul-de-sac that their predecessors drove their countries into.

Both have taken political risks and apparently threatened the entrenched power of the *apparatchiks* and the military. Necessarily ambiguous figures, both are under attack from the right and the left.

Both are skilful politicians, but both have to contend with historical situations that on the surface appear almost insuperable — in South Africa, 300 years of racism and in the Soviet Union, 60 years of Stalinism preceded by centuries of Tsarist absolutism.

Both run the risk that each step they take leads to greater chaos as the burden of the past unravels around them.

All the nationalist sympathies, the chauvinism, the anti-Semitism that were kept tightly lid-ded under the Stalinists have come out of the bottle in the Soviet Union.

That is where the comparisons end.

Gorbachev, in his primary endeavour to boost the Soviet economy, has failed because, in the short term, it is has proved impossible.

De Klerk's primary endeavour has been political, where gains are quicker. Despite false starts and the struggles, he has much to show for it: sanctions are crumbling, there are no more bombs in Wimpy bars and South Africa is returning to the international community and world sport.

For the establishment — those that might back a coup — it has been an easy ride so far. International recognition has been won without a shake-up of the civil service or the military, the bedrock of the old order.

There has been enough advance warning for civil servants to white-ant the state, to redistribute into their own pension and housing packages.

The economy is not in great shape, but it is black people who are the victims, not the civil service. Their leaders would be De Klerk's natural allies against any potential right-wing coup.

But the reason why a coup can't happen here is the very reason that it didn't work there.

It would have no popular support. It would lead to resistance, including demonstrations and strikes. The international community would strongly disapprove and might even intervene.

Apartheid is still alive and well on the statute books

R EPORTS of the death of apartheid have been much exaggerated. This is the inevitable conclusion one comes to after a cursory reading of Butterworths' Statutes. At least 22 racial laws and hundreds of by-laws and provincial ordinances must be amended or scrapped before apartheid has been removed from the statute books.

With the repeal of the Population Registration Act earlier this year, the government put out the word that apartheid was a thing of the past. In fact, all that changed was new births would no longer be registered on a racial basis.

The National Party argues that the remaining racial laws are part of the "own affairs" package which can only be done away with once a new constitution has been negotiated, but the Democratic Party believes most of these could be changed immediately. "Our policy is to start now in rolling back 'own affairs' provisions," says DP research director James Selfe.

What the DP proposes is to use section 16 of the constitution, which empowers the state president to take control over the "own affairs" measures listed in section 14 of the constitution. This, for example, would mean that apartheid in education, health and pensions could be eliminated immediately.

So far the government has rejected this approach. Among the apartheid statutes which remain in effect are:

1 The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 is the cornerstone which creates the basis for most of the remaining apartheid statutes. It is the legislative basis for the tricameral parliament and all that falls under its direct power — the separate, racially defined government departments, racial by-elections and referendums, and the exclusion of blacks from parliament.

2 The Electoral Act of 1979 provides for the separate franchise for whites, coloureds and Indians, and none for blacks.

Take a look at the statute books — you'll find apartheid is far from dead. **GAVIN EVANS** lists some of the racial laws that still need to be scrapped or amended

3 The National States Citizenship Act of 1970 makes many blacks foreigners in the land of their birth. Its consequences have been mitigated, but not removed, by the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act of 1986. It establishes the basis for the four "independent" homelands, each of which came into being through a separate Act — the Status of Transkei Act (1976); the Status of Bophuthatswana Act (1977); the Status of Venda Act (1979); and the Status of Ciskei Act (1981).

4 The Black States Constitution Act of 1971 enables the state president to confer "self-government" on homelands and is the basis for the existence of the six "self-governing states".

5 The kwaZulu Police Act of 1980 removed the KZP from the control of the South African Police and placed them under the control of the kwaZulu homeland government.

6 The Black Administration Act of 1927 gives powers to the state president to depose tribal chiefs.

7 The Black Authorities Act of 1951 allows the state president to establish tribal, regional and territorial authorities, and describes their powers, functions and duties.

8 The Aliens Act of 1937 allows for citizens of the "independent" homelands to be deported.

9 The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 provides for separate black town and village councils.

10 The National Education Policy Act of 1967, as amended, lays down the relation between the minister of national education and the racially separate "own affairs" mini-

sters, and sets up the budgetary allocation in terms of which the government still spends four times as much on each white child's education as on each black child's. It also establishes the basis for the cumbersome three-model system of segregated education.

Four other Acts govern "own affairs" education and set up the four separate education departments. These are: the National Education Act of 1967, for whites; the Education Act for coloured persons; the Education Act for Indians; the Education and Training Act for blacks.

11 The General Pensions Act of 1979, as amended, helps provide the basis for the government's 1991 pension allocation in which blacks receive R225 a month, coloureds and Indians R263, and whites R304.

12 The Health Act of 1977, as amended, and the National Policy for Health Act of 1990 refer to the separate "own affairs" health departments created in terms of the constitution. While hospitals in the Cape are now fully integrated, the existence of separate health departments helps set the basis for the segregation that exists in certain hospitals in the Transvaal.

13 The Provincial Government Act of 1962 is the enabling legislation which validates the hundreds of discriminatory ordinances passed by the provinces over the years. Among these are ordinances regulating racially separate municipalities, local authorities and municipal voting rolls. The 1991 Interim Measures for Local Government Act allows for negotiations to alter previous local arrangements, subject to government approval.

14 The Defence Act of 1957 provides the basis for whites-only conscription. It states that all males are liable for compulsory military service except those "who are not white persons as defined in section one of the Population Registration Act of 1950". Legal opinion is divided on whether the continuing whites-only call-up is valid.

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



We're still paying for the tricam sham

ulman 23/8 - 29/8/91 (3048)

THE United Democratic Front marked its eighth anniversary this week by shutting shop. In a couple of weeks, a related but dubious anniversary takes place, also without fanfare. The tricameral parliament will be seven years old.

The UDF was formed specifically to oppose the "Koornhof Bills" and the tricam sham. Its officials and members, who paid a heavy price in their fight for a democratic system of government, will get neither pensions nor golden handshakes. They fought for a cause and they must look back on a job well done.

In another six months, all the incumbent MPs who were elected — in a manner of speaking — to the first tricameral parliament in 1984 will be preparing to laugh all the way to the bank.

Although the majority of those classified Indian and coloured refused to endorse them, MPs in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives joined their colleagues in the House of Assembly to prop up a racist, undemocratic system.

They'll be qualifying for life-long pensions, paid from taxpayers' money. As far as can be established, MPs' pensions are based on a scale of 15. The qualification period is a minimum seven-and-half-years service.

Those who entered the tricam sham in 1984, and step down now, will get 50 percent of their already hugely-inflated salaries. Those who have been in parliament and other National Party-created apartheid institutions, such as the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the South African Indian Council, for 10 years will get two-thirds. MPs who've been in one of these institutions for at least 15 years will get the equivalent of their full salary on retirement, resignation or defeat in an election.

Those are minimum figures. Increases are linked to the percentage hikes of other state pensions.

It means that those who decided to serve in an undemocratic institution, which plunged the country into unprecedented chaos and violence from which we have not fully recovered, will be rewarded handsomely for life.

Many of them don't even work a full year as MPs. In addition to their fat salaries, they get all sorts of healthy perks. They also have other sources of income — some no doubt still have their own businesses or have been appointed directors of companies.

It would be of great interest if they'd tell us exactly what "work" they do as MPs, and what other sources of income they have. For instance, it is rumoured that a House of Delegates MP has contracts to develop housing schemes. Is this what "free enterprise" is about?

Can anything be more easy and profitable, now and in the long term, than being an MP? Is it any wonder then that during the tricam election campaigns, so many candidates spent huge sums of money, legally and illegitimately, to get the few to vote for them?

Is it any wonder that they tried various methods of persuasion to get pensioners and semi-literate people to cast "special votes" (votes not cast at a polling booth on election day)? In one constituency, of some 10 percent of the registered electorate that voted, 80 percent cast "special votes", prompting Unisa academic Willem Kleynhans to declare it a world record.

And is it any wonder that no MP has heeded pleas from extra-parliamentary groups for them to resign from the tricam sham?

Little is being said publicly about the morality of giving our hard-earned money, for the rest of our lives, to people whose jobs, salaries and perks the majority of citizens did not endorse in the first place.

It's not just a straightforward case of anti-apartheid activists paying for sacrifices and collaborators gaining money. Often, activists were locked up for long periods merely because they spoke out against the collaborators. In many cases, these activists were the bread-winners for their households, and while organisations such as the South African Council of Churches and the International Defence and Aid Fund contributed to their welfare, the families really suffered financially, physically and psychologically.

Are we to hail their suffering as a price "for the cause" while we turn a blind eye to the continued prosperity of collaborators' families?

That is why the pensions issue must be placed high on the agenda when constitutional negotiations eventually get under way. Or must we continue to let evil triumph over good?

●Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of *The Indicator*.

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye

In a major move towards negotiations, the National Party has, after intensive behind-the-scenes planning by its top leaders, called a federal party congress in Bloemfontein for September 4. These federal congresses are rare occasions and only take place when major policy planning is needed, reports TOS WENTZEL of the political staff.

Nats call ^{30/11} federal party congress

LEADERS of the National Party have formulated their basic policies and plans for the new South Africa and will now involve key followers in completing the planning.

This is the significance of September's federal congress.

Details of the blueprint are not known but some Nationalist theorists are playing around with the idea of a two-chamber parliament, one a chamber elected by popular vote on a basis of proportional representation instead of the present constituency system.

They also have in mind a second chamber which could in some way reflect group interests and could perhaps provide for a minority veto over decisions of the main chamber which intimately affect the rights of any groups. There could also be a two-thirds majority provision to protect the rights of minorities.

These are involved formulas which may not be stipulated in the document that will be presented to the Bloemfontein congress but which will have to be worked out at the negotiations.

The party is also in favour of a bill of rights to protect individuals and an independent judiciary which could have interpretative rights over the constitution.



According to Mr De Klerk the new constitutional dispensation should also embody the following qualities:

- Built-in guarantees against a one-party dominated government or a dictatorship;

- A bill of human and individual rights;

- Regular elections based on constitutional stipulations;

- An economy founded on the proven principles of the free market, free enterprise, private initiative and private property ownership;

- Representation of minorities in government structures;

- The right of people who so desire to maintain a community life of their own;

- An independent judiciary, accessible to and accepted by all South Africans;

- Professional and well-trained security forces not subject to political subservience or expediency.

These will be the principles the Bloemfontein congress will have to consider.

Top Nationalist sources do not expect that detailed government proposals for the actual new constitution will be spelled out at this stage. There will still have to be a lot of give and take at negotiations and the government would not want to give away too much about this before it gets to the negotiation table.

In a way the Bloemfontein congress also signifies the start of a plan of Mr De Klerk to separate the government and the National Party for the purposes of negotiations.

DP scorns chances of slush fund body

304A
APR 24/8/91

JEAN LE MAY

Weekend Argus
Special Correspondent

THERE is "not a chance" all secret projects will be disclosed to the special "slush fund" committee appointed this week, according to Mr Ken Andrew, Democratic Party spokesman on finance.

The appointment of an ad hoc advisory committee on special projects was a "totally inadequate" response to the credibility crisis in which President F W de Klerk found himself following the Inkatha scandal, he said.

"I can't see a white-establishment group — and a pretty conservative group at that — from the private sector will enjoy any credibility at all.

"The DP view is the secret funds should be monitored by Parliament, either by the Joint Committee on Public Accounts or by a special committee of Parliament established for the purpose in order to get extra-Parliamentary input.

"Most people expect the state has to be involved in various covert operations. But the government has a bad record for dirty tricks," he added.

"This, combined with a great deal of residual arrogance on the part of the government, makes me very doubtful the slush fund committee will be able to clean up the show.

"It will report to the president and I suspect that will be the end of it. If any good comes of it I shall be very, very surprised."

The African National Congress and Cosatu were equally sceptical about the committee.

"We have appealed to the private sector not to become involved in the government's dirty work and we see no reason to change that opinion," said Mr Pallo Jordan, ANC secretary for information.

The appointment of the advisory committee on special secret projects was announced by Mr De Klerk this week. He undertook to appoint such a committee after it was disclosed that Inkatha and other political organisations had received money from secret funds.

The committee's chairman is Professor Ellison Kahn, a former vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand. Other members are Professor S A S Strauss, a law professor from the University of South Africa, Mr Jimmy McMillan, former editor of the Natal Mercury, and Mr Jan Crafford, a Pretoria chartered accountant who served as chairman of finance minister Mr Barend du Plessis's zero budgeting committee for five years.

The committee's function is to rule on whether funding political parties or organisations is in the national interest.

Constitution: All must agree

Political Correspondent
WHITES and blacks
would have to agree to a
new negotiated constitu-
tion in a referendum, ac-
cording to President F W
de Klerk.

16/8/91
CT 24/8/91
Mr De Klerk told New
Nation newspaper in an
interview published yes-
terday that if a new con-
stitution was to succeed
it had to have the sup-
port of the majority of all
South Africans.

Mr De Klerk said he
was "bound by my word
of honour" to hold a ref-
erendum on a new con-
stitution. (304n)

New peace accord thrashed out

THE Government, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed to an official draft of an historic peace accord which will be submitted for approval to a multi-party national peace convention on September 14.

The final draft of the 32-page peace accord — which establishes comprehensive mechanisms to end violence and subject the security forces to more independent supervision — was submitted last night to other parties which have not so far been involved in the negotiations to end violence.

These included the PAC, several homeland parties and most Parliamentary political parties. The only conspicuous absentees were the Conservative Party and other parties to its right.

The final draft of the peace accord agreed to this week differs from earlier published drafts in only two significant ways.

Earlier drafts provided for the three main players — the Government, Inkatha and the ANC — to be represented on all major peace structures established in the peace accord.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

In the final draft, the peripheral players appear to have exerted greater influence as there is no mention of specific parties being represented in these structures.

The second important change involves the conditions for the carrying of cultural or traditional weapons and suggests that Inkatha Freedom Party is digging in its heels on the bearing of traditional weapons at "cultural" occasions.

Where earlier drafts of the peace accord provided detailed conditions for the carrying of traditional weapons, the final draft accepts the principle that dangerous weapons should not be carried at political gatherings but leaves the details to be worked out in future negotiations.

The other key elements of the final draft are similar to those already disclosed including, among others:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds it ac-

countable to society.

- A code of conduct for political parties which obliges them to instil the values of democratic tolerance into their followers.

- An elaborate bureaucracy of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a committee to enforce the peace accord and resolve conflict at all levels.

- A statutory commission (already legislated for) to be headed by a judge to investigate the causes of violence.

- The creation of a special police unit, headed by a general, to probe alleged police misconduct.

- The establishment of a special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence.

- Special courts to deal with political violence.

The parties and organisations represented at last night's meeting at the headquarters of the Premier group in Johannesburg included the SACP, Democratic Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, various unions, KaNgwane, QwaQwa, Ciskei, Venda, Contralesa, and various employer bodies.

Moscow Lesson for SA

24/8/91
Sat 24/8/91

NOSTRADAMUS can have my job. If my week in politics had been a day at the races, I would be shirtless. Let me confess, in the hope of expunging the shame.

Those of us who spend our adult lives taking political temperatures, diagnosing and prescribing, are supposed to develop predictive powers above and beyond those of citizens in less pleasurable lines of work.

Said citizens even seek out our opinions, convinced of our sagacity. Not being a particularly shy or unopinionated breed, we normally deign to quench their curiosity.

And so it came to pass on Monday that the future of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was under the microscope. Could he — at that time still in involuntary retreat on the Black Sea coast — possibly be restored to power?

We scratched our chins and furrowed our brows. No, we declared, this was the one outcome which defied our considerable political logic and grasp of the millennia. Like Khrushchev, we said, Gorbachev was history.

I won't force myself to blush in print by recounting the formidable facts we marshalled, and the success we enjoyed in convincing our

Undercurrents
Affairs
SHAUN
JOHNSON



questioners.

The record shows that come Wednesday night we were sitting transfixed, elated and pinching ourselves, listening to short-wave radios and gawking at television images of Red Army tanks doing U-turns.

An unforgettable and, to put it no higher, humbling experience.

All of this serves to reaffirm the tenacity of something we had lost sight of: the sometimes-magnificent, sometimes-ghastly, unpredictable, of our species. Proclaim with certainty about the future actions of humanity at your peril. And this prompts a tremble of doubt about some of our own received certainties, here at home.

It is now a political cliché to say that the transition process in South Africa is "irreversible".

The events in Moscow are taken to confirm this: with the benefit of hindsight, sages announce that the Soviet "clock could not be turned

back", "reform had gone too far" — and the same principles are applied to our situation.

Our process is irreversible, according to people ranging from Gerrit Viljoen to George Bush, because there is "no alternative".

I very much hope they are right, but I have a problem with the reasoning. It might be true to say there is no *rational* alternative, but that is not the same as no *alternative*. Rationality is not one of the hallmarks of the doings of humankind.

What if our bleak assessments of the Soviet coup had been correct? What if the junta had, *a la* Tiananmen Square, blasted the protesters away and put Boris Yeltsin on trial? The Chinese regime appears to have got away with it, irrational as that fact might seem to future historians.

In South Africa, as in Russia, there is no guarantee that rationality will prevail. That is not to say the option here is something specific like a security force coup; it is to say that anything can still happen, and we'd better believe it.

To use seemingly absurd examples to illustrate the point: the Government could rearrest Mandela, or the ANC could return to the armed struggle. Unlikely, yes,

but totally impossible, no.

But the lasting lesson of Moscow is that ordinary people — for my money, more reliably rational than isolated, elevated politicians — can stop such things from happening if they try hard enough, fast enough.

History is not ineluctable, and politicians are by definition capable of doing crazy things. People power can keep them in check. Those South Africans — the vast majority, I believe — who want a fair and peaceful solution in this country should look at the brave burghers of Moscow and take note.

There is distressingly little real engagement by the populace in our own process of transition; it is being left up to the politicians to make a success or a hash of it.

I am not suggesting that we assemble outside the Union Buildings and refuse to leave until the leaders have thrashed out a deal (although, come to think of it, it might cause things to get done a lot more quickly), but that we recognise our ability to make them — all of them — more accountable to those on whose behalf they claim to speak.

And with that thought, let us end this week's chastened and refreshingly prediction-free column.

Time to scrap double-speak

A NIGHTMARE for political commentators is to try to simultaneously present the Government and the ANC's positions on a variety of issues pertaining to the process of political transition. The first problem one encounters in this regard is the fact that these parties stridently resist using the same names for almost anything, even if they are virtually talking about the same thing.

Firstly, the Government uses the term "multiparty conference" to describe a gathering of all the parties that have agreed to take part in constitutional negotiations leading to the drawing up of a new, hopefully democratic, constitution for post-apartheid South Africa.

For a conference with the same aim, the ANC uses the term "all-party conference". Therefore, to present their views, a commentator has to write something like this: multiparty/all-party conference.

Secondly, the ANC uses the term "constituent assembly" for a body that will be responsible for drawing up the new constitution. Because the Government is vehemently against the notion of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, or even proportional representation, it makes it a point to avoid the name "constituent assembly" at all costs.

Instead, it uses the term "negotiating forum". Note that in actual fact, the Government should not be against the term "constituent assembly" as such, but should be against the manner in which members of the CA are selected. But, in order to put the issue beyond doubt, it avoids the term "constituent assembly".

Thirdly, since the Government-Inkatha secret funding scandal, there is an intensified debate about the need for what

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



the ANC calls an interim government or an interim government of national unity. According to the ANC, the Government needs to resign and hand over power to an interim government which would then oversee the process of political transition and prepare for the holding of elections.

The Government rejects the notion of resigning and handing over power before a new constitution is in place. It is, however, prepared to discuss with the ANC and others, a mechanism (not clearly defined) whereby the ANC and other parties would be included in the legislative and executive levels of the existing Government.

Of late, the Government sometimes uses the term "interim transitional arrangement" or "interim transitional authority" to describe what it wants.

Finally, the Government favours a future constitution that will provide for maximum devolution of power to regional governments. It studiously avoids calling this arrangement a federal arrangement. The ANC, probably suspecting that devolution of power to regions is a ploy to weaken central government, retains the territorial integrity of existing homelands and sometimes prefers to use the expression "bringing government closer to the people".

The ANC, like the Government, also studiously avoids the use of the term "federation".

When the two parties begin to use the same codewords during negotiations, we will perhaps be able to say the constitutional settlement is closer.

Peace on track

■ From Page 2

C/pren

25/8/91

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However, there still seems to be differences of opinion between the ANC and the IFP about the carrying of traditional weapons. Efforts will be made to solve this issue before September 14.

The Continuation Committee of business leaders, church leaders and politicians who have signed the National Peace Accord, will be transformed into a permanent National Peace Commission (NPC).

A neutral chairman and deputy chairman will be appointed from the ranks of business and church leaders, while representatives of each party will be co-opted on to the NPC.

The NPC will monitor the application of the accord and settle differences.

The NPC will take decisions by consensus and a meeting of national leaders of the parties will be called when consensus cannot be reached.

Differences in the interpretation of the code will be referred to arbitration.

A National Peace Secretariat (NPS) with regional and local conflict resolution committees will be formed to counter violence. Initially the committees will be voluntary bodies but they will later become statutory bodies.

The NPS will consist of four full-time members nominated by the signatories and one representative of the Department of Justice. The NPS will report to the National Peace Commission.

Regional conflict resolution committees will consist of representatives of all the involved political organisations, churches, trade unions, local associations of trade and industry, local management bodies and the police.

Local conflict resolution committees, consisting of representatives of the signatories, will try to create confidence and reconciliation between local communities, the police and the SADF.

They will co-operate with justices of the peace to combat violence and intimidation and settle differences which could lead to violence.

They will try to eliminate conditions which could impair peace, draw up rules for marches and political rallies and liaise with the local police and magistrate on marches and the prevention of violence.

More justices of the peace will be appointed in consultation with the signatories and local committees on grassroots level to promote peace and assist local committees.

'We need them, they need us'

THESE are hopeful signs on the horizon.

Both the Nationalists and the ANC, the main participants in negotiations, are now committed to a justiciable bill of rights, to an independent judiciary, to universal adult suffrage, while an electoral system of proportional representation is receiving favourable consideration.

There is no consensus on the devolution of power from the centre under a federal system, nor is there agreement on the proposal for two legislative chambers — one of the important checks and balances in the constitution of the United States. And there still appears to be some equivocation from the ANC, though less than this time last year, regarding nationalisation of the economy.

Perhaps what we need most of all is a culture of democracy. A bill of rights is redundant if it is not respected by the population and if it is not enforceable.

Many countries signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Not many have

STW 25/8/91 HELEN SUZMAN finds important reasons to be hopeful (30c4)

honoured the letter or the spirit of that document.

Most of the countries on the continent of Africa are signatories to the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. Most of them have committed the most flagrant violations of human rights, according to Africa Watch, the human rights organisation based in New York.

With all these recollections of violence, unemployment, poverty, housing backlogs, Inkathagate and so on, why then do I feel that we can be hopeful about the future? We must remember that we have something that the rest of Africa does not have, which is essentially a first-world base.

We have a functioning economy which the Eastern Europeans do not have — and solid infrastructure in the form of roads and railways and plenty of electricity-generating capacity. We have achieved remarkable tech-

nological advances. We have a noteworthy number of innovative citizens and a capacity for the different races to work together.

And despite all the obstacles placed in their way, blacks have achieved some remarkable advances in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy.

All this brings us back to the underlying South African reality that no amount of racial legislation has been able to change — the interdependence of black and white on one another (or as the Fagan Commission pointed out long ago in simple language, "We need them and they need us") and the total integration of our economy.

At long last our political leaders are not trying to use the political system to maintain a straitjacket of segregation on top of an integrated economy. So for the first time in our history, political and constitutional develop-

ment are moving in the same direction as social and economic trends, instead of trying to turn the clock back.

Except for the constitution itself, which can obviously only be changed once a new one is ready to be enacted in its place as a result of negotiation, we will have accomplished the dismantling of all the pillars of apartheid without going through the immense destruction, both of lives and of the economy, that a revolution would entail. For many years, many people here and most people abroad took the view that South Africa could not and would not change without a revolution.

Notwithstanding the violence among blacks in the townships and notwithstanding the deplorable goings-on at Ventersdorp a couple of weeks ago, I am convinced that the vast majority of South Africans of all races want to live in a country free of intimidation and violence.

● Extract from Helen Suzman's presidential address to the SA Institute of Race Relations this week

WITHIN a few weeks, if all goes well, the major political parties will endorse an agreement to curb violence which, in addition to setting up its own enforcement mechanisms, also places on politicians a duty of restraint and mutual tolerance. It will mark an extraordinary triumph of reason and liberal principle.

At about the same time, if things go wrong on another front, the frail craft of negotiated compromise may be overtaken by the tides of conflict building up over value added tax. Cosatu and the ANC, with their various allies, have rejected the concessions offered by Finance Minister Barond du Plessis, saying they were "not negotiated".

This points precisely, I think, to the real issue: the ANC and its allies are pressing for an interim government without much hope of succeeding. As Helen Suzman said this week, it would amount to a transfer of power before any constitutional safeguards were in place. There is no prospect that President De Klerk will yield to this demand.

Instead, both sides are moving towards acceptance of some kind of interim sharing of power while negotiations proceed. This is the new battleground: the ANC and its allies want

the government to negotiate almost every major step it takes, the government insists on governing.

The phrase "failure to negotiate" has been cropping up with greater frequency lately, as the ANC probed for weakness, but in VAT it has found the perfect issue: a government which loses the power to tax loses the power to govern. If the government can be forced to concede that it must consult the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP before it can impose tax, it can be frustrated in every policy it undertakes.

The ANC appears to have been slow to recognise the potential of VAT as an instrument of attack. It did not initially protest, nor even take much notice — until the white middle-class consumers, with the mischievous backing of the CP, and the self-interested intervention of merchants and profit-making hospitals, launched a major battle. Then it saw its chance.

Cosatu, too, came late but it is now making the running. Mr Jay Naidoo, the general secretary, has served notice of all-out war, talking darkly of "national disaster" if the government does not sit down first and negotiate. That demand would tie the government into a process of joint examination of, say, defence spending, dirty tricks, cabinet ministers' perks, and

304th ST Times 25/8/91. **KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY**



heaven knows what else. I don't see how any government could yield on such a matter.

The question, then, is whether the government might defuse the issue by retreating from VAT, postponing it or exempting food and medical services. The climb-down would be spectacular, but that's the least of it. For one thing, the pressure to compel prior negotiation would simply shift elsewhere.

much diminished, as this battle over taxes demonstrates.

The aspirations of black people are soaring, and that genie will not be put back in the bottle; at the same time, a substantial transfer of wealth from whites to blacks has left white taxpayers without savings, struggling to maintain living standards and increasingly resentful.

At the bottom end of the social scale, this has driven many into the Conservative Party, and the recent rumbles of anger over sharply increased municipal rates have ominous political implications.

The underlying problem is intractable. A population explosion, combined with decades of social neglect, has generated immense social needs: for housing, for schools, for teachers, for doctors, for pensions, for transport.

To meet these needs, the government can effectively look to only about 1.5-million registered taxpayers. Of these, only 205 000 have incomes above R50 000 a year. We are running out of white fat cats.

THE gold mines, squeezed between high wages and low prices, have ceased to generate significant tax revenues; industry and business are already taxed to the point where they are vulnerable to foreign competitors; GST leaks so badly that it is more capricious than effective. And yet the government continues to run up deficits, so that its biggest cost is payment of interest on debt.

If tax on income has reached the limits of utility, the only answer is a more effective tax on consumption. On

this point, there is no doubt that VAT is a better tax than GST, inasmuch as it is fairer, and that its effect after an adjustment period would tend to be deflationary, not inflationary. Shoppers would pay more for groceries, but less for other commodities, and the stimulation of exports would bring an end to the recession closer.

But the pressure became too much for the government, and the finance minister quickly put together a compromise package which made matters worse. He lowered VAT, for example, but substituted a higher petrol price (which is indeed inflationary), thus arousing a powerful new lobby, the motorists.

And, even though he threw a sop to the trade unions, exempting their dues, they showed no gratitude. Sensing weakness, they renewed their demand: negotiate, or else.

There is one aspect of the equation which has not been considered: cutting government expenditure to fit its revenue. Personally, I would like to send a ferocious private sector hatchetman to shut down great areas of government, and to sell off its property at whatever price the market would pay, but there is no hope of that.

The National Party — the national socialist party, to be precise — is a

party of bureaucrats, who move slowly, deliberately, and with infinite patience to protect their interests during the wider reconstruction of the society. We have seen how the useless — in fact, counter-productive — dirty tricks programmes linger.

There are dozens of other departments, projects, programmes, subsidies, controls and regulatory agencies that exist only to employ their staff and to feed contracts to favourites in the private sector. Unhappily, they are unlikely to go away, but to expand to accommodate the ANC's need for patronage.

THAT brings us back to deadlock. What Mr Naidoo seems to be suggesting is something in the nature of a national strike, "heightened conflict" that might wreck the new-born peace pact, and even damage the prospects for negotiation.

More to the point, a violent test of strength must surely put off the economic recovery which is, in the end, the only way to meet the rising expectations that accompany political change. Unless that recovery comes, and comes soon, the prospect is for stagnation, or inflation, or both.

Let's hope that peace pact works.

Yes to draft p-

Special Correspondent

A COMPREHENSIVE draft peace accord for South Africa was approved in Johannesburg on Friday.

It involves most of the political parties and organisations, church leaders, business leaders, trade unions and even the so-called self-governing territories.

The rightwing, however, was not present at the talks.

Parties were given the opportunity to comment on the draft accord before September 14. *clp/en 25/8/91*

The final version will be discussed and hopefully approved on this date at the National Peace Summit.

The initiating committee of the National Peace Initiative – in which the government/National Party, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have until now been the key players – met on Friday at the head office of Premier Mlingisi in Killarney, Johannesburg.

The meeting was called to discuss the draft peace accord – agreed upon last week by the key players – with other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, trade unions and homeland representatives.

The PAC and Cosatu attended the meeting, but not Azapo, the Conservative Party and other rightwing groups. KaNgwane and QwaQwa were represented, while Venda and Ciskei sent observers.

The draft accord provides for codes of conduct by the SAP and political parties; a system of monitoring under the supervision of a National Peace Committee; a statutory commission to investigate the causes of violence; a police council to advise on policy for policing; and a special police unit to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the police.

The accord also provides for the appointment of ombudsmen on a regional level to investigate misconduct by police, to investigate acts of political violence, and the introduction of special courts which will handle political violence.

According to reliable sources the ANC, the government and the IFP agreed on Wednesday in Durban that no dangerous weapons or firearms may be taken to political meetings or be carried or shown during political marches.

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Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herby Street, Johannesburg.

peace plan

Nats set the pace with proposals on constitution

Political Staff and Sapa **ARC 26/8/91** **304A**

ALL indications are that the National Party has decided to set the pace on constitutional proposals in the run-up to a multiparty conference.

It became known at the weekend that the NP plans to reveal a package of constitutional proposals within 10 days.

One of the recommendations is to replace the single presidential head of state by a council of three to five members.

The NP's proposals — described yesterday by the party's new secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, as not necessarily the final draft — are to be tabled at a special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

Dr Van der Merwe said, however, the proposals were not "startlingly new" and that what the party had done was to put together the constitutional thoughts of the past 18 months or so into a coherent plan.

Asked if the NP would also be presenting its negotiating strategy for approval by the federal congress, Dr van der Merwe said if this happened it would be a "by-product".

The main purpose of the congress was to ratify the constitutional plan.

He confirmed the NP had decided to present its constitutional plan to its membership now because of the new sense of urgency in the negotiation process.

Emphasising that no final constitutional plan had been drafted, Dr Van der Merwe said one of the critical areas being worked on was how minorities would be represented in the proposed upper chamber of the legislature.

Political observers agree this crucial area of group representation will determine how widely the NP plan is accepted by other political groups.

This latest development confirms a report on Friday that the NP had shifted its organisational and policy programme into top gear.

Senior party sources were quoted as saying that the matter had become more vital since a multiparty conference was expected to follow the signing of an all-party peace accord in Johannesburg on September 14.

The NP proposals include:

- A multiparty Cabinet made up of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- Two houses of parliament;
- Proportional representation instead of the winner-takes-all model in the first house of parliament; parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on the number of constituencies won;
- Nine regions, each with its own "government";
- New municipal boundaries so that all racial groups would be administered by single municipal councils.
- A democratic state with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race, and
- One person one vote, without group domination.

Meanwhile, reports from the Northern Transvaal were that Cabinet members and MECs gave several clear hints — on vital issues — in Pietersburg on Saturday of the government's future negotiating stance.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis told a regional congress of the NP that the government had no intention of handing over power.

He said political and economic reform had to go together.

Mr Du Plessis insisted that there could be no lasting peaceful solution to the country's political problems without a healthy economy.

He said factors such as increased productivity and better management at all levels were therefore receiving urgent attention, as they were vital in fighting inflation and other economic ills.

NP plans to share the Cabinet, and the presidency, in its new SA

THE NP is close to its final constitutional blueprint, which scraps the current single presidential head of state for an executive council of three to five members.

It also breaks from SA tradition by proposing a multiparty Cabinet from parties with "sufficient support" and the use of a proportional representation system to elect members to one of two Houses of Parliament.

The plan is to be put to the NP's special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

A senior NP source confirmed that details of the plan — first disclosed in yesterday's Rapport — were "mostly correct".

It is understood that the draft constitution could still be adjusted and a completed version will be made public the day before the federal congress.

It has given rise to speculation that a referendum could be called sooner than expected. President F W de Klerk has promised to put any NP plan to the electorate before a new constitution is in place.

Government has been cautious, however, about the timing and senior figures have indicated the referendum could be called at almost any stage of negotiations.

It is clear the party is moving fast to address criticisms that it has no vision of what the "new SA" will look like.

Political Staff

Various aspects of the proposals have been aired before but never combined in one document.

The party's draft constitution overlaps considerably with the ANC thinking shown in its discussion document earlier this year, but differs sharply by dividing the country into nine regions, each with its own "government". It is unclear whether the plan is a move towards federalism.

President De Klerk has hinted strongly in recent speeches at decentralised government, and in Natal last week twice made reference to the province in future

having more say in the way it was run.

The ANC envisages a heavily centralised system with as much power as possible in the hands of a president, the Cabinet and Parliament.

Key elements of the proposals are:

- A multiparty Cabinet made up of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- Two Houses of Parliament;
- Proportional representation instead of the current winner-takes-all model in the first House of Parliament;
- Nine regions with their own "governments".

□ New municipal boundaries so that all race groups would be administered by single municipal councils;

□ A democratic state with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race; and

□ One person one vote without group domination.

TIM COHEN reports that DP leader Zake Beer said yesterday he was delighted that the NP had apparently taken over almost all of his party's constitutional proposals but this would not tempt him to join the NP.

He was happy with the DP's watchdog role, he said.

THE talk in SA today is about peace and an end to covert political activity. In this new era, the inside story of a "highlight" of the secret war between the ANC and the SA state can now be told — the unmasking of former police spy Craig Williamson.

Williamson's spying career, according to interviews with ANC sources and with Williamson himself, was ended by a series of comical errors of understanding and judgment — by everyone other than Williamson.

Williamson, it will be recalled, returned to SA in January 1980 from Geneva with his handler, then security police chief Brig Johan Coetzee, in a blaze of publicity. He had been employed there for just over three years by the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), which was an important funder of the ANC and anti-apartheid groups inside SA.

Williamson began his spying career at something of a disadvantage. When he arrived at Wits University in the early '70s, it was impossible for him to hide the fact that he had completed his national service in the SAP. His strategy was to be quite open about this.

The result was that attitudes towards him were ambivalent. In the absence of firm evidence, Williamson was cautiously accepted by most, although not all, of his colleagues on the Wits SRC and then the Nusas executive.

The IUEF's role as a funder of Nusas gave Williamson — a former Nusas treasurer — an "in" to the organisation when, in late 1976, he was instructed to become more ambitious in his activities and "fled" the country.

By the time he left Geneva with Coetzee — who eventually became police commissioner — Williamson had been appointed to the post of deputy to the IUEF director Lars-Gunnar Erikson.

In Geneva, Williamson had adopted the same open approach to his "temporary" career in the SAP as he had at Wits. He could hardly have done otherwise.

According to the ANC, Williamson quickly moved to befriend personalities in the organisation. He did this through his sociable manner and also by supplying intelligence, including information about some double-dealing on the part of IUEF.

The IUEF had promised the ANC it would no longer channel funds to the rival black consciousness movement and other such groups. However, it continued funding some of them, and Williamson passed this information on to the ANC.

He eventually applied for membership of the ANC — a step which put the organisation in an extremely embarrassing position. This was because the official ANC attitude towards Williamson was as ambivalent as that of his Nusas colleagues. The difference was that since the ANC ran covert military and political operations, the stakes were a lot higher. At the same time, there was no evidence that Williamson was actually a spy, and there can be no more terrible thing, in such circumstances, than to treat an ally as a traitor.

So, the story goes, while the ANC did not ever formally grant Williamson membership, it also took great care not to "insult" him by allowing him to become aware of the suspicions.

ANC investigations into Williamson, including inquiries among his acquaintances in SA, were fruitless.

Spy's cover was blown in a curious comedy of errors

ALAN FINE

8 Day 26/8/91



□ WILLIAMSON



□ COETZEE



□ MBEKI



□ MAHARAJ

The man who — quite unconsciously — set in motion the train of events which led to the aborting of Williamson's spying career was ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj.

Some time in 1979 Williamson handed to Maharaj, who was passing through Europe, a copy of the IUEF's SA funding proposals for the following year. He was to deliver them to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Since the ANC was the IUEF's primary SA contact, the ANC was traditionally given the right to comment on the IUEF's SA budget.

Maharaj put the envelope in his pocket, and promptly forgot all about it. The proposals never reached Lusaka.

The Swedish government, the most important funder of the IUEF

and a long-time ally of the ANC, was particularly interested in the ANC's views. Indeed, it required ANC comment before it would hand over the funds to the IUEF.

There followed a period of confusion, with the Swedes getting impatient at the ANC's lack of cooperation, and the ANC repeatedly saying it had not received the necessary documentation.

Eventually, this forced a meeting between Thabo Mbeki and a Swedish diplomat based in Lusaka. Given his central role in this chain of events, the discussion naturally turned to Williamson. Mbeki — in his usual diplomatic manner — explained the ANC's view that Williamson was a friend of the organisation although one about whom there were certain reservations.

The Swedish diplomat misconstrued what Mbeki had told him, and wrote to his foreign service superiors saying bluntly that the ANC did not trust Williamson. This, the ANC says, was a misrepresentation of Mbeki's words (although, from its point of view, a fortunate one).

The Swedish officials in Stockholm promptly showed the letter to Erikson, Williamson's superior and friend. Erikson, whose loyalty towards his employee could not be faulted, passed it on to Williamson.

Erikson's act prompted two developments. Firstly, Williamson embarrassed certain ANC acquaintances by confronting them and demanding an explanation of how they could think of him this way, in the light of all the funding assistance and covert intelligence he had given them.

But more importantly, according to the ANC, Williamson notified Coetzee, who immediately flew to Europe to try and salvage the situation.

Coetzee's first stop was a meeting with Erikson. Prior to that, it seems, Erikson was still uncertain about the accusations against Williamson. Coetzee's arrival confirmed them.

Coetzee apparently tried to convince Erikson to co-operate. Coetzee argued that he (Erikson), a Swedish social democrat, was as anti-communist as was the SA government, and he should therefore allow Williamson to continue his spying activities on what he called the communist-dominated ANC.

According to Williamson, when Coetzee approached Erikson his intention was not to convince him to allow Williamson to remain in IUEF service, but to let him withdraw quietly.

Williamson confirms that Coetzee did try to convince Erikson that there was a certain commonality of anti-communist interest — if not between the IUEF and the SA government, then at least between the IUEF and certain (unnamed) Western intelligence agencies which used the IUEF in the Cold War struggle.

The point was that, if Williamson's true allegiances were made public, the IUEF would not survive, which would put Erikson out of a job. But Erikson, Williamson confirmed, refused to co-operate.

There are also suggestions — whose details are unclear — that Coetzee then attempted to blackmail Erikson into co-operating. But Erikson again refused.

Williamson and his handler then had no choice but to pull out of Europe as Erikson went public, and that was the end of Williamson's undercover career.

The final error, possibly, was Coetzee's. Had he not arrived in Geneva and confirmed Williamson's loyalties, the uncertain ANC might have simply given Williamson a mumbled apology for the "misunderstanding" and allowed him to continue.

Williamson says the Swedish problem might have been resolved. He showed Business Day a letter from Mbeki to him, dated October 5, 1979, in which Mbeki assured Williamson that the ANC did not believe he was a spy. However, this does not contradict the ANC's explanation that while suspicions existed no one wanted to accuse Williamson without proof.

Williamson's and the ANC's version of these events are in accord in all significant respects. However, Williamson says there were two other events which occurred at the same time — of which the ANC was unaware — which made his withdrawal from Europe necessary.

The first involved a senior Zimbabwe African National Union official — he later became a junior cabinet minister — who took a dislike to Williamson for the latter's "pro-Zapu" stance and began spreading rumours that Williamson was a spy. Williamson's apparent predilection for Joshua Nkomo's Zapu stemmed from the ANC/Zapu alliance in pre-independence Zimbabwe.

But the most serious problem, Williamson said, was that a former National Intelligence Service (NIS) operative, Arthur McGiven, who had been a colleague of Williamson's on the Wits SRC, was threatening to "tell all". "All" would certainly have included the unmasking of Williamson.

NP close to final blueprint

3044

CT 26/8/91

Political Staff

DURBAN — The National Party is close to its final constitutional blueprint, which scraps the current single presidential head of state for an executive council of three to five members.

It also breaks from South African tradition by proposing a multi-party cabinet of members from parties with "sufficient support" and the use of a proportional representation system to elect members to one of two houses of Parliament.

The plan is to be put to the NP's special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

A senior NP source confirmed yesterday that details of the plan — first disclosed in yesterday's Rapport — were "mostly correct".

It is understood that the draft constitution could still be adjusted within the next few days and a completed version will be made public the day before the federal congress.

It has given rise to speculation that a referendum could be called sooner than anticipated. President F W de Klerk, under fire for reforming without a mandate, has promised to put any NP plan to the electorate before a new constitution is in place.

The government has, however, been cautious about the timing of this and senior figures have indicated that the referendum could be called at almost any stage during negotiations.

An NP source said yesterday that he was disappointed that the details had been leaked to the media, but it is clear that the party is moving fast to address criticisms that it has no vision of what the "new South Africa" will look like.

Various aspects of the proposals re-

vealed at the weekend have been aired before, particularly at past NP congresses, but never combined in one document.

The party's draft constitution overlaps considerably with ANC thinking revealed earlier this year in its "discussion document". However, it differs sharply by dividing the country into nine regions, each with its own "government". Details of this are fuzzy and it is not clear whether the plan is in fact a move towards federalism.

President De Klerk has hinted heavily at decentralised government in recent speeches, and in Natal last week twice made reference to the province in future having more say in the way it is run.

The ANC envisages a heavily centralised system with as much power as possible in the hands of a president, the cabinet and Parliament.

Democratic state

Key elements of the proposals are:

- A multi-party cabinet made up of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- Two houses of Parliament;
- Proportional representation instead of the current winner-takes-all model in the first house of Parliament — parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on the number of constituencies won;
- Nine regions, each with its own "government";
- New municipal boundaries so that all race groups would be administered by single municipal councils;
- A democratic state with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race, and;
- One person one vote without group domination.

Aiming at a shared cabinet

30417
CT 26/8/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party was aiming to become part of a European-style, multi-party coalition government under a new constitution, the party's chief strategist and newly appointed Secretary-General, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night.

He was commenting on the still incomplete draft constitutional proposals the National Party will debate at a hastily convened federal congress in Bloemfontein next week.

The NP's blueprint for the future, which the party will take to the negotiating table, includes a number of features that will drastically alter the powers of central government and ensure multi-party control over some of the critical levers of power.

Dr Van der Merwe said he was confident that if the NP's plans for a new South Africa were propagated properly, the party could win the country's first non-racial election.

However, even if the NP won the poll and the ANC came, say, second, the NP now believed that the ANC and other parties who fared well in the election should be given a say in decision-making.

"We need a participatory democracy so that we don't end up with a winner-takes-all system in South Africa," he said.

President F W de Klerk said at the weekend that

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Nat plan

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the NP aimed to be part of a new central government with considerably less power than at present.

Speaking in Maritzburg in his capacity as leader of the National Party, Mr De Klerk appeared to rule out demands from the right for a white election and calls from the left for an elected constituent assembly by saying the next real party-political contest in the country would be a referendum over which value system South Africans supported.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the NP's proposals had moved close to many of the DP's own proposals but greater clarity was needed in several areas, particularly regarding a federal system.

● NP close to final blueprint — Page 7

Nats unveil future South Africa ideal

Sowetan 26/8/91 304A

THE National Party will within 10 days - on September 4 - reveal to its supporters, black and white, the constitutional model and proposals it will take to the negotiation table.

With this, the NP will take its second leap into the present - where talk surrounds non-racialism, participatory democracy, one-person-one-vote, the protection of individual rights under a Bill of Rights and a parliamentary system which will prevent the abuse of power.

While the NP's biggest departure from its dinosaurian policy of whites-only control of the black majority was its opening of ranks to all races last year, next week's proposals are, in terms of its constitutional evolution, the second time the ruling party has offered to effectively (and ultimately, totally) share power.

Nonracial

Eight years ago the Constitution Act of 1983 came into being, and "coloured" and Indian people were for the first time allowed a role - albeit selectively - in the central government.

With the new proposals, subject at this stage only to approval by the party's provincial congresses, the NP has set its sights on creating a massive nonracial party that intends winning a comfortable proportion of the votes in a general election at the end of what is expected to be a protracted period of negotiations.

The plan, in its present stage, appears largely based on the American and German systems of federal government.

The proposals are also remarkable in that through them the NP

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

moves very close to the ideas the ANC has expressed over the past few months.

The proposals bring together the ANC and the NP, billed as the major players in the country's unfolding democracy, on certain issues on a future political dispensation for South Africa; but even this confluence is contingent on actual negotiations.

The obvious similarity is that both parties, including all the parties to the left of the NP, believe there should be no apartheid in a future South Africa.

Proposals

Deducing from the NP's constitutional proposals which were made public at the weekend, both parties have tacitly agreed on a parliamentary system of proportional representation - which means that the electorate will be represented in the executive by candidates put up by the parties in specific regions and not on the basis of how many constituencies the parties can win.

Both parties also appear to

have reached a confluence on the issue of a bicameral parliament (two chambers).

The two appear also to be moving closer on the issue of a Bill of Rights, the constitution being the highest authority and that the individual is protected from the State by the constitution.

During the course of this week the NP will iron out the wrinkles and smooth over the rough edges of its proposals.

One of the cornerstones of the NP's game plan is proportional representation: roughly translated, the majority party will not rule exclusively.

Another aspect of the NP's plan is the concept of rule by law and the protection of all citizens by the constitution of the country - a concept which at this stage appears to be loosely based on the American system.

Protection

In terms of the NP's plan, the government of the day will be held in check by the constitution to ensure the protection of the right to freedom and liberty of all citizens of the country.

According to the NP mouthpiece published in Johannesburg yesterday, the NP's new proposals include:

- A Cabinet made up of all parties with "enough support" and not just the majority party;

- An executive college made up of three to five members as opposed to a single leader;

- Two Houses - based perhaps on the American or German models;

- Proportional representation - parties will be represented according to their total support nationwide and not on the basis of constituencies it has won;

- The country is divided into

nine regions each with its own regional government. This includes newly defined municipal boundaries, which provide for nonracial local government; and

- A "democracy" based on one person, one vote, wherein race will play no role and wherein there will be "no apartheid and no discrimination".

The proposals, which were drawn up by the NP's federal council, were approved by the party leadership last week.

The NP will reveal its game plan for a new South Africa, which it will take to the negotiating table, at a snap federal congress on September 4.

Policies

A senior Cabinet source recently told *Sowetan* that the NP had no problems with the idea of it becoming a majority black party.

Such an NP, he said, could even elect a black leader.

"Anybody who agrees with the National Party's policies can become a member. And if we win the majority of the votes in a free and fair election based on one man one vote - and we intend to - we could be obliged to be a majority black party," he said.

With its new proposals, the NP has put itself on the road to winning that black majority.

The proposals advocate, by implication, a free market economy with enough checks and balances to ensure that no single party dominates - all of which is subject to the actual negotiation process.

As the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said at a recent briefing: "The mere fact that you are involved in negotiations means that you are not bound to your own position."

Basically our policy - DP

Right-wings

Mixed reaction from political organisations today greeted the National Party's constitutional master plan, which proposes the scrapping of the current single presidential head of state in favour of an executive council of three to five members.

The plan will be put to the NP's special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

It proposes, among other things, an executive council of three to five members to replace the present presidential system, a multiparty Cabinet made of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support, two Houses of Parliament, a federal system with nine regions, and one-person one-vote without group domination.

In their reaction today, extra-parliamentary organisations said the new plan, details of which were published in Rapport yesterday, was devised to protect white interests, the Conservative Party (CP) dismissed it as "totally unacceptable", and the Democratic Party (DP) welcomed it.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said apart from the proposal for an executive council to run the country, the NP's master plan was "established DP policy". The

DP, he said, had long stood for a federal government and all the other things mentioned in the NP plan, and his party now welcomed the NP's "conversion".

"The major difference between us and the NP has until now been the need for a federal government. We can now claim that the policy for which we stood, the policy for which incidentally Inkatha and some people in the ANC stood, has triumphed," Dr de Beer said.

He said although the executive council of three to five members could be "a way out of an otherwise intractable problem", it was not something he would choose.

Respond

He was not opposed to it "in principle", but he believed South Africa needed an executive presidency with limited powers.

"I will issue a statement later today, but all I can say now is that it (the NP plan) is totally unacceptable," was all CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht would say.

The ANC was "looking at their (the Government's) plan" and would respond to it once the plan had been discussed, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said.

The president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Pandelani Nefolovhwe, said there were "lots

of areas" which were controversial in the plan.

"The fact is that after having ruled this country on the basis of a minority and along the lines of winner-takes-all, the NP now wants us to forego that system. They merely want to protect white interests," Mr Nefolovhwe said.

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the NP plan had "four or five defects". Some of these, he said, were that their proposal was for a federal government, the executive council system would not work, and one-person one-vote without domination was "nonsense".

The plan, he said, was "obviously meant to disperse power as much as possible".

The proposals — which the party's new secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday were not the final draft — are to be tabled at a special federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4.

Dr van der Merwe said, however, that the proposals were not "startlingly new" and that what the party had done was to put together the constitutional thoughts of the last 18 months or so into a coherent plan.

Asked if the NP would also present its negotiating strategy for approval by the federal congress, Dr van der

fury at Nat

blueprint

Star 26/8/91

304A

NP unveils its master plan for new SA

304A From Page 1

Merwe said that if this happened it would be a "by-product". The main purpose of the congress was to ratify the constitutional plan.

He confirmed that the NP had decided to present its constitutional plan to its members, because of the new sense of urgency which had entered negotiations.

Dr van der Merwe said one of the critical areas still being worked on was how minorities would be represented in the proposed upper chamber of the legislature.

Political observers agree that this crucial area of group representation will determine how widely the NP plan is accepted by other political groups.

This latest development confirms a report in The Star on Friday that the NP had shifted its programme into top gear.

Senior party sources were quoted as saying the matter had

become more vital since a multiparty conference was expected to follow the signing of an all-party peace accord in Johannesburg on September 14.

The NP proposals include:

- A multiparty Cabinet made up of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support.
- Two Houses of Parliament.
- Proportional representation instead of the current winner-takes-all model in the first House of Parliament. Parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on constituencies won.
- Nine regions, each with its own "government".
- New municipal boundaries so that all racial groups would be administered by single municipal councils.
- A democratic state with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race.
- One person, one vote, without group domination.

Cabinet members gave several clear hints in Pietersburg on

Saturday of the Government's future negotiating stance.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis told a regional congress of the NP that the Government had no intention of handing over power.

Mr du Plessis insisted that there could be no lasting peaceful solution to the country's political problems without a healthy economy, and such factors as increased productivity and better management at all levels were therefore receiving urgent attention.

Minister of Land Affairs Jacob de Villiers said the granting of property rights to a larger percentage of people had brought aspirations and fears which had to be addressed.

This development had also necessitated the creation of a financial aid scheme for new landowners, but the overall result would be greater participation by more people in the economy. — Political Staff, Sapa, Northern Transvaal Bureau.

Parys meeting will determine Nat tactics

Star 26/8/91.

Northern
Transvaal Bureau (304A)

PIETERSBURG — Tonight's National Party meeting in Parys would determine the future attitude of the party leadership to threatening right-wing elements, Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis told the Northern Transvaal NP congress on Saturday.

Referring to a recent agreement he made in the wake of the Ventersdorp violence with AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche regarding future attendance of rightwingers at NP meetings, Mr du Plessis reiterated that anyone would be welcome.

However, they had to

abide to accepted procedures.

"Nationalists don't need such agreements — they automatically observe the rules."

He claimed Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht was obliged to take full responsibility for the Ventersdorp violence.

He rejected the insistence by Mr Terre-Blanche last week that members of an audience be allowed to propose a motion and elect their own chairman.

"That was not part of our agreement. The democratic procedure is to listen to the speaker at a public meeting before asking questions and proposing any motion."

Soft words of pride and passion

Star 26/8/91

304A

A CARD-CARRYING AWB member is hard to find, and seeking one out among the mourners at last week's AWB funeral in Orkney was more difficult than I anticipated.

The bulk of rightwingers at an AWB gathering are in fact members of the Conservative Party, if members of anything.

George van der Smit (76), silently watching proceedings in Orkney's shadeless cemetery, looked to me like a genuine "Boer" — an old veld hat covering his tired eyes.

Expecting the usual dismissive treatment meted out to the inquisitive "Engelse pers", I was pleasantly surprised.

Here was a real "Boer" — displaying a grandfatherly charm, yet fired with pride and passion about the land his Dutch ancestors claimed as their own.

Mr van der Smit is one of the original card-carrying AWB members — and his eight children have all grown up committed to a "Boer nation".

He raised cattle in "South West Africa" before retiring to Potchefstroom in 1973. "It was a sad day when I sold my farm, but I could see the blacks were going to take over.

"Now the same is happening here and there is nowhere to go, so we must fight. We must fight to the death for our land."

It was only three years after arriving in South Africa that Mr van der Smit became a member of the AWB, having supported the National Party until 1976, when he became disillusioned

AWB member "Oom" George is not a stereotyped khaki-clad firearm-carrying demagogue. HELEN GRANGE reports.

by "deceit and traitorism".

During the 1940s, Mr van der Smit had been a member of the Ossewa Brandwag.

Like many "Boers" in the AWB, he is passionately aware of his own ancestral history — related by him as a history of persecution by the British and fear of the threat of "black communist" revolution.

"My father was a teacher from Holland, and when the Boer War broke out, he joined the Boer Kommandos and fought bravely against the British. My mother is directly descended from an Afrikaner called Prinsloo, who was hanged as a traitor by the British because he fought for Boer independence.

"How, after our people gave their lives for this country, can we just hand it over?"

He gazes at the yellow veld: "We don't want to suppress blacks, you know. We just want our own piece of land." And for this, Mr van der Smit says, he and his family are willing to die.

But Mr van der Smit must get home to his wife and children. He takes my arm and walks to the waiting bus, shaking my hand before climbing up. He has enjoyed the chat. □

The average AWB guy

'wants to be responsible'

Star 26/8/91

ANDRE Schoeman, naartjie farmer and butcher, describes himself as an "average guy" just trying to be responsible in life.

Sitting behind a busy desk surrounded by hefty pink carcasses in his Brits butchery — smoking John Rolfe cigarettes and chatting to his customers, he strikes one as just that — an average guy.

He is also a good representative of the AWB supporter — a humble family man making a moderate living, but with a fierce conviction about conserving the "Boer tradition" amid what he perceives as political chaos and economic ruin.

Mr Schoeman responds to all questions, including the most bland ones, cautiously and with a little suspicion.

It tends to bolster the impression that fear plays a large part in the politics of the right-wing — fear of black majority rule, fear of communism, and fear of being added to someone's hit list.

It is only after I have smoked a John Rolfe and swapped writing for better eye contact that Mr Schoeman becomes less rigid and more himself.

"I always vote for the Conservative Party, but the way I see it, the CP has no chance now of ever realising our ideals. In Parliament, its winner takes all and it's going to be the blacks this time.

"Ever since the early 1980s, I have sympathised with the AWB as the only way for the

An "average guy" who loves rugby, braai's, supports the AWB but is not a member — spoke to HELEN GRANGE.

Afrikaner to survive. The last good parliamentary leader we had was Hendrik Verwoerd. Since then, we have been heading for integration and eventually, it will be black majority rule.

Mr Schoeman's most influential lesson in politics was a comment his father, an Outshoorn farmer, made to him when he was in Std 3. "He told me when the first All Blacks rugby team arrived here that this meant blacks would start being integrated on every level. And that's exactly what's happening."

"It's not that we're kaffir haters. We're just normal people who want respect for our own traditions.

"We want a part of South Africa that belongs to us. Any real Zulu or Xhosa would want the same as we do."

The AWB, apart from its politics, also appeals to the grassroots kind of Afrikaner like himself, he tells me.

"They speak the language guys like me understand. The CP and NP go for the top guys, the doctors and the lawyers, and my experience with CP politicians is that they'll bow and scrape for you for as long as it takes you to vote for them.

But when we walk in with our khaki clothes and we do our thing, its obvious we're not part of them. They'll just use the AWB because we're prepared to offer ourselves physically."

Mr Schoeman is evidently fond of his khaki, a colour which has become the official dress of the AWB — derived from the dress of the Boer during the Anglo-Boer war.

He wears khaki shorts and shirt, with heavy duty leather shoes. His round face is sun-burnt and his hands show he is no stranger to hard labour.

At home on his Bokonein farm (about 15 km from Brits), his wife manages the farm "very well" during the day while he runs the butchery — and looks after the needs of his two young daughters and his 11-year-old son.

There will be no National Service for his son if he can help it.

"The people we once fought as enemies have now become our allies, and I won't allow my son to be part of it."

Again, he talks of responsibility: "I have a business and family that I am responsible for. The problem with blacks is that they haven't learnt how to be responsible, and now the Government is handing the country over to them.

"English whites in this country can fly away, but the Afrikaner can't go anywhere, so we'll have to stand up and fight for our rights here. We'll have to fight for our survival." □



We just want a piece of land... says "Oom" George (76).

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

THE past week's events in the Soviet Union (if it can still be called that) pose a massive challenge to S.A. The longer it delays in getting its political and economic act together, the higher the premium it will have to pay for foreign investment and the more likely it will become just another messy, Third World backwater.

The death of Soviet communism marks the end of the Cold War as definitively as the Red Army's capture of Berlin signified the end of the Second World War. The victorious allies, this time without Uncle Joe Stalin to hamper them, will once again seek to reconstruct the vanquished foe. In this instance, the much-overused Marshall Plan analogy is apt. Just as the US recognised its own overriding self-interest in helping restore the once thriving industrial economies of postwar Europe, so now the West and Japan will wish to help put Russia back on the economic path down which it was headed before the October 1917 interruption.

As in 1945, the loser's technology, skills and infrastructure base is essentially extant beneath the social and political rubble. Institutions and economic habits may be missing, but there is at least some consensus on that point and, after 75 years of practical instruction on what does not work, a readiness to build new ones. In short, it will not be a matter of starting from scratch.

The degree to which the West's energies and resources are likely to be focused on this task over the next decade or more should not be underestimated, the current debate over aid notwithstanding. To be sure, the US is unwilling to pour money down a "rathole", as Secretary of State James Baker put it last weekend, but Washington's European partners are considerably less hesitant and appear to be prevailing.

A genuine new world order — not the trite and wishful one trotted out by President George Bush's speechwriters — is being born, and

Valuable lesson for SA to be found in the Soviet crisis

Blows 27/8/91.
304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

with it, quite possibly, a dozen or so new countries, each rebelling against a statist past and desperately seeking integration into the market-based global economy. The manner of their birth, and their growth thereafter, will be of all-consuming interest, especially to their European neighbours, both in economic and security terms.

What does it mean for national budget priorities to find that what was once the most heavily militarised society on earth is no longer the enemy? What does it mean to have millions of hungry new consumers in the marketplace, all clamouring for your goods, services and capital? Alternatively, what happens if the basic wants of those would-be consumers are not satisfied and they come flooding West across newly opened borders? What if communism is replaced, as in Yugoslavia, by warring, but on this occasion nuclear-armed, nationalisms.

While no one as yet has any clear answers to such questions, they at least illustrate just how critical it is for to the West to ensure that whatever replaces the Soviet Union works. The potential for wealth generation is as massive as the danger. SA's own transition, however historic, is of picayune significance in

comparison. Its continent might care if it sank into the Indian Ocean, but in the broader sweep of things its continent does not matter very much either. Happily, its needs are relatively modest. Nonetheless, it will have to compete harder than ever if even those needs are to be met.

In the present euphoria, all the Soviet Union has to do to trigger serious capital inflows is to pass Baker's "rathole" test, the criteria for which are becoming increasingly more relaxed. The theory now is that Western investment and credits will be their own best guarantee of return by helping lock the transformation to market economics in place.

By contrast, SA is still obliged to play by the rules that pertained towards the Soviet Union prior to last week. That is to say, investment, official foreign assistance and loan guarantees continue to be discouraged or restricted on the basis that they will go to prop up the existing order. This is one of the penalties that must be paid for not maturing. If SA's future had a direct bearing on Western commercial or security interests, policies towards it would

not be dictated by moralists. President Bush and his Secretary of State would not be cringing at the thought of having to certify to Congress that Pretoria had met the conditions of the Gramm Amendment and so could have access to the IMF. It is also unlikely that 140-plus state and local governments would be vitiated by Bush's decision to lift the ban on new investment by maintaining sanctions of their own.

Since it cannot make itself matter, SA's only option is to make itself so attractive a destination for capital that investors will not only select it over opportunities elsewhere but overlook the constraints placed on them in their home markets. Over the past year or so, it has been modestly successful in this regard, but the success has largely been due to cosmetic expedients involving funny exchange rates and other market-distorting policies. Unfortunately, the economic equivalent of fish-net tightens and falsies tends to attract only those interested in quick thrills and the odd purchaser of SA Eurobonds.

To achieve the kind of long-term inflows it needs to combine real growth and the closure of what is politely known as its "social deficit", SA will have to do a lot better than

that. Serious investors, as well as the politicians who must decide whether to support serious aid packages, want to know what is beneath the wig. Thus far, neither the government nor its principal negotiating partner has given them much grounds for optimism. Nor, for that matter, has the SA business community which, with certain exceptions, has been notably unwilling to take much of a plunge itself.

Even though many outsiders believe reality will set in once a new regime is in power, they remain unnerved by the rhetoric of the self-styled government-in-waiting. Rhetoric that all too often sounds ominously reminiscent of what has just been tossed out in Moscow. The ongoing violence — a phenomenon markedly absent during last week's Soviet showdown — does nothing to offset such qualms. Neither do corporate scenarios long on the problems the country faces and short on practical policies to deal with them.

Some have suggested that agreements with the IMF or the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which provides insurance for US investors against expropriation and other forms of state theft in developing countries, would ease such fears. Yes, but with whom would the agreements be signed? If the present government, what assurance would that be that the next one would abide by them? If the next one, by then it could well be too late.

All of which might be secondary concerns if the outcome of SA transition either promised or threatened to reshape the economic and political face of the planet. Since it does not, South Africans of all political persuasions are going to have to reach a confidence-inspiring consensus on how they propose to run their economy when it comes under new management, and do so pretty quickly. If they do not they may find that investment funds, not to mention the billions of dollars of aid money sought by Congressman Stephen Solarz, have moved elsewhere. Down a rathole, even.

CP dismisses constitutional blueprint

3047
APR 27/87

THE Conservative Party has dismissed the National Party's constitutional proposals, leaked to a Sunday newspaper at the weekend, saying the blueprint rejected First World standards and paved the way for black majority rule.

The CP charged the one man, one vote system being proposed by the NP gave no protection to ethnic group rights or interests.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, issued a statement today saying the NP proposals wanted to force all the peoples of South Africa into an artificial unitary state.

Earlier, ANC sources said the proposals wanted to artificially force a federal system on what was already a unitary system.

"The NP and the ANC will see their artificial unitary state disintegrate in the face of rising nationalism, just as the artificial unitary state of the Soviet Union has done," Dr Treurnicht said.

The fact that the plan did not indicate who would control the security forces, or appoint judges who would decide on constitutional matters, confirmed the proposals were so vague as to make them meaningless and of no value, the CP leader said. — Sapa.

'Build government of national unity'

Political Staff

(304A) ARG 27/8/91

IF a new constitution is to succeed, the task of nation-building has to start now, says Mr Colin Eglin.

The Democratic Party MP told a meeting in Sea Point last night that the period of transition ahead should be used to broaden the base of government.

It was a time to build mutual trust, promote co-operation and confidence, prepare people for non-racial democracy and break down the barriers that years of apartheid had erected.

The DP believed that, in the unique circumstances in which South Africa found itself, there should be a transitional government of national unity.

The DP had a constructive role to play.

Recent events such as the secret funds disclosures and the VAT debacle highlighted the need for an alert and principled opposition that would probe, expose and confront a government that had, through 42 years in power, become increasingly arrogant and insensitive.

Mr Eglin said he felt optimistic about the future. In spite of the violence, the posturing and the tactical manoeuvring of recent months a fascinating process of convergence was taking place, not only on the key issue of negotiation but on the character of the new South Africa.

Mr Hennie Bester, new MP for Green Point, said it was heartening that many of the DP's constitutional proposals were now being accepted by the National Party.

Right-wingers claim 'victory'

Nats call off meeting to avoid chaos

304A
B10ay
27/8/91

THE NP yesterday called off a public meeting in Parys as reports were received of thousands of right-wingers moving into the Free State town.

NP Free State leader and Justice Minister Koble Coetsee said the meeting, set for last night, had been rescheduled because of fears that the AWB would cause chaos and confrontation.

Sources in Parys said last night acting local NP chairman Hennie Stander had nailed a notice to the town hall door saying the meeting had been postponed. The source said about a hundred AWB members, claiming to come from the all-white town Morgenzon, roamed the streets claiming victory over the NP.

The AWB said it seemed the NP was finally taking notice of the organisation, adding that its members had been instructed to attend the meeting in force but to be well behaved.

AWB secretary Ernest van der Westhuizen accused the NP of sidestepping a recent agreement between NP Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche to hold open NP meetings provided right-wingers attended unarmed and did not disrupt proceedings.

The CP, which last week agreed to co-operate with the NP in ensuring the meeting was orderly, said every future NP meeting held the danger of conflict because the NP had betrayed its people.

CP national secretary Andries Beyers said the postponement of the Parys meet-

JONATHAN REES

ing was a wise decision, adding that it had become dangerous for NP leaders to appear in public. This was not a threat but a reality, Beyers said.

The only way to neutralise white violence was for government to hold a whites-only election.

DP leader Zach de Beer said freedom of speech had now become "a most uncertain quality in SA".

DP Law and Order spokesman Peter Gastrow said postponing the meeting had set the dangerous precedent of giving in to threats by political disruptors. At a time of heightened political tension, parties should stand firm to defend free speech, even if police protection was required.

A Parys NP source said it had been understood earlier yesterday that thousands of AWB members were on their way to the town for the meeting. He said the local NP had not wanted police to be in the front line in a possible repeat of the Ventersdorp clash two weeks ago in which three people died.

Coetsee said reports indicated "large numbers" of Free State AWB members would attend the meeting, due to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk. This was contrary to the democratic process and was aimed at using intimidation to prevent political parties from communicating with voters.

□ To Page 2

□ From Page 1

meeting 27/8/91 (304A)
He said the NP feared the safety of its supporters, many of whom were elderly, could be threatened. People had also feared their vehicles could be damaged.

He said the meeting would be held at a time and place still to be announced. He and Van Niekerk would address it.

The AWB warned last week that it would not be prevented from attending the Parys meeting, even if it was open only to NP supporters.

On Thursday the NP and CP agreed the meeting would be open to the public and

that there would be an opportunity for questions and a vote of confidence.

The AWB said then its members would attend in force but would be well behaved and would lock all their weapons in a guarded truck outside the building.

Wits politics department head Prof Alf Stadler said the political situation had become very serious if the governing party was no longer able to hold party meetings.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the NP was clearly on the run, as the President had been intimidated by right-wing threats.

Mixed reaction to NP's proposals

304ff

Bl. Day 24/8/91.

TIM COHEN

THE NP's recently released constitutional proposals were unworkable, contrary to accepted ideas of democracy and could exacerbate conflict, ANC sources said yesterday.

While the DP has given the plan a broad endorsement, the CP and HNP have criticised the proposals, saying SA would be run by a black majority government and descend to Third World standards.

ANC constitutional experts, commenting on aspects of the NP's constitutional proposals leaked to a Sunday newspaper, said there was a significant degree of superficial overlap between the two groups' constitutional proposals.

Both emphasised the rule of law, the need for an independent judiciary and a bill of rights.

But the NP's proposals for proportional representation at Cabinet level and a three- to five-member body acting as a head of state were "unworkable", the sources said.

A Cabinet operating by consensus was impractical and would amount to letting a minority group veto policy proposed by the democratically elected majority party.

The ANC sources said by suggesting nine regional governments, the

NP apparently aimed to create a weak central authority with as much decentralised power as possible.

SA Communist Party spokesman Essop Pahad said the SACP opposed any arrangement which restricted voters' democratic rights.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the blueprint was vague while HNP leader Jaap Marais said it would merely serve as a transition to majority rule.

The plan will be put to the NP federal congress in Bloemfontein next week and then to the party's provincial congresses.

It proposes, among other things, an executive council of three to five members to replace the present State President and a Cabinet made up of candidates with "sufficient support". It also recommends two houses of Parliament elected on a proportional representation basis and nine regional "governments".

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke opposed the elements that pointed to federalism and the executive council system while Azapo president Randelani Nefolovhodwe said the plan was a disguised way of protecting white interests.

1991.

The IBIIR said Shadrack Motoung, who died in May this year, was last seen alive in police custody at Khutsong Police Station. Witnesses said he was shot dead within an hour after police removed him from the police station.

William Makajae also died in police cus-

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Plight of right-wingers draws fire from ANC

THE ANC was deeply concerned about the possible deaths of Orde Boerevolk hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, it said yesterday.

Since it was within the power of government to resolve the whole issue of political prisoners, their deaths would be tragic and totally unnecessary, the ANC said.

Government should long ago have had discussions with them.

"The government's behaviour is even more disturbing because Martin and Maritz were apparently members of the NIS and Military Intelligence," the ANC said.

To allow persons who had

actually operated for government to deteriorate to the point they were likely to die showed "the most appalling cynicism".

In Pretoria, AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph welcomed the concern expressed by the ANC.

Rudolph said President F W de Klerk was "taking politically foolish decisions" by not releasing Martin, Maritz and Lood van Schalkwyk. "It is, however, heartening to note that the ANC views (them) as political prisoners," he said.

Orde Boerevolk leader Nic Strydom said the men were in a critical condition when he visited them at Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital on Sunday. — Sapa.

CP, ANC lash out at NP proposals

304A ET 27/8/91

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday claimed that the National Party's constitutional proposals were "of no value", while the ANC said they would entrench federal structures.

The ANC said the creation of nine regional governments would not only create more bureaucracies but would effectively deny the majority party the right to govern.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement that the NP proposals rejected First World standards and paved the way for black majority rule.

The one-man-one-vote system being proposed by the NP gave no protection to ethnic group rights or interests.

"The NP and the ANC will see their artificial unitary state disintegrate in the face of rising nationalism, just as

the artificial unitary state in the Soviet Union has done," Dr Treurnicht said. "The irony is that while the Soviet Union is banning the Communist Party, the NP is actually trying to accommodate the SACP and its allies in its constitutional proposals and to give them decisive power."

The fact that the plan did not indicate who would control the security forces, or appoint judges who would decide on constitutional matters, confirmed that the proposals were so vague as to make them meaningless and of no value, Dr Treurnicht said.

ANC sources said the NP proposals were an acceptable formula for an interim government but too far-fetched to be permanent.

"They limit or deny the consequences of majority rule, and it will make the task of reconstruction very difficult," one source said.

DP to battle on — Eglin

CT 27/8/91

Political Staff

204A

ALTHOUGH many apartheid laws had been repealed, the fight to eliminate apartheid from the system was far from over, the chairman of the Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

He believed the DP would do a disservice to South Africa if it got into bed with the National Party, but said it could change gear.

"For 30 or more years, some of us have been working to prevent things from happening. Now at least we can work to make things happen," said Mr Eglin, the MP for Sea Point, at a report-back meeting in his constituency.

NP calls off Parys meeting

304A

ET 27/8/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The NP yesterday called off a public meeting in Parys as reports were received of thousands of right-wingers moving into the Free State town.

National Party Free State leader and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the meeting had been rescheduled because of fears that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging would cause chaos and confrontation.

Sources in Parys said about 100 AWB members claiming to come from the all-white town Morgen-zon roamed the streets claiming victory over the NP.

The AWB said last night that it seemed the NP was finally taking notice of the organisation, adding that its members had been instructed to attend the meeting in force but to be well-behaved.

AWB secretary Mr Ernest van der Westhuizen accused the NP of sidestepping a recent televised agreement between NP Transvaal leader Mr Barend du Plessis and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche to hold open NP meetings provided right-wingers attended unarmed and did not disrupt proceedings.

DP Law and Order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said that postponing the meeting had set the dangerous precedent of giving in to threats by political disruptors. At a time of heightened political tension parties should stand firm to defend free speech, even if police protection was required, he said.

Billion plan to upgrade

CT 27/8/91

**Political Staff
JOHANNESBURG.**
The government will today disclose details of the socio-economic projects it will fund with the R1 billion gleaned from selling off strategic oil reserves, Economic Co-ordination Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

It is understood that Dr De Villiers will announce that the R1bn will be spent on once-off investments to fund community-based projects to stimulate economic growth and to provide jobs over a protracted period.

A source said the government realised it had a responsibility to the less privileged sectors of the

community and it had been decided that some of the major projects that would be funded include:

CAPE TOWN IS FASTEST GROWING CITY IN SA

See PAGE 5

- Building community centres;
- Building 141 primary health clinics;
- Developing sports facilities in squatter settlements;
- Upgrading 50 hostels in the Transvaal townships, and
- Setting up systems for potable water in self-governing homelands.

A spokesman for his office said that Dr De Villiers would discuss the expenditure and allocation of the R1bn at a press conference this morning.

The funds raised from selling off oil reserves would be spent on special projects "designed to make the maximum contribution to economic growth, job creation and social stability", the spokesman said.

The sale of reserves to fund socio-economic upliftment was announced by President F W de Klerk during his budget vote in Parliament earlier this year.

Dr De Villiers's office received floods of proposals for funds following Mr De Klerk's announcement.

According to one source, some organisations sent in the same request in two different guises that could result in their getting double funding for their projects if this was not discovered in good time.

It could not be established yesterday how the funds would be channelled to the projects.

Nats give in to AWB threats

Sowetan 27/8/91 (304A) ~~304A~~

THE National Party has dramatically bowed to the threat of AWB disruption and called off last night's scheduled meeting of Agriculture Minister Mr Kraai van Niekirk in Parys, in the Free State, at the last moment.

NP Free State leader Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday that he had decided to postpone the meeting and that he and Van Niekirk would address a joint meeting later.

Elderly people

He said large numbers of AWB supporters were planning to converge on Parys to disrupt the meeting.

Many NP supporters in Parys were elderly people whose safety could be threatened.

NP Parys vice chairman Mr Hennie Stander said he was certain "there would have been bloodshed" if the meeting went ahead.

SOWETAN Correspondent

There were about 50 AWB supporters who had already gathered there.

AWB sources confirmed last night that they had intended disrupting the meeting but Conservative Party Parys chairman Mr Gerrit van den Berg claimed that the NP had called off the meeting because it was afraid it would lose face if the CP succeeded in passing a motion of no-confidence in the Government at the meeting.

The postponement followed an agreement between the CP and NP that CP members could attend the meeting if they did not disrupt it.

However CP Free State secretary Mr Gustav Claasen stressed yesterday that the agreement had never been binding on the AWB or any other parties.

It is understood that police were "ready for any eventuality" and had deployed sufficient forces and back-up to deal with a threatened disruption.

Keen interest in SA markets

Sowetan 29/8/91.

EASTERN EUROPE could help get South Africa back into the international community, says Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have offered to help return South Africa to the international fold, he says, and new links with them are being "energetically pursued".

They were all prominent members of the non-aligned movement which had undergone very severe change: "It is a sort of a club where they all know each other."

Hunting

"They still hunt in packs in New York and Paris, and places where multilateral things take place and are happy to facilitate in bringing South Africa back into the international fold," he said.

Van Heerden said this was an option that could not just be dismissed, because "their numbers are big and their influence has been pervasive in the past".

On his recent visit to eastern Europe he discovered a special interest in South Africa.

"They are keen to link up with us and to discover that South Africa, through all the ups and downs and bad patches, was one of the countries that really stayed on course and was never mesmerised by the socialist paradise."

Fears

They were not particularly interested in discussing with Van Heerden the dangers in having a communist party or the fears in some South African minds about communism taking over.

"They can hardly comprehend that there is a place in the world where there are still people who are amenable to that kind of ideology."

They were, of course, quietly thinking of job possibilities for technicians - not necessarily permanent immigration, but people on contract. They regarded South Africa as a wealthy country where there are plenty of trading possibilities.

Direction

South Africa has missions in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. "During my visit Hungary upgraded to full embassy and we are looking to Poland and Czechoslovakia to develop in a similar direction."

Many possibilities also

President De Klerk's speech to Parliament on February 2 last year signalled a new era. Six diplomatic missions have since been established in Europe. The director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, spoke to Political Staffer ESTHER WAUGH.

Links with E European countries now bloom



NEIL VAN HEERDEN - looking east.

existed on the cultural front for orchestras, art exhibitions, ballet, and so on.

All of them had resident communities in South Africa which had been less visible in the past, and would now play a role.

The three countries were energetic about the new relations. "We will want to develop them as we go along. We can't afford to put down big missions there. It is very expensive and we want to do it in a cost-effective style."

Van Heerden saw these links rapidly developing into normal bilateral ties with agreements reached on investments, double taxation, air agreements, export credit, export credit guarantees which were discussed during his recent visit.

Proposals

"They came to the table with specific proposals on specific agreements across the whole spectrum. At this pace, I think we will have well established, full fledged bilateral relationships very soon."

"When eastern Europe opened up there was a sort of euphoria about economic prospects - not only with us but with the west Europeans - which has not been entirely justified."

"Understandably so, because these countries are

must go slowly and explore links and find where we can have trade-offs and possibly elements of barter trade. It is not going to be a massive commercial windfall overnight for anybody, also not for South Africa."

On whether events in the Soviet Union would affect relations with these countries, he said the decision to go with the West was final. "It will take blood to change that."

South Africa's raw materials could find important markets in these countries because their supply contracts had been disrupted.

"We should not underestimate the level of technology in those countries. It is a new window for our economy. Remember, two years ago we had nothing going with those countries. Seen from our economy's point of view, it is a plus," he said.

"They are keen to link up with us and to discover that South Africa, through all the ups and downs and bad patches, was one of the countries that really stayed on course and was never mesmerised by the socialist paradise."



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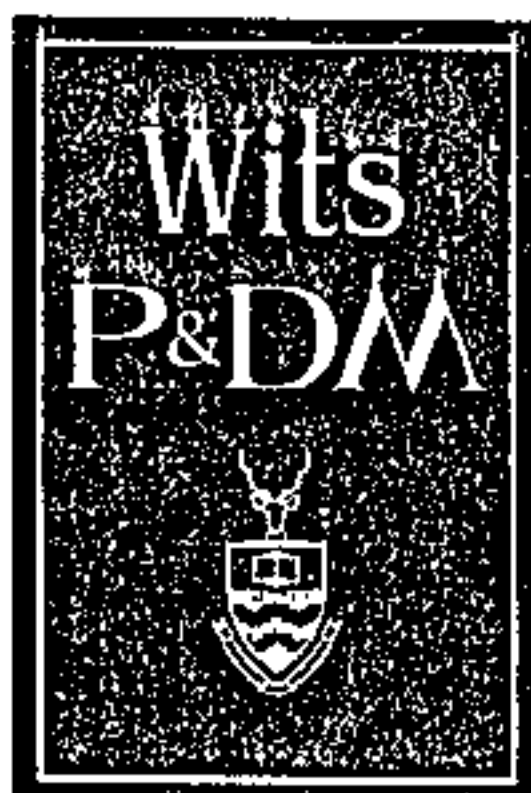
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Search for goodwill

304A

By Stan Hlophe

All South Africans who are interested in reconciliation but who say "What can I do?" can become actively involved in Reconciliation Forum, which will hold its inaugural meeting at the Old Edwardian Sports Club, Lower Houghton at 6 pm on Thursday.

The forum's executive director, Helen Dick, says they are looking for black and white people of goodwill who want to work together to make the "new" SA a reality at grassroot levels.

Ms Dick said the forum's goals are peace and prosperity, starting with solving the greatest problem facing the coun-

try — unemployment.

She said the meeting will address related problems such as adult technical education, work opportunities, cottage industries, entrepreneurs, exports, management training, cultural differences and socio-economic advice.

Ms Dick said they are planning a technical school in Honeydew as their first project.

The Forum will also establish a trust fund to finance projects proposed by members and will provide research, expertise and assistance.

For more information contact Ms Dick at (011) 440-2306, Qhude Majola at (011) 337-2830 or Mike Clarke at (011) 476-6162.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

2-18/91

NP's withdrawal a dangerous precedent, says DP

304A

The National Party last night dramatically bowed to the threat of AWB disruption and cancelled Agriculture Minister Dr Kraal van Niekerk's scheduled meeting in Parys at the last moment.

The Democratic Party deplored the decision and said the NP had set the "dangerous precedent" of submitting to threats of disruption

by political opponents.

NP Free State leader Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday he had decided on the postponement, saying he and Dr van Niekerk would address a joint meeting later. Many NP supporters in Parys were elderly people whose safety could be threatened, he said.

Large numbers of AWB sup-

porters were planning to converge on Parys.

NP Parys vice-chairman Hennie Stander said last night he was "very sure there would have been bloodshed" if the meeting had been held. At 5.45 pm he had posted a notice on the door of the town hall that the 7 pm meeting was off. There were about 50 AWB sup-

porters gathered there.

It is understood police were "ready for any eventuality".

AWB sources confirmed they had intended disrupting the meeting, but CP Parys chairman Gerrit van den Berg claimed the NP had called it off because it was afraid it would lose face if the CP succeeded in passing

a motion of no-confidence in the Government.

The postponement followed an agreement between the local CP and NP that CP members could attend the meeting if they did not disrupt it.

But CP Free State secretary Gustav Claassen said yesterday the agreement had never been binding on the

AWB or any other party.

AWB sources said last night the AWB was "waiting for the next meeting".

It would continue to disrupt meetings until the Government agreed to implement the procedures for conducting meetings which had been agreed to by AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and Transvaal NP leader Barend

du Plessis during a recent television debate.

The sources believed this agreement would entitle them to unrestricted attendance at NP meetings if they remained orderly.

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said: "If a party as powerful as the NP starts making exceptions, others to the left and right might think they can intimidate political opponents in the same way."



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

THE National Party's constitutional proposals to be debated at an especially convened federal congress in Bloemfontein next week appear to be a curious blend of the old and the new.

A number of the still incomplete NP proposals represent a break from the past in that they try to ensure that a future government will be prevented from "doing unto others what the Nats have done unto us" for all these years.

In fact, the blueprint in many ways amounts to a collective admission by the NP that key elements of its constitutional policy-making and thinking over the years have not only been patently unjust but simply wrong-headed — something President De Klerk has not yet been able to bring himself to acknowledge.

However, such is the level of mistrust of the NP's intentions that many of its proposals — even the outwardly sensible ones — have raised suspicions among opposition parties that the Nats have a hidden agenda to cling to power and entrench apartheid under new guises.

Now that the NP is about to lose its exclusive grip on power, the current system in which central government — and particularly the executive State President — enjoys enormous clout has become anathema in government circles.

Because of the NP's track record, some government critics are inclined to see this necessary shift as an attempt to rob a new government of its ability to redress the major imbalances in our divided society.

It would be fair to conclude, though, that a number of the NP's proposals appear designed to prevent the party being sidelined and enhance its prospects for remaining a major player, if not the decisive one, in running the new South Africa.

Apart from drastically curbing the powers of central government and devolving many of these to regional and local level, the NP plan for the future envisages multi-party control

NP's policies are at least being put on the table

304A
CT 28/8/91

over many of the critical levers of power in a new dispensation.

Among these are a three to five-member executive council to replace the post of State President, a multi-party Cabinet, a two-chamber Parliament based on proportional representation and subject to a constitutional court and a Bill of Rights, and a federal-type structure with nine regional governments.

Perhaps the most surprising and controversial aspect of the NP's power diversification plan, particularly in the light of its unmerciful lambasting of the Democratic Party's "troika" leadership arrangement, is the replacement of the president by a multi-party executive council.

Clearly, the NP hopes by this device to retain a say at the highest level of government but such a system, even if there was a rotating leadership, would create a number of obvious logistical and practical problems.

The ANC, particularly if it won an election by a large margin, would view such an

arrangement as an attempt to prevent it from governing effectively.

However, those parties recognising the importance of peace and stability in a future South Africa should be less hasty in rejecting outright the notion of a coalition government, at cabinet level, of the most popular parties.

Another aspect of the NP's constitutional thinking that has provoked much comment is a plan to drastically devolve real power, including the ability to allocate money, to relatively autonomous regional and particularly local government structures.

This would include allowances for a system of "super local option", which some parties believe could be used to bolster existing patterns of (white) power and privilege.

But whatever the shortcomings, real or imagined, of the new Nat plan — at least the ruling party is finally putting its proposals on the table.

'Chicken Nats' slated

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE National Party has been criticised by its white political opponents after it bowed to rightwing pressure and cancelled a public meeting in Parys on Monday night.

NP Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee said the meeting was postponed because they feared a confrontation with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

This was after sources said hundreds of AWB supporters would be brought from outside the Free State town.

Meeting

AWB sources confirmed they intended disrupting the meeting and were "waiting for the next one".

Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said: "If a party as powerful as the NP starts making exceptions, others to the left and right might think they can intimidate political opponents in the same way."

ANC set to reject NP blueprint

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC is set to reject the National Party's constitutional master-plan as a ruse to deny majority rule and entrench the status quo in South Africa.

A discussion paper has been drawn up urgently by a senior ANC constitutional expert following the disclosure this week of details of the NP's proposals. The crucial NP blueprint is to be put to a special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week.

The ANC document says the NP plan to vest veto rights in a second House of Parliament in which minority parties will have as much say as majority parties — as well as the proposal to replace a single head of state with an executive council — runs counter to the principles of both participatory and multiparty democracy.

The envisaged form of mandatory, rather than voluntary, coalition politics would render the new South Africa ungovernable, according to the document.

The ANC paper contains a strong attack on the NP plan to "fragment" South Africa into nine autonomous regions, thereby severely curtailing the powers of the central government.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a formal response to the NP blueprint would be forthcoming after it had been fully discussed.

Police investigate

R1-bn handout the wrong approach, says business

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau 28/8/91

The Government's allocation of R1 billion to alleviate poverty has been cautiously welcomed among beneficiaries — although the business sector has spoken out over the "ad hoc" manner in which the handout was planned.

Dr Ben van Rensburg, chief economist at the SA Chamber of Business, said the Government's action had been an "ad hoc" approach when the country's need for social upliftment least needed such an approach.

"It should have been strategised along the lines of a social accord,

which would have defined and calculated the needs over a specified time period.

"By throwing amounts of money out, expectations are not going to be toned down, as they should be.

"It is only when everybody understands the degree and size of the problem relative to what is affordable that people realise the earnest attempts made to address the problem. The fund should have been planned with broad consultation among the various bodies concerned," Dr van Rensburg said.

Democratic Party spokesman Louis de Waal said the funding

was a very positive move and the various allocations seemed to constitute a good mix. He added that this type of funding would undoubtedly be an ongoing feature of Government spending.

It was known that with the impact of VAT, there would have to be considerable amounts channelled into community projects — although a lot more was required.

Conservative Party spokesman on trade and industry Daan Nolte said it was unfair and economically absurd that the Government had sold its belongings to provide a R1 billion donation to the poor. "They are only

doing this to win the support of the ANC."

The ANC's economic officials were still analysing the allocations yesterday afternoon.

Sam van Coller of the Urban Foundation said the money to be spent on housing sites was welcome and desirable, but emphasised that the issue of location of the sites as well as the question of ownership was important.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said it particularly supported the proposal to spend about half the amount in the current financial year and the creation of 59 000 jobs over 15 months.

Socialism only way — SACP document

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The South African Communist Party is "very confident" of convincing the majority of citizens that socialism is essential to achieve the basic goals of democracy, the organisation says in its first draft manifesto.

"National democratic transformation represents the most direct route to socialism," says the internal discussion document, "Building workers' power for democratic change", which is being circulated among members before final adoption at the SACP's national congress in December.

The 24-page manifesto openly admits that the "virtual end of the world socialist system" has had a negative impact on the SACP's struggle.

However, it remains committed to the implementation of a unique socialist model based on the principles of Karl Marx.

In its analysis of events in Eastern Europe, the manifesto concludes that the lesson to be learnt from "the crisis" is that it is impossible to sustain and develop socialism in an authoritarian environment.

Nationalisation

Thus, emphasis should be put on democratic participation in sectoral and communal organisations affecting people's lives, their work, environment, education and recreation.

The manifesto notes that a post-apartheid society must not merely encompass political democracy but must also achieve a broadening of economic democracy to put the economy under public control.

State ownership or national-

isation is "neither sufficient, nor is it necessarily always the only or most effective form of socialist ownership", the SACP says.

"Our enemies like to spread the lie that the SACP wants to take away people's cars, houses or furniture.

"Democratic socialism will give every individual the right to own and to dispose all non-exploitative private property."

The SACP adds: "Nothing will dissuade us from our firm conviction that a system based on the needs of the working people will prove to be far superior to the present system based on greed and private profit."

The scrapping of all racist laws, a democratic constitution and one person, one vote elections would be an important victory, but the objective of the transformation should be to overcome the effects of colonial conquest and dispossession as well as "racist capitalism", the manifesto states.

By Tos Wentzel and
Shirley Woodgate

Cabinet to rule on fasting rightwingers

The Cabinet is expected to decide today on the fate of three right-wing hunger strikers, seriously ill in H.F. Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria.

Their lawyer, Wim Cornelius, had been expecting a decision at any time from President de Klerk after representations for indemnity made on the men's behalf to the State President's advisory committee.

One top Government source in Pretoria said the Cabinet was unlikely to give in to what he described as "blackmail" from the right-wing activists.

The feeling in Government circles is that the entire legal system will be given a serious blow if the Government bows to pressure and decides to release the three.

Another argument against them being released is that they have not yet stood trial. On claims from the Right that ANC prisoners who had committed serious offences

had been indemnified while this was being refused in the case of rightwingers, Government sources said all ANC prisoners who had been released had stood trial and served part of a sentence.

As the condition of the hunger strikers deteriorates, the ANC today planned to

send a representative to visit them in hospital.

Mr Cornelius said the ANC's public support of the hunger strikers was deeply appreciated.

"We give them 10-pluses for their humanitarian stance." Fears have been expressed that Briton Henry

Martin (49), who enters his 52nd day without food, or Adrian Maritz (43), now in the 46th day of his protest, will slip into a coma.

"It is now a distinct threat and, if that occurs, we will have massive problems," said Mr Cornelius.

He said Dr Lood van Schalkwyk (53), in his 39th day of fasting today, showed signs that his liver was collapsing.

Consultation needed, says DP ^{304A}

Star 28/8/91



Ken Andrew . . . negotiate for maximum yield.

Millions of rands would end up wasted if there were no consultation over the way in which the R1 billion set aside to eliminate socio-economic backlogs was to be spent, Democratic Party spokesman on finance Ken Andrew said yesterday.

He said in a statement that the allocation was welcomed and that the proposed projects seemed appropriate at first sight.

"It must be recognised, however, that in-

tensive negotiation at national, regional and community level is essential if the money spent is to yield maximum dividends.

"Gone are the days when a white central government can tell the majority of the population what is good for them or what their priorities should be," he said.

There was no plan to eliminate backlogs in a systematic way, Mr Andrew added. — Sapa.

Govt may take up more German funding

FRANKFURT — The SA government may take up between DM50m and DM100m of new funds in addition to rolling over a DM200m bond maturing in December. Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser said yesterday.

He said the public issue would be a prelude to broader public financings on the international markets by government and other SA borrowers.

He confirmed SA was having talks with Deutsche Bank, which issued the original DM200m facility. The planned issue would be its first in six years.

Croeser said SA's strategy envisaged refinancing 75% of its bonds maturing in 1991 after 40% in 1990. It aimed to refinance the DM600m in bonds expiring in 1992, with some issues to exceed the original amounts.

Croeser said the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Development Bank of Southern Africa also intended to come to the market soon.

Special adviser to Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis Jan Lombard said the bank planned a small token issue on capital markets soon. — Reuter.

ARC 29/8/91 3047P

Will apartheid share fate of communism?

STANLEY UYS
Special Correspondent

LONDON. — What a terrible judgment the Soviet people have passed on communism. It was not just its defeat they wanted to proclaim, but its death — they wanted to dance on its grave. It was not only anger they wanted to express for what they have endured for more than 70 years, but loathing and revulsion.

The idols they have dethroned are not only Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, but also Lenin and Marx — now they want Lenin's body removed from its mausoleum and reburied in an ordinary cemetery. This is not just a change of systems, but an exorcism.

Where does the SA Communist Party go after communism's humiliating collapse in the country of its birth? Can it continue in business? And what happens to the ANC's alliance with the SACP? Why did the organisation delay so long in responding to the Moscow coup, and then so half-heartedly? For how long can the ANC afford this inhibition, even paralysis, of thought — and morality — resulting from the alliance?

South Africans are asking whether apartheid will share the same fate as communism in the Soviet Union. Certainly, the anger and hurt among the black population are there (some no doubt even want a blood-letting), but it seems to me that President de

Klerk possibly has averted the explosion by making the admission about apartheid that Mikhail Gorbachev was unable to make about communism — that it is unreformable.

White rule continues in South Africa, but it is on the table for negotiation. The ideology of apartheid itself is in the ash-can, and President De Klerk (with some earlier help from Mr P W Botha) put it there. He understands at least this lesson: that if you intend to reform, do it quickly, do it through consensus, and make sure that the process is controlled.

This has been President De Klerk's great advantage over President Gorbachev: that he and Mr Nelson Mandela have been able to control the reform process. Mr Gorbachev lost control because he could not retain a power base — both the left and the right withdrew from him, leaving him stranded in the middle. He had pushed reform beyond the limits the right would tolerate, and yet could not bring himself to throw in his lot with the left.

Compared with the Soviet Union, South Africa's reform process has been remarkably controlled and disciplined. Let's hope it stays this way.

Where, for example, does the Soviet Union go from here with its awesome economic problems, the clamour already by eight (of 15) republics for independence (and the problems this

will create with the ethnic minorities within their borders), the emerging tensions over where the nuclear warheads will be located, and who will control them, the West's concern that the Soviet centre will fall into a black hole, and so forth?

There is a dark side to Mr Yeltsin. He oscillates between exuberance and moroseness, intensity and melancholia.

Faction in NP opposed to De Klerk, claims journal

B/day 29/8/91 (304A)
TIM COHEN

A FACTION in the NP, including four Cabinet ministers, considers him lacking in experience and political astuteness, an article in the ANC's official journal Mayibuye claims.

The article, written by an unnamed "researcher", details the history of the SADF's Special Forces and concludes that the five reconnaissance regiments, 31 and 32 Battalions and the Civil Co-operation Bureau should be disbanded.

It states that recent revelations by "certain patriotic soldiers" have indicated that the Recce regiments continued to be used after De Klerk's election to undermine the negotiations process.

"Some observers make the point that De Klerk's difficulties are made even more problematic by the pres-

ence of an anti-De Klerk faction with the NP...".

The group, Mayibuye says, includes Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Planning, Provincial Affairs and Housing Minister Hernus Kriel and Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase.

"This faction, it is argued, believes that De Klerk does not possess the political astuteness or the managerial experience to secure a favourable outcome for the NP at the negotiating table."

Mayibuye says the faction also believes a more aggressive campaign against the ANC is needed.

Military Intelligence and Special

Forces are well situated to realise these objectives, the article says.

"Indeed the present Chief of the SADF (Gen) Kat Liebenberg was Officer Commanding the Special Forces between 1982 and 1985, a period when the bulk of Special Forces external operations were conducted and the CCB was formed.

"It is significant that De Klerk, supposedly committed to democracy appointed Kat Liebenberg to this position," the researcher writes.

The article states that the Department of Military Intelligence and Special Forces control the R4,1bn Special Defence Account which is not subject to public audit.

The article also alleges members of 5 Recce Regiment were used in recent train massacres, "often posing as Inkatha impis".

NEWS IN BRIEF

Sebina to return

ANC spokesman in Zambia Tom Sebina and about 270 exiles were expected to return to SA tomorrow, Sebina said in Lusaka yesterday. Sebina has not been home for 27 years.

Grant for science

SANLAM has given R100 000 to the Urban Foundation for its programme to upgrade science tuition in black primary schools. Sanlam chief legal adviser and secretary Emel Linde presented the sum to the foundation's western Cape regional director Vernon Rose in Cape Town yesterday.

Call for interim bill of rights

B/day 29/8/91
TIM COHEN

THE ANC intends arguing for the adoption of a "transitional bill of rights".

The call for a transitional bill of rights is a new facet of the ANC's demand for an interim government which, in the ANC's view, will be established by an all-party congress and will rule the country until democratic elections take place.

The latest issue of the official ANC journal Mayibuye, due for publication tomorrow, says the bill of rights will set out people's rights during the transitional period.

An ANC source said yesterday the bill of rights would be temporary until a final bill of rights was accepted in either a referendum or by the new-

ly elected Parliament. (304A)

However, the temporary and the final bill of rights might contain the same or similar provisions, the source said.

In an article on the interim government, Mayibuye argues that the Inkathagate exposures have shown government cannot be trusted to supervise the transition.

"The government is neither willing nor capable of clearing obstacles to negotiations.

"There cannot be any serious movement forward if (President F W) De Klerk's administration is still in place."

MP slams left's 'empty slogans'

TIM COHEN (304A)

DP HOUGHTON MP Tony Leon last night criticised parties which used "inflammatory, meaningless slogans" to promise more than the economy could deliver and accused government of a "laconic and ambiguous" attitude to violence. B Day 29/8/91

In a speech prepared for delivery at a report-back meeting last night, Leon accused parties to the DP's left of mortgaging SA's economic future in advance.

Leon said he had read extensive legal documentation relating to violence and so-called traditional and cultural weapons. "I am convinced now that at significant stages during the last 18 months, the state was remarkably laconic and ambiguous in its response to the threat of violence," he said.

Proposals lead to play-off of Agreement vs Majority Rule

30417 CT 29/8/91

WITH the publication of the National Party's concept constitutional proposals the political conflict in South Africa has finally crystallised into two conflicting models of democracy challenging each other.

The challenge is well encapsulated in the words of Jurg Steiner's study on conflict resolution in Switzerland. It is called: *Amicable Agreement versus Majority Rule*.

In essence the ANC is proposing the German model of majority rule. Although not a classic form of Westminster winner-takes-all rule the German model does make it possible for one of the two largest parties to be kept out of government for a prolonged period. For close to ten years the Christian Democrats have ruled and the Social Democrats have been effectively kept out of the executive level of government.

By contrast, the NP's concept proposals take as its model for the executive the Amicable Agreement of the Swiss. Without agreeing in advance on a common programme the two federal chambers choose a federal council or cabinet according to the 2:2:2:1 formula. Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh sum it up well in their seminal study, *South Africa's Options*: "As all



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME

important interests are represented within the council, the process of collective decision-making requires that differences be negotiated, which has the effect of ensuring that each decision is a nationally acceptable compromise."

It is known that President De Klerk carefully questioned members of the Swiss cabinet during his recent visit to that country. They urged on him the necessity of keeping the executive cabinet as small possible. In all probability this decisively shaped the NP's idea of a presidential college consisting of a minimum of three but not more than five members. It is within this presidential college that the conflicts which build up in the larger cabinet will ultimately have to be resolved.

The NP further dilutes the principle of majority rule by proposing for the second chamber the model of the American Senate which gives each state equal representation. Applied to South Africa this would mean that

the sparsely populated Northern Cape region would enjoy equal representation in the second chamber with the Witwatersrand, as does North Dakota and California.

Frantic lobbying

The NP's final curb on majority rule is a thorough-going devolution of power to the regions and the metropolitan centres which would presumably be given the optimal capacity to raise and redistribute revenue. Here Switzerland must again have acted as a model. One of the main reasons why the Swiss model works so well lies in most conflict being resolved on cantonal level. This considerably eases the burden of the national government and makes capture of the central state much less desirable.

The challenge between the NP espousing Amicable Agreement and the ANC proposing Majority Rule will be the main issue confronting the parties in the forthcoming negotiations. At the same time we shall undoubtedly see frantic international lobbying by both the NP and ANC in an effort to prove that its brand of democracy is the genuine kind and the most suitable for South Africa.

For its part the ANC can count on a well established tradition in Western political thinking that democracy must involve some form of majority rule. It can also point to statements by eminent American political scientists in arguing the case that majority rule is indeed

the most suitable form of government for South Africa.

On the basis of comparative studies scholars have argued that unless a political system generates enthusiasm and high voter participation it is bound to be unstable. Radicals are inevitably drawn to unconstitutional means if they find that the system retains the existing balance of wealth and power. Leaders of the poorer group are unwilling to demand sacrifices from their followers because they are not really in a position to deliver substantial material rewards. With this in mind the renowned American political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset has argued that "if the outcome of the political game is not the periodic awarding of effective authority to one group, unstable and irresponsible government rather than democracy will result".

Power-sharing

The NP response to this argument will be that majority rule in South Africa will cause far greater levels of conflict. It will lead to a massive settling of scores between black groups which have been fighting each other. The white rightwing in alliance with sections of the armed forces may embark on a scorched earth campaign. We could well have plunging investor confidence and an exodus of capitals and skill. Like the Soviet Union, South Africa could implode.

The NP, in short, will argue to the world that majority rule works only in ethnically homogeneous societies and that the only hope for democracy in divided societies such as South Africa lies in a form of power-sharing. It will point to Switzerland as a case where majority

rule is not necessary to resolve conflicts between quite different groups. The Swiss experience has been that Amicable Agreement in the resolution of conflicts — from the information gathering stage to the ultimate making of decisions — produces a reduction of hostility between groups.

For the ANC, entering into a power-sharing agreement with the NP is one thing; however, to do so because the constitution actually prescribes it as a most unpalatable prospect. It raises the spectre of finding itself ensnared in the very same predicaments as the Labour Party under the present constitution. The ANC may well wish to postpone a decision as long as possible. However, here the crucial question is whether it has the resources to do so. The most revealing aspect of the ANC's July conference was that it relies for more than 90% of its income on external funding and resources. The response of major donors such as the Scandinavian countries may be crucial in forcing its hand.

No dominance

Even more significantly, its own constituency may not be as averse to the idea as is generally thought. Opinion polls, some taken at the height of the recent unrest, show that the great majority of blacks want a government in which all groups are represented without anyone dominating it. Unless the government commits another Inkathagate type of blunder or fails to control the security forces, the ANC will probably end up by having to buy something close to the NP's current proposals.

□ Hermann Giliomee is Head of the Department of Political Studies, UCT.



MP: NP (3049) 'denying ANC role'

CT 29/8/91
Political Correspondent

THE National Party's constitutional proposals were based on a "carefully planned hidden agenda", DP MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said last night.

Speaking to a Black Sash meeting in Johannesburg, Mr Van Eck said the NP's hidden agenda included denying majority parties such as the ANC their rightful place and role in a new democratic government, and ensuring that the NP and its conservative allies retain a stranglehold on power after the first one-person-one-vote election.

Mr Van Eck said this hidden agenda "boils down to the NP manipulating both the negotiation process and the electoral process" to ensure the NP and the conservative alliance it would soon create won the first non-racial democratic elections.

Looking to the future

WITHOUT active intervention to promote a democratic culture in South Africa now, apartheid could be replaced by a far more vicious and unjust political system.

This was said by the executive chairman of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

In a speech delivered to the SA Institute for Librarianship and Information Science in Pretoria, Dhlomo said even though human beings do generally have an instinct for freedom, they are not born with an understanding of democracy as the safest way of guaranteeing their freedom and fostering equality and tolerance.

Vicious, unjust political system could lie ahead

Dhlomo said nation building in South Africa would only succeed if the values of democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation were made the "foundation of all we do in our respective professions".

He said all South Africans had to share the responsibility of educating their fellow citizens on the virtues of democracy and "we can do this by disseminating as

much information on these virtues as we possibly can.

"It is in that way that we can hope to make post-apartheid South Africa safe for democracy".

Dhlomo said much of the political violence in South Africa resulted from the absence of a democratic culture conducive to political tolerance and freedom of association.

This intolerance was not, however, confined to black politics.

"As was clearly demonstrated by the Ventersdorp violence, some rightwing political parties are also victims and they also need assistance through education for democracy. This is a challenge that faces all of us."

Dhlomo reiterated his statement that democratisation in South Africa demanded that all South Africans "unlearn" all the political experiences of past decades and begin to build a democratic state on the basis of a common nationhood. - Sapa.



DR OSCAR DHLOMO

CP warns Nats ^{304A}

THE rightwing yesterday warned that the National Party's "ticket-holders only" plan at its public meetings would recreate the tensions of Ventersdorp.

"This is not a solution," said Conservative Party secretary Mr Andries Beyers. "It is a perpetuation of the problem." *Sowetan 29/8/91*

"The only place it is safe for Government leaders to appear in public is abroad. In South Africa it is not safe for any leader of the NP to do so." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

MAGISTRATE VAN OORDEELING
Magistrate van Oordeeling
Magistrate van Oordeeling



Jammer ou maat, jy's laat . . . a latecomer is refused entrance to the National Party meeting in Dewetsdorp. Pictures: John Hogg



On patrol . . . policemen and dogs guarded the town hall, where the meeting was held.

Rightwingers locked out at NP meeting

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

DEWETSDORP — About 150 people attended the National Party meeting behind locked doors in the town hall last night as a cordon of police held about 10 rightwingers at bay.

The khaki-clad rightwingers circled the square in a bakkie

and then disappeared.

Four men claiming to be NP supporters from Bloemfontein, who arrived late for the meeting, were not admitted because they were not known by any of the guards at the door.

Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs, National Housing and Local Government Leon

Wessels told the gathering neither the Right nor the Left could deal with the country's problems as effectively as the NP. He said the respect in the country for President de Klerk far outstripped that held for the NP itself.

"We will all have to work on this," he said.

Linden to fight highways and business development

Staff Reporter

Ratepayers in Linden, Johannesburg, vowed last night to fight multilane highways and commercial development in their north western suburb.

At the inaugural meeting of the Linden Ratepayers' Association last night, about 200 residents elected a steering committee to fight business development and preserve the suburb's residential status.

The eight-man committee is headed by resident Blackie

Swart.

Residents were warned their suburb was under threat from large scale business development — including an office park in Darrenwood adjacent to Linden — and plans to turn Republic Road and Third Avenue into a six-lane highway. This would link with DF Malan Drive and split Linden in half.

More than 2 000 children crossed these roads daily, the meeting was told.

Vice-chairman of the committee, Bobby Heaney, accused

authorities of attempting to use the suburb to achieve commercial aims. He said commercialisation would result in residents becoming increasingly demoralised.

"This is the warning to the authorities that residents are not interested in the upgrading of roads.

"We will find ways to make Linden the safest suburb for our children. We've got something for them and that is they ain't seen nothing yet," Mr Heaney said.

Men from the ministry just keep multiplying

By Michael Chester

Despite Government promises of cutbacks in the size of its bureaucracy, the civil service has become more bloated than ever, it was revealed yesterday.

The Econometrix research unit warned that heavier tax burdens and higher inflation looked inevitable unless trends were reversed.

Its studies have revealed that employment in the central Government had climbed to a new peak of 560 505 by the first quarter of this year — almost 21 500 higher than a year ago, contrary to political assurances. The number of jobs in the four provincial administrations grew by 25 000, boosting the combined total to more than 784 000.

Still worse, says Econometrix director Dr Azar Jammine, has been the scale of increases in the wage bill for civil-service operations, which outpaced the inflation rate.

The wage bill for Government and provincial administrations soared to R4 445 million for the three-month first-quarter period — as much as 26,8 percent higher than 12 months earlier. The wage bill for central Government alone rose by 28,4 percent to reach R3 440 million.

Even allowing for a 4 percent increase in job numbers, that equalled average raises of 23,5 percent — about 9 percent more than the inflation rate.

Dr Jammine said that in the past decade employment in central Government had grown by a staggering 72 percent.

"Even if a significant proportion of the increase is attributable to an increase in the number of teachers and nurses rather than bureaucrats, one is still talking about an increase in civil-service employment which substantially exceeds the population growth rate."

Undoubtedly, much of the sharp increase in wage rates went into efforts to raise the pay of low-income workers.

However, he said, the higher tax and inflation rates caused by a bigger State bureaucracy were bound to threaten a continued decline of the economy.

The NP's main negotiating partners don't like its blueprint, writes Shaun Johnson

ANC smells a big Nat rat

Star 29/8/91.



304A

HERE was no fanfare to mark the historic occasion, but an important moment it certainly was. This week the National Party's draft constitutional blueprint leaked out, and as a result "real" negotiations about this country's future — for which we have been waiting so very long — effectively began.

The multiparty conference may be some way off yet, but the fight about what the new South Africa will actually look like is under way, leapfrogging the seemingly intractable "obstacles to negotiations". The key negotiations are already strategising in constitutional detail, on the assumption that the "talks about talks" phase is all but over.

The NP document, subtitled "A Vision for a New Democratic Constitutional Dispensation for South Africa", is now poised to compete for public approval with the ANC's "Constitutional Principles and Structures for a Democratic South Africa", published in April. And although NP members will only get the chance to consider their document at a special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week, ANC constitutional experts

are already in the process of taking it apart.

Less than two days after the first details of the NP proposals were published, a critique in the form of a discussion paper was circulating among ANC leaders. It can be expected to influence their formal response heavily.

The ANC document is revealing, among other things, of the extent to which ANC trust of Government motives has been eroded. Although there are striking areas of apparent convergence between the NP and ANC visions — principally on broad voting systems and parliamentary structures — the ANC is convinced that President de Klerk's Government is speaking with a forked tongue.

The organisation concludes that the NP proposals contain a clear bottom line. There will be no majority rule.

The nine-page document deals in some detail with the NP proposals, and seeks to place them in the context of overall Government strategy in the constitution-making process — as seen through the non-judicial eyes of the ANC. Regarding the blueprint itself, the author identifies the proposed

"fragmentation" of South Africa into nine regions (with largely autonomous governments enjoying entrenched constitutional powers) as a manoeuvre aimed at hobbling the central authorities.

"It would render it impossible for a future parliament to implement any national policy of reconstruction. It would render social and economic transformation impossible and render nationally directed affirmative action policies impossible. The Bill of Rights would be in jeopardy."

The proposal for a second house of parliament in which smaller parties will enjoy representation equal to that of larger ones — and an effective veto — is rejected as an aberration of democracy. Further, the idea of a mandatory multiparty cabinet is viewed as a ruse to undercut the legitimate power of the majority party.

"The proposal for multiparty government to be entrenched in a constitution is another unique South African contribution to constitutional law," according to the document. "The NP" says this proposal is based on European constitutional models. It (deliberately) confuses a multiparty sys-

tem with entrenched multiparty government.

"In Western Europe it is the multiparty system which is entrenched — not multiparty government. Coalition arrangements take place as part of the electoral and political processes — freely entered into or not by parties on the basis of how they perceive their interests and support."

"Multiparty democracy is guaranteed in continental models in the sense that all political parties have the right to exist... All constitutions guarantee that the party which wins the elections has the right to form the government. Coalitions and multiparty arrangements are never entrenched in any constitution..."

"The clear objective (of the NP) is to prevent democratic majority rule. It will render the altering of the status quo extremely difficult."

Placing the latest NP proposals in the broader political context, the author concludes: "De Klerk's strategy is to ensure that he and his Government not only manage the period of transition, but also determine its eventual outcome... De Klerk wants a constitution-

al framework which will render one person one vote ineffective by making rule by an elected majority party impossible."

The document argues that this overall strategy explains Pretoria's opposition to an interim government, and its concern to negotiate a constitutional framework prior to elections of any kind.

"An elected constituent assembly is most unlikely to produce such a constitution (as that envisaged by the NP). Hence the proposal by the Government for a multiparty conference (or some similar variant) to draw up and agree to a new constitution after which it may be submitted to a referendum."

It is argued that the proposals for a "parliamentary structure designed to nullify majority rule", a multiparty Cabinet and a "rotating head of state or troika" are the constitutional means through which the Government hopes to achieve its objectives.

Even the Government's stated commitment to a Bill of Rights is attacked as a manipulative sham. "The Government's proposals as to what a Bill of Rights should

contain makes it clear that the Government sees the Bill of Rights as a mechanism to prevent the extension of real democracy and to protect existing privileges and property rights..."

"Not only is the Government totally opposed to the inclusion of social and economic rights as proposed by the ANC, but the whole proposed constitutional framework and the objectives of such a framework will mean that the Bill of Rights will act as a mechanism to entrench existing privileges rather than extend rights and democracy. It will also protect regions and local groups against the democratic state."

It is a simple negotiating truism that participating parties demand more in the beginning than they expect to get in the end. For that reason alone there should be no great panic about the fact that the competing NP and ANC visions seem so far apart at the moment.

We now have, from both sides, the opening bids. The real content of the bargaining process should start from now on be monitored in terms of how much each player is prepared to lose in the course of the game. □

'Give US sign, or sanctions stay'

By Brian Sokutu

Sanctions will remain in place until Americans receive a clear signal from all major players in the South African peace process that they should be lifted.

This was the message from US senators Paul Simon and Charles Robb who yesterday ended their two-day trip to SA.

At Jan Smuts Airport the senators said they were optimistic about South Africa's future.

Asked to elaborate on the signals the US hoped to receive from South African leaders before lifting sanctions, Mr Simon said the American government would not be prescriptive on the major players in the peace process "but if we get a message from Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and other leaders that there is change, we will lift them".

The senators met various political leaders, including Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, during their visit.

Commenting on his meeting with Dr Treurnicht, Mr Simon said: "We had a chance to understand their perspective. What we did do is encourage everyone, including Dr Treurnicht, to participate in the negotiations."

"And Dr Treurnicht did not rule out participation. I think that was the encouraging part,"

Mr Simon said.

He was confident that no one either from the Right or the Left could scuttle the peace process.

Mr Simon hoped that the peace process would move forward expeditiously on a new constitution.

He said: "Right now South Africa has key sectorial leaders who are committed to working together for the future, leaders who are not ideologues. That may not always be the situation. Human life is fragile."

"An opportunity not seized when the time is right may be an opportunity that can never be seized."

He said his government shared with South African political leaders they had met a serious concern on the subject of violence.

"We come from a nation that also has too much violence. But at this key point in your history, violence is a barrier to the breakthrough you need."

The senators welcomed next month's planned peace summit on violence.

Mr Simon said confidence had to be restored in the security forces, who were accused by many leaders they met of fomenting violence.

The US senators said South Africa, like America, had a significant underclass whose needs had to be addressed "if our two nations are to achieve their economic potential".



American message . . . economic curbs will stay until there is a clear signal they should be lifted, senators Paul Simon (left) and Charles Robb said yesterday.

Picture: Jacob Rykliff

Algeria praises FW, calls for SA links

Star 29/8/91
By James Tomlins
Star Foreign Service

PARIS — Algeria yesterday called for normal relations with South Africa and praised President de Klerk's peacemaking abilities.

Ever since independence in the '60s, Algiers has been in the forefront of all anti-apartheid moves in Africa and in the United Nations.

But all this has changed, according to Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi in an interview appearing yesterday in the Paris daily Figaro.

Asked whether several Arab countries would be prepared to enter dialogue directly with Israel over the Palestinian question, Mr Brahimi replied: "Let me make a comparison with South Africa. Our only problem

with this country has been apartheid. There is absolutely no other reason for not being friends.

"I believe that there are many things that we can do together.

"Despite this, we have carried out a rigid boycott policy just because of apartheid.

"But as surely as the reform process continues in South Africa, we will undoubtedly start normal relations.

"We have a similar attitude to Israel. We would like to see a De Klerk in Tel Aviv."

Asked whether this day was approaching, Mr Brahimi said: "It would be a good thing if we were helped in finding a De Klerk in Israel. For the moment, I do not see anybody. But then, only a few years ago, South Africa also never saw De Klerk."

DP drafts proposals for new SA

Political Staff

(304A)

The Democratic Party is proposing a federal system with between eight and 12 states, a two-chamber Parliament and a rigid constitution.

The provisional proposals, which were drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Denis Worrall MP, have been published in a policy discussion paper which has been sent to party formations.

It will be dealt with at the party's national congress in Cape Town in November.

The paper says the DP believes that the people must govern and that federalism enables more people to take part. Federalism would distribute power, was a defence against tyranny,

and accommodated pluralism.

The TBVC countries should be part of the country as established by Union in 1910.

The central Parliament would enjoy co-ordinate sovereignty with the state parliaments, the paper says.

Criteria for determining the boundaries of states are:

- The rejection of states delineated on racial or ethnic lines.
- Community of interests of the population of an area.
- Economic viability and potential.
- Administrative effectiveness.

The right of linguistic communities to choose mother-tongue education and to promote their culture should be constitutionally protected.

The federal government

would exercise those power essential to the national interest, but all other powers would be exercised by the state powers.

The plan proposes a dual executive consisting of the president and prime minister with a Cabinet drawn from and accountable to Parliament.

In the bicameral legislature there would be a National Assembly and a Senate with co-equal powers except in the case of appropriation and other money Bills where the Assembly would be able to override objections from the Senate.

It is proposed that the Assembly should consist of 350 members elected by all adult citizens on the basis of proportional representation.

● Nat, ANC plans — Page 13

Commonwealth leaders reconsider visits to SA

AN EXPECTED flurry of visits to SA by foreign heads of state before and after the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Harare in October is unlikely to materialise, because of opposition from the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups, diplomats said yesterday.

A spokesman for Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed there had been indications from Canada, Australia and New Zealand that their heads of state were considering coming to SA.

However, he was unable to say whether any of them would come.

It is understood that British Prime Minister John Major will not visit SA in October, despite speculation that he would be one of the first to do so.

A spokesman for the British Embassy said Major would like to visit SA, but only when the time was right. Apparently an October visit is considered inopportune.

However, other SA government sources believed that visits by leaders of at least Canada, Australia and New Zealand were probable after the dramatic progress made by the ANC, Inkatha and government in combating violence.

There were initial indications from Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke that he would visit SA for two or three days in mid-October, just before the Commonwealth meeting in Harare, which starts on

BILLY PADDOCK

October 16.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was apparently keen to visit SA and initially it was planned he would come on October 23 and 24, right after the meeting.

It is believed New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger was earlier also expected about the same time.

A Canadian diplomat, who visited SA last month as part of an advance task group to assess the advisability of a visit by Mulroney, said the task group had meetings with the ANC, government and other parties.

It had been made clear that Mulroney would visit only if he could contribute to speeding up the negotiation process.

The Australians had communicated a similar message, sources said.

Now, apparently, all three governments were reconsidering the advisability of their leaders visiting SA.

DARIUS SANAI reports that German Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schaefer will visit SA in November, embassy sources said yesterday. Schaefer is a close colleague of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Schaefer's trip could be a precursor to a visit by the Foreign Minister next year, the sources said.

Vlok and Malan demoted today

30419

Political Staff

TWO of the most powerful ministers in the government will be demoted today when the new cabinet is officially sworn in at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok will assume his new portfolio of Correctional Services, and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan will have two months without a portfolio until he can take over Water Affairs and Forestry from the retiring Mr Gert Kotze.

General Malan, however, will immediately assume responsibility for Housing and Works and the Budget in the House of Assembly administration.

The new Law and Order Minister will be Mr Hernus Kriel and Defence goes to Mr Roelf Meyer.

President F W de Klerk, announcing the cabinet reshuffle last month, said the men were being shifted to the new portfolios because of the controversy surrounding the security forces.

Among the new faces in the ministerial ranks will be Natal's indirectly elected MP, Mr Renier Schoeman, who becomes deputy minister of Foreign Affairs.

CT 30/8/91

DP: 7-year president, PM to rule

304A CT 30/8/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party yesterday unveiled its constitutional proposals, which make provision for a directly elected executive president ruling in tandem with a prime minister in a highly decentralised eight- to 12-state federation.

Within this dual executive system, the seven-year-term president would run the country along with a multi-party coalition cabinet under a prime minister appointed by the majority party.

The cabinet would be constituted on a proportional basis from representatives of political parties enjoying 10% or more of the support of the lower House or National Assembly.

The prime minister, responsible for the day-to-day running of the country, would be vested with the power to allocate cabinet portfolios.

But Parliament would operate in an environment where the constitution was supreme and many of the powers currently enjoyed by central government — including education, police and some taxation — would be devolved to state governments.

One of the most distinctive proposals contained in the 12-page DP blueprint is a seven-year term for a direct-

ly elected executive president. The president, therefore, need not necessarily belong to the same party as the most popular party in Parliament.

The fact that the president would be directly elected is designed to ensure that the head of state is capable of adopting a more independent view, somewhat removed from party pressures.

In a major departure from the Westminster system, the courts, whose judges would be appointed by a Judiciary Appointments Commission, would be the only arbiter and interpreter on matters affecting constitutional rights.

The DP believes the process to bring federalism about would be to limit the powers of the central government and deliberately devolve these to regional authorities. It would then be essential that the constitution guarantee equitable access by the regions to the national resources.

The DP also accepted that the TBVC countries should, by way of negotiation, be reintegrated in South Africa.

In terms of the proposals, central government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest while all other powers go to the state governments. These included health, local government, education, police, prisons, town planning, nature conservation and tourism, licensing, roads and land settlement.

NP will not be scared off — FW

(304A)

~~244~~ Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday vowed that the National Party would not be scared off by political thuggery or threats from holding political meetings throughout the country.

His promise not to bow to pressure follows the cancellation of an NP meeting in Parys this week and reported division among NP leaders about how best to handle right-wing threats.

Mr De Klerk, leader of the NP, yesterday denied that there were differences of opinion on the handling of threats to NP meetings.

He said in a statement that the NP did not allow itself to be intimidated by threats "which come almost exclusively from right-wing elements".

The party would continue to put its case throughout South Africa "in a sensible manner". This included meetings.

Mr De Klerk said the four provincial leaders — Ministers Mr Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Free State), Mr Barend du Plessis (Transvaal) and Mr George Bartlett (Natal) — had been in complete agreement with him over the continuation of the Ventersdorp meeting as well as the postponement of the Parys meeting. CT 30/8/91

Top-level SA visits now off?

CT 30/8/91

Political Staff

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — An expected flurry of visits to SA by foreign heads of state before and after the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Harare in October may be postponed because of opposition from the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups, diplomats said yesterday.

It is understood that British Prime Minister Mr John Major will not visit SA in October. A British Embassy spokesman said Mr Major would like to visit SA but only when the time was right. An October visit is considered inopportune.

A spokesman for Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed that there had been indications from Canada, Australia and New Zealand that their heads of state were considering coming to SA. However, he could not confirm any visits.

All three governments are apparently reconsidering after indications from the ANC and other parties that any October visits would not be opportune.

However, SA government sources believe the visits could go ahead following dramatic progress made by the ANC, Inkatha and the government towards agreement on combating violence.

● German Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Helmut Schaefer will visit SA in November, embassy sources said yesterday. Mr Schaefer is a close colleague of Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his trip could be a precursor to a visit by Mr Genscher next year, the sources said.

Talks have entered new phase

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The multiparty conference might be some way off yet, but the fight about what the new South Africa will actually look like is under way, leapfrogging the seemingly intractable "obstacles to negotiations".

The key negotiators are already strategising in constitutional detail, on the assumption that the "talks about talks" phase is all but over.

The NP document, subtitled "A vision for a new democratic constitutional dispensation for South Africa" is now poised to compete for public approval with the ANC's "Constitutional principles and structures for a democratic South Africa", published in April.

And although NP members will only get the chance to consider its contents at their special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week, ANC constitutional experts are already in the process of taking it apart.

Less than two days after the first details of the NP proposals were published, a critique in the form of a discussion paper was circulating among ANC leaders.

SOWETAN Correspondent

It can be expected to influence their formal response heavily.

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Strategy

The organisation concludes that the NP proposals contain a clear "bottom line: There will be no majority rule".

The nine-page document deals in some detail with the NP proposals, and seeks to place them in the context of overall Government strategy in the constitution-making process - as seen through the now-jaundiced eyes of the ANC.

Regarding the blueprint itself, the author identifies the proposed "fragmentation" of South Africa into nine regions (with largely autonomous governments

enjoying entrenched constitutional powers) as a manoeuvre aimed at hobbling the central authorities.

"It would render it impossible for a future parliament to implement any national policy of reconstruction."

"It would render social and economic transformation impossible and render nationally directed affirmative action policies impossible. The Bill of Rights would be in jeopardy." *SOWETAN 30/8/91*

The proposal for a second House of Parliament, in which smaller parties will enjoy representation equal to that of larger ones - and an effective veto - is an aberration of democracy.

Further, the idea of a mandatory multiparty Cabinet is viewed as a ruse.

Placing the latest NP proposals in the broader political context, the author concluded: "President de Klerk's strategy is to ensure that he and his government not only manage the period of transition, but also determine its eventual outcome ... De Klerk wants a constitutional framework which will render one person, one vote effective by making rule by an elected majority party impossible."

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"An elected constituent assembly is most unlikely to produce such a constitution (as that envisaged by the NP). Hence the proposal by the Government for a multiparty conference (or some similar variant) to draw up and agree to a new constitution after which it may be submitted to a referendum."

Even the Government's stated commitment to a Bill of Rights is attacked as a manipulative sham.

It is a simple negotiating truism that participating parties demand more in the beginning than they expect to get in the end.

For that reason alone there should be no great panic about the fact that the competing NP and ANC visions seem so far apart at the moment.

We have, from both sides, the opening bells. The real content of the bargaining process should be monitored in terms of what each side is prepared to jettison along the way.

Give and take at talks - Stoffel

304A

Sowetan 30/8/71
THE National Party's new secretary general, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, foresees complicated compromises in the coming negotiation process.

Speaking during a chat show on Radio 702 on Wednesday night, he said:

"The job is of course politically more controversial than the one that I'm leaving in the sense that it would now be concentrating on party politics," the outgoing Minister of Education and Training said.

"We feel it's necessary that the party should build its own identity separate from that of the Government," he said. - Sapa.

Focus

DÉTENTE is a very Western concept which has worked well. It led to the end of the Cold War and was instrumental in creating a new world order.

The word means the easing of tensions, especially between nations or political parties.

It can also be interpreted as good public relations. For example, you might not agree with your opposition but, if you sat down and listened, or if your opposition sat down and listened to you, each party might have a better understanding of the other.

This is commonly known as talking. And while we are at it, we might as well add that talking is better than fighting.

Talking has the added benefit in that it can influence opposing views, perhaps even alter them.

Africa has its own kind of détente, which is rooted in the inherent peaceful nature of the Africans - and this is perhaps best explained by the concept of *ubuntu*.

This is manifested even in the most militant and radical slogan of the Africanists of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress: "Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy."

While this is (politically) an extremely provocative slogan, it also in principle seeks peace first - albeit through the barrel of a gun.

As things stand, the PAC will not (officially) speak to the ruling National Party, but it will speak to the ANC, Azapo and Wosa.

And this appears to be because the NP is white. This could not be further from the truth, because the ANC and Wosa have white membership...

Similarly, and to substantiate this, the PAC this week released a statement about the launch of its Johannesburg Central Region and the envisaged creation of a Civic Association for this region.

The carefully worded statement

Talking, listening the key to peace

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

was explicit - anybody who saw him or herself as an African and who paid allegiance to Africa could join the JCR.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said at the time: "The PAC recognises only one race - the human race."

In essence these two positions - which the PAC has held since its inception in 1959 - are light-years ahead of the pack.

The distinct Africanism sounds very similar to the ideas expressed by the NP (than those even) of the ANC, who has not expressed a purely Africanist train of thought.

The NP is prejudiced against any foreign interference in the lo-

cal conflict - it is even against intervention by other African states, for that matter.

The latter can be ascribed to fear rather than loathing...

When President FW de Klerk released his "Marshall Plan" almost two years ago, the desire was for the restructuring and rebuilding of the African sub-continent for the sake of Africans.

The chasm between the NP and the PAC, is thus, not as wide as it appears at first glance.

The thing that keeps the two apart is more an issue of semantics and interpretation than dogma or ideology.

Let's consider some of the positions.

The PAC is, in principle, not opposed to a negotiated settlement, nor is the NP.

The PAC believes there should be a new constitution, so does the NP.

The NP believes there should be a transitional authority, so does the PAC.

But where the fundamental differences lie are in the unfolding process of the democratisation of the country.

The PAC believes the present authority wielded by the Government (and by implication the NP), was unfair in that the State was determining the pace, tempo and

speed of the negotiating process.

All of this shifts the NP and PAC a little closer to each other, whether the militants appreciate this or not - it is a fact.

Which puts the question: how would it damage the image or (stretch) the credibility of the PAC if it engaged the Government in some form of talks for the sake of détente (or *ubuntu* for that matter) - or simply for the sake of influencing the process - by going to the eye of the storm, the ruling National Party?

The PAC and Azapo leadership, have in the past at some point or another, found themselves in the company of the NP or members of Government.

Consider the scenario - and remember the concept of *ubuntu* and the idea of détente: Two American senators arrive in South Africa to try and understand the unfolding democratic process in the country.

Upon their arrival their hosts - say, for argument's sake, the American Embassy - have a cocktail party to welcome the senators to South Africa.

On the guest list are members of all the political parties including the NP and PAC...

Should the PAC refuse to attend the cocktail party and shun the opportunity to meet (and indeed) influence the senators simply because there are Government officials present?

Let us take the analogy a bit further and let us assume that the PAC leadership and following would like to see an African government in the next South Africa.

Can the PAC, by petulantly storming out of a cocktail party (and remember this is a hypothetical situation), convince the world that, as the next government, it is capable of plugging into a world order of tolerance and détente?

The answers to the questions lie in the PAC and not the NP.

If the PAC believes that it has ideas which could positively influence the democratic process, it must share them - for the sake of democracy, and for the sake of the future of this country, not for the sake of the PAC.

How Nats see future government



EXECUTIVE COLLEGE

Step 1 (9)
2018/19
30 Oct

FIRST HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT

Both Houses must agree before laws can be passed

SECOND HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT

NINE REGIONAL LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVES

W CAPE

N CAPE

OFS

E CAPE

NATAL

E TVL

N TVL

PWV

W TVL

MUNICIPAL LEGISLATURES AND EXECUTIVES

NEIGHBOURHOOD COUNCILS

FIRST TIER

The supreme executive replaces the present State President. Consists of 3 - 5 members of the strongest parties in the First House of Parliament, which together command at least a majority of members. Chairman rotates.

First House, elected nationally on a one-man, one-vote basis on the principle of proportional representation - possibly with some constituency representation added.

Second House, the seat of minorities; equal number of representatives for each of nine regions and all political parties with more than a minimum percentage of support.

SECOND TIER

Nine regional legislatures and executives with autonomy over certain affairs, plus own tax bases. Some representatives in the legislature may be chosen indirectly by municipal legislatures.

THIRD TIER

Integrated municipal or metropolitan authorities with legislative, executive and fiscal powers, and autonomy over certain affairs. The franchise could be weighted in favour of property owners, tenants and rate-payers.

Neighbourhood councils, can be formed voluntarily in suburbs and acquire autonomous powers over certain very local matters.

DP proposes federal system, two chambers

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff ³⁰⁴¹⁷ Aug 20/8/91

A FEDERAL system with eight to 12 states, a two-chamber parliament and a rigid constitution are being proposed by the Democratic Party.

The provisional proposals, which were drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Denis Worrall MP, have been published in a policy discussion paper.

It will be dealt with at the party's national congress in Cape Town in November.

The paper says the DP believes the people must govern and that federalism enables more people to participate. Federalism would distribute power, was a defence against tyranny and accommodated pluralism.

The central parliament would enjoy co-ordinate sovereignty with the state parliaments.

Criteria for determining the boundaries of states are: The firm rejection of states delineated on racial or ethnic lines; community of interests of the

population of an area; economic viability and potential; administrative effectiveness.

In addition to the language of record each state will have the right to adopt further languages as official languages.

The right of linguistic communities to choose mother-tongue education and to promote their culture should be constitutionally protected.

The federal government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest but all other powers would be exercised by the state powers.

The plan proposes a dual executive consisting of the the President and Prime Minister with a cabinet drawn from and accountable to parliament.

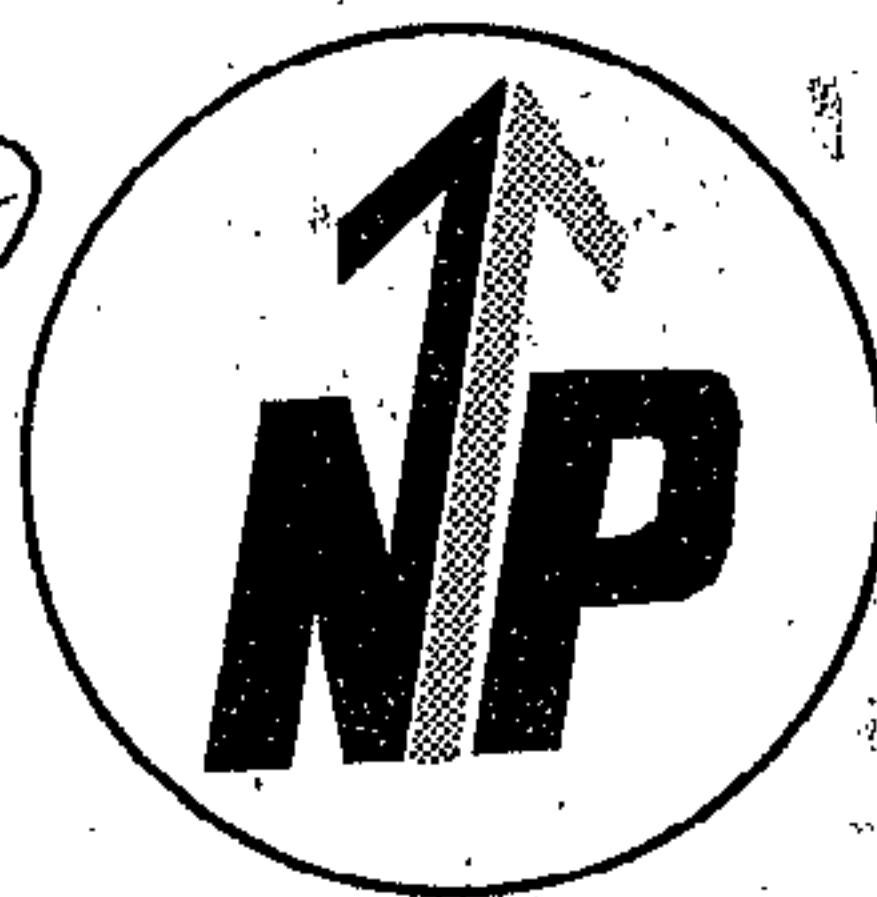
In the bicameral legislature there would be a national assembly and a senate with co-equal powers except in the case of appropriation and other money Bills where the assembly would be able to override objections from the senate.

The draft plan also envisages a constitutional court and a Civic Bill of Rights.

The Nat blueprint

Star 30/8/91

304A



THE NATIONAL Party envisages a united, democratic, nonracial South African republic, but with heavy emphasis on the devolution of power from the central government to regional and local authorities, and weighted representation for minorities.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A **unitary** state, comprising the present RSA including self-governing territories, but with a strong federal flavour. The future status of the TBVC states has not yet been made clear.

Three branches of government: the **executive, legislature and judiciary**.

A multiparty **Executive College** to head the state, consisting of between three and five members of the strongest parties in the **first house of Parliament**, deciding by consensus. These parties together should command a majority of the representatives in this house. The chairmanship of the Executive College would operate on a rotational basis. A multiparty **Cabinet** would be appointed on the basis of consensus by the Executive College, and would be obliged to follow its policy.

Two houses of Parliament. The first elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. The powers of the majority in the first house would be limited by the requirement of an increased majority for some "sensitive" matters and the need for agreement with a **second house of Parliament**.

The second, smaller, house would be the seat of power of minorities, representing the proposed nine regions. Each party achieving more than a specified minimum support level in elections for the legislature in that region would get equal seats for that region. The functions of the second house would be by a simple majority to approve ordinary laws passed by the first house; by a two-thirds majority to pass legislation amending the constitution, or affecting regions or minorities, or which was entrenched in the constitution; and to initiate laws affecting the specific interests of minorities and regions.

Elections would clearly be held regularly and conducted by secret ballot. This assumption is made on the basis of previously consistent NP statements, although these electoral mecha-

nisms are not specifically dealt with in the current plan.

The use of **proportional representation** in elections for the first house of Parliament does not rule out the possibility of some parallel constituency representation. The German example is given, where half the seats in the legislature are chosen according to the winner-takes-all system in single-member constituencies.

The NP plan makes no mention of a **constitutional court** but stresses heavily that its philosophical basis is a "regstaat" (untranslatable, but roughly a "rule-of-law state") and posits the constitution as the supreme law, alterable only by special procedures in the two houses of Parliament. The courts would be empowered to ensure these procedures are followed.

Each of the nine **regions** would have a legislature, chosen by a mix of direct elections on the basis of proportional representation in constituencies and possibly indirect election from representatives of local legislatures. Each region would also have an **executive committee**.

The executive committee would comprise the leaders of all the parties which commanded more than a minimum percentage of the vote in the legislatures. If this became unworkable, the executive committee could consist of only the leaders of the strongest parties which together command a simple majority.

The **regional and local** authorities would enjoy real autonomous powers over certain as yet unspecified matters, and not merely delegated powers, and would have their own tax bases.

A **bill of fundamental rights**, not spelt out in the NP document, would be enshrined in the constitution. The courts would be empowered to enforce it.

To ensure that the State did not abuse power, a new procedure would be developed for the appointment of **judges** to ensure their impartiality. In addition the **auditor-general, public service commission and Reserve Bank** would be given greater autonomy. An independent and objective **ombudsman** would be appointed. □

Could talks start in November?

WHEN President De Klerk introduces the National Party's constitutional proposals at its federal congress in Bloemfontein next week, he will be elaborating on many of the principles he has laid down since last year.

Although on many occasions Mr De Klerk has referred to what his party stands for in the new South Africa, he still has been criticised on the grounds that the party lacks a blueprint.

At one stage NP spokesmen justified this by saying that the government did not want to be seen to be prescriptive and that details of a new constitution would have to be worked out at negotiations.

Now the National Party is finally signalling that it is ready for talks. Mr De Klerk apparently feels the first exploratory discussions can start in November.

The peace accord which has been reached with the help of neutral facilitators has served as a powerful stimulant for the calling of an all-party conference. In the deliberations on this beforehand, good relations developed between some of the main role players — the government, the ANC and Inkatha — which could be reflected in negotiations.

Efforts are now being made to get other parties in on the signing of the accord on September 14, but unfortunately it again seems as if the rightwing will refuse to take part.

The signing of this peace accord, which will include codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces, and ways to monitor political violence, should clear away most of the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

Speaking at a Nationalist fund-raising effort in Durban at the weekend Mr De Klerk said that, after the signing of the accord, there would be no further reason to delay negotiations. He clearly believes that there has been a change of attitude among some of the other key components.

He also indicated again that there would be a referendum to submit constitutional reform proposals to the white electorate. The National Party has been committed to this for a long time.

There are even indications that there could be more than one referendum in order to test the views of other race groups.

In a recent newspaper interview, Mr De Klerk said his party had already obtained a mandate for negotiation from its electorate at the last general election, but the end result would have to be submitted to the voters.

He was also asked whether, now that the National Party had members of other race groups, it would be fair for black NP members not to have a vote on the new constitution while their white colleagues did.

Mr De Klerk said he was not excluding a referendum or referenda which would simultaneously test the feelings of all South Africans. The new constitution, if it was to succeed, had to have the broad support of all the people, otherwise it would fail.



Aug 30/8/91

Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

The idea of such a referendum would be to show that the various component parts of the population supported the new constitution.

"Participatory democracy" is one of the themes of the NP's draft constitutional proposals.

One of the threads running through the plan is, as Mr De Klerk put it in Durban, that in a future system no party must have as much power as the National Party has now.

He also suggested that no president should have as much power as now. Mr De Klerk and his colleagues learned their lesson in the days of Mr P W Botha.

In its new proposals the NP therefore foresees a three to five member executive council to replace the post of President. This team probably will have a rotating chairman.

Before they go any further with this idea the Nationalist planners had better have a look at the mess a collective presidency has become in Yugoslavia, with many ethnic factors involved there. What the NP has in mind is obviously the Swiss system.

Uppermost in the thoughts of Mr De Klerk and his colleagues is the idea of reducing centrally-controlled powers inherent in the present system. This is why there is the suggestion of a devolution of power in a federal process with nine local governments. Among other things some of the language problems that may crop up may be dealt with in this way.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, indicated this week that the government feels that what should be followed was what he called "models of nation building" as are in place in Switzerland and the quasi-federal system of Belgium.

He added that, in a way, a government could play only a limited role and that interference in the private sovereignty of its subjects must be avoided.

At times it is really amazing how Nationalist thinkers are more and more embracing classic liberal values which in years gone by they went out of their way to equate with communism.

The idea of a two-chamber Parliament in the NP blueprint points to some formula to deal with the protection of minority rights. Mr De Klerk has always come out strongly on this issue although he has emphasised that this must not be done on a racial basis.

The NP is pressing for the idea of a multiparty government as it is clearly determined to play an important role in such a future government. Mr De Klerk again stressed this in the past week.

There remains of course the question of an interim government which is bound to be the big initial sticking point at the negotiations.

While the ANC and its allies are pressing for this along with the idea of a constituent assembly, Mr De Klerk is offering transitional arrangements. There are indications that he will go very far to accommodate extra-parliamentary groups in decision-making at all levels of government, including the Cabinet, up to the time when the country will in effect have an interim government.

Nationalist politicians who favour this idea say that these transitional arrangements could make a valuable contribution to a future stable administration as they could give some of these extra-parliamentary groups valuable "in-service" training in government and the practical problems of administration.

While the ANC and its allies have so far been adamant in their demand for an interim government, there will obviously have to be a lot of give and take on this issue in negotiations.

Although at present they reject transitional arrangements as "co-option", there is a feeling in some ANC ranks that the organisation eventually could settle for this, provided the arrangement would include guarantees for impartial control over security forces, the state-run media, radio and television and the electoral process.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk cannot be happy about the way in which the National Party in the Free State gave in to political thuggery when it put off a meeting in Parys in the face of AWB threats of violence.

This was just another indication of the trouble Mr De Klerk is having with the rightwing. For him it was unfortunately also an indication of how low the morale of Nationalists is in the province where the party once held all 14 of the Assembly seats but where the CP now has six, with a good prospect of winning another one soon.

In the case of Ventersdorp Mr De Klerk decided to defy the rightwing threats because he believed that it was a political leader's right to speak and to be heard freely, although it took a huge police force to support him.

Afterwards he said it had been a tragic day for South Africa and promised that the government would supply police protection to anyone who needed it from people who did not know how to behave themselves. The Free State NP chose not to take up this offer.

The Cape Nationalist mouthpiece criticised the Parys decision of the Free State leader of the party, Mr Kobie Coetsee. It said it was an "unfortunate blunder" that should not be repeated and it published an unflattering cartoon showing him running away from the AWB.

Mr De Klerk must have had a word with Mr Coetsee by this time.

Two visions

For the first time, both the Government and the ANC have put on the table their detailed plans for what the new South Africa will really look like. Sifting through the complicated documents, PETER FABRICIUS and SHAUN JOHNSON discover some important similarities — and a lot of deep differences.

AT FIRST glance the two models bear a strong resemblance to each other — surprisingly so, given the decades of ideological hostility between the National Party and the ANC. But close analysis shows that, once implemented, they would produce strikingly different forms of government.

There are broad, important areas of convergence. Both models are apparently democratic; both acknowledge the principle of universal franchise; both propose bicameral legislatures involving the system of proportional representation; and both doff a hat to devolution of power by proposing elected regional and local authorities.

However, these resemblances mask substantial underlying differences. The ANC would give equal weight to every vote at every level of government, but the NP would attach different weights to different votes at every level of government.

In essence, the ANC model would concentrate power at the centre, while the NP plan would disperse it, politically and geographically, as far as possible.

The ANC proposes a majoritarian government where the majority's power would be qualified only by the constitution and the courts, and not by any other political party.

Qualify

The NP proposes a consociational style of government favouring minorities, where the power of the majority would be qualified at every turn by other parties, and some decisions would have to be taken by consensus.

In the ANC model, the majority party could appoint the president (or this position could be directly elected, still virtually ensuring it was filled by the majority party's candidate) as well as the entire Cabinet.

It would control all legislation, except, if it did not enjoy a two-thirds majority, changes to the constitution.

In practice, the ANC's commitment to decentralisation — in the forms of a second house of Parliament and regional and local authorities — would not substantially restrict the power of the majority party in central

government.

The majority could dictate policy to regional and local authorities. And the ANC's second house of Parliament (where regions would be represented) would have the power to slow down, but not to stop, legislation emanating from the first house, or National Assembly. Control of this house would be vested in a simple majority.

However, the ANC's endorsement of a system of proportional representation in the National Assembly — and the possibility of regional lists in voting for the Senate — would give more power to minority parties than they enjoy under the Westminster system of single-member constituencies.

By contrast, the NP's model would disperse power to the perimeters in a multitude of ways — some quite spectacular and unprecedented. The proposal to replace the present executive president with a three-to-five member multiparty Executive College would mark this as one of the most decentralised systems in the world.

Further, this supreme executive body would make all decisions by consensus — another remarkable brake on the powers of the majority party.

The two houses of Parliament might collectively pass a motion of no-confidence in the Executive College as a whole but, significantly, could not exercise this form of censure against individual members of the college.

The aim of this provision would seem to be to ensure that a majority in Parliament could not selectively remove minority-party members of the Executive College.

Unlike the relatively weak ANC Senate — it is viewed as the "guardian of the constitution" — the NP's second house of Parliament would be an extraordinarily powerful body, with a veto over decisions by the majority in the first house, and the authority to initiate its own legislation on matters of regional and minority interest.

Since this would be the seat of power of minorities, the veto right of the second house would give minorities enormous clout — to the extent that, hypotheti-

cally, if they decided to form coalitions, their power could possibly be even greater than that of the majority.

The NP proposes that each of the country's nine regions should receive equal representation in the second house.

Although it is impossible to compute the permutations of how this elaborate system might work in practice, it is clear that it would impose tremendous constraints on the majority party, and oblige it to enter into coalitions in order to pass legislation.

Approval

Even in the first house of Parliament — elected on the basis of one person, one vote — a simple majority would not be enough to secure approval in as yet undefined "sensitive" matters.

At lower levels of government, the NP would also like to substantially dilute the power of the majority. In town and city councils, for instance, it proposes that property owners, tenants and ratepayers should receive greater representation than ordinary voters.

Geographically, the NP also proposes to devolve real ("original") and not merely delegated powers to the nine regions — each with its own legislature and executive — and to elected local governments.

It goes even further by proposing that elected neighbourhood councils be set up within municipalities, possibly at suburban level, to control very localised matters such as the granting of licences for property use.

The plan does not seem to have defined the precise powers of the lower levels of government, though the NP has made it clear before that it would like them to be considerable.

It is only when one moves beyond the shared declamatory commitments to broad principles such as nonracialism and democracy that the very different points of departure being utilised in each political camp become clear.

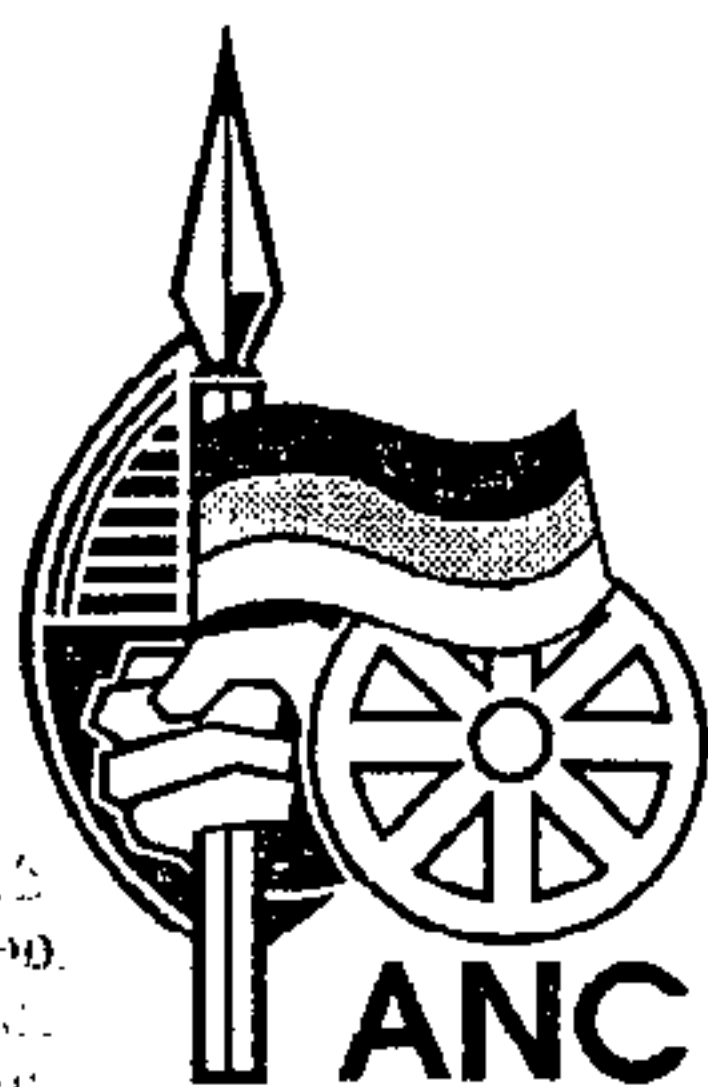
And it is the detailed proposals which flow from those points of departure that will be the focus of the real horse-trading around the constitutional negotiating table. □

of the new
South Africa

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The ANC Star 30/8/91 blueprint

THE ANC envisages a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

-A **unitary** state, that is a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

Three branches of government: the **executive, legislature and judiciary**.

A **president**, who would be head of the executive and head of state. It is undecided as to whether the president should be elected directly by the public — and consequently vested with greater executive powers — or elected by and answerable to Parliament. A **Cabinet** would be headed by a **prime minister**, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the Cabinet would be appointed by the president.

Two houses of Parliament. The first a **National Assembly**, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons would have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary, legislative power would be vested in this house.

The second house would be a **Senate**, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional — though not ethnic — representation. The ANC insists this would neither be a corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor would it represent ethnic or so-called "community" interests. The **Senate**, as the "guardian of the constitution", would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts, and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the **National Assembly** but not to veto it.

Elections would be held at intervals of not more than five years, and conducted by secret ballot. An independent electoral commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media.

The use of **proportional representation** means there would be no delimitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats. Despite the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A **constitutional court**, appointed by the president possibly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land. The constitution would be amended only if two-thirds of the National Assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum. The constitution would be supreme.

Positions in organs of **local and regional government** would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

Regions would not be devised as means of perpetuating privilege, or ethnic or regional divisions along territorial zones, but would be based upon the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances. Central government would control external relations, defence and security, general economic, fiscal and tax policy, national policy frameworks, and resources for social upliftment and the removal of historical imbalances in the society. Regional and local authorities' powers would be clearly circumscribed.

A **justiciable bill of rights** would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. All legislation inconsistent with the bill of rights would be invalidated.

A **human rights commission** would investigate violations, and a **public service commission** would be established to oversee recruitment, promotion and dismissal and to implement an affirmative action programme in the public service. An independent **ombudsman** would investigate complaints against the public service. □

Hugh Robertson reports on US,
comparisons of the USSR and SA

Vital difference in the similarities

Star 30/8/91
IN the wake of the Soviet coup many Americans with a close interest in South Africa have begun to draw parallels between events in the country and the shambles in the Soviet Union. They are not deterred by the fact that for every similarity it is possible to list at least three important differences.

But it would be unfair to suggest informed Americans are limited to seeing only the crudely obvious. Certainly much of what they see for the first time is familiar scenery to most South Africans.

We all know, for instance, that South Africa has something of a KGB problem of its own, that in both countries there is a bewildered generation which was nurtured on a false ideology and which can barely think outside indoctrinated parameters. All would agree that there is no shortage in either country of far-Right hot-heads who would resort to unconstitutional means to resist change.

And generally there are similarities between the Stalinist tradition of the Communist Party in each country. Both parties exert influence secretly through other organisations — through the ANC's national executive and the unions in the case of the SACP.

But what is less obvious is the similarity with which South Africa and the Soviet Union are viewed by businessmen and bankers who judge by cold-eyed criteria far removed from the rhetoric and passion of politics and whose decisions are going to be crucial to the successful reconstruction of both countries.

They appear to be scared stiff by what they have seen so far of societies in change, of communities turning to violence, of security forces with political agendas, and of would-be rulers whose grasp of free enterprise is, to say the least, fragile.

When the coup crisis began, US newspapers published lists of US business projects in the Soviet Union — almost all of them still in

the pipeline, an inordinate number of them short-term.

And last week a report on the latest survey of business attitudes to investment in South Africa showed much the same picture. Little, if any, significant US investment has flowed into the country in the six weeks since President Bush lifted sanctions and most businessmen who might consider investments do not envisage long-term commitments.

The comparisons grow more disturbing. President Bush, backed by many in Congress, has strongly resisted calls for more aid to the Soviet Union. His reasons for doing so are lucid and persuasive and they apply with equal logic to South Africa — the US government is not going to pour massive funds into places where US business fears to tread.

That ought to serve as a timely warning that the multi-billion dollar aid package now being considered in the US Congress for South Africa is far from being a done deal. As the survey on investment in South Africa warned, competition for aid and investment is going to be a brutal and unsentimental business in future.

It is here that many well-disposed Americans see a significant difference beginning to emerge between South Africa and the Soviet Union. It is that tomorrow's leaders in Moscow have embraced the fact that freedom is incomplete without economic freedom, that free enterprise is inseparable from democracy — whereas their South African counterparts, absurdly, still look with some affection at the model of an economy in bondage to an ideology.

None of the comparisons drawn between the two countries comes anywhere near being as ominous as this emerging difference, and it suggests that if the new South Africa is to prosper, much the same catharsis awaits the ANC and SACP as that which Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and Soviet communists are now living through. — Star Foreign Service. □

The ending of Soviet communism has some lessons for South Africa, says Stanley Uys

A black hole we must avoid

Sar 30 [89]

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WHAT a terrible judgment the Soviet people have passed on communism. It was not just its defeat they wanted to proclaim, but its death — they wanted to dance on its grave.

The idols they have de-throned are not only Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, but also Lenin and Marx — now they want Lenin's body removed from its mausoleum and reburied in an ordinary cemetery. This is not just a change of systems, but an exorcism.

Where does the SA Communist Party go after communism's humiliating collapse in the country of its birth? Can it continue in business? And what happens to the ANC's alliance with the SACP? Why did the organisation delay so long in responding to the Moscow coup, and then so half-heartedly? For how long can the ANC afford this inhibition, even paralysis, of thought — and morality — resulting from the alliance?

South Africans are asking whether apartheid will share the same fate as communism. Certainly, the anger and hurt among the black population are there (some no doubt even want a blood-letting), but it seems to me that President F W de Klerk possibly has averted the explosion by making the admission about apartheid that Mikhail Gorbachev was unable to make about communism — that it is unreformable.

White rule continues in South

Africa, but it is on the table for negotiation. The ideology of apartheid itself is in the ash-can, and President de Klerk (with some earlier help from Mr P W Botha) put it there. He understands at least this lesson: That if you intend to reform, do it quickly, do it through consensus, and make sure that the process is controlled.

This has been President de Klerk's great advantage over President Gorbachev: That he and Mr Nelson Mandela have been able to control the reform process. Gorbachev lost control because he could not retain a power base — both the Left and the Right withdrew from him, leaving him stranded in the middle. He had pushed reform beyond the limits the Right would tolerate, and yet could not bring himself to throw in his lot with the Left.

Compared with the Soviet Union, South Africa's reform process has been remarkably controlled and disciplined. Let's hope it stays this way. Where, for example, does the Soviet Union go from here with its awesome economic problems, the clamour already by eight (of 15) republics for independence (and the problems this will create with their ethnic minorities), the emerging tensions over where the nuclear warheads will be located and who will control them, the West's concern that the Soviet centre will fall into a black hole, and so forth? In South Africa at least, the driving force

on both sides is centripetal, not centrifugal.

How much is known, too, about Boris Yeltsin? The British historian, Sir Michael Howard, believes that Yeltsin's politics are not liberal, that "we are witnessing the beginning of a populist dictatorship".

There is a dark side to Yeltsin. The Soviet Union, and indeed the world, owe him an immense debt for taking on the plotters so heroically, but he oscillates between exuberance and moroseness, intensity and melancholia. "A man must live like a great bright flame and burn as brightly as he can," he once said. "In the end he burns out, but this is better than a mean little flame."

This is brave and splendid — Zorba could not have put it better. But it introduces an element of unpredictability. So far, at least, the main players in the South African negotiations are all known — and reasonably predictable figures.

Who will bring in the harvest now that the Soviet Union's traditional institutions are having their power abruptly taken away from them? They are monstrous institutions that need dismantling — inefficient, corrupt, parasitical, brutal — but the process should be an ordered one. To the extent that this over-large country functions, the old institutions are significant, by the reason. There is a fine dividing line between change that is

too late and change that is too scrambled.

The Soviet Communist Party has 15 million members, entrenched in every work-place and nook and cranny of Soviet life. Its two allied institutions are the KGB and the defence forces. Together they account for expenditure of 35 percent of GDP. One estimate is that three million Communist Party employees alone — secretaries, drivers, etc — will become unemployed, in addition to all the others who will lose their jobs in the new uncertainty.

One can see why President Gorbachev tried to make a distinction between communism, which was beyond saving, and communists, many of whom he thought might still be salvaged for the reform cause. It was too late though. Now everything falls into a black hole.

I mention this to show that here again South Africa scores: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela, somehow, have maintained the balance between the old and the new, phasing out the one as they phase in the other. There is always a destructive side to reform, and the only way to limit this destruction is to control the changeover.

What role should the international community play in South Africa's reform process in the light of the Moscow coup? One commentator here blames the West for allowing President Gorbachev to leave the recent G7 summit in London without giving him "any serious commitment of Western support for his heroic attempt to democratise a police state by consent".

One is talking here not only about financial support — there are limits to the cash aid the Soviet Union can process — but also about much more diplomatic encouragement.

The Left, too, have a responsibility. Professor Archie Brown (Oxford University) blames Soviet radicals for giving President Gorbachev too little support. "By the end of the Eighties," he wrote, "reformist change was becoming a transformation. Gorbachev had facilitated and protected that process to a degree underestimated by Soviet radicals who had ceased to be his supporters..."

"It may be that the speed of change in the Soviet Union over the past few years was such that it was almost impossible to ward off a reactionary coup. The chances would have been greater, however, if radical democrats had realised how much danger Gorbachev was in, and had offered him more support as well as constructive — not destructive — criticism."

"Now, alas, many of them may learn that it was Gorbachev who stood between them and the wrath of all the most backward-looking forces. Although the guilty men in this latest attempt to return Russia and the Soviet Union to the po-

litical dark ages are those who deposed the most enlightened leader their country ever had, the unrealistic belief of radical democrats and nationalists that centuries of authoritarian Russian rule could be discarded overnight played its part."

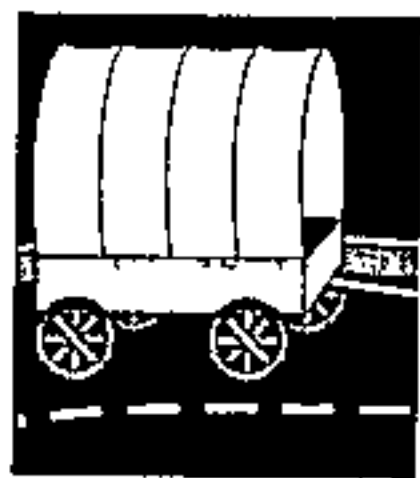
President de Klerk's negotiating partners should take this warning to heart. The extremist Right in South Africa are gathering their forces for what appears to be a strategy of establishing no-go zones for the State President and his ministers. They have absolutely no grasp of the fact that reform is as irreversible in South Africa as it is in the Soviet Union.

A "Boer uprising" of this kind ultimately would fall — the traditional institutions of white rule (the security forces and the bureaucracy) would be no more united than the traditional institutions of communism proved to be in the Soviet Union — and the plotters would become hunted men, like the Moscow plotters. But consider the damage they could do meanwhile. These are factors black leaders must consider.

The key lesson to be learnt from the Moscow plot is that reform needs three essential ingredients: It must be controlled, it must be stable, and it must be speedy. The message from Moscow to President de Klerk is to get his negotiating partners together as soon as possible — and for them all to press the button for Go. □

Turbo-charging the ox-wagon

Recalcitrant whites in the civil service need to be disciplined



It's often argued that, without even trying, the bureaucracy is an obstacle to reform — so who knows what could be achieved if it applied its collective mind to being really obstructionist?

Admittedly, deregulation has undermined the monolith to some extent, but red tape and narrow minds still rule in many areas ranging from township proclamations to the payment of pensions. While in theory, public servants simply implement political policy, their influence over its formulation and ability to make or break it is common throughout the world.

SA's tradition of a centrally controlled and seemingly intransigent bureaucracy enforcing restrictive and repressive policies assured the economic and political decline of the country under Nat rule. However, it was government's bulwark against change and ticket to successive electoral victories.

But with the dawn of the FW de Klerk era, the emphasis changed dramatically. The bureaucracy was called on to spearhead the reform process, not block it. Problem is: how do you turbo-charge an ox-wagon?

SA's broad public sector employs nearly 1.7m people of whom about 600 000 are white. The public service comprising the Own and General Affairs departments — the pillars of P W Botha's tripartite constitution — along with the provincial administrations, employ 750 000, including 300 000 whites.

In addition, whites dominate the administrative and clerical functions. Public Service Association general manager Hans Olivier says 75% of the administrative staff and 73% of clerical workers are white. And by far the majority of those white public servants are conservative Afrikaners. Until February 2 1989, most of them probably supported the National Party. But that may have changed.

With transition to democracy no longer an "if" but a "when," many bureaucrats justifiably fear for their futures.

Will the next government immediately purge the senior ranks and

replace them with officials loyal to the ruling party just as the Nats did soon after winning power in 1948?

And if this happens, how long will it take for the new government to emulate the Nats' systematic transformation of the entire public service into a politically and culturally acceptable corps?

The concern is valid, but what are its consequences and how can it be adequately addressed to ensure the public service becomes and remains a cog in the reform process rather than a spanner in the works?

Already the Conservative Party — never short on political opportunism — is planning strategies to use disaffected public servants to block reform, says CP spokesman Fanie Jacobs. The CP has no doubt that a black government will immediately oust senior bureaucrats and replace them with political appointees. "We will have a public service that will be part and parcel of the governing party. Job security and pensions of existing public servants will be threatened," says Jacobs.

He counters the argument that the Nats did as much in 1948 with the claim that the Nat appointees were "sophisticated people who believed in democracy and the neutrality of the public service." That will raise a laugh among many of the ousted public servants, some of whom tripped over the language *toets* or were simply told that membership of the party was a prerequisite to further advancement.

An organisation like the ANC, he says, lacks not only the talent to replace senior personnel, but also the requisite commitment

to "Western democracy." That from the party of Andries Treurnicht!

Jacobs believes the majority of white bureaucrats support the CP and the party is currently looking at "a wide range of strategies to resist, in peaceful ways, the coming into being of the new SA."

At local government level, where the CP in many cases has political control of towns, integration will be resisted "even more vigorously" than elsewhere. "We are determined not to be forced into a system we don't accept," he says.

But what could public servants do to thwart reform? Apart from being generally inefficient (which for many would be nothing new), any illegal or subversive act could lead not only to dismissal, but also to prosecution.

Destroying records, deliberately delaying administrative processes or cutting off essential supplies to particular areas could raise tensions in communities and threaten the reform process.

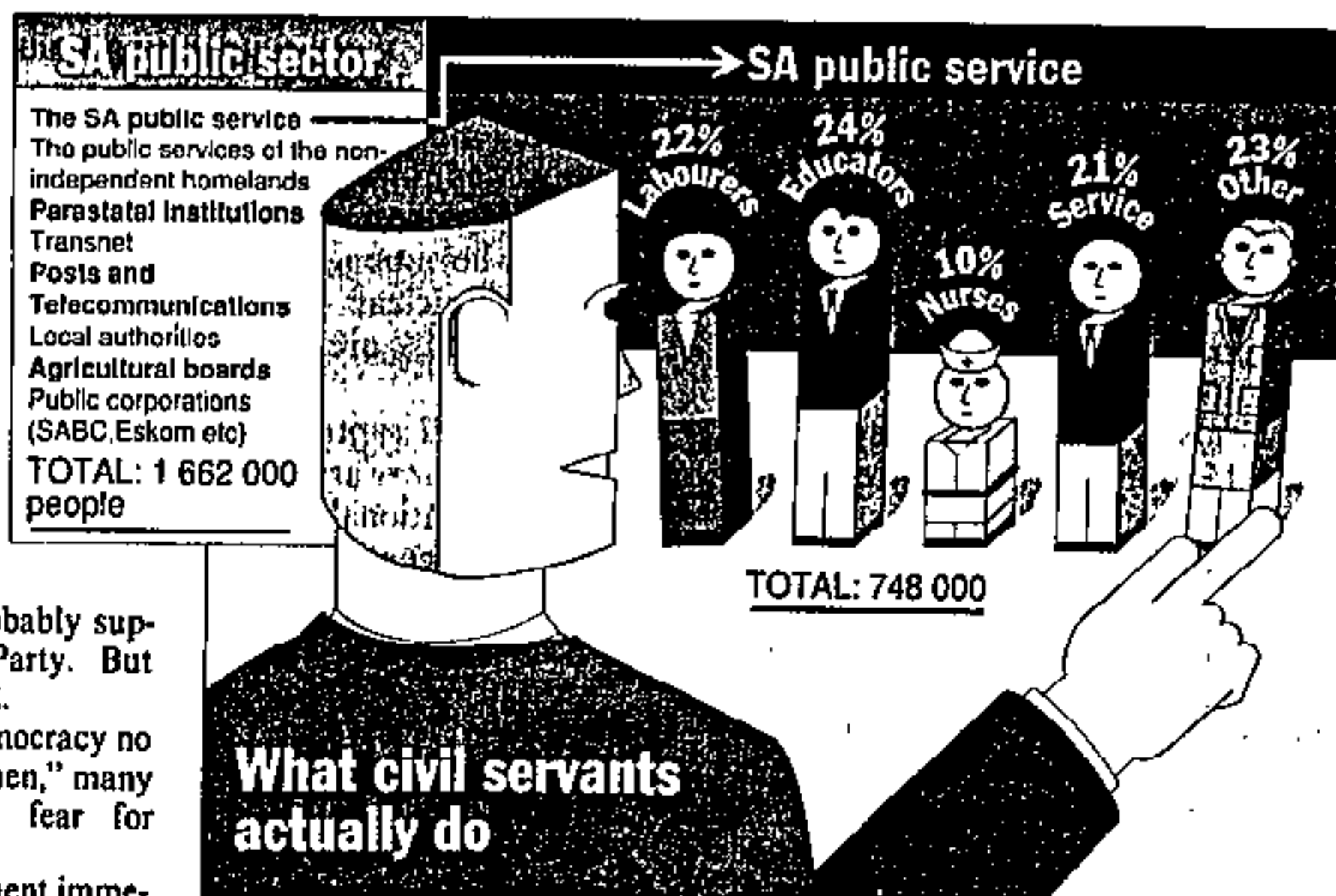
But such actions are generally easy to trace. (Ventersdorp's town engineer, who allegedly switched off the power supply shortly before police and rightwingers clashed in the town earlier this month, was arrested almost immediately and charged with subversion.)

Commission for Administration chairman Piet van der Merwe believes public servants will remain loyal to the State regardless of their party affiliations: "I don't believe they will allow themselves to be influenced to block reform."

He says the public service has a crucial role to play and must give the lead in the reform process. "I believe party allegiance ranks lower in the eyes of a public servant than duty to the service."

"The proper conduct of public business requires that public servants be expected and obliged to live up to certain standards of behaviour and to give practical expression to the values that underlie the whole concept of 'public service' — namely integrity, anonymity, non-partisanship, fairness, professionalism and loyalty."

They need to restore the trust of all South Africans in the



public service by maintaining high ethical standards at all times and under all conditions.

Van der Merwe says there are obviously no absolute guarantees for public servants after transition, but efficiency, dedication and skill will go a long way to assuring job security under a future government.

Olivier agrees. "In my experience, public servants put their duty above party loyalty. They serve the taxpayers and the electorate, not the government. If the CP succeeds in implementing its strategy, you can write 'condemned' all over the public service."

He says the acceptability of the public service to the next government is more of an issue than the adaptability of public servants to change. "In my opinion, today's public service is competent, big and loyal enough to face the challenges of the coming constitutional reform with loyalty, dedication and confidence."

The Democratic Party's Kobus Jordaan, a former senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development, believes the perception of the white bureaucracy being predominantly CP will abate when negotiations start and De Klerk and Nelson Mandela are heard to espouse common values. "At the moment, white fears are not being addressed and this is the CP's biggest 'asset.' Attitudes will change when they are (addressed)."

Jordaan says if the CP encourages the blocking of reform, it must be in a position to guarantee jobs to public servants who may be fired for their actions. He believes when it comes to the crunch, only a tiny percentage of CP supporters will be willing to risk their

positions in pursuing political ends.

The ANC views the issue from a different perspective. Information chief Pallo Jordan says the reluctance to change goes beyond the public service and right up to government: "The incumbent government is an obstacle to change. While it has been compelled by a mix of national, regional and international pressure to change, it hasn't come to terms with the consequences. The public service, a large part of which has been government's constituency, reflects the same mood."

He agrees that the public service, which provides the input on which government bases policy decisions and then implements those policies, is in a position to sabotage the reform process. The threat can be overcome to the extent that government wants to overcome it.

The ANC believes an affirmative action programme is necessary to "Africanise" the public service. At a human resources management conference in April, the organisation's manpower director, Mzwai Piliso, said the ANC was looking at the top 1 500 jobs in the public service. He said it was necessary to remove the historical imbalance through affirmative action.

A possible interim step to ease the transition to a representative bureaucracy is being pursued by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrie Viljoen.

In essence it involves joint multiparty working groups specialising in particular fields of government. Part of their task would be to give guidance to an interim government during the transitional phase and to co-operate with existing bureaucratic structures.

The groups may emerge as the leadership corps of a future public service.

The DP's Roger Burrows believes the working groups could also counter possible subversion in the public service by giving ordinary citizens more confidence to "squeal" about wrongdoing at lower levels and thereby keep public servants on their toes.

Jordaan says public servants' fears need to be allayed by politicians other than Nationalists — "It must come from the ANC and other people who will be part of the future. It is one of the most important issues to deal with at the multiparty conference."

The bureaucracy will always be with us. Chances are it will remain inefficient and overstaffed no matter who is in power or what face stares back from behind the counter. But it can't be allowed to block reform and must, in fact, be used by government to remove far more restrictions on the process of socio-economic and political change.

The problem is akin to making the police force responsible to the public at large, rather than to political masters. The best way to begin this process is to take legal steps against those individuals who use the public sector to work for the Conservatives. Their actions are clearly intended to sabotage public well-being and there can be no excuse for them.

The message needs to be implemented from ministerial level down and government had better resign itself to the fact that it will become very unpopular in the civil service. But it is already unpopular — it has little to gain by fudging the necessary actions on spurious political grounds. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

The twain can meet

304A

FM 30/8/91

Surprising though it sounds, there is, in principle, not much that separates government's constitutional proposals from those of its chief adversary, the ANC.

Of course, the National Party's proposal for a collegiate presidency will not be well received by the ANC, which has yet to respond formally. One member of the ANC national executive committee has already said that this is a derogation of the principle of majority rule. But a lot will be watered down in the give-and-take of negotiations, to which both sides are committed.

Aside from transitional mechanisms, disagreement centres largely on details about structure — for example, the powers of a second chamber in a bicameral legislature.

Similarly, the ANC's draft constitutional proposals advocate "strong and effective local government," compared to the NP's proposed nine "regional governments." That idea sounds for the moment too much like a federal arrangement, which the ANC eschews. But its call for "strong and effective local government" cannot be too different.

Despite these differences, the respective proposals fall into what UCT's David Welsh calls the "zone of bargainability."

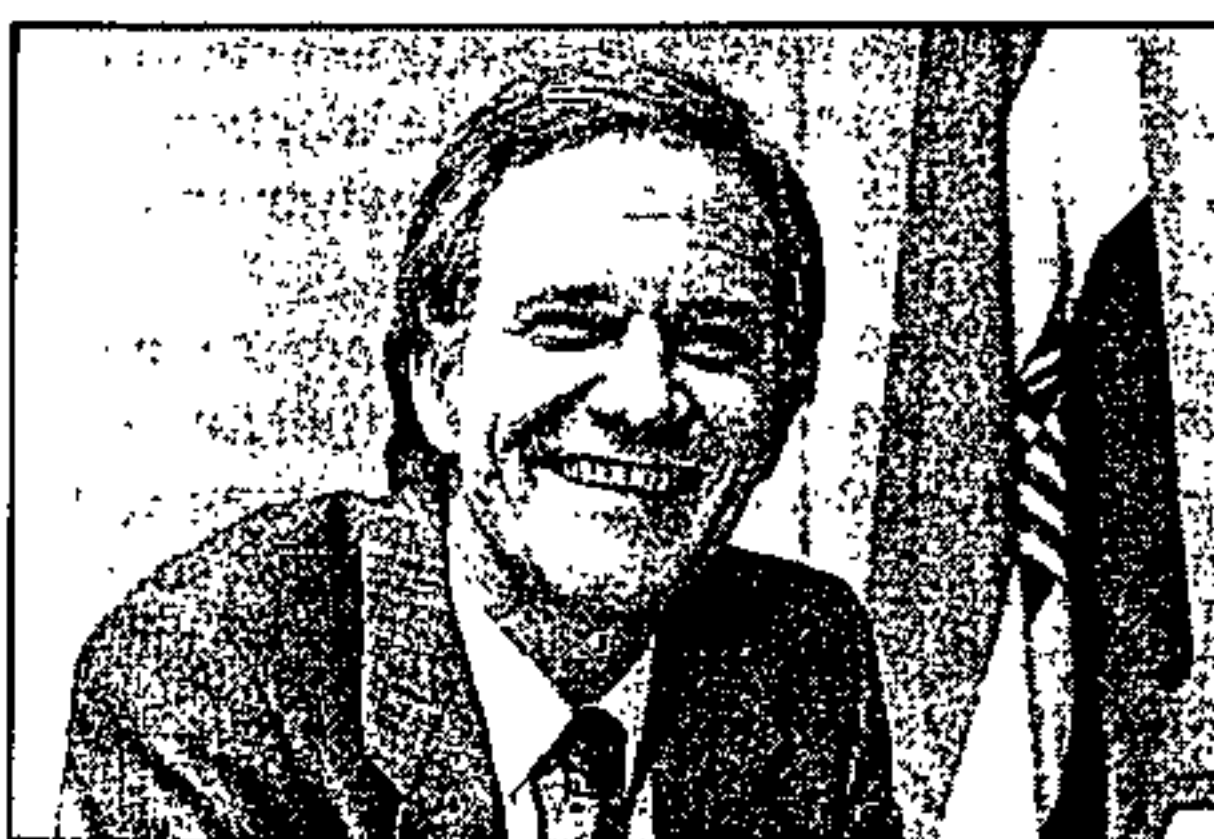
So it is not altogether surprising that the ANC did not rush out an official blanket rejection of the NP's constitutional proposals, leaked to *Rapport* last week and due to be tabled at a special NP federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4 (see box).

PLAN IN A NUTSHELL

The NP's constitutional proposals include scrapping the present office of a single presidential head of State and replacing it with a council of three to five members.

Other features, according to *Rapport* and acknowledged as accurate by Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, include:

- ☐ A multiparty Cabinet of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- ☐ Two houses of parliament;
- ☐ Proportional representation instead of the current winner-takes-all model in the first house of parliament — parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on the number of constituencies won;
- ☐ Nine self-governing regions;
- ☐ New municipal boundaries administered by single municipal councils;
- ☐ A democratic State with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race; and
- ☐ One person, one vote — with no group domination.



Stoffel van der Merwe ... spearheading the NP plan

Until the ANC formally responds (as it says it will), ANC constitutional committee members are saying that the NP proposals are nothing new. One, referring especially to the idea for a three- or five-member presidency, ventures to suggest they could be a formula for an interim government, but not a lasting solution. This suggests room for manoeuvre. The NP plan is seen as a convoluted way of, in effect, entrenching ethnicity.

The proposal for a collegiate presidency is derived from the Swiss federal council system, under which major parties share the presidency on a rotational, federal basis. It is an informal convention not actually written into the Swiss constitution. However, it is uniquely Swiss and difficult to export.

According to Welsh, who has no quarrel with this proposal in principle, the need for SA to avoid a winner-takes-all arrangement is amply supported by the voluminous literature on divided societies.

On regional and local government, there is a strong case for saying that government has become a centralised, bureaucratised leviathan, suggesting that effective local or regional government will be a good thing. There can be no reasonable objection to decentralisation per se, says Welsh.

Of course there are all kinds of inconsistencies in what government is now proposing and what it did in the past. However, SA has entered a whole new era.

Nelson Mandela, in an interview with Stanley Uys, as well as other ANC figures, have said that they do not want to see minorities excluded from power. But their formal inclusion in government is another matter. The ANC may argue that, having agreed to proportional representation, it will accept a kind of coalition government, even if this is not entrenched in a new constitution. President F W de Klerk could counter that, with 30%-40% of whites sympathetic to the CP, he might lose a referendum unless this is inserted into the constitution.

It could emerge as a transitional measure entrenched for some years, as in Zimbabwe, and performing a stabilising role while poli-

tics in the new SA develops its own momentum. It would, after all, be a compromise in which the word race does not feature.

Clarity is yet to emerge also on the bicameral parliament. Welsh points out that a second chamber must have real power. Whether it is to be veto power remains to be seen; suffice to say that mere delaying power — as in Namibia — is not enough. Experience has shown that without genuine power, a second chamber is ineffective and pointless.

For all that, there is an interesting convergence in the ANC and government positions, observes Welsh. Both agree on multiparty democracy, universal suffrage, nonracialism, a common voters' roll, proportional representation, a bicameral parliament, the rule of law, a Bill of Rights, judicial review and having an ombudsman.

The differences appear to be over a collegiate presidency and regional government, which, Welsh argues, are eminently negotiable. "I am therefore fairly optimistic that a new constitution is basically within sight." ■

NATAL EDUCATION

Still cutting FM 30/8/91

Retrenchment of teaching staff in Natal is going ahead and will probably continue next year — despite the June 27 statement by three Education Ministers which, relieved educationists understood, overturned the previous "own affairs" rationalisation process.

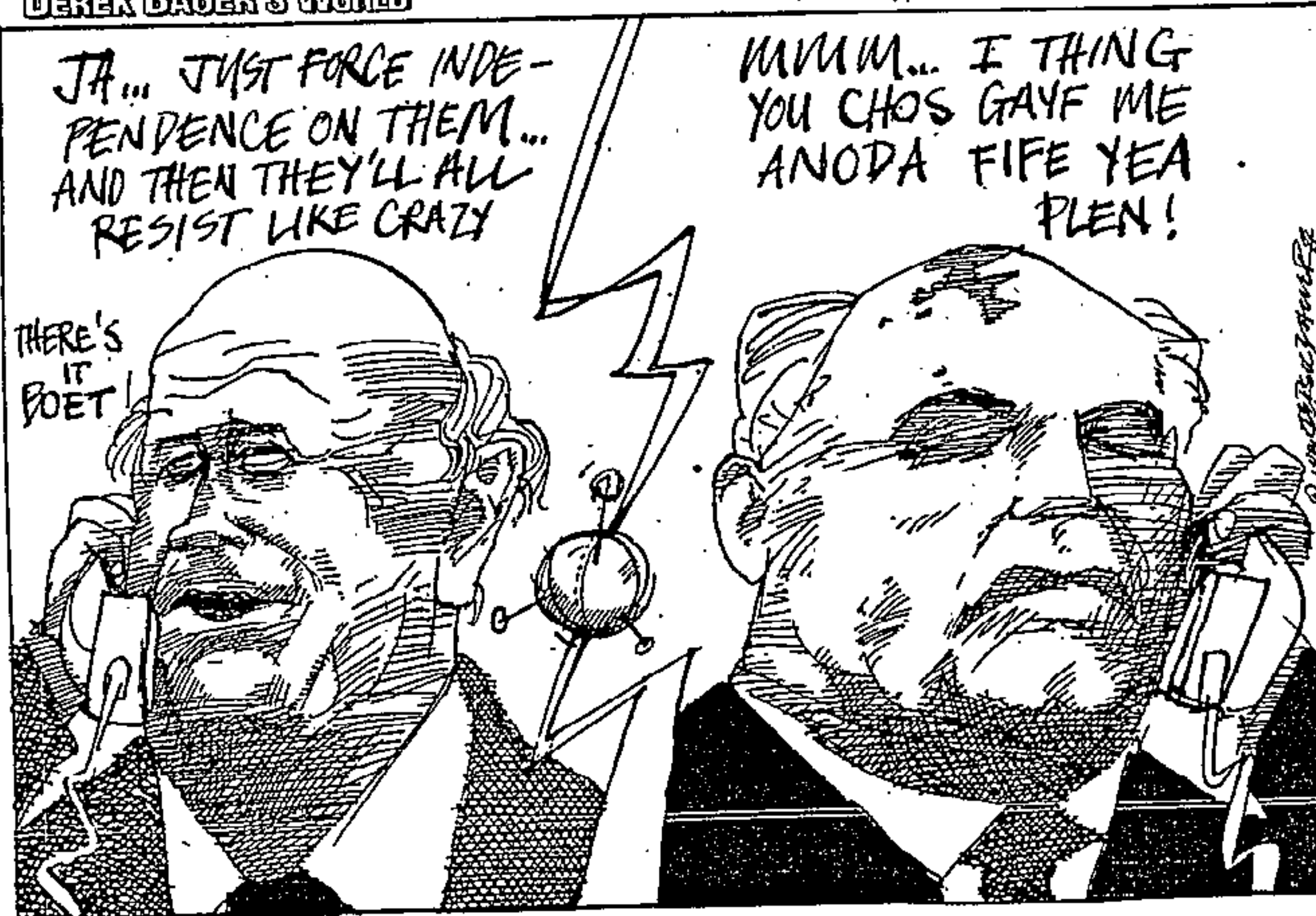
John Deane, deputy director of the Natal Education Department (NED), confirmed this week that 688 posts in Natal would go by the end of the year. He did not rule out further retrenchments next year, though he said numbers would depend on the amount of funding the province gets for education.

This is hard to understand in the light of the earlier statement from Ministers Piet Clase, Stoffel van der Merwe and Louis Pienaar, which, though coming at a time when President F W de Klerk was under pressure to halt staff cuts and school closures (and after black pupils had occupied the empty Orange Grove Primary School), seemed to indicate that cuts would stop and under-utilised resources made available to all pupils.

Apparently not so. Deane says the June 27 statement "has not substantially changed our situation because retrenchment of teaching staff is being undertaken in the light of the amount of money we are getting."

Natal, according to De Klerk (*Current Affairs* July 5), gets the most favourable dispensation for white education in SA and,

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



A case of the messenger muddying the message?

REMEMBER campaigning in a God-forsaken, reactionary redoubt in Johannesburg for the now-defunct Progressive Federal Party during the 1977 election campaign. The National Party propaganda machine churned out a particularly squalid pamphlet to bludgeon the progressives' mildly consociational constitutional proposals. The headline screamed: "PFP inexorably on the slidepath to black majority rule". Needless to say, our candidate lost his deposit.

Now the same propaganda supremos have published *Deelnemende Demokrasie in 'n Regstaat*, the NP's vision for "a new democratic constitutional model for South Africa". It enthusiastically embraces the very proposals they so assiduously scorned 15 years ago.

The document also kicks over the traces and ambiguities of past, vaguer attempts to articulate hard government proposals for the looming negotiations. Reaction from the more marginal political extremes were predictable, if not contradictory.

"The proposals mean South Africa would be run by a black majority government, descending us into Third World standards," trumpeted Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht. His opposite number in Azapo, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, was equally condemnatory for starkly different reasons: "It's a disguised attempt to protect white interests," he stated.

Before ignoring this *storm und drang* with a Mandy Rice-Davies dismissal — "they would say that, wouldn't they?" — it's worth examining whether, remarkably, both the CP and Azapo responses contain elements of truth.

The Nat proposals attempt to square a circle: Granting non-racial franchise rights to all, over-compensating minorities for their loss of present power. Thus the attempt to let majoritarianism prevail, but to immediately check the power of the many with institutional devices to protect the few.

There are four pillars on which the newly proposed structures of power sharing rest: decentralisation of power, devolution of authority, constitutional checks and balances, and mandating the requirement of consensus for "contentious" matters.

Every past government attempt at power sharing has died, unmoored, in the shallow grave of deception.

Now that real negotiations are at hand with real opponents, rather than with approved "Uncle Tom" types, the Nats have presented proposals containing all the elements of liberal democratic constitutional engineering. While its authors might be Stoffel van der Merwe and Gerrit Viljoen, their plan owes its origins to such impecca-

The National Party's constitutional plan is not a bad system — the problems arise from its origin, says the Democratic Party's TONY LEON



Van Zyl Slabbert... Guiding spirit

bly enlightened sources and guiding spirits as Arend Lijphart, Van Zyl Slabbert, John Dugard and even Alan Paton.

The most dramatic break from the past which now places NP constitutional thinking in the liberal orbit is the total abandonment of racial references and the removal of compulsory group membership as a prerequisite for either franchise rights or the construction of the legislative and executive arms of government.

The new Nat South Africa will diffuse power and divide authority. It makes concessions to majority rule but is deeply suspicious of "majoritarianism".

On the vertical level, it provides for an iron-cast division of competencies and powers into three tiers of government. Having happily emasculated local and provincial decision-making over the past 40 years, the government now proposes the division of South Africa into nine regions or states, each to be invested with its own protected powers, tax bases and governments. Further powers are also granted to extended, non-racial local governments.

The nine demarcated "states" have geographic, not racial, boundaries. Anticipating the cry that this will simply be bantustanisation writ hideously large, it is worthwhile noting that each of the nine — Western Province, Northern Cape, Orange Free State, Eastern Province, Natal, Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, PWV and Western Transvaal — has an inbuilt black majority.

On a horizontal level, parliamentary pow-

er will be dispersed bicamerally. The "First House" will be elected, nationwide, by proportional representation (or through a "hybrid" system of half-proportional representation, half-constituencies, in accordance with the German electoral model). The "Upper House" will provide equal representation for the nine regions, either through direct elections or via some form of electoral college. It will have a right of veto on legislation.

At an executive level, the strongman state president is stripped of his awesome powers and replaced by a collective, collegial executive consisting of the leaders of the three to five most significant parties elected to the First House. The chairmanship of the committee rotates annually.

Of course, the Nats did not just thumb-suck the requirement that, at least, the three strongest party leaders share power. They accurately estimate that their own party, and their own leader, can rely on the new electorate to re-deliver it — on this basis — into power. The proposal is reinforced by a mandatory all-party cabinet.

Considerations of power aside, the respectable rationale on which the plan will be sold is that no interest is so large that it can dictate unconditionally, nor so small that it can be entirely overwhelmed.

Criticism of the Nat plan does not lie on constitutional grounds. In many ways it is the best proposal to emerge from a major political player, since it does not confuse unchecked majoritarianism with democracy. It suggests that the suppression of liberty, the trampling on civil rights and the monopolistic power abuses inherent in having a single site of sovereignty, which we grimly witnessed in apartheid South Africa, have no place in the new South Africa. Indeed, the unchecked excesses of the past are potent lessons in the dangers of continuing such a system — whether elected by a majority or by a minority.

It is the fact that it's the NP which now proposes a constitutional system that it previously would have dismissed as "over-sophisticated nonsense" which causes the immediate dissent and discomfort. Is this not their way of simply surrendering power, without losing it?

The philosophers tell us that a good idea does not become a bad one simply because of its origins. This "fallacy of genesis" approach is going to be much in evidence; however, when the new-style Nats try to convince their old-style opponents of their new-found virtue: a case, perhaps, of the messenger muddying the message.

● Tony Leon, MP for Houghton, is the Democratic Party's spokesman on constitutional affairs.

THE DP'S PLAN

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ARCT 31/8/91

Federation of 8 to 12 states

THE Democratic Party envisages a system on federal lines with a multiparty coalition Cabinet and a two-chamber parliament consisting of a national assembly and a senate.

The DP's federation — eight to 12 states, each with its own government — would have a directly elected executive president with a seven-year term.

The president would run the country in tandem with a prime minister to be appointed by the majority party.

A multiparty coalition Cabinet would be constituted on a proportional basis from representatives of political parties enjoying 10 percent or more of the support of the lower house or national assembly.

The powers of the federal and state governments would be entrenched in the constitution.

The judiciary, whose judges would be appointed by a commission, would be the only arbiter and interpreter on matters affecting constitutional rights.

The central government would exercise those powers essential to the national interest while all other powers would go to the state governments, including health, local government, education, police, prisons, town planning, nature conservation and tourism, licensing, roads and land settlement.

A fiscal commission would establish the reasonable cost of each state's administrative needs. A federal finance council would scrutinise the state and federal budgets to determine what each state could claim from the federal treasury.

Other features of the constitutional proposals include a Bill of Rights, a two-tier legislature (national assembly and senate), an independent judiciary, universal suffrage, regular elections in a multiparty system and proportional representation.

It is proposed that the assembly must consist of 350 members elected by all adult citizens on the basis of proportional representation.



DR DENNIS WORRALL:
Chairman

The senate would consist of 100 members, 66 directly elected and 33 indirectly elected by municipal councillors, and the president of the chamber.

A parliamentary ombudsman would investigate complaints of abuse of power or violations of basic rights by the executive, military or police.

In an appendix expanding the party's view on proportionate representation, the party discusses alternatives, all based on a 300-member national assembly voted in by permutations of constituency/candidate, party/list and electoral college formats.

It also proposes that a language be decided on in negotiations and that each state may then add official languages applicable in its region.

The right to mother-tongue education and the right to promote individual cultures also should be constitutionally protected.

Democratic Party provisional proposals, drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Denis Worrall, have been published in a policy discussion paper.

The proposals will be considered at the party's national congress in Cape Town in November.

A devolution of power

THE National Party envisages a united, democratic, non-racial South African republic.

However, they place heavy emphasis on the devolution of power from the central government to regional and local authorities and weighted representation for minorities.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A UNITARY state comprising the present South Africa and including self-governing territories, but with a strong federal flavour. The future status of the TBVC states has not been made clear yet.

They envisage three branches of government: the EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE and JUDICIARY.

A multiparty EXECUTIVE COLLEGE to head the state, may comprise three to five members of the strongest parties in the FIRST HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, deciding by consensus. These parties together should command a majority of the representatives in this house.

The chairmanship of the EXECUTIVE COLLEGE would operate on a rotational basis.

Weekend Argus Correspondents

A multiparty CABINET would be appointed on the basis of consensus by the EXECUTIVE COLLEGE.

TWO Houses of Parliament. The FIRST elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. The powers of the majority in the FIRST HOUSE would be limited by the requirement of an increased majority for some "sensitive" matters and the need for agreement with a SECOND HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

The SECOND, smaller, House would be the seat of power of minorities, representing the proposed nine regions. Each party achieving more than a specified minimum support level in elections for the legislature in that region would get equal seats for that region.

The functions of the SECOND HOUSE would be by a simple majority to approve ordinary laws passed by the FIRST HOUSE by a two-thirds majority to pass legislation amending the constitution, or affecting regions or minorities, or which was entrenched in the constitution,

and to initiate laws affecting the specific interests of minorities and regions.

ELECTIONS would clearly be held regularly and conducted by secret ballot.

The use of PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION in elections for the FIRST HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT does not rule out the possibility of some parallel constituency representation.

The NP plan makes no mention of a CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, but emphasises firmly that its philosophical basis is a "regstaat" (untranslatable, but roughly a "rule-of-law state"). It sees the constitution as the supreme law, only alterable by special procedures in the TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

The courts would be empowered to ensure these procedures were followed.

Each of the nine REGIONS would have a legislature, chosen by a mix of direct elections on the basis of proportional representation in constituencies and possibly indirect election from representatives of local legisla-

tures. Each region would also have an EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

These would comprise the leaders of all the parties which commanded more than a minimum percentage of the vote in the legislatures. If this became unworkable, the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE could consist of only the leaders of the strongest parties which together commanded a simple majority.

The REGIONAL and LOCAL authorities would enjoy real autonomous powers over certain as yet unspecified matters and would have their own tax bases.

A BILL OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS would be enshrined in the constitution and the courts would be empowered to enforce it.

To ensure that the State did not abuse power, a new procedure would be developed for the appointment of JUDGES to ensure their impartiality. In addition, the AUDITOR-GENERAL, PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION and RESERVE BANK would be given greater autonomy.

An independent and objective OMBUDSMAN would be appointed.

Scenarios for two new South Africas

PETER FABRICIUS
and SHAUN JOHNSON

Political Staff

ARG 31/8/91
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AT FIRST glance, the two models bear a strong resemblance to one another — surprisingly so, given the decades of ideological hostility between the National Party and the African National Congress — but close analysis shows that once implemented, they would produce strikingly different forms of government.

Both models are apparently democratic, both acknowledge the principle of universal franchise, both propose bicameral legislatures involving the system of proportional representation, and both doff a hat to devolution of power by proposing elected regional and local authorities.

However, these resemblances mask substantial underlying differences. The ANC would give equal weight to every vote at every level of government, while the NP would attach different weights to different votes at every level of government. In essence, the ANC model would concentrate power at the centre, while the NP plan would disperse it.

The ANC proposes a majoritarian government, where the majority's power would be qualified only by the constitution and the courts, and not by any other political party.

The NP proposes a consociational style of government favouring minorities, where the power of the majority would be qualified at every turn by other parties and some decisions would have to be taken by consensus.

In the ANC model, the majority party could appoint the president (or this position could be directly elected, still virtually ensuring it was filled by the majority party's candidate) as well as the whole Cabinet. It would control all legislation, except, if it did not enjoy a two-thirds majority, changes to the constitution.

In practice, the ANC's commitment to decentralisation — in the forms of a second house of Parliament and regional and local authorities — would not substantially restrict the power of the majority party in central government. The majority could dictate policy to regional and local authorities. And the ANC's second house of Parliament (where regions would be represented) would have the power to slow down, but not to stop, legislation emanating from the first house, or National Assembly. Control of this house would be vested in a simple majority.

However, the ANC's endorsement of a system of proportional representation in the National Assembly — and the possibility of regional lists in voting for the Senate — would give more power to minority parties than they enjoy under the Westminster system.

By contrast, the NP's model would disperse power to the perimeters in a multitude of ways. The proposal to replace the present executive State President with a three to five member multi-party Executive College would mark this as one of the most decentralised systems in the world.

Further, this supreme executive body would make all decisions by consensus.

The two houses of Parliament might collectively pass a motion of no confidence in the Executive College as a whole, but, significantly, could not exercise this form of censure against individual members of the College. The aim of this provision would seem to be to ensure that a majority in Parliament could not selectively remove minority party members of the Executive College.

Unlike the relatively weak ANC Senate — it is viewed as the "guardian of the constitution" — the NP's Second House of Parliament would be an extraordinarily powerful body, with a veto right over decisions by the majority in the First House, and the authority to initiate its own legislation regional and minority matters. Since this would be the seat of power of minorities, the veto right of the Second House would give minorities enormous clout — to the extent that hypothetically, if they decided to form coalitions, their power could possibly be even greater than that of the majority.

Van Eck: 'Hidden agenda' for power



THE National Party has a "hidden agenda" designed to secure power for an alliance of conservative forces in South Africa's first non-racial democratic election.

This theory has been put forward by Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, who says the NP's constitutional proposals should be evaluated against the background of the party's "hidden agenda".

He told a meeting of the Black Sash this week that the NP's carefully planned strategy was to manipulate both the negotiation process and the electoral process to ensure an electoral victory for a conservative alliance.

Phrases like "multiparty coalition" and "drastically reduced powers" in the NP's constitutional proposals sound strange, says Mr Van Eck, coming from a government that for more than four decades "opposed and did its best to destroy most of these constitutional concepts in its obsession to dominate and monopolise power".

"The fact that the NP now propagates these concepts has nothing to do with a newfound admiration for these concepts, but has everything to do with its hidden agenda."

The NP's strategy was aimed, firstly, at denying majority parties like the ANC their rightful place and, secondly, at ensuring that the NP and its conservative allies retained a stranglehold on power.

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United, non-racial, non-sexist

THE ANC envisages a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A UNITARY state — a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatwana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government. Three branches of government: the EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE and JUDICIARY.

A PRESIDENT, who would be head of the executive and Head of State. It is undecided as to whether the president should be elected directly by the public — and consequently vested with greater executive powers — or elected by and answerable to parliament.

A CABINET would be headed by a PRIME MINISTER, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the cabinet would be appointed by the president.

TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. The first a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons would have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary legislative power would be vested in this House.

The second House would be a SENATE, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional — al-



NELSON MANDELA

though not ethnic — representation.

The ANC insists this would "neither be a corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor would it represent ethnic or so-called 'community' interest.

The SENATE, as the "guardian of the constitution" would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, but not to veto it.

ELECTIONS would be held at intervals of not more than five years and conducted by secret ballot. An independent Electoral Commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media.

The use of PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION means there would be no limitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats.

In spite of the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, appointed by the president, possibly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land.

The constitution would be amended only if two-thirds of the National Assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum.

Positions in organs of LOCAL and REGIONAL government would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies, provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

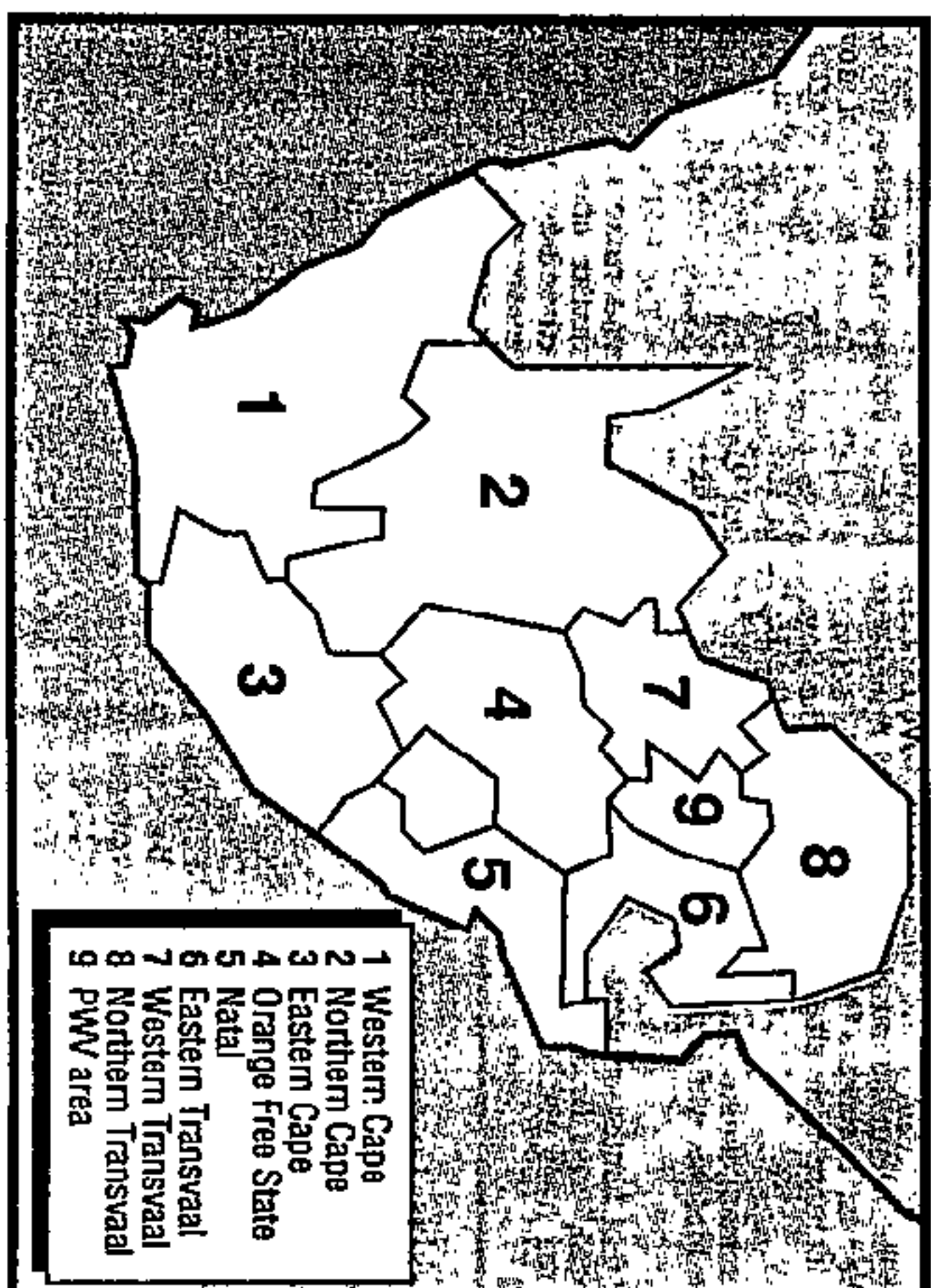
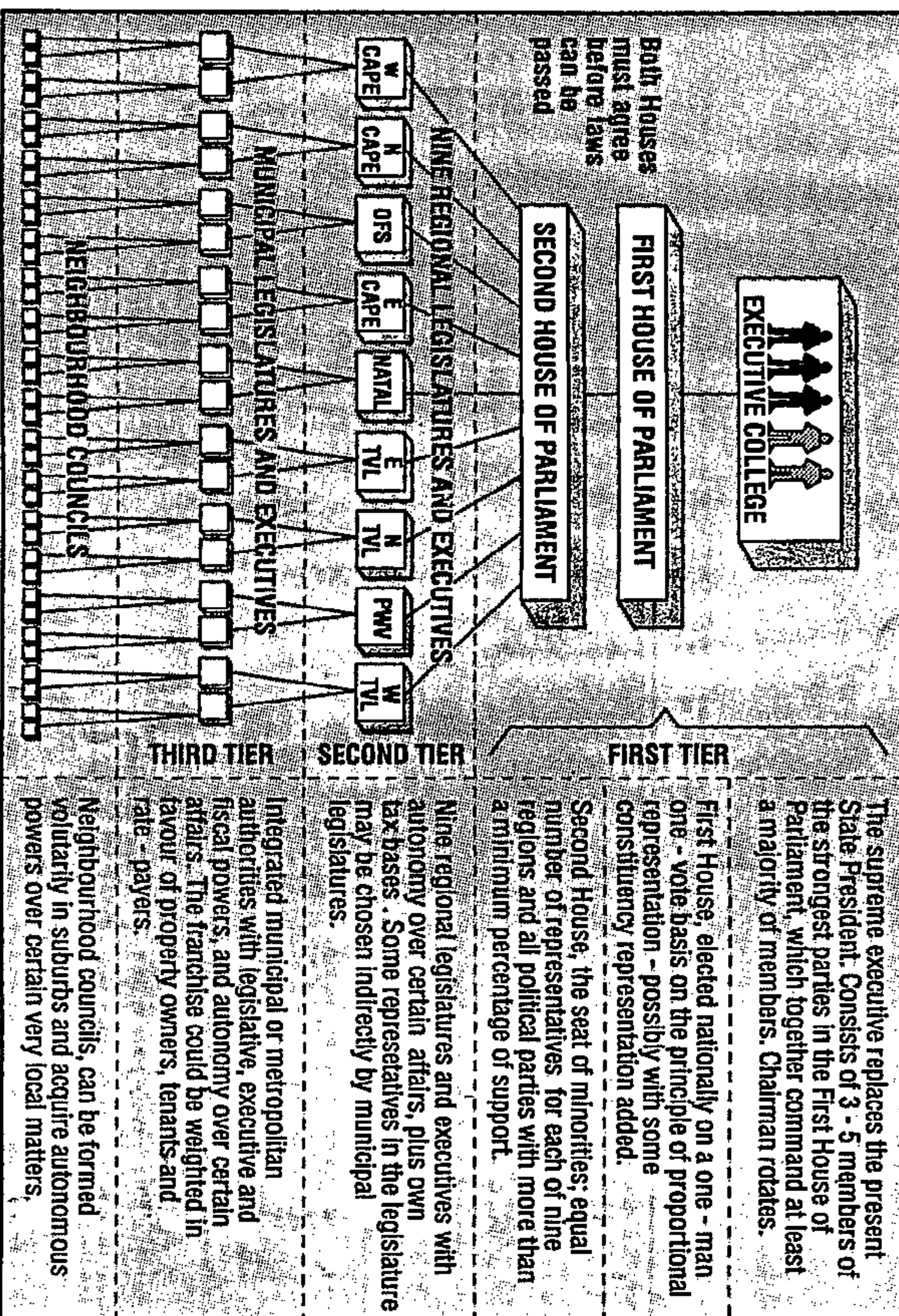
REGIONS would not be devised as a means of perpetuating privilege, ethnic or regional divisions, along territorial zones, but would be based on the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances.

A justiciable BILL OF RIGHTS would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. All legislation inconsistent with the Bill of Rights would be invalidated.

A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION would investigate violations, and a **PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION** would be established to oversee recruitment, promotion and dismissal, and to implement an affirmative action programme in the public service.

An independent **OMBUDSMAN** would investigate complaints against the public service.

How Nats see future government



Venter acts to defuse ³⁰⁴⁴ money row _{CT 31/8/91}

Political Staff

DURBAN. — State Expenditure Minister Mr Amie Venter yesterday stepped in to defuse the row between his department and the Finance Ministry over the division of tasks.

Mr Venter said there had been "continuous and close co-operation" between himself and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis on a "meaningful" division of work between the departments.

The process was nearly completed and to date there had been no easing of control over state spending or delay in planning of the 1992/93 budget.

The State Expenditure department was created five months ago by President F W de Klerk to handle government spending.

Mr Venter's comments directly contradicted those of his director-general Mr Henri Kluever, who said on Thursday that Finance Department officials were hampering his job by "clinging to their little empires" and refusing to let him handle government spending.

He said government expenditure was still wholly controlled by Finance and all he was involved in was drawing up the budget for next year.

He added that it was inevitable that

he and Mr Venter would be held responsible in Parliament next year for overspending. They were technically the people in charge.

Government spending in the first four months of the fiscal year rose by about 14%, against a budgeted 13,7%.

One senior Finance source was quoted in a report this week as saying that uncertainty over the separation of functions was a major contributory factor to the government's bad performance in handling its spending.

It was also reported this week that Mr Venter has largely not been able to do his job because agreement on the issue had not been reached.

All queries on government spending made to Mr Venter's department are referred to Finance director-general Mr Gerrit Croeser.

Mr Du Plessis yesterday declined to discuss the row, but a Finance Ministry spokesman said he had agreed on the statement with Mr Venter.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said yesterday he had warned in a parliamentary debate on April 1 that the proliferation of departments could cause problems.

"The last thing we need is endless buck-passing on the management of the economy and central government finances," said Mr Andrew.

Chikane: Faith in FW lost

JOHANNESBURG. — Ordinary South Africans have lost faith in President F W de Klerk and confidence in the emergent negotiation process following the "Inkatha-gate" scandal, the SA Council of Churches charged yesterday.

"These exposures have created a serious moral crisis in the country," SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said in a detailed review of political developments since June 22 — when church leaders launched their National Peace Initiative.

The government slush-fund scandal had led to fears that the peace process and prospects for negotiations were "terminal-

ly threatened".

"It has caused ordinary South Africans to lose faith and trust in Mr De Klerk. Those of us who called him a man of integrity had to swallow our words," Mr Chikane said.

This had resulted in a "strident" demand for an interim government "or some other form of transitional administration", which would remove power from the National Party because it was a player in the negotiation process.

Mr Chikane concluded it was not yet the time to lift remaining sanctions and urged the international community to maintain them until change in South Africa was

"irreversible and profound".

The recently completed draft Peace Accord — expected to be signed by all major political parties and groups at a National Peace Convention on September 14 — was a "firm foundation" on which to achieve peace, he said.

"It is also hoped that the success of this process will open the way for the actual constitutional negotiations."

It was of great concern, though, that the government was apparently flouting both the spirit and the letter of the Pretoria Minute with the African National Congress on the issue of political prisoners and detainees. — Sapa

Pik eyes the new Joe

2044 3/18/91

THIS is a true story. It happened at a television studio in Auckland Park only days ago.

The SABC had just broadcast an edition of Agenda in which the Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, and the general secretary of the Communist Party, Joe Slovo, debated the demerits of communism and apartheid.

Such extraordinary things are now quite commonplace in the nearly new South Africa, but this one was distinguished by the Foreign Minister's body language.

Throughout the programme he sat with his back arched archly at the general secretary. His verbal shock tactics were directed at host Penny Smythe, who acted as a sort of circuit conductor between him and Slovo. She struggled at times to deal with the excessive voltage, but no fuses blew.

The result of the clash was a tough one to call: Botha was bellicose and boisterous, Slovo serene and sotto voce. Neither's performance would have convinced viewers to change their existing beliefs. But the most interesting exchange came after the cameras were switched off.

Slovo, managing finally to get Pik to look at him, wanted to know

Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON



why the old prizefighter had been so aggressive.

"Now Pik," he said, "you would be insulted if I were to say to you that you are the same Pik Botha of 10 years ago, wouldn't you?"

"Yes, I would," said Pik.

"Then why do you find it so difficult to accept that I am not the same Joe Slovo of 10 years ago?"

I am told this stopped the Foreign Minister dead in his tracks. His great brow unfurrowed. His moustache stopped twitching. His shoulders unshooked, and he thought about it. This was a mind-boggling thing that Slovo had just said, he concluded.

He would tell the president about it first thing in the morning.

I hope he did. It may seem like a trivial, even self-evident observation, but it has the potential to help restore trust in this country, and to lead to eventual reconciliation. For there is a tremendously illogical and immoral phenomenon abroad among whites in our land.

It is accepted, unquestioningly, that since the National Party Government's about-turn on apartheid it is committed heart and soul to liberal values, democracy, human rights and the like. Its pronouncements are taken as the authoritative benchmark in the country, against which the ANC and others should be measured.

But if such a latter-day convert can be given the benefit of the doubt, why not its opponents? Much of the ANC/SACP alliance's thinking may sound like crackpot claptrap to some, but it must be remembered that in moral terms these organisations have been on the side of the angels regarding apartheid since the early part of this century — and President de Klerk's courageous actions are a vindication of those decades of struggle.

My point is simple: when FW says he has learnt lessons from the past and is now committed to a just and fair society, most whites believe him. When the NP presents a constitutional blueprint which seeks to ensure that a new government enjoys few of the unbridled powers which the NP awarded itself, it is accepted that this is proposed in the highest cause of democracy.

By contrast, when Joe Slovo says he has learnt lessons from the past and is now committed to, say, genuine multipartyism, freedom of speech and worship, and a mixed economy, it is greeted with a cynical: "Well, communists would say that, wouldn't they?"

Trust is the fuel which will get this peace bus of ours to its destination. Not blind trust, not suppression of criticism, but sufficient trust to give all players the opportunity to prove their bona fides: the innocent-until-proven-guilty maxim. There is precious little of it among whites, as far as I can see.

And it need not benefit only the ANC's opponents, either. This week, General Magnus Malan — on the eve of his departure for less martial climes — made a conciliatory statement.

He called on all political leaders to "co-operate in the establishment of an acceptable new constitution for the country, and a safer future for all its citizens". Dialogue, he said, "and not armed force", was the road to peace.

Must his opponents automatically assume he is being disingenuous? Or should they say "hooray" and see if some good comes of it?

End of an era as Vlok and Malan clear out offices

Star 31/8/91 (304A)

YESTERDAY marked the end of an era in South African politics as the two Ministers in charge of the security forces took their leave from the ministries of Defence and of Law and Order.

At a swearing-in ceremony at the Union Buildings yesterday, President de Klerk's recent Cabinet shuffle came into effect as the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice CF Eloff, swore in three new Ministers and deputy Ministers — and Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok cleared out their offices to take up humbler positions in the Cabinet.

A staff member described the poignancy of seeing Mr Vlok standing in the "desolate waste of an empty office. It was the saddest day of his life."

Last night Mr Vlok performed his last official function — the presentation of the Policewoman of the Year award.

General Magnus Malan officially left the defence force yesterday after 41 years.

He vacated his office in the spacious Armscor building and moved to the more confined quarters of the Ministry of Housing in the House of Assembly in the historic Ou Raadsaal building on Church Square.

Although, as of the Cabinet swearing-in ceremony yesterday, he is no

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

longer Minister of Defence, General Malan attended a colours parade at the SA Medical Services headquarters at Voortrekkerhoogte yesterday — the last parade he officiated at.

For this reason, the parade had special meaning for him, he said. However, with his usual military efficiency, General Malan did not forego the opportunity of taking one last parting shot at his favourite enemy, the ANC.

Referring once again to the ANC's demand that its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe be incorporated into the SADF, General Malan said it would first have to prove its professionalism and standards.

This last salvo underscored General Malan's now quite famous quote when he heard he was being transferred to Water Affairs and Forestry: "I've defeated the Reds, now I'm going to join the Greens."

At the swearing-in ceremony, Mr de Klerk quipped that while Mr Justice Eloff had handed down many sentences in court, yesterday he had given the new members of the Cabinet "sentences of hard labour of a different sort for the country and all its people".

Too willing to kill for power

Star 31/8/91

304A

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THE fact that the National Party was forced to cancel its planned meeting in Parys because of the threat of a possible Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) armed invasion should be cause for concern to all South Africans who wish to see political tolerance and pluralism thrive in South Africa.

It should be remembered that a few weeks ago the same AWB strong-arm tactics actually led to the loss of three lives in Ventersdorp.

It would appear that this unfortunate incident has not dampened the AWB's apparent determination to use force and not persuasion to sell their policies — whatever they are.

While there is merit in the argument that the leaders of the NP might have created an unhelpful precedent by postponing their meeting because of threats of violence, there is perhaps more merit on the NP's part in putting the lives of their followers above personal political gain.

In this sense, NP leaders need to be commended for they are doing what some of our own political leaders are failing to do. There is still a tendency to sacrifice innocent lives at the altar of political expediency.

Politics that has sunk to that level is not worth having in any civilised and democratic society.

It is amazing that any sane and self-respecting political leader could live with a situation where his organisation becomes topical, not as a result of the policies it espouses, but rather as a result of the amount of violence it can unleash and the extent of the political intolerance and barbarism it can exhibit.

What will be counted in the

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



future election is the number of votes each party has won, and not the number of citizens its members have managed to kill or terrorise.

It is high time the leaders of the AWB also took note of this fact.

Having said all the above, I must nevertheless express concern about the Government's apparent reluctance to deal firmly with the AWB or any other similar elements that are trying to introduce the law of the jungle into our politics.

A democratic culture does not simply grow like wild berries in a forest.

It has to be taught, learnt and practised.

It also has to be nurtured and enforced if necessary.

It is this element of enforcing a democratic culture that seems to be disturbingly lacking in the Government's kid-gloves treatment of the AWB and its fellow travellers.

The enforcement needs to start with AWB and other right-wing leaders who must be pinned down to specific procedures and rules of the game.

If they fail to observe these procedures, then they must be effectively penalised without any mercy.

At a time when all South Africans are trying desperately to create a common vision of a future democracy those who use extra-constitutional and violent methods to promote their political viewpoints do not deserve abundant mercy or respect from the State.