

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1990

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Start

Cape Times 11/3/90

AWB accuses CP of 'giving away' country

Staff Reporter

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche last night accused the Conservative Party of "giving away our country" for a three-month parliamentary salary.

Addressing a packed crowd of over 1 000 people in Parow, Mr Terre'Blanche called on CP MPs to resign to force an election and get rid of President F W de Klerk.

This would be "the last chance" before "Tambo's communists start the black revolution".

Before the AWB leader spoke Mr Piet Rudolf, the deputy leader of the Boere Staat Party (introduced as a "former security policeman"), said the AWB had started a campaign in the Transvaal to arm one million whites.

"The time for voting politics is over — it is now time for bullet politics," he said.

The enthusiastic meeting was interspersed with racist comments from the floor.



HEADMEN: Former security policeman Piet Rudolf and a dominee clad in khaki flank Eugene Terre'Blanche as two bodyguards keep a watchful eye.

Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

AWB set 'to take over'

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

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11/3/90

THE day the government capitulates and law and order disappear, the Afrikaanse Weerstandbeweging will take South Africa back with violence, says AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

"If the African National Congress wants war, it will get war," Mr Terre'Blanche told an audience of 2 000 at Goodwood last night.

Speaking in a roar for most of his two-hour speech, Mr Terre'Blanche also called on Conservative Party members of parliament and town councillors to resign their seats, forcing a "mini-election", and promised the support of all rightwing groups if the CP did so.

He condemned the CP's million-vote campaign, saying they were looking for only a quarter of potential white support.

Mr Terre'Blanche rejected calls for whites to strike, saying they would be replaced by blacks.

He said the volk was on the march to a third free republic in which it would rule itself.

"We are not scared to protect ourselves. We fought the British, the Xhosa, the Matabele. The only ones who are scared is this illegal government, which is still here because of political fraud," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly had visited the ANC but was surprised it wanted to nationalise the gold mines.

"Let me give Mandela a message — the goldmines do not belong to Anglo American but are the product of the sweat of whites," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

He condemned the government as cowards, political frauds, handmaidens of communism, and "hensoppers".



MANDELA: 'A player in a broader historical context.'



BOTHA: 'Quite capable of pulling the pillars down on all of us.'

ANC and NP in— stunning new relationship

3044

1/3/90

CM+ Tm+JS

By Dr FREDERICK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

SOMEONE remarked the other day that South Africa was fortunate at this moment in its history to have a government with its back to the wall yet still able to read the writing on it.

The truth of this statement lies in the fact that, although the State President, Mr de Klerk, is under international and domestic pressure to abandon white minority domination, he recognises that can do so:

- Sooner rather than later.
- Through negotiation rather than attrition.
- With recognised and representative leaders rather than co-opted politicians.

Exercising an option is a matter of choice and choosing is an individual action. It is true that social and economic forces predispose the individual's actions but they do not completely rob him of choice.

He can choose to be mean or generous; courageous or cowardly; honest or dishonest.

Pulling pillars

Given the constellation of historical circumstances at a particular moment, the choices made by a political leader can have a profound

impact on society. There is a significant and very important difference in having De Klerk rather than P.W. Botha, Mandela rather than Sebe, where they all are at the moment.

Botha is quite capable of pulling the pillars down on all of us with a smile on his face because for him truth begins and ends with his own inability to recognise it. Sebe's awesome self-delusory mediocrity, were he in Mandela's position, would have given unstoppable momentum to the forces of catastrophe that still lurk in our society.

Different ways

But now we have De Klerk and Mandela. One chooses to release the other from bondage in a particular manner, the other chooses to respond to his freedom in a particular manner. The freshness of their responses takes our breath away — trusted frameworks of analyses begin to melt down and cynical "commentators" and "experts" begin to abandon old certainties and generalisations to stay ahead of the game.

Fresh homage is paid to the exactness of hindsight. Of course it would be just as dangerous to trivialise our problems to a fireside chat between two interesting personalities. Telecommunications have the ability to reduce complex and complicated situations to one-dimensional political soap operas.

No matter how strong and independent the personalities of De Klerk and Mandela, they are also players in a broader historical context. They belong to different organisations, parties and ideologies — history reveals its secrets to them in different ways.

They cannot pretend or even afford to start from scratch. The past cannot be dismissed with a handshake or a moving gesture of reconciliation. There is too much that has to be undone.

However it is precisely in this context that De Klerk and Mandela have raised new hope and expectation. They have given a fresh understanding to the undoing of our past and the shaping of our future: an understanding which most of us tired old dogs barking in the back yards of our dilemma would have dismissed as "infantile", "irresponsible" — even "irresponsible" — only a few weeks ago.

"After all," we keep on nagging, "there is an irreconcilable tension between growth and redistribution; free enterprise and a command economy; equality and

liberty; democracy and stability in our situation.

"And furthermore, is it not so, given the racial bitterness, brutality and prejudice which has shaped the political and social forces confronting one another, that these contradictions cannot be resolved without trauma and disintegration?"

And so on, and so forth. What stuns about the relationship between De Klerk and Mandela is that they act despite, and even because of, their awareness of these contradictions. Put bluntly, Mandela and De Klerk are saying:

"Those contradictions may be unresolvable in South Africa but if they are resolvable in any manner the ANC and NP are going to need one another to find out."

'Scared whites'

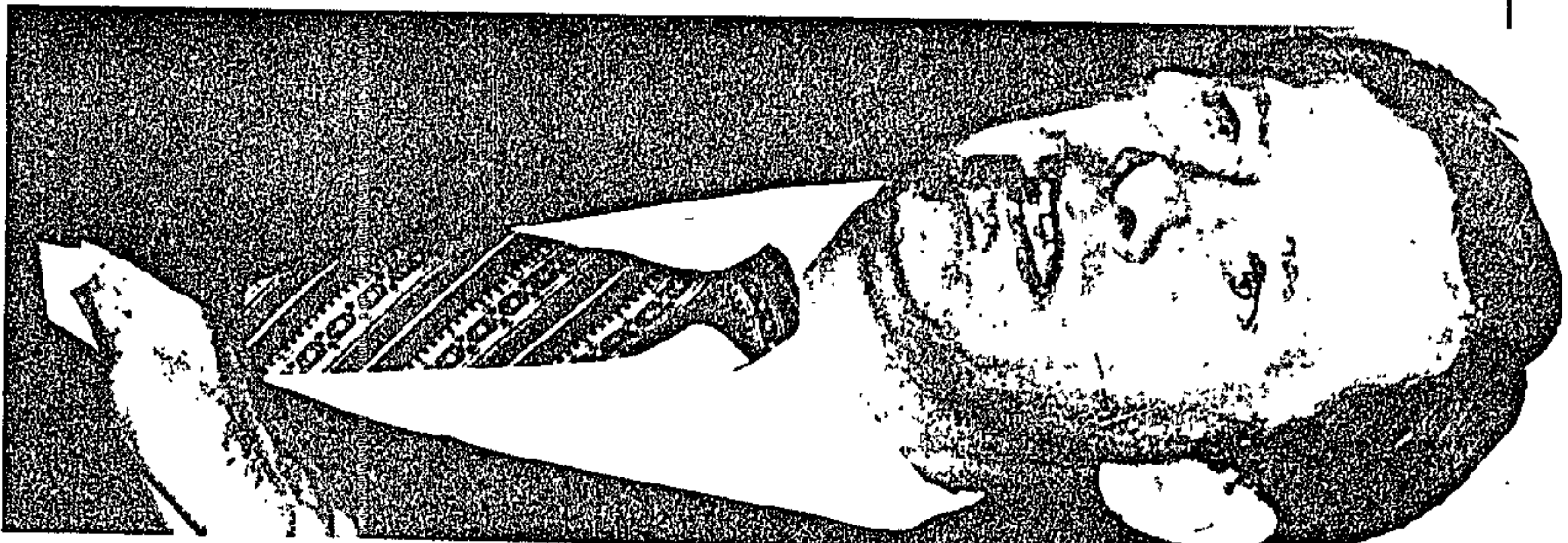
This introduces a totally new and deliberate interdependence to our political life. What now develops between the NP and ANC immediately affects the fortunes of the CP, DP, PAC, Inkatha etc and changes in their respective fortunes will bear directly on the relationship between the ANC and NP.

In this regard, consider for a moment the "right-wing threat". The freshness of recent events between the

NP and the ANC has consolidated three types of supporters in the right-wing camp: "the crazies" or plastic Ramboes who ride in the "kavvats" and "Kammasse-Kommando"; the "White Homelander" or partitionists who believe in a separate geographic and constitutional future for themselves; and thirdly, "scared whites" who cluster on the Right out of fear, anxiety and ignorance as to "what is going to happen".

These three types have different agendas, styles and resources — they do not "naturally" belong together. Therefore, depending on how the new relationship between the ANC and NP unfolds, the White Homelander can be pulled into a negotiating process; the scared whites can relax as they see concrete progress in the process of negotiation and the "crazies" can be isolated to drift into a deserved obscurity as soon as possible. But of course it all depends — or rather interdepends.

This new interdependence in politics forces us all to redefine our roles, strategies and tactics. It also places an inescapable and common responsibility on all of us on how our future shapes up.



VAN ZYL SLABBERT: 'Fresh homage is paid to the exactness of hindsight.'

Sowetan 11/3/90

FW is urged to oversee secret units

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk should take it upon himself to supervise the expenditure of secret funds and the operations of covert units, and should involve Parliament in this process.

This was said yesterday by Democratic Party parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer.

He told a Press conference that the controversy over the Civil Co-operation Bureau evoked memories of the Information scandal a decade ago when secret funds were being used to finance activities of which Parliament had no knowledge.

De Klerk's movement towards reducing the power of seculocrats and towards constitutional government would be strengthened if the Secret Services Account Act were amended to provide that Ministers who disbursed secret funds reported to him.

Funds

He should personally approve the purpose for which the funds were expended, and in particular approve the establishment of units for the conduct of covert operations.

"This is an earnest plea to the State President to act to restore public confidence in the process of government at this crucial time in our history."

De Beer said the basic issue - that of unsolved "hit squad" murders still remained.

Spy

Asked if he accepted the statement by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan that slain Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski was a South African spy, he said: "We take note of his statement."

He accepted with reluctance and pain that there was a need for a government to maintain secret funds, but these should be managed in a way that the confidence of the public was retained.

He refused to believe that there could be justification for covert assassinations outside circumstances of war.

"There was a war in Namibia, but if you are asking me if this justified the murder of Anton Lubowski, the answer is no."
- Sapa.

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ANC 'criminals' can join talks

1/3/90

SP #1 304A

CAPE TOWN — The Government will allow anyone to be a member of the ANC delegation which is to meet President de Klerk.

Senior Government sources made this clear last night, after some doubts were expressed about whether ANC members with criminal records would be allowed to join in.

Sources said no obstacles would be put in the way of anyone joining the delegation. — Political Correspondent.

System must stay, say Ministers

Scrap education, health own affairs — DP's Soal

Health and education should be removed from the schedule of own affairs in the Constitution, Mr Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North), said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Proposing a motion to this effect, he said in the new South Africa which President de Klerk was promising, the country would be unable to continue to afford — politically and economically — the system of own and general affairs.

"In particular the crises which have developed in education and in health care require special attention and there is no doubt in my mind that it is important to remove these two subjects from the schedule of own affairs in our Constitution."

The Government acknowledged that there were problems in the country's health services, but the own affairs health system could not simply be scrapped, the Minister of Health Services, Mr Sam de Beer, said in reply.

He said it was a "total over-



simplification" to suggest this as a solution to a problem which could not be solved overnight.

The country was moving into a new dispensation but it had not arrived there yet. The future had to be addressed "from this base".

Not one member on the Government benches was in favour of discrimination.

Mr de Beer said that this administration aimed to offer in-

clusive, not exclusive, services at its hospitals.

Own Affairs hospitals could and would render services to other race groups, as had happened at the J G Strijdom hospital where two wards had been opened to coloured people.

In this manner vacant accommodation was presently being used in a meaningful manner and all patients in that hospital were getting a better service.

Mr Soal said that when black education was introduced by Dr Verwoerd, he made it clear that the intention was not to create "black Englishmen" but that blacks were to be equipped to prepare themselves for their position in society as drawers of water and hewers of wood.

"The present system of education therefore is perceived by black people to be a malevolent and deliberate attempt to relegate black South Africans to subordinate positions in society," Mr Soal said.

The lack of trust and faith in the education system was leading to a degree of anger and hos-

tility in the black community which could again precipitate widespread protest and could once more lead to violent conflict.

Groupings in schools should be allowed on a rational basis and not a racial one.

"Now is the time to end the march of folly. Scrap own affairs," Mr Soal said.

No country in the world adopted a general affairs policy on education, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, said in reply.

He said countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Belgium all applied an own affairs approach to their education systems.

Mr Andrew Gerber (CP, Brits) proposed an amendment to the effect that the present Constitution was not working and that the only solution lay in creating a political dispensation for each nation in its own fatherland.

It was a myth to think that equal inputs in education would deliver equal results. — Sapa.

Whites want 'right to govern themselves'

STW 1/3/90

By Helen Grange

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night told a 3 000-strong audience he would "rather negotiate a small country for whites than a large country for blacks".

Speaking to an audience which crammed every entrance to the Roodepoort City Hall, Dr Treurnicht said conservative whites would demand, in ever increasing numbers, their own land and the right to govern themselves.

This was a demand the CP was not prepared to negotiate.

He said that, judging by the number of letters he had received from English-speaking South Africans, the CP was not far from having a million supporters.

Speaking a number of times in English, he appealed to English-speaking CP supporters to stand together with Afrikaans supporters in the "struggle for survival".

DISGRACE

He said it was humiliating for South Africa to have bowed to pressure from abroad and released Mr Nelson Mandela, a man who had planned to plant bombs and bring widespread destruction.

"And it is a disgrace for South Africa that Mr Mandela had been invited, with President de Klerk, to meet President George Bush — Mr Mandela as an alternative president," he said.

"If the plan is for majority rule to preside, there will not be peace in this land," Dr Treurnicht told the cheering crowd.

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FW 'must visit capitals of Europe'

By Peter Fabricius, ⁹²3/90
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A multiparty delegation of visiting Italian parliamentarians is to press for President de Klerk to pay state visits to all the capitals of Europe, a senior MP of the Italian Socialist Party said in Cape Town yesterday at the close of the visit.

The delegation included a member of the Italian Communist Party.

The socialist MP, Ms Martherita Boniver, said: "We will certainly go back to our country with one simple message: that Mr de Klerk must be helped by the European Community to continue on his way."

She said it was important that Mr de Klerk visit the European capitals to inform heads of state of what he was doing.

She would press the Italian government to receive him.

However, she said that further decisions on European

sanctions would probably be made only once the three-nation fact-finding mission, appointed at the recent meeting of EC foreign ministers, had been to SA.

She was sure that if Mr de Klerk lifted the state of emergency and released political prisoners, there would at least be a partial lifting of sanctions.

RIGHT DIRECTION 30/4 A

The Italian delegation met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Ms Boniver added: "There is a very positive feeling in the delegation that change has started, that it is sincere and that it is going in the right direction."

Asked about the future of communism in South Africa, she said: "I hope it is zero."

The Italian Socialist Party was democratic and had aban-

doned the policy of nationalisation decades ago, she added.

The first communist parliamentarian to visit South Africa in many years also believes communism has no future in this country.

Mr Antonio Rubbi, head of the Italian Communist Party's foreign relations committee, said he believed South Africa's future lay in democracy and equal rights for all, not in communism.

Mr Rubbi said a new phase of great interest had opened in South Africa.

He said Archbishop Tutu had summed up the feelings of the delegation about what was happening in South Africa.

The archbishop had said that if anyone had told him in September last year that the ANC, PAC and SA Communist Party would be unbanned and Mr Mandela released by February, "he would have told him to see a psychiatrist".

DP, CP questions remain

1/3/90 By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has welcomed President de Klerk's pledge that covert security operations will be limited and will come under tighter Cabinet control.

DP co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall were reacting last night to Mr de Klerk's speech to Parliament yesterday on the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau.

However they and the Conservative Party said the question remained why Defence Minister General Magnus Malan had only informed Mr de Klerk about the CCB in mid-January this year — when allegations of its misconduct were already coming out.

SP law and order spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said this suggested a lack of mutual trust between the men.

Dr Worrall said that Mr de Klerk had "covered himself" by making a statement potentially damning to General Malan — that he was not informed about the CCB when the military briefed him about its operation on November 22.

The DP also criticised Mr de Klerk's refusal to appoint an inquiry into the death of assassinated Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski.

It was inconsistent to have done this while at the same time extending the Harms Commission's brief to include an inquiry into the claim that Mr Lubowski had been an army agent.

Wolpe in US group to meet FW today

AN EIGHT-MEMBER US House of Representatives delegation, including Howard Wolpe, will meet President F W de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen in Pretoria today, US Information Service (USIS) spokesman Dale Baker said yesterday.

The group will arrive in Johannesburg this morning after a visit to Lusaka, where they are believed to have met Nelson Mandela and ANC executives.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Pieter Swanepoel said the delegation would also

ANDREW GILL

meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha for informal discussions on Friday.

Baker said the unusually large group was here for three days to investigate recent developments. (304A)

He said on their return the group would give their impressions to sub-committees investigating sanctions legislation.

Wolpe, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee on Africa, was in SA at the beginning of the year.

Considering life in a new South Africa

B/Day 11/3/90 (304A)

THE negotiating process is accelerating at a pace that is leaving most South Africans not only hopeful about the chances for a peaceful outcome to our problems — but also confused as to precisely what any outcome will involve.

Conferences over the past two years have increasingly shown that business people are concerned about their future.

Favoured

Speakers on political themes are consistently topping the lists as most frequently used and most favoured conference speakers.

The Five Freedoms Forum, which last year took the largest delegation — around 120 — of white South Africans to hold discussions with the African

National Congress in Lusaka, will host a conference in which they hope to have speakers from across the political spectrum talking on the issue of negotiations this year.

The conference, Paths to the Future — Negotiations and Beyond, will run over a weekend from June 8 to June 10 at Nasrec and cater for 800 delegates.

Five Freedoms' Adele Kirsten says the organisation — which was founded four years ago — is not trying to be a facilitator in the negotiations process, but is trying to create a forum for everyone to look at differing perspectives and air their views, as well as work on constructive ideas for the future.

Panelists will include people from the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB) to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), as well

as the African National Congress (ANC), the National Party (NP) and all the varying shades of grey in between.

However, not only politicians will occupy the platform — key issues to be dealt with will include the economy and questions such as nationalisation. Sportsmen will address issues of sports boycotts and sport in a future SA.

Cultural

Artists and theatrical people will concern themselves with the cultural boycott and the cultural goals of the future.

"Our emphasis will be looking at policy issues in a post-apartheid society. Key issues will include economic policy as well as political rights land, agriculture and cultural issues."

IN his first five months as president, FW de Klerk has acted swiftly, — at times, from a government perspective even daringly — to reverse the steady slide into totalitarian rule which was the hallmark of the reign of his predecessor.

But with the ANC, SACP and PAC unbanned, Nelson Mandela released and talks about to take place, the focus now shifts to his and his party's ability to envisage a new South Africa.

Does De Klerk accept that in a new South Africa each citizen should have an equal vote in a unitary system and undivided country? Does he accept that access to land, education and health services should not just be open to all, but that there is an urgent need to redress imbalances that have developed in these crucial areas during the apartheid decades?

At this stage, the answer, unfortunately, is "no".

DP co-leader Wynand Malan, a former National Party member, says it came as no surprise to him that De Klerk unbanned the ANC and released political prisoners.

But when it comes to dismantling apartheid, De Klerk is a neo-Verwoerdian, says Malan.

"He seriously believes that he will be able to sell the group concept in negotiations."

De Klerk's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen is perhaps more realistic. He

Into the minds of the Nats

South 11/3 - 313/90
304A

President FW de Klerk has made some daring changes. in his first few months in office. But is he ready for a really new South Africa? Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT thinks he is not.

realises government will have to abandon much of its group concept if negotiations are going to stand any chance of succeeding. But he too expects that in the end the NP will emerge from the negotiating table with some kind of protection for group rights.

De Klerk talks of a universal franchise and class A citizenship for all South Africans. But this does not mean a full and equal vote for all.

Viljoen, while accepting that in any new South Africa, the National Party will not be in power, reserves the possibility of it playing an important role in a coalition government.

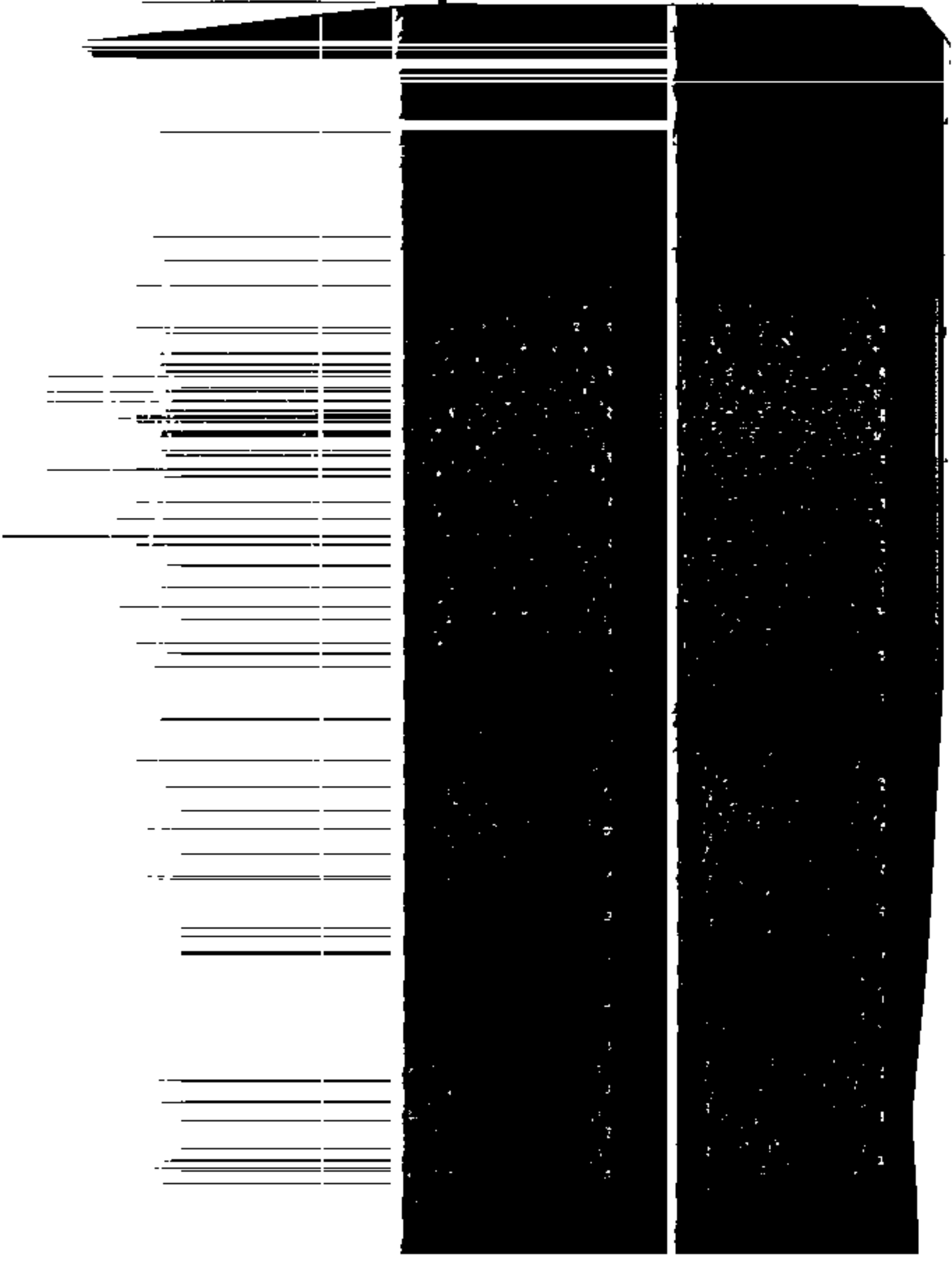
While they are reluctant to spell out what this means, government appears to envisage a situation where — although there might be general election for all — whites as a group will be guaranteed representation in government and, possibly, have veto rights on certain important issues.

When it comes down to essential issues such as the right to equal education, health care and free access to land, the NP spokespersons are perhaps at their most conservative.

Finance minister Barend du Plessis has promised government will act to end a situation where almost half the hospital beds reserved for whites are empty while blacks are forced to sleep on floors at hospitals like



FW de Klerk: neo-Verwoerdian



Baragwanath. But what he has not promised is the simple step to open all hospitals.

When it comes to education, conservative government members (such as the own affairs education minister Piet Clase) balk even at the small step of allowing blacks to teach subjects such as Zulu and Xhosa at white schools.

Government has estimated that it would cost R1,8bn extra a year to achieve the same pupil/teacher ratios for all. But rather than committing itself to finding the money to eradicate this unpardonable discrimination, it continues to plead poverty.

A more enlightened minister such as Viljoen realises that getting opponents of government to accept even a watered-down version of its own affairs concept in relation to schools will be impossible without drastic steps being taken to improve education for races other than whites and allowing a large measure of non-racial education.

Government's answer at this stage seems to be to link the opening of schools to the creation of free settlement areas.

It is now investigating the possibility of declaring whole cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town open.

If this happens, it is also likely that schools in these areas will be open to all races.

Minorities

Ultimately this thinking would result in a South Africa where everyone has the vote, but minorities (read whites) are guaranteed representation at the highest level of government and perhaps a veto on important issues; where most land is open to all, but some is reserved for minorities; where health and education are largely open to all, but some facilities are reserved for minorities.

It would be a whole lot better than the present South Africa, but would certainly not be democratic; it would probably be unacceptable to the majority.

Much of course depends on negotiations. Some NP members such as Tertius Delpot, Sakkie Louw and Nic Koornhof accept that the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, and the entire own affairs concept have to go.

But they are far ahead of the prevalent thinking by the majority in their party. If negotiations can succeed in getting the rest of the NP to think like Louw and Delpot, then a settlement which contains some provision for protection of minorities is possible.

The likelihood, however, is that they will not — and a long, agonising and protracted process awaits us all.



Piet Clase: conservative



Gerrit Viljoen: more enlightened



Sakkie Louw: ahead in thinking

Tracking business

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's clandestine January trip to Hungary was clearly something of a diplomatic triumph for SA. Recent political changes in eastern Europe have important implications for southern Africa.

(304A)

"Businessmen, not economists, will determine the new technologies, organisational systems and management techniques that will be the source of eastern Europe's reinvigoration. It is they who will develop the new exports crucial for its growth. But the energies of business must be unleashed, through the combination of market reforms in the East and financial assistance and open markets in the West," said *The Economist* on January 13. "It is up to politicians to act with vision and daring to create the conditions for eastern Europe's economic transformation."

What role is there for SA? That will be the main theme of a day-long conference to be held in Johannesburg on March 26.

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(304A)

Organiser Riaan Eksteen, former SABC DG and ambassador at the UN, says speakers will focus on the mutual benefits to be gained from active association with eastern European countries — but he promises that the emphasis will not be idealistic. Some speakers will be candid about unrealistic expectations.

Speaking on the meaning of the events in eastern Europe and the crumbling of communism, Botha will kick off the conference (which will be chaired by the JSE's Tony Norton and Rand Merchant Bank's Rudolph Gouws). Africa's position and a possible new role for SA on the continent will be discussed by former Zairean foreign minister Bula Nyati Mandungu. He is a member of Zaire's central committee and acted as President Mobutu Sese Seko's personal envoy during President FW De Klerk's opening of parliament speech.

Mandungu's presence at the conference has become more important since the postponement of De Klerk's summit with Mobutu and other African leaders, after pressure from the ANC.

De Klerk's willingness to meet ANC leaders, and the position of black leaders such as KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi in negotiations, will undoubtedly serve as background to Buthelezi's own conference paper on "Lessons for SA."

University of Warsaw graduate Wojciech Mlodziejewski will inform delegates on the opportunities in and misconceptions about eastern Europe. Mlodziejewski, who also holds an MBA from Stellenbosch business school, acts as market researcher for several trading groups and still has wide contacts with the business community in Poland.

Other speakers include: SA Foreign Trade Organisation CE Wim Holtes; the SA Chamber of Business's Ron Haywood; and Douglas Keel, senior partner of Price Waterhouse (London), who covers eastern European countries.

Eksteen says some of the speakers will remain in Johannesburg for a couple of days after the conference and be available for private discussions with delegates.

□ Reservations for the conference: Tel (011) 886-2440, Fax (011) 886-2474. ■

PRIVATISATION

F/M 2/3/90

So much to do, so little done

304A

■ And political reform is no excuse for delay

The excitement of political change should not make government forget its economic objectives. Apart from the fight against inflation, privatisation and the removal of the State from the business arena should still take priority.

A wholly expedient government could be tempted to put privatisation on the political agenda and promise to end the process if the ANC drops its commitment to nationalisation. But it should not take much effort to persuade any rational person that the pro-

ceeds of privatisation, such as the R3bn proceeds from Iscor, can build more schools and hospitals than the ever-dwindling profits, and then inevitable losses, of nationalised industries.

Nor should privatisation be seen as a one-off cash injection. The State later enjoys rising taxes from ever-more profitable firms.

According to Patrick Minford, professor of Applied Economics at Liverpool University and one of the intellectual godfathers of privatisation, the process offers even more

benefits to a developing country like SA than in the developed world. "It's crucial to encourage competition and incentives and to diminish the centralised power of government, which can so easily become too powerful in a developing economy. I don't have to tell you about the disastrous central planning of your northern neighbours."

Government should take more heart from the Iscor listing, which JSE president Tony Norton describes as a textbook listing. In spite of its size, the issue was 4,16 times

oversubscribed. It helped to popularise capitalism as it doubled the number of shareholding investors to 300 000.

It proves that the market is ready to handle a big issue. According to *The Economist*, the JSE was the most buoyant major bourse last year. In dollar terms the indices appreciated by 55.1%, outstripping even Singapore and Frankfurt.

There should be no further delay in privatising companies that already operate in the business environment. The *FM* has called for the remaining portion of Sasol to be sold off (*Leaders* October 27). DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz, no privatisation ideologue, says there should be no delay in the selling off of Phalaborwa-based phosphorus producer Foskor and two listed portfolio investment companies still controlled by the Industrial Development Corp, National Selections and Industrial Selections.

True, two giant corporations, SA Transport Services (Sats) and Post & Telecommunications, will soon take small steps towards listing. Sats (now called Transnet) becomes a public, or State-owned, company on April 1; Post & Telecommunications splits into two business units next year.

But is it right to keep such a diverse range of transport interests under the mammoth Transnet umbrella? Schwarz says there's no reason SA Airways can't be listed soon: it competes on international routes and competition is being developed on domestic routes. Road freight transport operates in an even more competitive environment.

On the other hand, Transnet still has sub-economic commuter services. "These will never be profitable because workers are forced to live far from their place of work because of ideological reasons," says Schwarz.

Unfortunately, empires will have to be dismantled and vested interests that the NP has satisfied for years will have to suffer. The conditions for privatising a company seem simple enough. Privatisation Unit CE Pieter van Huyssteen says: "It needs to be financially feasible for the private sector to take an interest; there should be no reason for government to be in that business; and it should be in the broader national interest to privatise."

But it's this question of the "broad national interest" that provides the most convenient excuse to delay privatisation.

Fred Macaskill, of the Privatisation Centre, an affiliate of the Free Market Foundation, suspects that while former President PW Botha acquired a strong interest in privatisation, even if late in life, this enthusiasm isn't shared by President FW de Klerk. FW still has to prove him wrong.

The market, however, is hungry for a listing. Foskor is the prime candidate. The SA Abattoir Corp (Abakor) is also tipped for privatisation. Both have been delayed, Macaskill believes, partly because of possible objections from vested interests.

Abakor has been delayed subject to a report, due in May, from the Red Meat

Producers' Organisation. This body relies on the marketing structure provided by the Meat Board and fears that abattoir owners' bargaining power would increase once competition is introduced.

Foskor looks particularly juicy. But the fertiliser industry, its main customer, feels it should get a share of the business before the public. Says Kynoch Fertiliser MD John Skeen: "Foskor is a sole supplier. It has a limited customer base, unlike Iscor, which has customers in a wide range of industries, so a public issue may not be so appropriate."

Foskor meets the conditions of profitability. Its profits rose by 411% to R98,3m in the year to June on turnover of R429m (40% up). Market conditions are certainly right. As it's less than a tenth of the size of Iscor, the market could absorb it easily enough.

But Van Huyssteen says stakeholders must be given their say before privatisation. The implications of a private Foskor on the fertiliser industry need more examination.

An additional problem for some State en-



Van Huyssteen



Minford

terprises is that they may not qualify for listing. Indeed, because of the Chinese accounting practices in government departments, even their managements don't know if they're making a profit.

Norton says that's not good enough for a listing: "Companies that are readily privatisable need an established profit history and must already operate in a competitive environment. For example, the present SA Airways balance sheet can't provide a guide to likely profits after deregulation."

"But we won't be too pious. We normally expect a profit history of four years to qualify for the main board but we will show flexibility when listing State-owned companies. We would take note of any committed business plan."

Norton points out that there aren't as many candidates for privatisation — "give or take the odd Foskor or two" — as in Britain, where private companies had been taken over by earlier Labour governments.

The process of privatisation is being put in private-sector hands, such as those of ex-merchant banker Pieter van Huyssteen, rather than those of politicians. Unfortunately, managements of the concerns don't have the final, or even major, say. Says

Foskor MD John Stanbury: "I'm only the chauffeur so I can't decide when to sell the car."

He adds, however, that once the decision to privatise is made, Foskor could be on the boards within four months.

SA Chamber of Business president Les Boyd is puzzled at the delay in listing Foskor, though he isn't unhappy about the pace of privatisation in general. "It's important to get these enterprises into shape so the full value of the shares are realised and they aren't just sold cheap."

Stanbury says that if Foskor were sold a year ago, it would have been underpriced as it is only starting to reach full potential.

Another school of thought, advocated by author and ex-*FM* journalist Don Caldwell and Ian Hetherington, MD of innovative management consultancy Job Creation, argues price shouldn't be a factor. Hetherington says State industries are supposed to belong to the people and this should be recognised by giving an equal share in the business to each adult.

"Poorer people could sell their shares immediately. This would bring an immediate transfer of wealth from white to black."

The idea has a certain logic and would pull the rug out from under the argument that privatisation puts the nation's resources into the hands of big business or so-called "monopoly capitalism."

But it would deny the State the proceeds of sales which could substantially reduce deficits. In addition, it smacks of paternalism. As Schwarz points out: "Nobody appreciates free hand-outs."

Minford says it's important to create a popular constituency for capitalism through wider share ownership but it is better for the economy to use privatisation proceeds to cut taxes rather than for capital transfers.

Even if ever government sells its industrial concerns it will still face considerable resistance to a sale of Eskom — from some unexpected quarters. Boyd says there is a difference between privatising a company operating in a competitive area and a utility such as Eskom, which doesn't have an obvious competitor. "We should wait to see what mistakes are made in privatising electricity in Britain before we attempt anything."

Norton agrees that Eskom should have low priority. "It is a well-managed monopoly and it may be best to keep it that way."

Minford counters that privatisation provides an incentive structure to encourage companies to work more efficiently, whether in industries or utilities. He adds there's no reason why there shouldn't be competing suppliers of electricity.

It's an argument, however, that still has to be swallowed by many business leaders. Eskom's privatisation may well be some way in the future but, with such a wide measure of agreement over most other State-owned concerns, there needs to be another listing — not just for its own sake but as a signal that privatisation wasn't just a nine-day wonder that ended in November 1989.

ARGUS
2/3/90
3 000 cheer for
CP-style apartheid

The Argus Correspondent

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says that he would "rather negotiate a small country for whites than a large country for blacks".

Speaking to a cheering crowd of 3 000 at the Roodepoort city hall, Dr Treurnicht said that conservative whites would demand, in ever increasing numbers, their own land and the right to govern themselves.

The CP was not prepared to negotiate this.

ENGLISH-SPEAKERS

Dr Treurnicht said that, judging by the number of letters he had received from English-speakers, the CP was not far from reaching its target of a million supporters.

He said it was humiliating for South Africa to have bowed to the pressure of countries abroad and to have released Mr Nelson Mandela, a man who had planned to plant bombs and bring widespread destruction.

"It is a disgrace for South Africa that Mr Mandela has been invited, together with President De Klerk to meet President George Bush — Mr Mandela as an alternative president," he said.

The ANC, he said, was a revolutionary party intent on overthrowing the government by increasing their power base and continuing the armed struggle.

Appointments end conflict

CAP Tint's 2/3/80 Political Staff (30/41)

THE conflict in Parliament about the appointment of only Nationalist MPs as chairmen of joint committees has been ended by the appointment of two House of Representatives MPs as chairmen of two of the 13 committees.

The chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alec van Breda, said yesterday that Mr Desmond Lockey, MP for Northern Cape, had been appointed chairman of the home affairs, planning and provincial affairs committee and Mr Louis Hollander, MP for Britstown, as chairman of the health committee.

And the Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, has been appointed deputy chairman of the crucial constitutional affairs committee, whose chairman is the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Big business to meet ANC

Cape Times 2/3/90 (30kA)

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The ANC will meet the bosses of 11 major South African companies and 13 other businessmen and academics in Harare this weekend in the largest meeting between the ANC and big business since 1986.

The business team will include Premier Group chief executive Mr Peter Wrighton, JCI chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyr, PG Bison chief executive Mr Leon Cohen, Development Bank of Southern Africa senior manager Mr Johan van Zyl, Gencor general manager Roodt Senior, Anglo American's Mr Michael Spicer (who is the personal assistant to chairman Mr Gavin Kelly) and JCI group economist Mr Ronnie Bethlehem.

The ANC will send a 16-man team, including six senior national executive committee members: Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Pallo Jordan.

The agenda will include dis-

Mandela on Israel

BURBANK, California. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night declined to directly criticise Israel in response to questions by an American TV interviewer.

Appearing on the Phil Donahue show, he said, however, that he did support the Palestinian quest for self-determination.

"The enemies of Israel are not our enemies," Mr Mandela said. "And the struggle of the Palestinians for independence and their own home is a struggle we fully support."

● Jews want meeting with Mandela — Page 3

cussions on the issues of privatisation, nationalisation, the restructuring of the economy, the role of business in a changing

political and economic climate and the role of the ANC.

The meeting was arranged by the Consultative Business Forum.

Mr Zuma told the Cape Times that business had a role to play in the process of developing a new constitution.

However, he questioned why the ANC had to negotiate the issue of nationalisation. This was never demanded of the Nationalist Party before it came to power.

He said the ANC was in favour of a mixed economy but there would have to be some nationalisation.

"The Nationalist Party used nationalisation to solve the problem of the poor white, why should we not be expected to solve the problem of the poor?"

"We are not talking about poor blacks, we are talking about all poor people."

"The government path to nationalisation did not take into account some key sectors that we will attend to."

Doubts over FW's support

KUALA LUMPUR

Doubts remain whether South African President FW de Klerk can rally the support of his white colleagues in introducing reforms in the country, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said yesterday.

Mahathir spoke to reporters on his return from a meeting with Mandela in Lusaka.

"Mandela appears convinced that De Klerk and two or three of his

colleagues were sincere, but the position of other members of the South African cabinet was not convincing enough," he said. (304A)

Asked if Mandela was worried De Klerk could be toppled by those opposed to reforms, Mahathir said:

"That is possible. Even if De Klerk agrees (to reforms) but is pushed aside by the whites in South Africa, all his decisions become meaningless."

Piece of string (304A)

How much should a member of parliament earn? "Much more than we do," say most MPs. "A good deal less," say many members of the public.

The latest increase in MPs' pay pushed their salary and allowances up by 26% to R94 500 a year. They also get 18 free economy air tickets a year and pay only 20% of full fare for other flights. Then there's the car scheme which allows them to buy a new car every four years; low-cost housing in Cape Town and a daily allowance for out-of-towners; and R18 000 a year for running a constituency office back home (which can only be claimed on proof of expenditure).

Cabinet ministers now earn R181 000 and get ministerial mansions in Pretoria and Cape Town, luxury cars and free travel on official business. But if they're compared to executive directors of large companies, their package is not particularly excessive (though arguably they don't face the same performance pressures as company directors — and are seldom sacked for incompetence).

It sounds pretty good, but is it really? The issue of MPs' remuneration will probably never be solved satisfactorily. It's virtually impossible to put an equal worth on all of them.

An inquiry into the salaries of MPs and other political office bearers in 1986, chaired by former minister Alwyn Schlebusch, recommended a far better deal for MPs. But it postulated a "conscientious, competent, hard-working" MP for purposes of its study. It could have added "representative," because lack of support from voters skews the picture as much as an MP who doesn't serve their interests.

There's no doubt that politics is a risky game. The average MP serves for only seven years, but that does not mean the taxpayers should compensate them for willingly and knowingly taking a risk.

An effective MP also works hard both in parliament and in the constituency. Out-of-pocket expenses can be considerable, particularly for travel and secretarial work. They have pension and medical aid schemes, but no housing subsidies — even though most maintain two homes. Moving between Cape Town and their constituencies twice a year is also extremely disruptive, particularly for those with schoolgoing children.

It's also important to attract high-calibre candidates to parliament. Many of those who serve do so at considerable personal sacrifice in terms of what they could earn in fulltime private sector occupations. Good examples in

F/M 2/3/90 (304A)

the Democratic Party (DP) are former Anglo American executive director Zach de Beer and attorney Harry Schwarz. There are a number of other highly competent DP MPs and both the Conservative Party and the National Party have a fair share of well-qualified professionals who could easily earn R150 000-plus in fulltime private practice (though some do continue their practices on a part-time basis).

But then there are the MPs who don't work as hard or enjoy the same public support, yet they earn the same salaries. Many in the Houses of Delegates (HoD) and Representatives (HoR) are good examples.

The overall percentage poll in last year's election for the HoR was only 20%. In 45 of the 80 elected seats the poll was below 25%. In the Cape Town constituency of Mitchells Plain, the Labour Party's Stanley Fisher was backed by only 802 of the 41 537 registered voters. He was elected on a 1,9% poll. In the HoD, the overall poll was 23,6%.

In 23 of the 40 constituencies, the poll was below 25%. The poll for the House of Assembly was 70%.

But paying MPs on merit is not feasible. The ultimate arbiter of their worth should be the political marketplace, though the situation in SA is severely distorted because most people can't vote — or don't vote because they have no say in deciding the constitution — and, therefore, have no role in determining what MPs earn.

What probably exacerbates the situation is that MPs themselves decide on their salaries and it's an issue on which they close ranks across party lines. A new law is expected later this year to set up an independent board to determine salaries for political office bearers.

It may place MPs in a stronger moral position to accept pay hikes — but it won't solve the problem of paying individuals what they are worth. ■

AFTER several years of incarceration, the jailed political leader was moved to a comfortable house near the main prison.

Here he was able to be in telephonic contact with his family and his exiled comrades. As the calls for his release grew stronger, he began holding secret meetings with both friends and enemies.

But his continued imprisonment was one of the major stumbling blocks for the process of negotiations, and the state was finally forced to agree to his release.

Nelson Mandela?

No, Ben Bella of Algeria. He was one of the most senior members of the executive of the Fronte de Liberation Nationale (FLN), and his role is only one of many remarkable similarities between the process of political settlement there and the one that is beginning in South Africa.

They are similarities that are not lost on the African National Congress: Oliver Tambo reportedly refers extensively to *A Savage War of Peace*, Alistair Horne's book on the subject. Only time will tell if Algeria's experience can offer a guideline to what lies ahead for this country.

There are also major differences between the two situations. In Algeria's case, the colonial government was based in Europe and separated from its colony by the Mediterranean. Also, conflict there was far more bloody, although shorter, than in South Africa: the war lasted from 1954 to 1962, and claimed the lives of a million Algerian Muslims — about 10 percent of the population.

France first invaded Algeria in 1830, but it took 17 years to establish full control. The country was seen as an integral part of France, and land seized by the French was redistributed among French settlers, who were known as "colons" or *pledts noir*. Settlers could vote in mainland

A tale of two struggles: Souwand^{304A}ers blindly down Alge

W/ Mail 2/3-8/3/90

There are a series of uncanny parallels between the reform strategy of the South African government and the last days of French rule in Algeria... even down to an Algerian 'Mandela clone'. MATTHEW SMITH, a lecturer in African history at Rhodes University, shows how history has repeated itself

French elections, and so could Algerian Muslims, but on a separate voters' roll and French citizens had to represent them.

Resistance was not nearly as coherent in Algeria as in South Africa. Partly because of religious differences, but also because of migrant labour. It was only during World War II that the foundations of the resistance movement were laid.

In 1943, Algerian groups announced the Manifesto of the Algerian People, which declared that Muslims wished full participation in government. The manifesto, perhaps comparable to South Africa's Freedom Charter, was ignored by the French, and it took riots in the rural areas in 1945 for the seriousness of disaffection to be realised.

There had been major food shortages during the war, and starvation was rife in the countryside. Muslims decided that instead of celebrating the end of the war, they would hijack the victory celebrations and protest against food shortages. As a result, 120 settlers were killed in the rioting.

In a response familiar to South Africans, the French army and vigilantes killed at least 1 200 Muslims.

Two years later, France tried to introduce piecemeal reforms, which in-

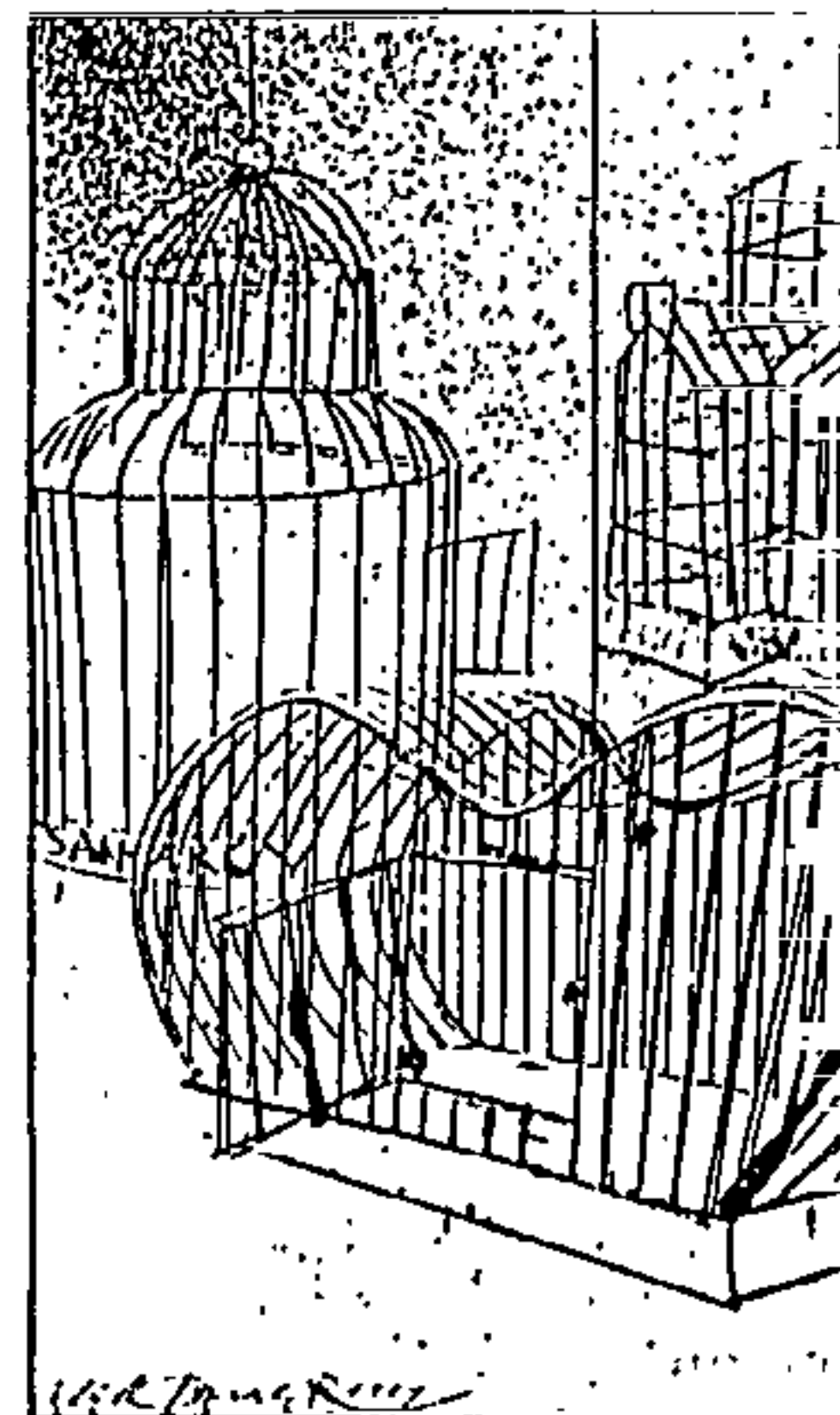
cluded the enfranchisement of Muslim women and the acceptance of Arabic as the other official language. But the separate voters' roll stayed.

At home, the French government was facing a serious crisis of legitimacy. There was a rapid succession of new cabinets, and the French army was being embarrassingly inept in its fight against the North Vietnamese.

On November 1 1954, the FLN first appeared in public with a number of attacks on strategic points in Algeria. Its declared goal was national independence through armed struggle.

The war was marked by savagery on both sides, and the process of negotiations was painfully slow. In 1956, the FLN had set out its position on talks in the Soummam declaration, which is comparable to a cross between the ANC's Harare Declaration and its Constitutional Guidelines.

Issued after a secret summit held at Soummam, inside Algeria, the declaration gave sovereignty to the FLN's executive on the question of ceasefire. It emphasised the primacy of the political over the military. It declared that there would be no ceasefire until independence and no political privileges for the French settlers after independence. It also outlined the role of women, youth, trade unions and



Events in several African

the rural areas in the "new" Algeria.

The first contacts between the FLN and the French took place secretly in 1956, at the invitation of Egyptian President Gamal Abdal Nasser. They were "talks about talks", and a further five meetings took place in secret venues all round Europe. They were fruitless.

On the one hand, the Suez crisis had not only thrown the Middle East into turmoil, but led to a change of government in France. On the other, the FLN had been outlawed by the arrest of Ben Bella, who was on his way to one of the

of two struggles: South Africa ers blindly down Algeria's path

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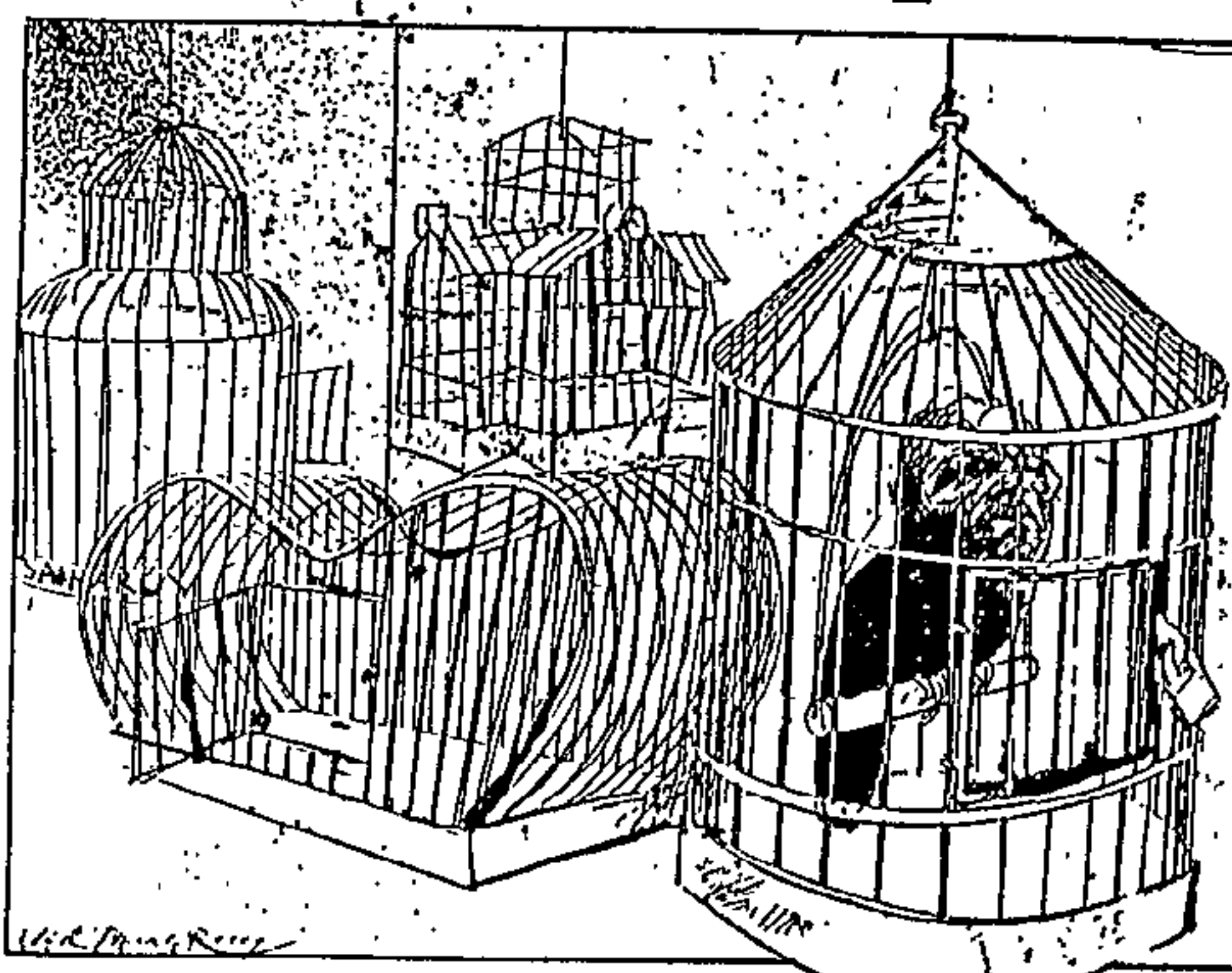
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Events in several African countries revolved around jailed leaders

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the other, the FLN had been outraged
by the arrest of Ben Bella while he
was on his way to one of the secret

meetings. The French military, un-
aware of his destination, had hijacked
the plane, and public opinion in
France was such that the government
saw no alternative to keeping him and
the other occupants of the plane in
jail, although they were never tried.

In 1959, the newly elected president
of France, Charles de Gaulle, crossed
France's Rubicon by announcing his
intention to allow the Algerian people
the right to self-determination. This
opened the way to talks, although
two central issues were to delay the
process: the imprisonment of Ben
Bella, and the question of ceasefire.

The French wanted a ceasefire be-
fore talks about independence, while
the FLN stuck to its call for indepen-
dence before ceasefire and the de-
mand for the release of all political
prisoners. For the FLN, however, as
for the ANC, it was an important vic-
tory that the French recognised it as
their opponent, and dealt with the or-
ganisation.

Within a week of De Gaulle's
speech, an FLN delegation was
winging its way to Paris. It had real-
ised the importance of taking advan-
tage of the situation quickly, in order
to maintain international support and
pressure on the French. Hopes were
high for a quick settlement, but the
French refused to allow the FLN
team to confer with Ben Bella. The
FLN broke off talks and returned
home, leaving the French looking un-
reasonable in the eyes of the world.

In December 1960, the UN General
Assembly accepted the right of Alge-
rians to self-determination. At the
same time, the French were faced
with massive popular protest in the
form of marches and vigils, similar to
those which have been sweeping
across South Africa over the last few
months.

In April 1961, French army gener-
als in Algeria attempted a *putsch* to
prevent independence, but the revolt
was rapidly put down and in fact ha-
stened the independence process.

In May, the final chapter began in

Evian, on the French bank of Lake
Geneva. Although Ben Bella was ab-
sent, he was in constant telephonic
contact with the FLN negotiations
team from his house at the prison.
But again the talks broke down. No
agreement could be reached on the is-
sues of minority rights for French cit-
izens both during the transitory peri-
od and after independence, the
French wish that its citizens be al-
lowed to keep dual nationality, their
wish to hold on to the naval base in
the country, and oil and gas fields in
the Sahara. The FLN rejected all
these demands.

In autumn, De Gaulle went even
further than he did in his earlier
speech. He declared the French had
no right to the Sahara, and that the
time had come to leave Algeria. It be-
came known as his "right-about-turn"
speech. To speed up the process fur-
ther, the FLN was allowed to meet
Ben Bella freely in his prison house.

In March, the negotiations resumed
at Evian, and this time led to an
agreement that provided for Algerian
independence and an immediate
ceasefire.

French citizens were also protected
for three years, during which time
they would be allowed dual citizen-
ship. Another provision which would
fall away after three years was protec-
tion of French property. France was
able to secure a 15-year renewable
lease on the naval base, but lost all its
mineral rights in the Sahara.

The FLN was given the right to
elect a provisional executive that
would administer the country during
the transitional period. But the
French were unable to obtain any
guarantees that the FLN would not
throw out the whole agreement once
they got into power.

So what happened after the two
sides signed? In 1962, Ben Bella be-
came the first president, but because
of his long imprisonment he was out
of touch with the mainstream of the
FLN, and tried to introduce a very
hardline, unpragmatic type of social-
ism. Unable to maintain the popular
support he had achieved during his
long imprisonment, his power-base
was slowly eroded. He was over-
thrown in June 1965 by the military
strongman Bourmedienne, who sen-
tenced Ben Bella to life imprison-
ment. Bourmedienne remained in
power until his death in 1978. Re-
cently, the FLN have begun to dis-
mantle the socialist state that was
created in 1962, in response to mas-
sive riots in October 1988.

No turning back on road to SA settlement

Star 2/3/90 304A

State President Mr F W de Klerk has "committed South Africa to majority rule" — and the process may move faster than many observers expect, according to a new report published on Wednesday.

The report, entitled "South Africa: Apartheid's End-game", is the work of Professor William Gutteridge of the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism in London.

Professor Gutteridge, who has recently visited South Africa, where he spoke to political leaders, said there were hazards on the road to democracy. "There may well be violent reaction from both the far Right or the militant Left but there can be no turning back."

Mr Nelson Mandela's credibility with his own constituency was the key to negotiations, he said, "and the Government would probably have been alarmed if he had not reiterated ANC rhetoric on the armed struggle".

SUE LEEMAN of The Star's London Bureau reports on a new British study of political developments in South Africa.

The failure of communism in Europe had enabled Mr de Klerk to justify the risk he had taken, as there was now no "total onslaught" to be considered.

Both sides in South Africa were in a hurry, said Professor Gutteridge. In particular, the age of the current ANC leadership "puts a premium on their participation in government before it is too late".

He outlined a possible future scenario:

- This year could see the establishment of conditions for negotiations in such a way that the ANC and others come to the conference table.
- "There will be some dissenting splinter groups."
- Before the end of 1990 negotiations could have begun. "Initially an

open agenda, unconfined by firm proposals may... lead to more real progress."

- During 1991 an interim or transitional solution could be reached.
- "This will involve compromise on the subject of group rights."

- By 1992 the drift back by South Africa to international respectability could be "sufficient to allow a *de facto* improvement in economic relations in time for Europe 1992".

- By mid-1993 a new South African constitution could be in place, based on universal adult franchise, "but not leading to immediate majority rule". Between 1990 and 1993 remaining apartheid laws could be annulled.

- In April or May 1994 there could be an election on the new constitution for South Africa.

- Between 1994 and the end of the century there could be a struggle for power within the constitutional framework.



Mr F W de Klerk... hailed as 'a man of integrity'

CAPE TOWN — A curious period of political limbo has begun for SA, a measuring of strength and taking of stock before negotiations begin. After the surge of activity last month, the two principals now nurse their vastly different constituencies, separated by 1 600km and a cultural chasm.

President De Klerk sits in his official residence, among Cape Town's Parliament buildings. Mandela holds court at his home in Soweto, to which no foreign ambassador declines a peremptory summons.

Speculation fluctuates wildly about the time-scale of what is to come.

A prominent foreign diplomat suggests that we shall see leading blacks sitting at the Cabinet table within a matter of months. Other observers are more cautious, predicting immense difficulties and setbacks in the negotiations between government and the ANC, with consequent growing difficulties for De Klerk with his own NP supporters.

Even among those who know SA and its politicians, the enigma persists about what caused a president drawn from the right wing of his party, and from a Cabinet which includes so many former conservatives, to act with such boldness. De Klerk declares that "there was no conversion on the road to Damascus, just a certain ripening, and an understanding that if we continued as we were, we were in a cul de sac".

He is an impressive man, whom office has made more so. There is a vigour, a sparkle in his conversation, especially in private. He is fully conscious that the eyes of the world are upon him, and it seems he is unafraid of the sensation.

His principal theme now is of urgency. "We must maintain the tempo. We must keep things moving."

The government knows it is contending with three timetables, which

Ignore De Klerk at his peril

8/Day 2/3/90

304A

MAX HASTINGS
Daily Telegraph Editor

it must strive to render compatible. First is that of political negotiation with the ANC. Ministers believe that Mandela's colleagues are finding it difficult to adjust to their new conditions, to organise themselves for the next phase. If talks cannot begin within the next month or two, both sides may become anxious.

The second timetable is driven by the need to progress fast enough to maintain the support of the whites. The third is that required to gain some visible gestures of support and confidence for De Klerk's reform policy from the outside world.

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels acknowledges the need to build trust after 40 years of apart-

heid. "But our credibility with our own constituency rests upon the basis that there has to be a result."

The government's definition of a "result" must mean visible progress in relations, not only with the black majority but also with the outside world. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emphasises SA's budgetary plans assume a continuation of sanctions, and of the status quo.

"There has to be a substantial shift in our economic policies towards social spending. We must seek to maximise support for those most in need, and that will mean raising money by more toll roads, rises in school fees, higher hospital charges for those who can afford them.

"We have enormous sums of money — billions of rand — tied up in emergency supplies of oil and raw materials. We ask nothing of the world except to be allowed to compete on equal terms. But if we are to increase social spending it would be of immense benefit to be able to free all those sterilised billions.

"While political negotiations are going on, why can't the West guarantee us free access to international markets and supplies? If only we can be left to our own devices now, for a time, the commitment to reform is there. There will be no going back."

It is easy to find grounds for pessimism. If there is real enthusiasm for what De Klerk is doing among prosperous and well-educated whites in the Cape, there is likely to be less and

less among the poorer Afrikaners of the Transvaal and Natal. The fear of black power can only grow, and with it De Klerk's political difficulties.

It will be hard to maintain the disengagement of the police from the black townships. Much hinges upon the success of the new government policy of placing the onus for maintaining peace among the blacks on their own leadership.

The scale of factional and tribal dissension within the black leadership has scarcely yet been glimpsed. However eagerly the outside world embraces Mandela as the principal voice of black SA, it is unlikely that all of his own people, and especially the young, will do so.

Perhaps most significant of all, the difficulties remain enormous of contriving a transfer of wealth from the white minority to the black majority, on anything like a scale likely to satisfy the latter while remaining tolerable to the former.

Most blacks will judge the progress of reform by what material benefits it brings them, and how speedily. "Socialism cannot possibly deliver the goods this country needs," says Du Plessis. But even if Mandela and Walter Sisulu can be persuaded to accept this, many of their followers are likely to take a simpler view.

If the fears and difficulties in SA today are great, so too is the opportunity. Few remotely objective observers here doubt the sincerity and commitment of President De Klerk and his colleagues. It seems vital for the rest of the world to show recognition of what is being attempted.

Few South Africans realistically expect the immediate lifting of international sanctions. Indeed, many whites of the kind whose support De Klerk most needs would scarcely notice such a remote economic shift. What they want is a visible gesture, of the kind they can readily understand. An official cricket, or better still, rugby tour, would be the most obvious symbol of a relaxation of their own pariahdom.

The De Klerk government has embarked upon a policy as imaginative and bold as anything by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. It will surely be a tragedy if the world does not do everything in its power to assist the Pretoria government to succeed.

To insist upon waiting until the last barricades of apartheid have been dismantled, until Mandela and his colleagues sit in the parliament building, as they surely will, may be to wait until De Klerk has failed. A great historic moment will have been missed.



□ DE KLERK



□ MANDELA

REVIEW

Lubowski allegations to be probed

FW moves to control secret operations

B/Dam 2/3/90

304A

284

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk announced plans yesterday to bring covert operations by government agencies under Cabinet control.

He also told a specially convened joint sitting of Parliament that the brief of the Harms commission of inquiry into politically motivated murders would be extended so it could investigate allegations that Swapo member Anton Lubowski had been a paid agent of Military Intelligence.

He said covert actions should be kept to "an absolute minimum" and once the Harms commission had reported "I will see to that".

He planned to extend Cabinet control to the operations.

He had, however, decided against a request for a commission to investigate the circumstances which lead to Lubowski's death.

If facts emerged which indicated improper involvement by the SA authorities, he would consider extending the commission's frame of reference.

De Klerk said he had been briefed on the activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) only in January, when Defence Minister Magnus Malan had told him of its existence and allegations against it.

At that point he had ordered that an investigation should attempt to get "to the core of the matter".

The extension of the Harms commission's brief was necessary because of the controversy that surrounded Lubowski, and was being done at Malan's request.

De Klerk backed Malan and SADF chief Gen Jannie Gedenhuys, stating they had served SA with distinction.

He would not defend a Minister guilty of malpractice or crimes, but the opposite

Political Staff

was equally true. He trusted his Ministers, they were a "good team", and he was not prepared to see a Minister denigrated unfairly and made the subject of suspicion.

Dealing specifically with the CCB, De Klerk said Malan had informed him and a few colleagues on steps he was taking to deal with the matter.

He and the Cabinet and then been given further information. This had lead to the investigation by the Free State Attorney-General Tim McNally.

De Klerk said he had taken note of a statement by Swapo shadow foreign minister Theo-Ben Guriab asking for Lubowski's death to be investigated.

At this stage he was not prepared to do this because a crime in Namibia still fell under the jurisdiction of the SA courts and it appeared the normal legal process in terms of police investigation was at an advanced stage.

In fact, warrants for the arrest of certain people had been issued — and one person was due to appear in court on April 18.

In the interim, he added, he had instructed that there should be "the closest co-operation" with the Namibian authorities.

De Klerk also praised the security forces, saying they were indispensable for a safe and stable future. The whole SADF should not be pilloried because of the alleged misdemeanours of a few.

He said the security forces were taking on a lower profile in the new era, but this did not mean a weak profile and they still had to be prepared.

Addressing calls by the DP for him to

□ To Page 2

Secret operations

ensure all secret funds were used properly, he said he was satisfied with the audit procedures.

However, he said he would "not tolerate" anything within the ambit of government.

If the Harms commission showed up any inadequacies in the auditing and control systems these would receive urgent attention.

Commenting on the speech, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said there was "a great deal to be welcomed" and De Klerk had displayed care about some of the things the DP was concerned about.

He welcomed the broadening of the terms of the Harms commission and the "satisfying commitment to clean administration".

CP MP Moolman Mentz said instead of clearing up the issue, the speech had only added confusion. He said it was clear there was no trust between Malan and De Klerk, because De Klerk had not been informed

about the CCB from the start.

Earlier, the DP presented questions to Malan aimed at lifting the veil of secrecy surrounding the alleged spy link between Lubowski and Military Intelligence.

DP Law and Order spokesman Tian van der Merwe had asked for written replies regarding details of Lubowski's recruitment and payment as a spy.

The questions put to Malan included:

□ How much Lubowski was paid from the time of his recruitment as a Defence Force agent to the time of his death and on what basis was he paid?

□ Whether he was paid in cash, and if so, by whom and how?

□ Whether Lubowski signed receipts on payment, to whom were they made out, and were records of receipts kept?

□ Under what conditions was Lubowski recruited as an agent?

□ Whether Lubowski was still an agent of the state at the time of his death?

● See Page 3

□ From Page 1

B/Dam 2/3/90

If the pillars are cut down, will apartheid topple? Strangely, no

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TWO cornerstones of the apartheid structure — the Land Acts — look set to be repealed by State President FW de Klerk during this session of parliament.

The Minister of Planning and Provincial Development, Hernus Kriel, has confirmed that the cabinet is studying the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and the possible implications of repealing them.

A representative of the minister's department said that no date had been set for a discussion in parliament on the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, but added that it would be "soon".

Over the last seven decades the majority of South Africans has been allowed to occupy only 13 percent of the land legally. Officially 74 percent of the population has access to little over 10 percent of the land — the homelands. Of the country's arable land only 16 percent lies within these homelands.

Landlessness among blacks is seen as a serious socio-political and economic problem and academics and resistance groups are sceptical as to whether merely scrapping these Acts will resolve the problem.

The introduction of the Land Act saw the demise of African peasant farming, territorial segregation, overcrowding in black areas and land and housing shortages. It also served to provide a cheap labour force for the mines.

"The mere repeal of the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Development Trust Act of 1936 can only be the first step towards solving the problem of land hunger among black people," says United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, while academic and author Colin Bundy points out that the initial step to addressing the problem would be the "repeal of not only the Land Act but all legislation which affects access to the land".

Bundy says that this will change things only marginally. "To repeal the Land Act in effect creates a free market in land but would certainly not result in a transfer of land to the majority."

"The land that will be available will be more marginal — not arable land. People are not going to sell their profitable farms."

"The Zimbabwean experience indicates how land prices rose by up to 55 percent after the removal of discriminatory legislation."

"Only a small proportion of black South Africans could then afford available land," he says.

The state of landlessness was formally implemented in 1913 by the Union government headed by Jan Smuts, with the tabling of the Native Land Act, which restricted African land ownership to the so-called scheduled areas — 7.5 percent of the land — and forced African peasants to work for white farmers. In 1936 the Development Trust and Land Act

The cabinet is considering scrapping two of apartheid's most contentious laws: the Land Acts, which forced African peasants off their own plots. But repealing the two acts now will not begin to redress the land problem, say academics and activists
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

was introduced, increasing land in African reserves to 13 percent.

Lawyer Nicholas Haysom explains: "A repeal of the Land Act would mean that blacks can buy land in white South Africa and whites can buy in non-independent homelands."

He adds: "This will not bring about an equitable redistribution of land. People have been disadvantaged for over 60 years and very few will be able to afford agricultural land." Lekota reiterates this: "The poverty in the black community means extremely few people will

moves to change the legislation because such a move could threaten the white farming monopoly."

The land issue is inextricably linked to the present system of government, a fact clearly understood by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.

Although the ruling National Party only came to power in 1948 — after the two laws were passed — it too introduced various measures to reinforce landlessness among blacks. These included the Group Areas Act, which promoted racial segregation and the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which allocated bantustans as the political homelands of African people.

The 1984 constitution also reinforced the NP attitude that "the land access and political aspirations of Africans are satisfied by separate homelands and expanded self-government".

A voice that may well be raised against the repealing of the Land Acts will come from the rightwing Conservative Party. In the CP manifesto the party says it will "repossess black property rights in urban areas". And a CP supporter sums up the rightwing attitude to land: "When partition takes place, whites will have to have most of the land, because blacks are not well suited to agriculture."

Bundy says that in searching for a solution to the land question "we must realise that while on the one hand we have to address the land hunger, dispossession and the very real demand for land we also have to ensure the protection of countryside production of food".

"We need to look at the nationalisation of land or the partial nationalisation of land ..."

Lekota says that "in correcting the land problem certain sectors of the economy must be nationalised. The government should take control of land and avail it to communities who suffer land hunger, at rates they can afford."

"The government should also ensure that such communities be paid a living wage to maintain reasonable residences."

Alexander says a general restructuring of society through change in the economic infrastructure is needed. "You can't change land relations whilst the rest of the country's relations are based on an evil system."

Haysom adds that other measures to address the problem include the institution of co-operatives which would allow rural people to control the land and finances.

The re-implementation of African peasant farming is also suggested. Haysom says that the Zimbabwean lesson is that such farming could be very successful if supported by agricultural agencies.

Organisations and academics have also suggested that redistribution should be implemented by the government reclaiming land from absentee landlords and multinational companies and giving the land with security for tenure to rural people.



Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe ... South Africa could learn from his re-implementation of peasant farming have the capital to work the farms."

Pan Africanist Movement general secretary Benny Alexander adds that Pam would not be impressed by a repeal of the Act because "as Africans lack resources, whites with financial power could actually buy them out of the 13 percent of the land allocated to them". Merely repealing the Acts could worsen the land problem, he says.

Alexander is sceptical of the government's motivation to possibly repeal the Act. "It is part of their deregulation and privatisation programme to divest themselves of all responsibility for the system of exploitation and dispossession."

The South African Agricultural Union, which represents white farmers, declined to comment until there is an official announcement that the Act is going to be repealed. It is expected that the SAAU will not react favourably to any

RIGHTWING organisations are mustering support from white trade unions in an anti-government campaign that is rapidly acquiring all the trappings of a national socialist movement.

The far-right's drive to mobilise white workers comes at a time when conservatives are increasingly voicing anti-Semitic and anti-capitalist sentiments in the streets and squares where they hold their rallies.

"We should come to the table and discuss whether there is now room for a white labour party ... in a broad sense there is a move towards such a situation," said South African Confederation of Labour secretary Nick Cillier in an interview with the *Weekly Mail* this week.

"I think the white unions should shake off their commando syndrome — by that I mean working only for the narrow interests of their own members — and strive for the solidarity of the white worker."

The initiative coincides with calls for a general strike by white workers in key sectors of the economy. There are also signs that the white right plans to co-ordinate a campaign of extra-parliamentary resistance against the government's attempt to democratise South Africa.

And it comes at a time when white

We've never seen the white workers so angry, say unions

workers in the public sector are threatening "direct confrontation" with the government over a wage hike of 10 percent that falls way below the level of inflation this year.

Academic Mike O'Donovan recently conducted a survey of the political attitudes of white trade unionists.

He says white union leaders told him they were planning to form a new white labour federation that will organise across all sectors of the economy and act as an independent pressure group within a rightwing political coalition.

"Increased white worker militancy, the formation of new politicised labour movements and the decline of multi-racial unionism indicate that the time is ripe for the rise, again, of a white working class nationalism united, perhaps not under the 1922 slogan of 'Workers unite for a white South Africa', but under a banner akin to the swastika," said O'Donovan at a seminar staged by the *Dun-*

For the first time since the 1922 strike, white workers are making angry noises about strikes and illegal action. Officials of 'moderate' white unions say they have never seen their members so angry, reports EDDIE KOCH

can Innes Labour Brief last week

He says moderate non-racial unions are losing large numbers of white workers to either the anti-apartheid Congress of South African Trade Unions or to racist right-wing unions.

"Officials of moderate non-racial unions such as the Boilermakers' Society and the SA Typographical Union say they have never seen white workers so militant," O'Donovan told the *Weekly Mail*.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert Van Tonder said: "There are moves afoot in the unions. Many white workers

feel that they have been betrayed by the National Party and that their jobs are not protected against black labour any more.

"The situation might develop that you had in 1922, when white workers armed themselves and fought a civil war against the government when they were paid off by the mines and replaced with black workers."

Officials from some of the biggest white unions in the country — including the Mine Workers' Union and *Yster en Staat* — are spearheading the drive to build a conservative political movement for white workers.

Peet Ungerer, general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, said there was "strong reaction from white workers at this stage", and confirmed there was a push to recruit more of them into the conservative labour movement.

"We are holding a number of meetings with members all over the Trans-

vaal regarding matters of great concern to us," he said. Ungerer refused to divulge any details about his strategies.

Asked if his union would support defiance by the Conservative Party and far-right groups against the government, he said: "If my executive okayed it and the feedback from my members is in favour of it, then that's how it will be."

Phillip Strauss, general secretary of the Running and Operating Staff Union on the railways, told the *Weekly Mail* his organisation had begun to recruit white workers from all job grades on the railways, especially those disillusioned with the moderate leadership of other white unions.

Strauss, a senior office-bearer in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, was cautious about supporting calls for a general strike and other forms of illegal industrial action.

But he warned that the recent agreement between railway authorities and the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union had set a precedent for white workers.

"Management has condoned illegitimate strike action and, therefore, won't be able to do anything to our members if they also take illegal action," he told the *Weekly Mail*.

And in a recent article published in the CP organ, *Die Patriot*, under the heading "What Options for the Right in Today's South Africa?", Strauss says he believes a three-day stayaway by white workers could shut down the economy.

But Duncan Innes, professor of industrial relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, believes the white labour offensive will be blunted by the complacency of most white workers.

"I think that if the rightwing can win over white unions to a more militant government position it will strengthen their position enormously," said Innes.

"But ever since they were defeated in the 1922 strike, white workers have had no tradition of militancy and they still enjoy a privileged way of life in South Africa. It will not be easy to get their support."

The rightwing labour lobby will also be weakened by large-scale retrenchments in the metal, mining and railway sectors — precisely the areas where their power lies.

"Most whites in the mining industry, for example, are employed in a superfluous supervisory capacity," says O'Donovan. "If they do go on strike, production will be unaffected."

The white labour lobby amounts to what could be described as a "workerist" tendency within the rightwing movement. While its leaders are prepared to throw the collective muscle of their members into specific rightwing campaigns, they are wary of a permanent relationship with any of the conservative parties.

"Our trade unions supported the National Party and brought them to power in 1948. Now the unions have to fight the Nationalists. Who is to say that history won't repeat itself if we support any other party today?" said Cillier.

The CP has announced it is preparing for a massive rally in three months' time, where the white working class and other rightwing constituencies would help draft a blueprint for defiance known as the "Freedom Manifesto".

**Top men fly to London
for preliminary meeting**

ANC in secret UK talks with SA

AFRICAN National Congress and South African government representatives held a round of preliminary talks in London last weekend.

The meeting was aimed at clearing the path to a formal meeting between an ANC delegation and President FW de Klerk.

ANC foreign relations chief Thabo Mbeki left Lusaka for London last week with fellow national executive committee member Aziz Pahad, and returned this week. It is believed the two took part in the talks.

NEC members dismissed reports of the meeting as "pure speculation", but it is understood that a report on the discussions was to be tabled at the NEC's two-day meeting which began in Lusaka yesterday.

Any such discussions would have been likely to focus on the remaining impediments facing ANC exiles waiting to return to South Africa. De Klerk recently said the "legal uncertainties" were receiving urgent attention. The ANC, most of whose leaders would face prosecution under laws still on the statute books if they went back, will want guarantees for their safe return.

Since arriving in Lusaka on Tuesday in time for the NEC's two-day

**By GAYE DAVIS
in Lusaka**

meeting, Nelson Mandela has had a hectic schedule.

He had no sooner been greeted by a 30 000-strong, cheering, ululating crowd at the airport than he was in a meeting with all six Frontline heads of state as well as representatives of the Commonwealth, Nigeria, Uganda, Canada, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and other high-level delegations, including one from the Soviet Union and 11 US congressmen.

He also has to attend a string of civic events, such as receiving the freedom of Lusaka and laying a wreath at Lusaka's freedom statue, dedicated to fallen freedom fighters.

He leaves Lusaka on Sunday for a three-day visit to Harare after which he travels to Dar es Salaam and then to Stockholm to be reunited with Oliver Tambo.

The ANC is expected to re-emerge as a legal, political force in South Africa within the next fortnight, with its headquarters in Johannesburg.

ANC spokesman Steve Tshwete said: "We would like to see offices spread all over South Africa in two weeks' time."

●To PAGE 4



In one of the first photographs of ANC president Oliver Tambo since his stroke last year, he greets former general secretary Walter Sisulu, left, after a separation of more than 27 years. The picture, taken in Sweden, was released by the ANC to commemorate the occasion.

Mandela's number 2 - for now

**By GAYE DAVIS
in Lusaka**

NELSON Mandela is expected to be named deputy president of the ANC when the movement's national executive committee emerges later today from its two-day meeting in Lusaka.

This position as Oliver Tambo's deputy would formalise his role within the ANC as a member of the policy-making NEC.

Constitutionally, Mandela cannot be elected president even though Tambo is ill and unlikely to be able to resume his duties for some months. Even when Tambo does resume his office, his task would have

to be substantially reduced to safeguard his health.

Elections for leadership positions within the ANC only take place at national conferences, held every five years.

The NEC can elect someone to a vacant position, and the vice-presidency has been open since Tambo took over the presidency from Chief Albert Luthuli in 1967.

Mandela's appointment as deputy

president may only last until December 16, the date when this year's national conference is due to take place inside South Africa.

During his present term Mandela has been given a special brief to act as a national unifier. NEC member Steve Tshwete told the *Weekly Mail* this brief would be "to marshal all the forces outside the congress tradition — including the Black Consciousness Movement and the Democratic Party".

"Nelson has the capability to do this," he added.

ANC men meet SA in early talks

It is understood the ANC would like to establish itself as a formal, visible presence by the time its delegation arrives to meet De Klerk.

This would point to a meeting between Mandela and the state president shortly after ANC leader's return to South Africa on March 17.

Tshwete said ANC members within the country would be responsible for opening offices under the direction of Walter Sisulu as chairman of an interim leadership corps. Members of the ANC's executive will return to the country to help with the task, but no decision has yet been taken on who these will be.

Tshwete said membership of the organisation would be open to individuals who subscribed to the Freedom

Charter. Membership of other organisations would be allowed — meaning that democratic structures such as the United Democratic Front will not have to disband.

However, the situation will be continuously reviewed and a stage might be reached where the need for a UDF fell away, he said.

●The ANC Youth Section has accepted an invitation from the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to attend its national congress in Johannesburg over the Easter weekend.

It is also considering a request from Jeugkrug SA to attend a conference at the Rand Afrikaans University in April.

●From PAGE 1

Top US group in speedy SA visit

A LIGHTNING visit this weekend by one of the biggest and most-high-powered United States congressional delegations to visit South Africa for many years will be crucial to Washington's decision on whether to maintain sanctions.

The visit of nine congressmen and nine assistants, led by the chairman of the Democratic Party caucus Bill Gray, comes at a critical time in the sanctions debate in Washington.

With calls from the South African government to lift sanctions, and African National Congress appeals to maintain them, the US congress will have to make a decision in the near

By ANTON HARBER

future.

Since the delegation consists of some of the most powerful participants in the sanctions debate, their impressions will be important.

Gray is the most senior black member of the US congress. He will be accompanied by congress members Howard Wolpe, Ronald Dellums, Stephen Solarz, Guy Molinari, Beverly Byron, Dean Gallo, Jim McCrery, Michael Andrews and Vic Fazio.

In Lusaka yesterday, they met Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, the

ANC leadership and Mass Democratic Movement leaders Murphy Morobe and Cyril Ramaphosa.

In Johannesburg today, they will meet representatives of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

They will then go to Pretoria to meet State President FW de Klerk and ministers Pik Botha and Gerrit Viljoen.

They will also meet Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa, Kangwane leader Enos Mabuza and Inkatha leader Oscar Dhlomo before leaving for Namibia late on Saturday.

Uys still loading his satirical gun

THE President's opening-of-Parliament speech might have caught a lot of people on the wrong foot yesterday, but one of them wasn't Mr F W de Klerk's most cynical critic — satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys.

In spite of the fact that the latest liberally barbed Uys show, "A Kiss on Your Koeksister", appears to be founded largely on the pre-F W speech status quo, Mr Uys wasn't panicking about having to change it all before last night's performance.

"This is nothing," he said, "P W Botha resigned only half an hour before my show in Edinburgh last year, but I managed to adapt everything in time."

He had already made some basic changes to his Market Warehouse show. "For instance, I've now got

Winnie Mandela choosing new curtains ..."

But, said Mr Uys, he didn't believe he had to change too much.

"After all, what has really changed? The ANC actually unbanned itself a while ago and, frankly, coloured people can still get beaten up for trying to have a picnic at Boksburg Lake.

"Sure, it's a move in the right direction, but we're not nearly back at square one. I've got to keep shining my torch into all those nasty little black holes."

3/3/90
(304A) CHRIS MOERDYK

'Victory for anti-apartheid'

STAR 3/3/90
Extra-parliamentary organisations have hailed President de Klerk's historic speech as a victory for anti-apartheid forces.

A spokesman for the Human Rights Commission, Dr Max Coleman, said: "The steps announced were the product of the unremitting pressure for democratic rights in South Africa and were an important milestone in the struggle for the liberation of our

OWN CORRESPONDENT

country....

"But there is still a great deal of the state of emergency in place which includes detention without trial, media control... and the ability to limit freedom of assembly," Dr Coleman said.

He voiced concern about the 3 000 political prisoners serving sentences for unrest offences

who would not benefit from the new dispensation.

The Five Freedoms Forum congratulated Mr de Klerk on his "courage to take these essential steps".

"We welcome the broadening of the political arena and the now possible development towards a democratic future," publicity secretary Ms Gael Neke said.

Right slates F W's 'black day'

RIGHTWING extra-parliamentary organisations have slated State President F W de Klerk's decision to unban organisations such as the ANC and the SACP.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, vowed that the AWB would defend its people and property "with violence" to

restore law and order.

"With this step the Government succumbed to leftist extra-parliamentary organisations. Right-wing politics have been made powerless."

He said the AWB would take up the State President's invitation to

the leaders of "all groups and nations" to participate in negotiations.

Yesterday's announcements signified the "total collapse" of the National Party and the Government, said the AWB leader.

Professor Johann Scha-

bort, leader of the now unrestricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), said: "It is a black day for South Africa when terrorist and communist organisations are legalised."

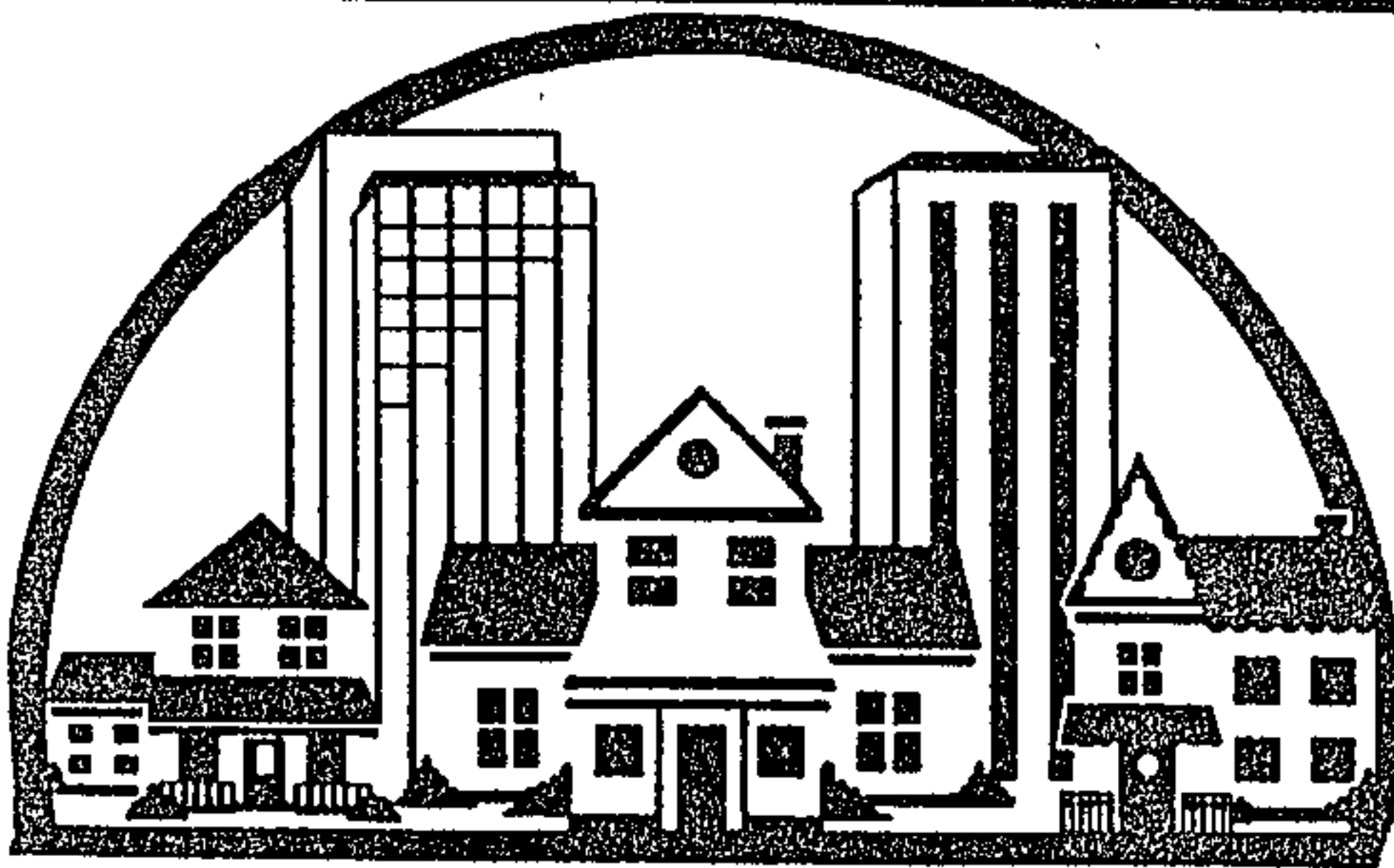
The BBB would immediately resume its role of "assisting the Conservative Party by creating the right climate on the ground".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said it was unwise to unban political organisations "if the outcome will be a unitary state".

If Mr de Klerk's reference to universal franchise meant a one man, one vote system, it would mean the end of white democracy in South Africa.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party and official opposition, said yesterday that President de Klerk had no mandate to make the changes he did.

Dr Treurnicht described the speech as "most revolutionary", and spoke of "shocking announcements".



COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

**A SPECIAL SURVEY ON THIS TOPIC
WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE STAR
ON WEDNESDAY 7 MARCH 1990**

NP committed to change, F W tells US congressmen

Star 3/3/90

NORMAN CHANDLER

304A

THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, last night told visiting United States congressmen in Pretoria that the governing National Party was serious in its bid to change the political situation in South Africa, according to sources.

Mr de Klerk spent some time with the Americans at the Union Buildings after they had met Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha. The visitors had flown to South Africa from Zambia, where they held talks with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

In a statement to the media, Mr Botha said that he "had tried to reply to their questions, which I consider to be frank and constructive. I am encouraged by the views I have heard".

Mr William Gray, the leader of the delegation and most senior black US congressman, told the media that "candid discussions" had taken place.

Mr Dean Gallo, a member of the party, described the talks as "very fruitful, and that a window of opportunity had been opened".

The Americans have already met representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and will today hold discussions with the United Democratic Front, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo.

Other members of the United States delegation are Mr Howard Wolpe, Mr Ron Dellums, Mr Steven Solarz, Mr Mike Andrews, Ms Beverly Byron, Mr Jim McCrery and Mr Vic Fazio.

all black organisations which have he was freed.

'Victory for anti-apartheid'

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OWN CORRESPONDENT

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'Victory for anti-apartheid'

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It's time to talk to 'the enemy'

5/Thurs 4/3/90

304A



by Lester Venter

Political Correspondent

WHEN all else fails, negotiate.

This, at a point where the inherent contradictions of apartheid have brought its era to an end, is where South African politics stands today. What were regarded as the immutable edifices of the past have fallen like Jericho's walls to the sound of the historic rebirth of many nations elsewhere in the world.

Now, after 40 years of trying to ram the century's second-most unpopular ideology down the collective South African throat, the land's rulers are squaring up to doing what, in their heart of hearts, they must have known all along they should do. Talk to the other guys.

And the other guys, after 77 years of mostly hopeless struggle, are preparing themselves — in equal doses of relief and anxiety — to sit down and begin proving their democratic credentials in helping make an intricate, modern society work.

In this way, the Government and the ANC, as the major participants, are preparing themselves for a period of negotiations — almost certainly protracted — from which will emerge an entirely new society. Each of them has, in quiet rooms, serious personalities working with great diligence on models, blueprints, and constitutional projections that vary from the commonplace to the exotic.

Ethnic

The ANC has opened up the negotiating play with an outlined constitutional position. Essentially, it offers the ANC what it never had: Just a regular place in a regularly democratic society — universal franchise in a Westminster-style unitary system, with the accompanying winner-takes-all voting system.

The fact that this sort of system evolved in, and continues to work primarily only, in homogeneous societies is not of consequence, the ANC argues at this point.

In fact, they say, purely racial differences are no differences at all in democratic terms — and the very purpose of the political system is to create, if not a homogeneous society, then at least a substantively equal one.

Nevertheless, the ANC has indicated that its stance is simply a negotiating position.

"If you don't intend having a compromise, you don't negotiate at all," Mr Nelson Mandela said recently.

For its part, the Government has been more reticent about either a vision of the future, or a preliminary position. Its stance has been, rather, to make clear its bottom line: the heterogeneous society is the departure point, to be accommodated and even protected by whatever order emerges from negotiation.

The Government's main job is to sell its view that the first response to its stance — namely, that protecting the heterogeneity of the society amounts to entrenching its inequalities — need not be the case. Indeed, that the opposite is the intention.

In order to do this, the Government's serious men in the quiet rooms have been undertaking an intensive study of constitutional models elsewhere in the world in an effort to validate its eventual argument.

Fiji's constitution had a long and undisturbed tenure on an unabashedly ethnic foundation. The

island has three main ethnic groups, and its Parliament was divided into three distinct elements reflecting this.

The system appears to have worked well enough in the public mind for it to have survived the island's coup in 1987 — constitutional provision is currently being made for the island-state's ethnic groups, in its government structures.

The constitution of Singapore underwent changes last year whereby each party contesting an election has to put up three candidates in a constituency, and three are elected per constituency. One of the candidates must, according to the constitution, be a member of the ethnic minority in that constituency.

In Mauritius, made up of primarily Indians and Europeans of French extraction, electoral candidates must formally identify themselves according to ethnic and religious measures.

Technocrats under Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, have even looked at a system involving a qualified franchise instituted by the Portuguese government of Angola.

The idea of a franchise for which citizens qualify by means of income, educational or property ownership tests, makes frequent appearances in SA political thought and survived well into the apartheid era as an official Opposition policy.

Obtuse

However, Dr Viljoen's team has looked at the Angolan model purely out of academic interest, as a system that operates on elements other than simple population majorities, and to assess its consequences.

The verdict: "Bad," according to a top Government adviser. "If you are in any sense a democrat in your heart you will reject qualified franchise."

The trend of Government studies of other constitutions working in heterogeneous societies has already led the team to this conclusion: Nowhere is there a political model that can simply be transplanted to SA.

This country's new constitution, acceptable to all its people, will have to be forged by the representatives of all its people in a long process of creative negotiation.

In moving towards this, however, history is rich with lessons. And chief among those are the lessons to be learnt from Rhodesia.

After the abortive settlement talks between Prime Minister Ian Smith and his British counterpart, Mr Harold Wilson, on HMS Tiger and HMS Fearless in the late 60s, the Smith government proposed an internal settlement.

It involved, essentially, the eventual attainment of parity between

the black majority and the white minority in Rhodesia's House of Assembly.

The outcome was most instructive. It led, in 1972, to widespread riots among blacks in which 16 were shot dead by security forces. More than that, though, it provided a focus for black political activity within the country, and saw the rise of the radical parties and the war being elevated to its ultimately successful intensity.

This, in turn, hardened the attitudes of many whites against the very idea of settlement — because they viewed the terms of the "parity" settlement as most reasonable.

Six years later, in 1978, Smith responded to the escalating pressure on him by negotiating a transitional government which, in the following year, saw Bishop Abel Muzorewa become Prime Minister.

However, the constitution, baked by only half those who had to live by it, failed to change Rhodesian society in any real way, failed to gain any international recognition, and failed to stop the war.

It lasted only a year. The Muzorewa government folded in on itself and the independent Zimbabwe government emerged in 1980 from the ruins of the obtuse manoeuvrings of its Rhodesian predecessor.

Serious

The lesson, as if it needed repeating? Government for the people must be assented to by the people in open democratic discussion.

Closer to home, there are more pertinent examples that the Government is taking serious note of.

The main one of these is the Kwa-Natal Indaba, which forged a system of non-racial politics culminating in a lower legislative house — with an upper house that holds veto powers based on cultural, language and religious rights.

There's one thing more. And it's something about negotiations — the simple act of sitting down and talking to people you have made an enemy of — that transcends the technicalities of constitution-making.

In talks of that kind, new possibilities, ones that did not exist before the process began, present themselves.

As opposing groups sit in one room and begin to talk about their fears and their ambitions for themselves and others, they invariably begin to discover common goals that bind them.

Prejudices begin to fall away. It is likely the ANC will stop seeing white South Africans as only jack-booted oppressors, and that the whites' representatives (not only the Government) will stop seeing the ANC as only murderers and terrorists.

If you want to prove this point, talk to anyone — in the internal and external parties — involved in the long negotiations that brought a peaceful independence to Namibia.

Perspectives

HE WAS just "beginning to feel better after giving up hope", my friend said. "And now all this happened."

I suppose hope is an uncomfortable, uneasy emotion. It lacks the certainty of resignation in a deadlocked situation. Hope has to survive with the constant threat of its frustration.

When a society moves into political transition, as in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Latin America, the collective emotion vacillates between hope and despair. SA is a country in political transition — and we have begun to hope again.

We are the last country in the post-colonial era where white minority domination is still in place, and we are the only country in the world where the major political antagonists have agreed to use only internal resources to negotiate it away.

We have no Lancaster House or Resolution 435 — we have only ourselves.

Can it be done? How? Let us begin by facing the fact that we have no external arbiter. There is no Lord Soames or Martti Ahtisaari.

All the major political actors are participants and referees in the process of transition. Bluntly put, Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk have to judge the manner and adequacy of whatever compromise they reach, or Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi, or Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, etc.

Basis

This difficulty can be overcome by the creation of a mutually agreed body of "observers" who, while reflecting the interests of different parties, develop a collective responsibility free from constituency pressure to see that progress in transition is maintained. But such a body cannot operate in a "value free" vacuum. It has to take its cue from a commonly agreed declaration of interest on broad ends and goals.

From the available statements from the major personalities in the different parties and movements, such a common declaration of intent is already present — e.g., one democratic constitution for all South Africans free from racial discrimination and domination and arrived at in a political climate

NOW WHAT HAPPENS?



by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert

politics has to do with creating a climate conducive to the democratic transition of politics.

What is this all about? This is the issue that causes most anxiety and confusion among ordinary people both black and white, in SA.

This anxiety and confusion provides fertile political soil for radical outbidding from extremists on the left and right. Emotive accusations of "sell out", "surrender", "betrayal", "co-optation", "collaboration", "co-option" and "betrayal" are calculated to undercut any rational progress in the process of bargaining.

Dilemma

To the extent that no visible progress is made in the negotiation of a democratic outcome, the anxiety and confusion is bound to increase. That is why now that Mr De Klerk and the ANC have agreed to negotiate, this is the area where both sides have to "deliver".

What could this mean? Negotiations do not only involve a new constitution based on one person one vote. As Namibia has shown, this is achievable without too much trauma.

The heart of our dilemma is structural inequality in life and opportunities between white and black South Africans. Everyone

seems to agree we are moving to a "new SA".

A "new SA" is not only going to need a "new constitution". It is also, and especially, going to need a "new budget".

The budget of a country reflects the political priorities in monetary terms of those who govern.

If SA is going to be governed democratically, there is no question the "new budget" for a "new SA" is going to look significantly different to the budget for the "old SA".

There is no political image to solve this problem. Shouting "nationalisation" or "free market" simply recognises the problem but does not solve the dilemma.

This is where the politics of negotiation will have to prove it can carry us through our transition.

Commissions of inquiry into a "new SA" will have to be agreed on between the Government and its opponents.

Inquiries into defence, police, health, education, law, public service, agriculture, land, industry, labour — in short, inquiry into all the terms reflected in the budget of the current Parliament in order to highlight its total inadequacy for a "new SA" and to focus attention on the demands of a "new budget".

In this way, a national debate can be initiated on the kind of nation we are to become. It will also unlock a vast network of resource bases that have either been working in isolation of one another or been dormant in the stagnation of apartheid SA.

We have, in our country, considerable talent and resources to bring to bear on these problems. It is also an area where, if serious negotiations are in evidence, international support and finance will be forthcoming.

Only then does it begin to make sense to talk of "Marshall aid" or concepts of that dimension and impact.

It is ridiculous and dangerous to nurture the illusion that once the ANC agrees to the lifting of sanctions vast amounts of impatiently saved-up investment capital will flow back into the country.

It simply is not going to happen.

Involved

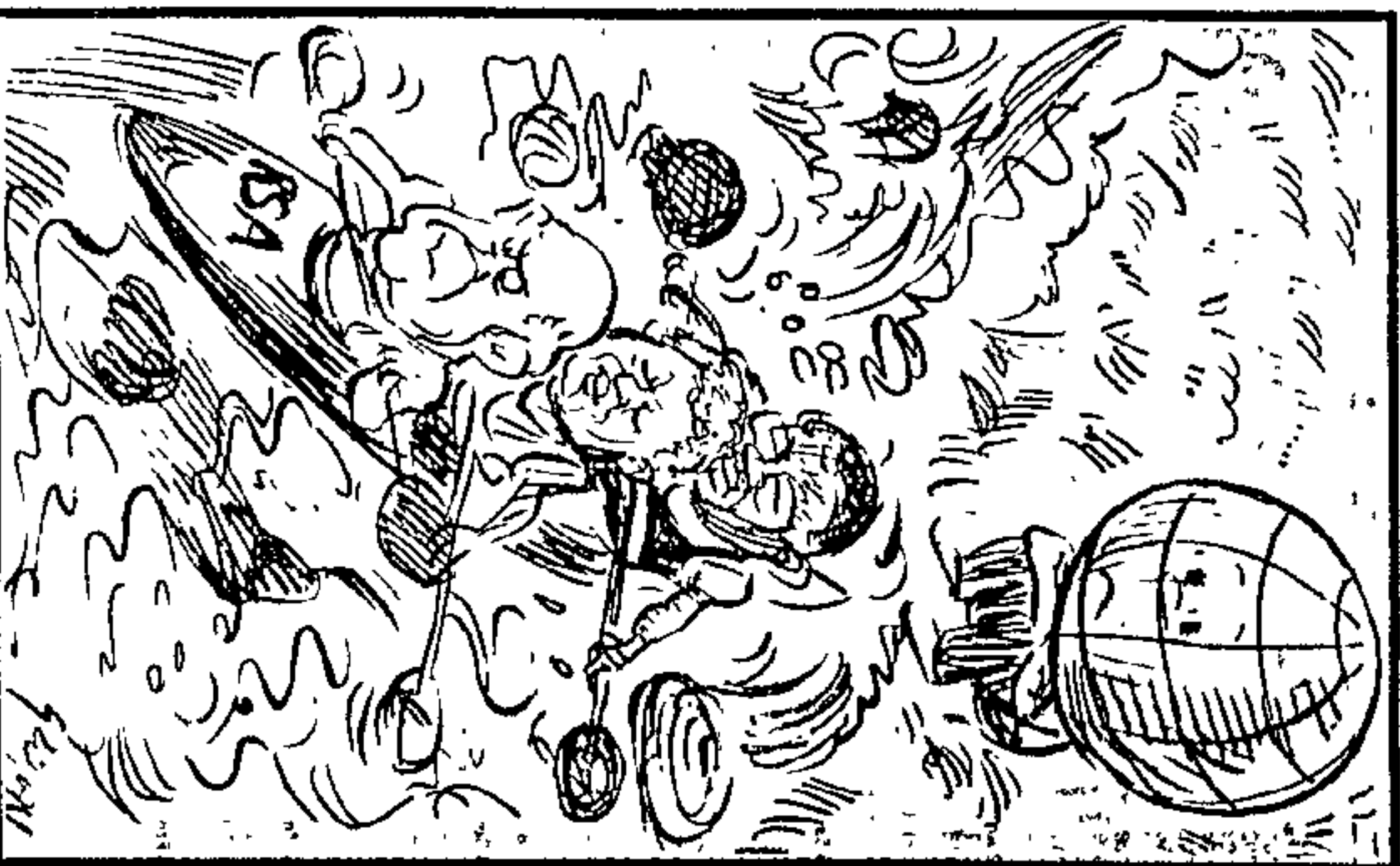
But it is not unreasonable to expect the "international community" to have a vested interest in seeing to it that the process of negotiation does not become stalled.

One concrete way of preventing this is to financially lubricate the consequences of negotiation in the areas of education, health, housing, etc.

Even a partially "democratised budget" for a "new SA" will provide a much more solid infrastructure for a new democratic constitution than we have at present.

In the meantime, there is no reason to be idle until normalisation and democratisation are fully under way.

Nothing stops the Government from appointing black judges or magistrates as soon as possible, dismissing prosecutions of so-called "old order" offences like



longer banned, encouraging vigorous debate between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politicians on TV and radio.

Equally, nothing stops the ANC from encouraging new developments in the areas of sport, cultural and academic isolation.

All of us, in a variety of ways, can become involved in the development of a genuinely democratic culture in which tolerance for difference and diversity can become a way of life.

The extraordinary thing about all these developments is that, as they unfold, new possibilities

emerge that were previously unthinkable.

New alliances, coalitions, partners in the struggle against the legacy of apartheid become real. Old fears and anxieties are undermined and the messiness of hope can turn into optimism.

When optimism becomes the dominant feeling in society we have a powerful force that can drive this nation-in-the-making towards maturity.

So I say to my friend: "Stop moping. Half the work is caught up in the politics of transition. The other half is as boring as hell."

It's a time to talk

'Smuts industry' rolls on

8 Times 4/3/90

"YES, there is still quite a large Smuts industry in South Africa," a friend commented when I mentioned that I was reading Piet Beukes's book on Smuts.

This "Smuts industry" stimulated the publication of a long list of sketches and biographies.

The continuing interest in Jan Smuts can be explained partly by his complex personality and outstanding intellect, and partly because he was the only South African who achieved the status of world statesman.

He was a deeply religious man who, because of his intellectual interest in and enquiry into religion, stood accused by some of his fellow Afrikaners of being an atheist. He was a Boer general who read the classics, philosophy and the New Testament in Greek while on manoeuvres.

He was a nationalist and an Afrikaner patriot who wrote *Een Eeuw Van Onrecht* (A Century of Wrong) in 1899, in which he castigated British policy in South Africa. He then fought bitterly against the British for more than three years and experienced the deepest despair and bitterness after the South African War.

However, in 1906, he brought the news of responsible government to South Africa with the comment: "They gave us back our country in

Prof Philip Spies (3049)

of Stellenbosch University, reviews *The Holistic Smuts: A Study in Personality*, by Piet Beukes

everything but name ... only a people like the English could do it. They make mistakes, but they are a big people."

In the years and decades which followed, he developed into a world statesman, a proponent of the British Empire (and of royalty in general), and played major roles in the conceptualisation and establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

His domestic political career was less successful but, when his party lost the 1926 election, he used the time to complete his Treatise on Holism and Evolution.

The "Smuts industry" is founded on a personality so rich and multifaceted that, to this day, it can provide powerful insights and pointers for statesmen and scientists alike.

With respect to his scientific

contribution, it is especially interesting to note that current developments in systems thinking are strongly influenced by Smuts's holism. In fact his *Holism and Evolution* is used as a standard reference book for systems thinking in American universities today.

Beukes has written a revealing book which opens new insights into the personality of Smuts, his religion and his theory of holism. The book was written with love and respect for Smuts as a person, as a great intellect and as a statesman. However, it does not ignore Smuts' weaknesses: His occasional insensitivity to human relationships, his selective racism and neglect of crucial issues relating especially to black Africans, and his vanity.

The book covers various aspects of Smuts's life, but it is, as the title indicates, primarily based on the evolution of his personality; with Jan Smuts the romantic and Jan Smuts the intellectual providing the recurrent theme around which his personality continued to develop up to the time of his death (Smuts was, for example, planning to rewrite *Holism and Evolution* during the late 1940s).

The *Holistic Jan Smuts* makes stimulating reading from the first to the last page.

Published by Human & Rousseau

F W to meet Dos Santos privately?

By KEN POTTINGER
Lisbon

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and his Angolan counterpart Jose Eduardo dos Santos will meet formally and alone for the first time in Windhoek later this month, says a report here.

The leading Lisbon weekly Expresso said yesterday that the meeting had been fixed for March 22 in talks in

Luanda on Thursday between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem. *5 Times 4/3/90*

The atmosphere of the meeting was said to be "remarkably open" amid signs that a new era in relations between Pretoria and Luanda is beginning.

Expresso said the foreign ministers discussed their respective support for Unita and the ANC. The paper said South Africa had undertaken to stop aid to the Angolan rebels in return for a promise that Luanda would pressure the ANC to moderate its political demands.

The report said South Africa had agreed to launch an unpublicised economic aid programme for Angola. Meetings between South African businessmen and the Angolan authorities to study investment and other opportunities in the former Portuguese colony are planned.

The DP and the ANC: Getting there together?

Stiles 4/13/90

304 H

WHY would joining the ANC be a viable, even challenging, prospect for whites? Because, since the ANC is open to white membership, it seems to be the first available and logical step to a new South Africa.

But then again, the Democratic Party is open to black membership. So why not entertain the thought of the ANC becoming a properly registered political party under the aegis of the DP?

These musings will soon become aspects of serious discussion, so it is not surprising that "joining the ANC" or "merging the DP with the ANC" is being debated so hectically.

Right now, members of the Democratic Party at constituency level are involved in strategy talks — internal analysis of its own role and scenarios for the future.

It appears that defection to the National Party, the so-called National option, is not a prevalent mood. Support for Government initiatives is certainly enthusiastic, but

Martie Meiring

considers the question of whites joining the ANC



to most DP supporters, actually joining the National Party is an exercise in futility because of the simple fact that the NP, notwithstanding its power-sharing programme, is a racially exclusive party — the exact opposite of the Democratic Party.

So while the DP enthusiastically applauds Government moves towards reform, its principles are closer to, even identical with, ANC principles.

If the DP wants to realise its slogan "Getting there together", how will it do it? Through alliance, partnership, merger? Or by moves towards direct memberships (i.e. defections) if a straight

merger of two or more parties cannot result in an entirely new party?

Least attractive is the prospect of a coalition government, inherent in the NP future of power-sharing.

Anathema

The vision of a continued DP as a watchdog for liberal and just values is attractive to those who prefer their politics in a classic mould.

But I believe that, while the liberal ideal remains central, there simply is too much of an energetic urge to get to the nitty

gritty of ordinary power politics to aspire to the lofty style of watchdog and think-tank politics.

But why look to direct involvement with the ANC while it adheres to certain issues that are anathema to the free market spirit of those who have joined the DP? Exactly because the DP has evolved a culture of internal debate and conflict-solving.

Already, too, the DP has, in spite of facile criticism, shown support for a collective leadership which is essentially a check and balance mechanism and to the style of black politics.

Living with the ANC might not be all that easy. Known to be a highly disciplined organisation, it is also notoriously lacking in organisation itself.

It also suffers from aggrandisement, largely due to the white South African perception of a huge, mystical force. The extent of ANC power simply still has to be tested.

Then there is the ANC's obvious priority for economic redress

while an important DP tenet is the basic establishment of a Bill of Rights.

To disabuse ANC perceptions that a Bill of Rights will perpetuate white values is as important as it is for the ANC to make the country understand why it is calling for nationalisation as a strategy to redistribute wealth as a means of redressing black deprivations of the past.

If the ANC argues that nationalisation will redress the historic deprivation, white democrats can counter that a mixed economy does address the deprivation issue: for instance, Government responsibility for education, the involvement of the free market in social responsibility, deregulation — in fact, a dynamic correction to the bogged down incentives for productivity, taxation, etc.

Whites tend to confuse redress with revenge — or, in the case of sanctions, punishment. Attitudes are important. Sanctions worked for the anti-apartheid movement; it also impoverished large numbers of black people, but whites suffered too. There was thus a process of redress in this campaign.

If whites are not prepared to sacrifice some of their wealth (through sanctions or taxation or, indeed, nationalisation), they have yet to come up with a strategy for a *wirtschaftswunder* (Germany's post-war economic miracle).

White South Africa and its governments have been very superficial about many things: has productivity and unemployment really ever seriously been addressed?

Unacceptable

Who is looking in a creative way at the cultural differences in South Africa? (The ANC as well as the DP have constitutions describing cultural freedom and rights).

The policy of protection through division is still strong in the NP philosophy and practice, hence the desperate insistence on minority rights for the NP's defined groups.

It envisages a future of a *lapieskombers* of black, white and khaki (a colour coding for the so-called open group) with the white sector small and threatened.

This is also the scenario of the CP. So whether it is partition or power-sharing, race more than culture (read language and religion) will define those two political parties. The democratic ideal of individual rights and freedom therefore remains unacceptable to them.

Thus, while there is much talk of a new South Africa, a new South Africanism is still lacking. This can only be embodied in a truly non-racial togetherness.

The answer to that could very well lie between the Democratic Party and the ANC.

Politics blamed for SA's economic ills

Blom 5/3/90

304A

PRETORIA — SA's economic problems and limited growth could not be blamed entirely on sanctions and boycotts, Pretoria University economist Geert de Wet said here last week.

He told an international conference on economic development in a changing socio-political environment politics had played a major role in SA's economic plight.

This had meant an excess of nationalisation in the sense of government involvement in the economy. Over-regulation had detracted from the economy's inherent ability to grow, said De Wet.

Too many restrictions had hobbled productivity and contributed to greater unemployment. Of prime importance in the lack of economic performance and achievement were erroneous monetary and fiscal policies over a prolonged period. Boycotts and sanctions had merely aggravated an already flawed situation.

"Nationalisation must be avoided at all costs and the economy freed to grow."

Total deregulation would take the economy down the road to vital development of inward industrialisation.

On Friday, Development Bank of Southern Africa CE Simon Brand told conference delegates a plea for rapid removal of remaining regulations had to be made.

There were still great economic inequalities, which would most probably become part of the negotiation process.

Public sector resources would have to be redirected to ensure optimal use.

The private sector would also have to adjust. It would have to recognise its social

GERALD REILLY

responsibility while adapting to the changing pattern of markets to survive.

Canadian economist C W Ahlaker said SA was likely to emerge from its relative economic stagnation if government followed world trends towards greater civil liberties and freedom of enterprise.

He stressed the profitable investments that could be made from savings on the security services and bureaucracy needed to enforce apartheid laws.

This would open up greater opportunities for job creation and greater profitability of private enterprise under new institutions supporting individual freedoms.

Removal of apartheid promised liberty and economic prosperity as long as the change was peaceful.

On Saturday Development Bank special adviser F J van Eeden said neither dogmatic calls for nationalisation nor a vaguely defined free market approach "will bring us very far". Deregulation and privatisation would not suffice. Many more development programmes were essential to uplift the Third World sector.

Projections were that the black urban population would increase from 11.5-million in 1985 to almost 28-million in 2000. In a relatively short period SA would look like a Third World country.

Demand for public services would put the economy under severe strain. However, it would create opportunities for inward industrialisation.

Future development policy would also have to provide for increased co-operation with the rest of southern Africa.

Frigate achieves forecasts

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

Region	(a) Number of extension offices	(b) Offices now manned by graduates	(c)(i) Graduates in control	(c)(ii) Diplomates in control	(d) Information correct as on:	Offices va- cant in re- spect of grad- uates or diplomates
1. Transvaal Region	26	19	19	6	23/02/90	1
2. Highveld Region	25	15	15	7	23/02/90	3
3. Free State Region	24	14	14	8	01/03/90	2
4. Natal Region	16	10	10	6	21/02/90	—
5. Eastern Cape Region	14	10	10	4	22/02/90	—
6. Karoo Region	16	3	3	6	21/02/90	4
7. Winter Rain- fall Region	20	14	14	6	22/02/90	—
Total	141	85	85	47		10

Agricultural research projects: amount spent

26. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:

- (1) (a) What amount was spent on agricultural research projects by his Department during the 1989-90 financial year and (b) what amount has his Department received from (i) industries and (ii) organisations in contributions in respect of such projects;

- (2) (a) what amount did his Department allocate to universities for agricultural research in the said financial year and (b) how much was allocated to each university?

Handwritten: 513190

B240E

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) (a) R125 000 000 (Amount budgeted for 1989/90 financial year for Agricultural Research. The expenditure will

only be available after the closure of the financial year on 31 March 1990.)

- (b) (i) R1 128 312

- (ii) R6 618 175

- (2) (a) R1 026 500

- (b) UNIVERSITY

AMOUNT

1. University of the Orange Free State	R105 200
2. Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education	R37 500
3. University of Pretoria	R318 900
4. Rhodes University	R9 800
5. University of Stellenbosch	R169 300
6. University of Natal	R190 100
7. University of Cape Town	R103 000
8. Rand Afrikaans University	R19 000
9. Medical University of Southern Africa	R5 700
10. University of Fort Hare	R9 000
11. University of the Witwatersrand	R49 000
12. University of the Western Cape	R10 000
TOTAL:	R1 026 500

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Delimitation commission

1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

Whether a delimitation commission was appointed recently; if so, when is it anticipated that this commission's business will be completed; if not, why not?

B368E.INT

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, a delimitation commission was not appointed recently. In terms of the provisions of the Constitution the next delimitation commission must be appointed on 3 October 1990 at the latest, in the case of the House of Assembly, and in the case of the other Houses on 11 June 1994 at the latest.

The Government envisages introducing an amendment to section 48 of the Constitution during this session, which will result in the delimitation periods for the three Houses being concurrent. If the legislation is accepted, a commission for each of the three Houses will have to be appointed after 11 June 1989, but before or on 11 June 1994.

The reasons for the Government's standpoint are as follows: In terms of the Constitution the general election of members of the three Houses of Parliament must take place on the same day. It is therefore desirable that the delimitation of constituencies for the three Houses should also take place at the same time.

As the next general election need not take place before 1994, it would be premature to have the delimitation of the House of Assembly take place as early as 1990. As a result, shifts in the population which took place after that would not be taken into account, and by 1994 the delimitation would therefore already be out of date.

If a decision were taken to go ahead with the appointment of a delimitation commission for the House of Assembly before 30 October 1990, such a delimitation would only come into operation with the following general election for the House of Assembly. This would therefore mean that a second voters' roll, was based on the new delimitation, would have to be compiled while the existing voters' lists based on the old delimitation would still be valid for by-elections, with far-reaching administrative implications, not the least of which would be for the constituency organisations of political parties.

The present distribution of House of Assembly voters indicates that an amendment to the number of House of Assembly members who represent each province has become desirable. Such an amendment also implies the amending of the number of constituencies per province, and this would then influence the redelimitation of constituencies before a next general election. An earlier redelimitation based on the old number of constituencies would therefore be pointless on the one hand, and on the other hand fail to solve the existing problem of large differences in provincial quotas.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, with every speech and reply of the hon the Minister even the best political exegetist is further away from an answer to the riddle of what the constitutional plans of the Government are for our country. In the old South Africa one could perhaps have understood it. But in this grey Lubowskian underworld of the NP what is unclear becomes even more so. [Interjections.]

Yesterday the hon the Minister made a speech which lasted 30 minutes, and he said in his own words *inter alia*:

I want to make it clear that the NP's point of departure is that there must be separate (*et cetera*) representation, and therefore also separate voters' lists, for every group that wishes to make use of the opportunity for the protection of political rights for groups and minorities in terms of the NP premise. Those who do not want to make use of this, will probably have their own group voters' roll. That is the logical consequence of that standpoint.

What is far worse is the standpoint which the hon the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs

put to us, namely that the CP had missed the boat, and he then added—this was last week, the week before last—that the CP—namely the Whites—would not have another chance of coming close to being the Government of the country. [Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Minister a direct question, and he has the ability to be even more vague with regard to constitutional matters than ex-Minister Chris Heunis was. [Interjections.]

I want to ask the hon the Minister straight-out today whether the fact that the last delimitation committee was appointed in 1980, and the fact that he now wants to change the date in the Act to 1994, means that the Government wants to make provision for or supports the standpoint that all constituencies are going to disappear. In other words, the present representation of specific constituencies by members of Parliament is going to disappear, and the Government plans to implement proportional representation.

Even worse than Nero of old, the NP is not only playing a fiddle, but an entire orchestra while South Africa is burning as a result of the revolutionary forces which the Government has unleashed. I want to make it very clear to the hon the Minister that the CP is extremely concerned about the position of the White franchise, what it is going to do with it . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr J H MOMBBERG: Mr Speaker . . . [Interjections] . . . the DP is very grateful to hear from the hon the Minister that it will not be necessary to have a delimitation in the near future. It is quite clear that it is in fact a pity that we did not have a delimitation before the election. At the moment we have a situation in which we have constituencies such as North Rand with 43 000 voters, Helderkruijn with 37 000, Pretoria East with 38 000 and Preska with 8 500 . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! I am afraid hon members are interrupting the hon member far too often. The hon member may proceed.

*Mr J H MOMBBERG: We are therefore grateful to hear that in the light of our negotiations for a new South Africa, the Government is not about to create a situation in which a delimitation is forced upon us. We would welcome a constitutional amendment to give the State the opportunity to postpone that delimitation so that proper constitutional amendments can take place.

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe was an extremely presumptuous in what he equated here. He equated the CP with the Whites. That is presumptuous, and we reject it with the contempt it deserves. [Interjections.]

The questions which the hon member asked are simply beyond me and have no bearing on the subject. It seems that the questions pertain to a new constitution, while the interpellation deals with the present Constitution. My answer relates to delimitations with regard to the present Constitution.

According to the present Constitution it is surely very clear that the delimitation is done per House of Parliament and that the drawing up of voters' lists for the various population groups takes place for each House of Parliament. What is relevant in a new constitution has nothing whatsoever to do with this interpellation, because surely we cannot possibly take any decisions or bring about any amendments in this Constitution which will continue to have effect in a new constitution. [Interjections.] Therefore, I cannot understand why the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe should confuse matters in this way.

In a new constitution, what will have to be negotiated is whether franchise will take place within the context of the constituency or by means of proportional representation or whatever. The provisions which are made here with regard to the present Constitution are an entirely different matter which is no way affected by what may be brought to the fore in a new constitution.

From the remarks made by the hon member for Simon's Town it would appear that he was once again apologising for something in which he had no part, because we were quite surprised yesterday afternoon to hear what an enormous influence the hon member must have had on events in the past, judging by the apologies which he felt it necessary to make across such a wide spectrum. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Speaker, we must make it clear that the hon the Minister is actually misleading the House. He is pretending that there is an enormous watershed between the present constitutional dispensation and the con-

situtional dispensation he and Mr Mandela have in mind for the future. That is not true.

His ideas and plans for the future are already having an effect on his actions within this constitutional dispensation today. The reason that this hon Minister does not want to launch a delimitation campaign or even consider the prospect that the White electorate will vote in the near future, is that he knows, as well as I do, that the NP is already losing its position of power among the White voters at this very moment. [Interjections.] He is trying to postpone that day.

The CP wants to warn the voters of South Africa that they must take careful note of the fact that under this hon Minister the NP is playing for time. If possible, he wants to postpone the opportunity for the White voters to vote on where South Africa is heading until after the new dispensation has come about. That is this hon Minister's objective.

Furthermore, he said yesterday in this House that the group concept left a bad smell. He said that the group concept stank. [Interjections.] He did not want to touch something which stank. That is why he does not want to do that. [Interjections.] This hon the Minister is playing for time, is waiting for tomorrow and does not want to give us the opportunity to vote. It is precisely for this reason that he is increasing the tension within the White electorate and is hastening the day when the White electorate will defeat the NP at the first opportunity. [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, I want to tell the hon the Minister that he did not answer my question at all. He said that he was speaking under a new dispensation, while the very work which he has been given involves working out a new constitution for South Africa. Now the hon Minister is once again placating the people out there and saying no, let us wait until 1994.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that we demand that the NP resign so that we can hold an election on the grounds of a new delimitation, because at this stage they no longer have a majority, neither in Vanderbijlpark, nor in most of the White seats in South Africa.

The hon the Minister made far more sense when he had to plead for a homeland for the Afrikaner

and the Whites than he does with regard to this present conglomeration. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, it is actually pathetic to see that an hon member who was unable to win a seat in an election or a court case has so much to say about who should resign and who should not resign. [Interjections.] Where has one ever heard of anything more ludicrous than a party that received an overwhelming mandate from the voters a few months ago, now suddenly being asked to resign? [Interjections.]

The bankruptcy and inability of that side of the House to hold an effective political debate is really so blatant that one can hardly believe it. [Interjections.]

In terms of our Constitution, which is what the interpellation is about, an election can be called at any time in the future, and the answer to the question as to whether the White voters would be able to vote in the near future, is obvious. In terms of the present Constitution, the State President and the Government can call an election whenever they like.

The fact that delimitations have not been completed and that there are no new delimitations, in no way affects the fact that there will be ample opportunity to hold an election. In fact, during the last election the hon the State President gave the voters a clear undertaking that before a new constitution was implemented, he would give the White voters an opportunity, either by means of a referendum or an ordinary election, to express their opinion about such a new dispensation.

This interpellation deals with this dispensation. It deals with this Constitution, and the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe's attempt to sidestep this here in regard to a constitution which has yet to be negotiated, which has yet to be finalised and which will still have to be properly passed by the existing constitutional structures, is a poorly disguised attempt at manipulation. This is very clearly a case of a frustrated hon member of the House who was not successful in being elected in the usual way, and who is now attempting to manipulate the situation by means of various irrelevant questions regarding a delimitation commission, whereby he hopes to pull the wool over the eyes of his opponents with regard to his inability to achieve political success. [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I am here in terms of a law of Parliament!

*The MINISTER: We want to suggest to the hon member that he improve his politics, that he improve his policy and that he improve his arguments. [Time expired.]

*Mr J J NIEMANN: He is what he is! [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The time for Interpellation No 1 has expired. [Interjections.] Order! [Interjections.] Order! I hope hon members can hear that Mr Speaker is trying to lead the House according to the Order Paper.

Debate concluded.

Internal Security Act: repeal/amendment

2. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether it is the intention of the Government to repeal or amend those sections of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, which affect the normal political functioning of the recently unbanned organisations; if so, when; if not, why not?

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The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, it is not apparent and clear what the hon member who has put the question perceives to be provisions in the Internal Security Act of 1982, which affect the normal political functions of the recently unbanned organisations. The ANC, for instance, which is now a lawful organisation is in exactly the same position as the NP, the CP and the DP. There is no provision in the Internal Security Act of 1982 which inhibits these organisations from taking part in normal lawful political activities. The provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1982 have never inhibited the DP as far as normal political functioning is concerned, because they were lawful activities.

What provisions does the hon member think should be repealed—section 54(1) in respect of terrorism, 54(2) in respect of intimidation, 54(3) in respect of sabotage, 54(4) in respect of harbouring or rendering or assisting, 56 in respect of causing, encouraging or fomenting feelings of hostility between different population groups?

Harvard 6/3/90

All these provisions involve either violence or lawlessness which, as the hon the State President

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

said, no democratic country can tolerate. It is a fact that during times of reform people may resort to violence in reaction to reform. There are either those who reject reform or those who want to speed up reform or those who do not want reform but are only interested in a transfer of power and the destruction of a political system.

The provisions of the Internal Security Act are aimed at violence which threatens the security of the State—and these are there for all to observe—and are there also to serve all of those who wish to attain their political objectives through lawful means.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, I will tell the hon the Minister which sections I want to have repealed because he has not done his homework very well. I hope he is better prepared for the next two contributions he is going to make in this mini-debate. Harvard 6/3/90

The Harare Declaration, section 19.4 reads:

The state of emergency should be ended and all legislation repealed such as and including the Internal Security Act designed to circumscribe political activity.

I believe attention should be given to the Act. Certain sections have to be repealed and others have to be kept. Some of those he mentioned, including section 62 which provides for the prohibition of feelings of hostility between different population groups. I think we should have a new Act with a new title. I will take a look at specific sections and draw the hon the Minister's attention to some of them so that he might be able to respond during the course of this debate.

Section 33 and section 34 disqualify certain individuals from being members of the House of Assembly if their names have been on the consolidated list or if they have been convicted of offences in terms of section 54, 55 or 56. Therefore Mr Slovo, for instance, whose name was on the consolidated list but has now been removed—he is a hard-line communist—is eligible to be a member of the House of Assembly. Mr Nelson Mandela who was convicted in terms of sections 54, 55 and 56 is a nationalist but he is not eligible to be a member of the House of Assembly. I think that that section should be looked at.

Section 34 disqualifies individuals whose names appear on the consolidated list from practising as attorneys, advocates or conveyancers. In this connection Mr Slovo, who is a hard-line Communist, has also not been convicted in terms of sections 54, 55 and 56. He is permitted to practise as an advocate whereas Mr Nelson Mandela, who is a nationalist, is not permitted to practise as an attorney. I think that is another section that should be attended to.

Section 4 of the Act declares that certain organisations are unlawful, among other reasons because they might promote the communist cause. The Communist Party is now legal. Why is it wrong for the Communist Party to promote its own cause?

Section 5 allows the hon the Minister to prohibit publications if, amongst other reasons, they spread communism. *Sechaba* is banned in this connection. Now will the hon the Minister allow *Sechaba* to be distributed in this country and, if it falls under the Publications Act, will he speak to his colleague the hon the Minister of Home Affairs to ensure that the ANC is able to disseminate its views in its official publication which is called *Sechaba*? [Time expired.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, all of a sudden everyone is concerned about the ANC's participation, but no one has said a word about the SA Communist Party which has also been legalised in the interim. [Interjections.] I do not want to elaborate much on members of the ANC. I understand there is already a member of the ANC in Parliament, but I cannot be very sure of that, because it might just emerge that he is a member of Military Intelligence. We would not know, because there is quite a lot of confusion about whether members are members of the ANC or of Military Intelligence. The hon member for Claremont may comply with the latter qualification.

Communism has been legalised, but section 55 of the Internal Security Act has remained. No one may preach it. The SA Communist Party may put up a candidate, but it may never preach communism.

The hon the Minister of Justice said it had become obsolete. It is very strange, however, that last week it was still necessary, in terms of this Act, to say one was not a communist if one wanted to become an advocate or an attorney.

How something can become obsolete when one still has to say under oath that one does not belong to it is beyond me.

I think the hon the Minister of Justice must take another look at this. There are a number of sections in this Act which it has justifiably been said should receive attention. One cannot simply accept that one must have a situation in which everything will suddenly go well. There were numerous sections with which one had to comply.

We should like to know more from the hon the Minister about the Act we passed last year concerning foreign funding. The ANC is collecting money abroad at present. What is the hon the Minister going to do about that? That is the kind of question to which we should like to have answers.

*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, the hon member who placed the questions on the Order Paper must please look at the large number of proclamations that were promulgated. Those who remain, and therefore remain listed, are those who were sentenced under sections 54 etc as a result of violent intent and violent associations. They remain on the list. Others have all been removed from the list. Everyone has been removed from the list apart from those who committed violence-related crimes.

*Mr D J DALLING: I know that. I did my homework.

*The MINISTER: No, the hon member did not know that. He did not know it. The hon member can get the proclamations from me. That is the position in that regard. For the hon member's information: Mr Mandela was not listed as a communist or anything else. [Interjections.] If his name ever appeared on the list, Mr Mandela has now been delisted.

*An HON MEMBER: What about section 54?

*The MINISTER: If the hon member wants further information, he can come and ask me personally, and I should be very pleased to assist him.

A further fact in respect of this section with regard to communism, as I explained last time, is that the action in respect of the organisations etc was an administrative action. The hon member for Bethal agreed with me. With regard to the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

prohibition on the promotion of communism, this was and is contained in the Statute. Its removal would have to be an act of this Parliament. I infer from the hon member for Bethal that he is the foremost advocate for the removal of that section. [Interjections.] Of course! The entire House is my witness.

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon the Minister is becoming just too enthusiastic. His time has expired.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Speaker, we on this side of the House are obviously particularly pleased by the hon the State President's announcements on 2 February 1990 in regard to the steps which will be taken to ease certain sections of the state of emergency in favour of liberty, and also the steps taken to allow people to participate in political debate. I am not the first speaker on this side of the House to welcome the tentative steps towards normalising the political process in South Africa but steps taken by the hon the State President are in serious danger of having little or no positive influence in the political arena because the Internal Security Act contains provisions which could negate or nullify any good that has been done by the easing of the state of emergency or lifting of restrictions. The Internal Security Act, via the back door, makes severe inroads into the common law rights and privileges of every citizen in this country, and it continues, as it has done in the past, to pervert the course of justice in South Africa.

It is our philosophy, and the philosophy adopted by any civilized country, that a person is entitled to be brought to trial as soon as possible.

It is in particular sections 28, 29 and 31 of the Internal Security Act which are a stumbling block to every citizen's right to receive a fair hearing.

I can do little better than to quote Mr Justice Goldstone in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Death of Clayton Sizwe Sithole when he makes the following statement in regard to section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

I quote:

The provisions of section 29 are drastic and make serious inroads into the normal rights and privileges of every citizen of the Republic. It is of utmost importance therefore that the letter and spirit of the regulations should be

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

adhered to by those responsible for the well-being of such detainees.

The judge then carries on as follows . . . [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister has not answered our question. He has dealt with the latter half of the Act, where we have sympathy with him, with regard to crimes of violence, but genuine political activity should be allowed, unfettered by this Act, as regards the first half of the Act. I hope the hon the Minister will give attention to that. [Interjections.]

I have looked at his proclamations. I know that 177 names have had been removed from the lists. I bet the hon the Minister does not know that. [Interjections.] I know that more than 400 names still remain there. I counted them. So I am aware of what is going on, but I am not sure that he is. [Interjections.]

The Act is not in keeping with the spirit announced by the hon the State President on 2 February. There is a spirit of reconciliation and hope, and this Act is in conflict with that spirit. I think the hon the Minister should have a look at the first 30 or so sections of the Act and have them repealed. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, for the information of the hon member for Johannesburg North, Mr Nelson Mandela's name is still on the roll of attorneys. It was never removed!

Secondly, as regards the names that are still on the list, I want to say—I am emphatic about this and the hon member must listen carefully—those names are on the list for the reason that those people have committed violence-related crimes. They will remain there until such time as another policy prevails. [Interjections.] Until such time as another policy prevails. [Interjections.] That is the policy now. [Interjections.]

*I also said in the Other Place that I was not familiar with every letter of this Act. It is not I who say that! Mr Justice Rabie advised, in 1982, that this Act be revised from time to time.

*Mr S C JACOBS: Any legislation must be revised from time to time!

*The MINISTER: He advised that, because he said it should be adapted to the circumstances and needs of the time. Consequently I have no

problem in saying that this Act will from time to time, as is necessary, be brought into line with what is needed at a specific juncture.

I want to address the hon member for Bethal once again and say that the last date on which a person was listed as a communist was 1970. The only person we could trace who was prosecuted under the Communism Act, the old Act before it was amended as a result of what Mr Justice Rabie had advised, was Mr Roley Arenstein who was prosecuted in 1966. It did not happen again! [Interjections.] *How sad!* 6/3/90

I now come to the last point. Hon members resent our standpoint on communism, but they know that if one wants to prosecute anyone under this Act, with reference to the relevant sections which prohibit the promotion of communism, one has to do so according to the letter of the 1982 legislation which deals with communism as interpreted by Lenin, Marx and others. The hon the Leader of the Official Opposition reproached us, however, and said that what one should be careful of today was a new type of communism which he called Gorbachev's communism. [Interjections.]

No, he called it Gorbachev's communism. Hon members are welcome to take a look at column 47 of the Hansard. [Interjections.] Of course! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

North-Western Transvaal: designated area

*1. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

- (1) What is the purpose of the designated area in the North-Western Transvaal;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B245E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: *Hansard 6/3/90*

(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House)

(1) and (2)

Hansard 6/3/90
The North-Western Transvaal is of strategic importance to the RSA. It is the thoroughfare between the RSA and the rest of Africa and must be stabilized to realize specific strategic, political and security objectives.

The depopulation of rural and especially peripheral rural areas such as the border area of the North-Western Transvaal, is an international phenomenon and can be ascribed to economic push and pull forces. The economic basis of the North-Western Transvaal is agriculture which is severely hampered by structural defects. Uneconomic farming units, unfavourable debt burdens, marginal soils, periodic droughts and the distance from markets complicate farming in this area and promote depopulation. A reduced farming population handicaps the inherent growth potential of smaller growth centres and the decline of infrastructure forms part of the intricate process of regional depopulation.

The farmer who has sufficient financial reserves and makes an existence on an economic unit, is to resist shorter term agricultural drawbacks such as droughts, and is seen by the Government as the antipode to depopulation. A comprehensive approach to the stabilization of border areas within the wider concept of regional development, is necessary to keep farmers on the land.

The Government has committed itself to such a comprehensive stabilization strategy for the North-Western Transvaal and with the exception of agricultural stabilization which is at present receiving special attention, satisfying progress has been made.

Socio-economic stabilization of border areas can only be successfully implemented over a relatively longer period of time. It is thus clear that the nature of and progress with stabilization are subject to various factors which are liable to change. The Development of Designated Areas Act, 1979 (Act 87 of 1979) was formulated as a special instrument to stabilize areas with structural agricultural shortcomings, but where certain security risks also exist. The situation in the North-Western Transvaal necessitated the proclamation of the border area as a Designated Area.

It must be fully understood that the above-mentioned Act is to be seen as just one facet of the comprehensive stabilization strategy, since it

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

'Wealth alone won't help whites'

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — White South Africans "must not think their wealth and expertise alone will force Africa to ask them to lead", Mr Nelson Mandela warned here yesterday on arrival from Lusaka.

"They never will lead as long as they are associated with the evil policy of apartheid, but the day they decide to settle with acknowledged leaders of the country, the day they commit themselves to a democratic non-racial South Africa, they will be accepted in this region, in Africa and the world with wide, with open arms."

"This is what the ANC is working on," Mr Mandela said in his speech at Harare airport. "We are trying to persuade the government that it is madness we should be killing one another

when we can sit down, talk and settle our problems."

But in an address soon afterwards at Harare's Townshouse, when he was given the freedom of the city, Mr Mandela said President F W de Klerk's government had, by unbanning the ANC, so far had met only one of the five conditions in last October's Harare Declaration.

"Though we thank it for that step there is much that it has to do before we can agree to sit down with the government and talk."

Speaking after being greeted at Harare airport by President Robert Mugabe, Mr Mandela said "the ugly problems" which faced South Africa, Zimbabwe and the region could be resolved only by pooling the resources of all communities.

Van der Merwe and Zuma set to do the talking

APR 1978 5/3/78
Own Correspondent

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC intelligence official Mr Jacob Zuma and government constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe were likely to be the principal negotiators in the "talks about talks" expected to begin within the next few weeks, ANC sources said at the weekend.

The two parties' delegations will, however, be formally led by top leaders. The ANC delegation is likely to be led by newly elected deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and, it was expected, the government group by President F W de Klerk.

The ANC said it hoped the initial return of exiles would coincide with the visit of its delegation for talks, and the visit of a second team that would arrive here to hold discussions with pro-liberation groups. Some of these would include ANC information department officials, but no names were specified.

The initial talks, which the ANC has stressed cannot be seen as part of the negotiation process, will be about fulfilling Harare Declaration pre-conditions for negotiations, including the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the emergency.

The ANC will also press the government for assistance in re-establishing the exiles here in particular with regard to housing, education and pensions.

Zimbabwe no to negotiation

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Zimbabwe Government has endorsed the Pan Africanist Congress's stance against negotiations with State President Mr F W de Klerk.

Opening the PAC and Pan Africanist Movement consultative conference in Harare on Friday, Zimbabwe's Minister of State for Political Affairs, Mr Ed-dison Zvogbo said his government and the PAC had a relationship dating back for decades.

"The struggle in Azania cannot be compromised. This is the message from our President, Comrade Robert Mugabe. We salute PAC president Comrade Zephania Mothopeng and all the comrades who have kept the torch burning for the total liberation of Azania.

"Negotiations with Pretoria would involve trading freedoms and values but there would be no colonial power in the chair to oversee the bargaining process as there had been at Lancaster House before Zimbabwe's independence. Sowetan 5/3/90

"Your struggle is marked by preparedness, to suffer without limit as shown by the internal struggles of the people. 304A

"We must not forget that the so-called constitutional reforms by De Klerk are a result of the internal pressures in the form of labour strikes and other forms of struggle. If we allow ourselves to be deceived by De Klerk it will mean we are sacrificing the little victories in our struggle so far."

304A

Congressmen in SA on fact finding mission

DANIEL FELDMAN

A NINE-member delegation of US Congressmen arrived in Johannesburg on Friday for a three-day fact-finding mission.

"We are here to inquire, listen and observe what the current situation is in SA," said Congressman William Gray, leader of the delegation, on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport.

When he left the US last Wednesday, Gray issued a Press release which said the purpose of the trip was to "determine the extent of recent political changes and the possibility of greater change".

"We hope these talks will help us develop a US policy that leads to a non-racial democracy," it said.

Over the past four days, delegation members have met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, President F.W. de Klerk, Foreign Minister P.W. Botha, representatives of the PAC, the UDF, the MDM and an array of labour and religious leaders.

Gray is the House Majority Whip, the third most important position in the House. 6/10am 5/13/90

He has been a leading spokesman on African policy and he authored the House version of the anti-apartheid Acts of 1985 and 1986.

He previously served for four years as House Committee chairman on the Budget and as Democratic caucus chairman.

The leading Republican is Dean Gallo, a member of the House Republican Policy Committee, the House Appropriations Committee and the House Budget Committee.

Other delegation members are:

- ☐ Ronald Dellums, Congressional Black Caucus chairman;
- ☐ Howard Wolpe, House Africa Subcommittee chairman;
- ☐ Stephen Solarz of the House Foreign Affairs Committee;
- ☐ Vic Fazio, Democratic Caucus vice-chairman;
- ☐ Beverly Byron of the House Armed Services Committee;
- ☐ Michael Andrews of the Committee on Ways and Means; and
- ☐ Jim McCrery of the House Budget Committee.

ANC, govt talks may begin within weeks

304A

CHARLENE SMITH

ANC intelligence official Jacob Zuma and government constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe were likely to be principal negotiators in "talks about talks" expected to begin in a few weeks, ANC sources said at the weekend. b1 Dm 513190

Formally, however, the ANC delegation was likely to be led by newly elected deputy president Nelson Mandela. The government group would be led by President F.W. de Klerk or a senior Cabinet Minister. EDYTH BULBRING reports that Depu-

□ To Page 2

ANC talks b1 Dm 513190

ty Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday the process of negotiations was being handled by De Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

The team consisted of a number of people, including himself and Van der Merwe.

However, it would be premature to say Van der Merwe was heading the initial team, Meyer said.

The ANC said it hoped the initial return of exiles would coincide with the visit of its delegation for talks and the visit of a second team that is to hold discussions with anti-apartheid groups in SA. Some of these would include ANC Information Department officials.

The initial talks, which the ANC has stressed is not part of the negotiation process, will be about fulfilling the Harare Declaration preconditions, including the release of all political prisoners and the

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□ From Page 1

lifting of the state of emergency.

The ANC will also press for clarification from government on the position of exiles and will demand amnesty for them. It will call on government for assistance in re-establishing the exiles, with particular regard to housing, education and pensions.

The ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) said in a statement on Friday the second team "would together with the ANC leaders inside the country, carry out an extensive process of consultation with all democratic and anti-apartheid forces on the current situation and our perspective."

"The NEC group will be selected and sent home as soon as the necessary arrangements are made."

The second team is expected to be led by Steve Tshwete, former UDF border chairman who is now a member of the NEC and heads its Mass Mobilisation Department.

LET'S throw a googly into the debate on social justice: when American author John Gunther went to Moscow a long time ago to gather material for his book, *Inside Russia*, his first request was to visit a mental hospital.

Any civilisation, he explained, must be tested by its treatment of its most helpless citizens.

By that standard, South Africa is barbaric. Mental patients, especially if they are black, are treated in a fashion which has necessitated a special law to control, and in effect suppress, publication of information on what goes on in mental hospitals.

Usually, patients are drugged until their condition stabilises, and they are then discharged onto the streets to fend as best they can. The aged poor, and the abandoned young, are treated in much the same way, and they tend all to huddle together in the worst slums with the prostitutes and drug pedlars.

Of course, the insane don't vote, and we lack in this country even the eccentric parliamentarian who might take up the cause of the mentally ill as Helen Suzman took up the cause of that other unprotected class, the prison population. Therefore the plight of the mentally ill is pitiful.

They are the people who should, I think, top any list of priorities in the search for social justice. Anyway, as Gunther said, they constitute the test by which we may measure both the claims made for the free market, and the "coherent strategy" put forward by the Cosatu socialists who want to control the economy for, they say, the good of the nation.

The free-market argument that the plight of the insane is simply a "market failure" can be dismissed as immoral: civilised communities do not put up with such failures. On the other hand, it does not help much to chant that "health care is a right", unless one defines the level of care. Surely it is unconscionable, wicked even, to maintain world-class

Once again the poor lunatic looks like being last in line

1/0001 513190

KEN OWEN

304A



heart transplant units in a country experiencing an epidemic of tuberculosis; yet if we don't, our best young doctors will emigrate, taking their subsidised skills with them.

Obviously it is an atrocity, comparable with Nazi behaviour, to allow some hospitals to stand empty while in others the patients sleep on the floor, or simply die prematurely for want of medical care (as our statistics on life expectancy suggest they do). But does every patient who needs a dialysis machine have a right to one?

The debate on medical care, which does not permit the use of lies or damn lies but does permit statistics, has been grossly distorted by special pleading. For example, it has become fashionable to say that 30-million Americans lack medical care, without saying that 210-million Americans receive magnificent medical care.

In fact, as I know from 10 years of living in the United States, most Americans enjoy outstanding medical care at affordable cost. The difficulties of that immense delivery system arise, I would say, from the curious American search for medi-

cal perfection. Obviously, every improvement becomes harder — and costlier — to achieve.

The point is that in the United States, as in South Africa, it is simply nonsense — if not a demagogic trick — to talk of health care as "a right" unless the level of care is simultaneously defined.

For a poor country like ours, it is necessary even in a free market for the state to assume responsibility for basic health care. At the other end of the scale, it is equally necessary for the state to subsidise both research and teaching (though we might improve on the system where most of the subsidy goes to rich white students who have benefited from an elite education).

But that doesn't preclude people who can afford health insurance, or who are wealthy enough, or who simply don't like public hospitals, having the choice of using private medical services.

Nor does it do the slightest harm if patients, doctors and nurses go from public hospitals to private hospitals.

On the one hand, the burden on the public hospitals is lightened; on the other hand, the patient pays more, the doctor and the nurse earn more, and the owner of the hospital makes a profit which increases with efficiency.

And if they conspire to pad the accounts, or use unnecessary procedures, or charge for drugs not administered, the owner, the doctor and perhaps the nurse should be sent to jail for fraud, and the medical staff should be struck from the registers. The answer to criminal behaviour in a private hospital is to prosecute the criminals, not to nationalise the hospital.

Indeed, most arguments against privatisation of medical services seem to me calculated to serve the interests of those, often medical bureaucrats, who have a vested interest in immense institutions that must be kept going by a combination of overworked and underpaid nurses, exhausted interns, and tax revenues. Temptation looms largest when research funds are at stake.

The real problem, which is consistently evaded, is to determine the level of tax-supported medical care

which this society can afford for its poor. That level will be higher if the care of the middle classes and the wealthy is transferred from the subsidised public sector to the profitable private sector.

As the new South Africa takes shape, if it takes shape, this will become an essential debate, but, in the sense that politics concerns the division of the spoils, it is a political debate. The level of affordable care will change from year to year; some patients will prosper and demand American levels of treatment — and be prepared to pay for it — and others will subsidise into poverty and need to be subsidised.

The debate will continue, year after year, until we reach the fortunate position of the Americans, where patients sue their doctors rather than thank them. In other words, it is a normal political issue, never to be solved. We shall be forever struggling with partial answers, and inadequate resources.

Amid the exchange of ideological salvos, little thought has been given to health, or education, or any other welfare question. Cosatu's spokesman Alec Erwin demands a "coherent strategy" to control and direct the economy for the welfare of the people, but he doesn't spell out how such a coherent strategy might improve the care of the ill, or the mentally ill.

What we do know, from experience around the globe, is that the prospect of using other people's money to do good is infinitely corrupting, and that the major beneficiaries of welfare programmes tend to be the administrators of those programmes.

On the other hand, neither the liberals nor the social democrats (with the exception always of Harry Schwarz) have come up with much in the way of constructive ideas, and my hope for a new South Africa is tarnished, just a little, by the knowledge that when it comes to handing out the goodies, the lunatics will once again be last in line.

SA whites will not lead on expertise alone, says Mandela

HARARE — White South Africans "must not think their wealth and expertise alone will force Africa to ask them to lead", ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said on arrival from Lusaka yesterday.

"They never will lead as long as they are associated with the evil policy of apartheid, but the day they decide to settle with acknowledged leaders of the country, the day they commit themselves to a democratic, non-racial SA they will be accepted in this region, in Africa and in other parts of the world with wide-open arms.

The ANC was working on this, Mandela said at Harare airport.

MICHAEL HARTNACK

But in an address shortly afterwards at Harare's Townshouse, where he was given the freedom of the city, Mandela said President F W de Klerk's government had, by unbanning the ANC, met only one of the five conditions in the Harare Declaration.

"Although we thank it for that step, there is much that it has to do before we can agree to sit down with the government.

"Therefore if peace in SA still eludes us, it is not our responsibility."

It was the responsibility of the SA government, he said.

He appealed for Zimbabwe's support in current political initiative.

Meanwhile, chief executives from eleven major SA corporations and 13 other leading businessmen wound up two days of talks about the future of the SA economy with a high-level delegation of the ANC.

Sources said the talks at Harare Sheraton Hotel were conducted in a "friendly and often genial atmosphere", but they hit "a disappointing low level" intellectually in the absence of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

ANC representatives held to the view that "apartheid is the product of capital-

ism", saying nationalisation was inevitable. If the private sector was not able to make an impact on unemployment, economic opportunities, housing and poverty.

A brief statement said there was an "urgent need to address inequality and poverty", to develop SA's human resources, and dismantle apartheid.

There was unanimity on "the need to create a political and economic environment which will encourage local and international investments in a post-apartheid SA, in order to ensure rapid economic developments through the benefit for all SA."

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 6

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

Region	(a) Number of extension offices	(b) Offices now manned by graduates	(c)(i) Graduates in control	(c)(ii) Diplomates in control	(d) Information correct as on:	Offices vacant in respect of graduates or diplomates
1. Transvaal Region	26	19	19	6	23/02/90	1
2. Highveld Region	25	15	15	7	23/02/90	3
3. Free State Region	24	14	14	8	01/03/90	2
4. Natal Region	16	10	10	6	21/02/90	—
5. Eastern Cape Region	14	10	10	4	22/02/90	—
6. Karoo Region	16	3	3	6	21/02/90	4
7. Winter Rain-fall Region	20	14	14	6	22/02/90	—
Total	141	85	85	47		10

Agricultural research projects: amount spent

26. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:†

only be available after the closure of the financial year on 31 March 1990.)

(1) (a) What amount was spent on agricultural research projects by his Department during the 1989-90 financial year and (b) what amount has his Department received from (i) industries and (ii) organisations in contributions in respect of such projects;

(2) (a) R1 026 500
(b) UNIVERSITY AMOUNT

1. University of the Orange Free State
2. Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education
3. University of Pretoria
4. Rhodes University
5. University of Stellenbosch
6. University of Natal
7. University of Cape Town
8. Rand Afrikaans University
9. Medical University of Southern Africa
10. University of Fort Hare
11. University of the Witwatersrand
12. University of the Western Cape

(2) (a) what amount did his Department allocate to universities for agricultural research in the said financial year and (b) how much was allocated to each university?

Handwritten: 513/90 B240E
The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) R125 000 000 (Amount budgeted for 1989/90 financial year for Agricultural Research. The expenditure will

TOTAL: R1 026 500

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Delimitation commission

1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

Whether a delimitation commission was appointed recently; if so, when is it anticipated that this commission's business will be completed, if not, why not?

B368E.INT

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, a delimitation commission was not appointed recently. In terms of the provisions of the Constitution the next delimitation commission must be appointed on 3 October 1990 at the latest, in the case of the House of Assembly, and in the case of the other Houses on 11 June 1994 at the latest.

The Government envisages introducing an amendment to section 48 of the Constitution during this session, which will result in the delimitation periods for the three Houses being concurrent. If the legislation is accepted, a commission for each of the three Houses will have to be appointed after 11 June 1989, but before or on 11 June 1994.

The reasons for the Government's standpoint are as follows: In terms of the Constitution the general election of members of the three Houses of Parliament must take place on the same day. It is therefore desirable that the delimitation of constituencies for the three Houses should also take place at the same time.

As the next general election need not take place before 1994, it would be premature to have the delimitation of the House of Assembly take place as early as 1990. As a result, shifts in the population which took place after that would not be taken into account, and by 1994 the delimitation would therefore already be out of date.

If a decision were taken to go ahead with the appointment of a delimitation commission for the House of Assembly before 30 October 1990, such a delimitation would only come into operation with the following general election for the House of Assembly. This would therefore mean that a second voters' roll, was based on the new delimitation, would have to be compiled while the existing voters' lists based on the old delimitation would still be valid for by-elections, with far-reaching administrative implications, not the least of which would be for the constituency organisations of political parties.

The present distribution of House of Assembly voters indicates that an amendment to the number of House of Assembly members who represent each province has become desirable. Such an amendment also implies the amending of the number of constituencies per province, and this would then influence the redelimitation of constituencies before a next general election. An earlier redelimitation based on the old number of constituencies would therefore be pointless on the one hand, and on the other hand fail to solve the existing problem of large differences in provincial quotas.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, with every speech and reply of the hon the Minister even the best political exegetist is further away from an answer to the riddle of what the constitutional plans of the Government are for our country. In the old South Africa one could perhaps have understood it. But in this grey Lubowskian underworld of the NP what is unclear becomes even more so. [Interjections.]

Yesterday the hon the Minister made a speech which lasted 30 minutes, and he said in his own words *inter alia*:

I want to make it clear that the NP's point of departure is that there must be separate (etc) representation, and therefore also separate voters' lists, for every group that wishes to make use of the opportunity for the protection of political rights for groups and minorities in terms of the NP premise. Those who do not want to make use of this, will probably have their own group voters' roll. That is the logical consequence of that standpoint.

What is far worse is the standpoint which the hon the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs

put to us, namely that the CP had missed the boat, and he then added—this was last week, the week before last—that the CP—namely the Whites—would not have another chance of coming close to being the Government of the country. [Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Minister a direct question, and he has the ability to be even more vague with regard to constitutional matters than ex-Minister Chris Heunis was. [Interjections.]

I want to ask the hon the Minister straight-out today whether the fact that the last delimitation committee was appointed in 1980, and the fact that he now wants to change the date in the Act to 1994, means that the Government wants to make provision for or supports the standpoint that all constituencies are going to disappear. In other words, the present representation of specific constituencies by members of Parliament is going to disappear, and the Government plans to implement proportional representation.

Even worse than Nero of old, the NP is not only playing a fiddle, but an entire orchestra while South Africa is burning as a result of the revolutionary forces which the Government has unleashed. I want to make it very clear to the hon the Minister that the CP is extremely concerned about the position of the White franchise, what it is going to do with it . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr J H MOMBORG: Mr Speaker . . . [Interjections] . . . the DP is very grateful to hear from the hon the Minister that it will not be necessary to have a delimitation in the near future. It is quite clear that it is in fact a pity that we did not have a delimitation before the election. At the moment we have a situation in which we have constituencies such as North Rand with 43 000 voters, Fhelderkruin with 37 000, Pretoria East with 38 000 and Prieska with 8 500 . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! I am afraid hon members are interrupting the hon member far too often. The hon member may proceed.

*Mr J H MOMBORG: We are therefore grateful to hear that in the light of our negotiations for a new South Africa, the Government is not about to create a situation in which a delimitation is forced upon us. We would welcome a constitutional amendment to give the State the opportunity to postpone that delimitation so that proper constitutional amendments can take place.

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe was an extremely presumptuous in what he equated here. He equated the CP with the Whites. That is presumptuous, and we reject it with the contempt it deserves. [Interjections.]

The questions which the hon member asked are simply beyond me and have no bearing on the subject. It seems that the questions pertain to a new constitution, while the interpellation deals with the present Constitution. My answer relates to delimitations with regard to the present Constitution.

According to the present Constitution it is surely very clear that the delimitation is done per House of Parliament and that the drawing up of voters' lists for the various population groups takes place for each House of Parliament. What is relevant in a new constitution has nothing whatsoever to do with this interpellation, because surely we cannot possibly take any decisions or bring about any amendments in this Constitution which will continue to have effect in a new constitution. [Interjections.] Therefore, I cannot understand why the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe should confuse matters in this way.

In a new constitution, what will have to be negotiated is whether franchise will take place within the context of the constituency or by means of proportional representation or whatever. The provisions which are made here with regard to the present Constitution are an entirely different matter which is no way affected by what may be brought to the fore in a new constitution.

From the remarks made by the hon member for Simon's Town it would appear that he was once again apologising for something in which he had no part, because we were quite surprised yesterday afternoon to hear what an enormous influence the hon member must have had on events in the past, judging by the apologies which he felt it necessary to make across such a wide spectrum. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Speaker, we must make it clear that the hon the Minister is actually misleading the House. He is pretending that there is an enormous watershed between the present constitutional dispensation and the con-

stitutional dispensation he and Mr Mandela have in mind for the future. That is not true.

His ideas and plans for the future are already having an effect on his actions within this constitutional dispensation today. The reason that this hon Minister does not want to launch a delimitation campaign or even consider the prospect that the White electorate will vote in the near future, is that he knows, as well as I do, that the NP is already losing its position of power among the White voters at this very moment. [Interjections.] He is trying to postpone that day.

The CP wants to warn the voters of South Africa that they must take careful note of the fact that under this hon Minister the NP is playing for time. If possible, he wants to postpone the opportunity for the White voters to vote on where South Africa is heading until after the new dispensation has come about. That is this hon Minister's objective.

Furthermore, he said yesterday in this House that the group concept left a bad smell. He said that the group concept stank. [Interjections.] He did not want to touch something which stank. That is why he does not want to do that. [Interjections.] This hon the Minister is playing for time, is waiting for tomorrow and does not want to give us the opportunity to vote. It is precisely for this reason that he is increasing the tension within the White electorate and is hastening the day when the White electorate will defeat the NP at the first opportunity. [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VANDER MERWE: Mr Speaker, I want to tell the hon the Minister that he did not answer my question at all. He said that he was speaking under a new dispensation, while the very work which he has been given involves working out a new constitution for South Africa. Now the hon Minister is once again placating the people out there and saying no, let us wait until 1994.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that we demand that the NP resign so that we can hold an election on the grounds of a new delimitation, because at this stage they no longer have a majority, neither in Vanderbijlpark, nor in most of the White seats in South Africa.

The hon the Minister made far more sense when he had to plead for a homeland for the Afrikaner

and the Whites than he does with regard to this present conglomeration. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, it is actually pathetic to see that an hon member who was unable to win a seat in an election or a court case has so much to say about who should resign and who should not resign. [Interjections.] Where has one ever heard of anything more ludicrous than a party that received an overwhelming mandate from the voters a few months ago, now suddenly being asked to resign? [Interjections.]

The bankruptcy and inability of that side of the House to hold an effective political debate is really so blatant that one can hardly believe it. [Interjections.]

In terms of our Constitution, which is what the interpellation is about, an election can be called at any time in the future, and the answer to the question as to whether the White voters would be able to vote in the near future, is obvious. In terms of the present Constitution, the State President and the Government can call an election whenever they like.

The fact that delimitations have not been completed and that there are no new delimitations, in no way affects the fact that there will be ample opportunity to hold an election. In fact, during the last election the hon the State President gave the voters a clear undertaking that before a new constitution was implemented, he would give the White voters an opportunity, either by means of a referendum or an ordinary election, to express their opinion about such a new dispensation.

This interpellation deals with this dispensation. It deals with this Constitution, and the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe's attempt to sidestep this here in regard to a constitution which has yet to be negotiated, which has yet to be finalised and which will still have to be properly passed by the existing constitutional structures, is a poorly disguised attempt at manipulation. This is very clearly a case of a frustrated hon member of the House who was not successful in being elected in the usual way, and who is now attempting to manipulate the situation by means of various irrelevant questions regarding a delimitation commission, whereby he hopes to pull the wool over the eyes of his opponents with regard to his inability to achieve political success. [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I am here in terms of a law of Parliament!

*The MINISTER: We want to suggest to the hon member that he improve his politics, that he improve his policy and that he improve his arguments. [Time expired.]

*Mr J J NIEMANN: He is what he is! [Interjections.]

3044

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The time for Interpellation No 1 has expired. [Interjections.] Order! [Interjections.] Order! I hope hon members can hear that Mr Speaker is trying to lead the House according to the Order Paper.

Debate concluded.

Internal Security Act: repeal/amendment

2. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether it is the intention of the Government to repeal or amend those sections of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, which affect the normal political functioning of the recently unbanned organizations, if so, when; if not, why not?



3044

B407E.INT

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, it is not apparent and clear what the hon member who has put the question perceives to be provisions in the Internal Security Act of 1982, which affect the normal political functions of the recently unbanned organisations. The ANC, for instance, which is now a lawful organisation is in exactly the same position as the NP, the CP and the DP. There is no provision in the Internal Security Act of 1982 which inhibits these organisations from taking part in normal lawful political activities. The provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1982 have never inhibited the DP as far as normal political functioning is concerned, because they were lawful activities.

What provisions does the hon member think should be repealed—section 54(1) in respect of terrorism, 54(2) in respect of intimidation, 54(3) in respect of sabotage, 54(4) in respect of harbouring or rendering or assisting, 56 in respect of causing, encouraging or fomenting feelings of hostility between different population groups?

Answered 6/3/90

All these provisions involve either violence or lawlessness which, as the hon the State President

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

said, no democratic country can tolerate. It is a fact that during times of reform people may resort to violence in reaction to reform. There are either those who reject reform or those who want to speed up reform or those who do not want reform but are only interested in a transfer of power and the destruction of a political system.

3044

The provisions of the Internal Security Act are aimed at violence which threatens the security of the State—and these are there for all to observe—and are there also to serve all of those who wish to attain their political objectives through lawful means.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, I will tell the hon the Minister which sections I want to have repealed because he has not done his homework very well. I hope he is better prepared for the next two contributions he is going to make in this mini-debate. Answered 6/3/90

The Harare Declaration, section 19.4 reads:

The state of emergency should be ended and all legislation repealed such as and including the Internal Security Act designed to circumscribe political activity.

I believe attention should be given to the Act. Certain sections have to be repealed and others have to be kept. Some of those he mentioned, including section 62 which provides for the prohibition of feelings of hostility between different population groups. I think we should have a new Act with a new title. I will take a look at specific sections and draw the hon the Minister's attention to some of them so that he might be able to respond during the course of this debate.

Section 33 and section 34 disqualify certain individuals from being members of the House of Assembly if their names have been on the consolidated list or if they have been convicted of offences in terms of section 54, 55 or 56. Therefore Mr Slovo, for instance, whose name was on the consolidated list but has now been removed—he is a hard-line communist—is eligible to be a member of the House of Assembly. Mr Nelson Mandela who was convicted in terms of sections 54, 55 and 56 is a nationalist but he is not eligible to be a member of the House of Assembly. I think that that section should be looked at.

Section 34 disqualifies individuals whose names appear on the consolidated list from practising as attorneys, advocates or conveyancers. In this connection Mr Slovo, who is a hard-line Communist, has also not been convicted in terms of sections 54, 55 and 56. He is permitted to practise as an advocate whereas Mr Nelson Mandela, who is a nationalist, is not permitted to practise as an attorney. I think that is another section that should be attended to.

Section 4 of the Act declares that certain organisations are unlawful, among other reasons because they might promote the communist cause. The Communist Party is now legal. Why is it wrong for the Communist Party to promote its own cause?

Section 5 allows the hon the Minister to prohibit publications if, amongst other reasons, they spread communism. *Sechaba* is banned in this connection. Now will the hon the Minister allow *Sechaba* to be distributed in this country and, if it falls under the Publications Act, will he speak to his colleague the hon the Minister of Home Affairs to ensure that the ANC is able to disseminate its views in its official publication which is called *Sechaba*? [Time expired.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, all of a sudden everyone is concerned about the ANC's participation, but no one has said a word about the SA Communist Party which has also been legalised in the interim. [Interjections.] I do not want to elaborate much on members of the ANC. I understand there is already a member of the ANC in Parliament, but I cannot be very sure of that, because it might just emerge that he is a member of Military Intelligence. We would not know, because there is quite a lot of confusion about whether members are members of the ANC or of Military Intelligence. The hon member for Claremont may comply with the latter qualification.

Communism has been legalised, but section 55 of the Internal Security Act has remained. No one may preach it. The SA Communist Party may put up a candidate, but it may never preach communism.

The hon the Minister of Justice said it had become obsolete. It is very strange, however, that last week it was still necessary, in terms of this Act, to say one was not a communist if one wanted to become an advocate or an attorney.

How something can become obsolete when one still has to say under oath that one does not belong to it is beyond me.

I think the hon the Minister of Justice must take another look at this. There are a number of sections in this Act which it has justifiably been said should receive attention. One cannot simply accept that one must have a situation in which everything will suddenly go well. There were numerous sections with which one had to comply.

We should like to know more from the hon the Minister about the Act we passed last year concerning foreign funding. The ANC is collecting money abroad at present. What is the hon the Minister going to do about that? That is the kind of question to which we should like to have answers.

*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, the hon member who placed the questions on the Order Paper must please look at the large number of proclamations that were promulgated. Those who remain, and therefore remain listed, are those who were sentenced under sections 54 etc as a result of violent intent and violent associations. They remain on the list. The others have all been removed from the list. Everyone has been removed from the list apart from those who committed violence-related crimes.

*Mr D J DALLING: I know that. I did my homework.

*The MINISTER: No, the hon member did not know that. He did not know it. The hon member can get the proclamations from me. That is the position in that regard. For the hon member's information: Mr Mandela was not listed as a communist or anything else. [Interjections.] If his name ever appeared on the list, Mr Mandela has now been delisted.

*An HON MEMBER: What about section 54?

*The MINISTER: If the hon member wants further information, he can come and ask me personally, and I should be very pleased to assist him.

A further fact in respect of this section with regard to communism, as I explained last time, is that the action in respect of the organisations etc was an administrative action. The hon member for Bethal agreed with me. With regard to the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

prohibition on the promotion of communism, this was and is contained in the Statute. Its removal would have to be an act of this Parliament. I infer from the hon member for Bethal that he is the foremost advocate for the removal of that section. [Interjections.] Of course! The entire House is my witness.

*MR SPEAKER: Order! The hon the Minister is becoming just too enthusiastic. His time has expired.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Speaker, we on this side of the House are obviously particularly pleased by the hon the State President's announcements on 2 February 1990 in regard to the steps which will be taken to ease certain sections of the state of emergency in favour of liberty, and also the steps taken to allow people to participate in political debate. I am not the first speaker on this side of the House to welcome the tentative steps towards normalising the political process in South Africa but steps taken by the hon the State President are in serious danger of having little or no positive influence in the political arena because the Internal Security Act contains provisions which could negate or nullify any good that has been done by the easing of the state of emergency or lifting of restrictions. The Internal Security Act, via the back door, makes severe inroads into the common law rights and privileges of every citizen in this country, and it continues, as it has done in the past, to pervert the course of justice in South Africa.

It is our philosophy, and the philosophy adopted by any civilized country, that a person is entitled to be brought to trial as soon as possible.

It is in particular sections 28, 29 and 31 of the Internal Security Act which are a stumbling block to every citizen's right to receive a fair hearing.

I can do little better than to quote Mr Justice Goldstone in the Report of the Commission of inquiry into the Death of Clayton Sizwe Sithole when he makes the following statement in regard to section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

I quote:

The provisions of section 29 are drastic and make serious inroads into the normal rights and privileges of every citizen of the Republic. It is of utmost importance therefore that the letter and spirit of the regulations should be

adhered to by those responsible for the well-being of such detainees.

The judge then carries on as follows . . . [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister has not answered our question. He has dealt with the latter half of the Act, where we have sympathy with him, with regard to crimes of violence, but genuine political activity should be allowed, unfettered by this Act, as regards the first half of the Act. I hope the hon the Minister will give attention to that. [Interjections.]

I have looked at his proclamations. I know that 177 names have had been removed from the lists. I bet the hon the Minister does not know that. [Interjections.] I know that more than 400 names still remain there. I counted them. So I am aware of what is going on, but I am not sure that he is. [Interjections.]

The Act is not in keeping with the spirit announced by the hon the State President on 2 February. There is a spirit of reconciliation and hope, and this Act is in conflict with that spirit. I think the hon the Minister should have a look at the first 30 or so sections of the Act and have them repealed. [Interjections.]

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, for the information of the hon member for Johannesburg North, Mr Nelson Mandela's name is still on the roll of attorneys. It was never removed!

Secondly, as regards the names that are still on the list, I want to say—I am emphatic about this and the hon member must listen carefully—those names are on the list for the reason that those people have committed violence-related crimes. They will remain there until such time as another policy prevails. [Interjections.] Until such time as another policy prevails. [Interjections.] That is the policy now. [Interjections.]

*I also said in the Other Place that I was not familiar with every letter of this Act. It is not I who say that! Mr Justice Rabie advised, in 1982, that this Act be revised from time to time.

*Mr S C JACOBS: Any legislation must be revised from time to time!

*THE MINISTER: He advised that, because he said it should be adapted to the circumstances and needs of the time. Consequently I have no

problem in saying that this Act will from time to time, as is necessary, be brought into line with what is needed at a specific juncture.

I want to address the hon member for Bethal once again and say that the last date on which a person was listed as a communist was 1970. The only person we could trace who was prosecuted under the Communism Act, the old Act before it was amended as a result of what Mr Justice Rabie had advised, was Mr Roley Arenstein who was prosecuted in 1966. It did not happen again! [Interjections.] *From Sec 6/3/90*

I now come to the last point. Hon members resent our standpoint on communism, but they know that if one wants to prosecute anyone under this Act, with reference to the relevant sections which prohibit the promotion of communism, one has to do so according to the letter of the 1982 legislation which deals with communism as interpreted by Lenin, Marx and others. The hon the Leader of the Official Opposition reproached us, however, and said that what one should be careful of today was a new type of communism which he called Gorbachev's communism. [Interjections.]

No, he called it Gorbachev's communism. Hon members are welcome to take a look at column 47 of the Hansard. [Interjections.] Of course! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

North-Western Transvaal: designated area

*1. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

- (1) What is the purpose of the designated area in the North-Western Transvaal;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B245E

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: *Answered 6/3/90*
(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House)

(1) and (2) *Answered 6/3/90*
The North-Western Transvaal is of strategic importance to the RSA. It is the thoroughfare between the RSA and the rest of Africa and must be stabilized to realize specific strategic, political and security objectives.

The depopulation of rural and especially peripheral rural areas such as the border area of the North-Western Transvaal, is an international phenomenon and can be ascribed to economic push and pull forces. The economic basis of the North-Western Transvaal is agriculture which is severely hampered by structural defects. Unconventional farming units, unfavourable debt burdens, marginal soils, periodic droughts and the distance from markets complicate farming in this area and promote depopulation. A reduced farming population handicaps the inherent growth potential of smaller growth centres and the decline of infrastructure forms part of the intricate process of regional depopulation.

The farmer who has sufficient financial reserves and makes an existence on an economic unit, is to resist shorter term agricultural drawbacks such as droughts, and is seen by the Government as the antipode to depopulation. A comprehensive approach to the stabilization of border areas within the wider concept of regional development, is necessary to keep farmers on the land.

The Government has committed itself to such a comprehensive stabilization strategy for the North-Western Transvaal and with the exception of agricultural stabilization which is at present receiving special attention, satisfying progress has been made.

Socio-economic stabilization of border areas can only be successfully implemented over a relatively longer period of time. It is thus clear that the nature of and progress with stabilization are subject to various factors which are liable to change. The Development of Designated Areas Act, 1979 (Act 87 of 1979) was formulated as a special instrument in stabilize areas with structural agricultural shortcomings, but where certain security risks also exist. The situation in the North-Western Transvaal necessitated the proclamation of the border area as a Designated Area.

It must be fully understood that the above-mentioned Act is to be seen as just one facet of the comprehensive stabilization strategy, since it

US delegation: SA change truly underway

CAPE TOWN — There was a dynamic momentum towards democracy that had never before existed in South Africa, Mr William Gray, leader of a nine-person United States congressional delegation, told a press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

Reading a joint statement drawn up by himself and Congressmen Mr Dean Gallo, Mr Gray said the delegation was very encouraged that a real process of change had begun.

This held enormous possibilities for negotiating a peaceful transition to a genuine non-racial democracy.

Mr Gray, Democratic Party representative for Pennsylvania, is the house majority whip in the US Congress and the most senior black member of this body.

Mr Dean Gallo is the Republican Party representative for New Jersey.

The delegation, which arrived in South Africa on Friday, met the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC National Executive Council, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

They also held discussions with leaders of the UDF, representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and National Congress of Trade Unions (Nactu), leaders of the PAC and Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Members of the business community, homeland leaders and representatives of the Democratic Party were also

consulted.

Mr Gray said the delegation was disappointed that representatives of Inkatha and the Conservative Party were unable to meet them.

On its return to America the group will share its findings with the Republican leader, Mr Bob Mitchell, congressional colleagues, the President of the United States and the Secretary of State.

"We are deeply impressed that parties on both sides are taking risks and reaching out to one another, demonstrating with their courage a genuine desire for peace."

They had been told that the new South Africa had to be a non-racial democracy, guaranteeing equal treatment under the law, individual rights and economic opportunity for all.

It was however clear that significant obstacles still lay in the way of a negotiated settlement.

It needed to be understood that the basic structures of apartheid remained wholly in place.

"Once irreversible change has occurred our nation has clearly demonstrated its willingness to help democracy work through investment, technological help and other forms of assistance."

All Americans looked forward to the day when the US would be able to invest with full confidence in the new South Africa.

The delegation was to leave for the US last night. — Sapa.

CP man kicks crippled beggar

LADYSMITH, Natal

A right-wing Ladysmith town councillor, who kicked a crippled beggar in the throat claiming the man had stolen 90 cents from his daughter, has said he would do it again.

Insurance consultant and Conservative Party councillor Mr Thinus Lombard said he had given his daughter 90 cents for the deposit on a supermarket trolley.

His daughter then walked towards the trolley attendant, who was sitting on a stool near the beggar, Mr Mdun-gazwe Mdakane.

Mr Mdakane has only one finger and a thumb on one hand, one leg has been amputated at the knee and he does not have a foot on the other.

The trolley attendant said the little girl approached Mr Mdakane and put the money into his outstretched hands.

He smiled his thanks to the girl and the next thing money was "flying all over the place".

Mr Lombard said he kicked Mr Mdakane in a fit of rage and he would do it again. — Sapa

Every fortnight or so, the local Africa groupies gather for one of Pauline Baker's breakfasts at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Baker is the doyenne of this town's sensitive Africanists. In her defence, it must be said that the coffee and Danish pastries are not entirely her fault. Anyway, her guest speakers are sometimes more than adequate compensation.

One such, a few months back, was Wynand Malan. Perhaps it was the lack of eggs and bacon, but in his discussion of SA's constitutional options he was at his most mystical that morning. Where he really got into trouble, however, was in letting the words "tribal" and "traditional" pass his lips.

His crime was to suggest that some black South Africans might differ from their white brethren not simply in matters of skin hue and enforced economic circumstance but by virtue of cherishing values and belief systems that do not exactly trace their roots to 18th-century European enlightenment. Such differences, said Malan, would have to be "accommodated" under any new constitutional arrangement.

One could sense the audience's genteel vertebrae suddenly clenching. A balloon hovered above the collected right thinkers in which was written: "Oh my God, he's one of them." For my own part, I found myself muttering, "Not here, Wynand, not here."

Out here in the polite white world, it is difficult even to think about SA objectively without doing constant in-flight checks on one's conscience to make sure the ethnometer needles are all pointing to moral. To speak objectively is almost out of the question without resorting to paraphrases so numbing that at best they neuter truth, but more often self-servingly pervert it. On SA, we are most of us Pharisees to the core of our being.

An exception is Rian Malan, a remarkable SA journalist who has had the courage to get to the point. His book, *My Traitor's Heart*, describes

US has yet to take the powerful multi of Africa's people

SIMON BARBER in Washington

his return to SA after several years in Los Angeles avoiding call-up. The journey is narrated unsparingly and without conceit or self-promotion, the destination... well, I have tried to explain it to American friends, but somehow the words will not form and I am reduced to urging them to read the book for themselves. It is like trying to explain the finer points of the Marquis de Sade to a Victorian aunt. Happily, there is less and less need. *My Traitor's Heart*, which has yet to be published in SA, is a Washington bestseller.

Malan begins by relating how his ancestor, Dawid Malan, abandoned everything, wife, Vergelegen, his fine estate on the slopes of Hottentot's Holland mountains, and the world of Voltaire and Rousseau, to elope under hot pursuit into the interior with Sara, a neighbour's slave girl.

For nearly 30 years he was lost to history, but something formative happened beyond the Great Fish River. He returned, "a race-hating, white savage", as a ringleader of the Slagtersnek Rebellion.

The book ends with the story of Neil and Creina Alcock, who also travelled to the heart of Africa for love — love of humanity, especially of the Zulu.

They went to Msinga, a barren apartheid moonscape, hoping to turn it if not into a garden of Eden at least

into a place fit for human habitation.

Neil Alcock was no guilt-ridden romantic. He knew the odds, battled them with superhuman endurance and, for a while, succeeded.

Neighbouring white farmers, tough men all who enforced their property rights with guns and no remorse, looked on with cynicism. The Alcocks were *kafferboeties*. No good could come of their endeavour. And when, at the end of the day, the scores were tallied, the farmers were still there and Alcock wasn't. He had been deliberately gunned down in the crossfire of an ancient factional war by the very people he had dedicated his life to serving.

At first, the meticulously researched stories that fill the intervening chapters are familiar enough. There is the drunken bigot Augie de Koker who beats a black man into a bloody pulp at a braai; before the approving eyes of friends and children. There is Samuel Mope, the conservative, law-abiding Zionist, whose son is stomped to death by a white policeman while on his way to choir practice. But then there is Simon Mpungose, the Hammerman.

Mpungose was arrested in 1984 for a series of sickening murders around Empangeni. His *modus operandi* was

to steal into white homes at night and smash their owners' skulls with a claw hammer. Oddly, he never touched the children.

At his trial he seemed to paint an all too believable picture of himself as a monster made by the system and wreaking tragic vengeance. But some things he said the court interpreter could not translate from Zulu; curious, poetic phrases that therefore went unnoticed.

Malan spent months trying to find out what they meant. He discovered that Mpungose was the grandchild of incest, the most mortal of Zulu sins. The killer was the last of a line of outcasts, hounded mercilessly by the shades of his ancestors, shunned everywhere by the living. A gentle soul, he once liked and admired whites, but of course they would not accept him either.

He was forced from childhood to live by crime. That eventually landed him in Barberton prison where he perplexed his warders by asking not to be paroled. They laughed and unwittingly sent him on his way to "follow the swallows" — to fulfil what he knew to be his destiny by committing crimes that would result in his death.

For Malan this was an epiphany, confirming what was previously only a guilty suspicion: namely, that the standard liberal pieties are grotesquely skewed. What he began to

see was a place of almost primordial violence, violence that could not be described by any of the clichéd apartheid/anti-apartheid formulae, and for that reason, was scarcely, if ever, described at all to the world at large.

Political factions and Zulu clans butcher each other with a relentlessness that transcends standard political explanation. The charred remains of 32 women are found in a pit in Sekhukuni land; they were punished for using sorcery to retard the struggle. A father is buried alive with his necklaced son when he asks the comrades not to attend his son's funeral. A former beauty queen, released from Robben Island where she has just spent five years for political crimes, is pangaed to death by "anti-apartheid" activists no sooner has she come home. A Vandan father hacks limbs off his screaming daughter to make war mnti. A white farmer forces a black man to castrate himself at gunpoint. No one knows why.

Management and union leaders lose control as enraged miners suddenly convert themselves into Xhosa warriors and prepare for battle with spells and potions provided by an inyanga. The latter predicts that the bullets of the mine riot squad will turn to water, so things get even more out of hand when the squad opens up with a water cannon.

And on it goes until Michael Alcock's body is driven to a morgue 60km from Tugela Ferry where he died, because the authorities fear it may be stolen for use in battle medicine.

Malan was drawn back to find a response to all this more humane, more worthy, than that of his ancestors and kinsman; to look for some way through the barriers, some inexpressibly savage, others merely mildly hypocritical, which all but a very few white men like Alcock have built to shield themselves from Africa.

My Traitor's Heart should be a timely reminder to its American readers that the search, though how begun in earnest by the author's countrymen, will neither be swift nor easy, nor subject to some puerile carrot and stick timetable.

B/Day 6/3/90

POLITICS

304A

De Klerk set to meet church leaders

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday announced another major move towards getting negotiations going on a new SA.

With the ANC having already announced it wants to hold "talks about talks" with De Klerk soon, the president said arrangements were now being made for a meeting with more than 30 churches.

"There has been a particularly positive reaction to my open invitation to churches to take part in joint discussions with the government," he said.

Political Staff

"More than 30 Christian churches, including all the major church alliances in SA, have already responded."

He had appointed former Mineral and Energy Affairs director-general Louw Alberts as chairman of a steering committee, consisting of church leaders, to work out an agenda.

"In addition to the Christian churches, a number of other reli-

gious groups have also reacted," De Klerk said.

"My call for discussions was originally directed at the Christian churches," he said.

"But I have noted that there exists among other groups a similar need to hold talks with the government."

"These will take place along other lines," he said.

De Klerk said the names of the steering committee members would be released when they had been finalised.

B/Day 6/3/90

304A

Snap debate on CP complaints

CAPE TOWN — Speaker of Parliament Louis le Grange has agreed to a Conservative Party request for a House of Assembly snap debate on the general security situation in SA. The 90-minute debate will take place on Friday morning.

CP Chief Whip Frank le Roux said yesterday that assaults at mines were so serious that white mineworkers were threatening to take the law into their own hands.

— Sapa.

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CP warns: act or black govt 'in two years'

Stat 6/3/90 By Therese Anders, 304A
Highveld Bureau

If something drastic was not done at once, a black Mandela government "will be on us in less than two years", Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe told a protest meeting in Middelburg last night.

Speaking to a capacity crowd of about 800 at Middelburg's whites-only town hall, he said a black government would inevitably lead to Third World conditions and Third World poverty.

It would also mean the eventual destruction of the Afrikaner.

"The only way to stop this happening is for the Conservative Party to mobilise those people who do not want this to happen."

Mr van der Merwe said those who opposed reform had to form a non-violent resistance movement so that the Government was forced to hold an election.

"And we must win that election," he said. "If we do win the election and are then in control, we will immediately divide the land."

"Those who do not want self-determination, who want to share power, who want to integrate and want to intermarry, let them do it in another part of South Africa."

"And those who cherish the ideals of the Afrikaner, who wish to perpetuate our white Western-value system, they will live in our part."

I apologise
for apartheid,
says ex-Nat
Parliamentary Staff

Mr Janie Momberg (DP, Simonstown) has told Parliament — and the victims of apartheid — that he is sorry he supported Nationalist policies as a member of the party for 30 years.

Addressing the victims of apartheid, he said that to the extent that he had a part in the misery caused by NP policy, "forgive me, and give me and my family the opportunity to work together with you to build the new South Africa."

He specifically apologised to the victims of Sharpeville, of the Soweto uprising, of pass laws, of the Group Areas Act — including the coloured people of Simonstown — and Breyten Breytenbach.

He said South Africa had embarked on the "painfully slow road to a new South Africa ... and urgently needed a spirit of reconciliation. Therefore, we must be prepared to acknowledge our past faults."

He added: "The ANC must be prepared to say they are sorry for the bombs and loss of life they have caused. But, if the National Party wants any credibility among the masses, they too must say: 'We are sorry.'"

Race no basis for constitution — DP

The Government should clarify its position on group rights and move away from race as a basis for a constitution, Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens), said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

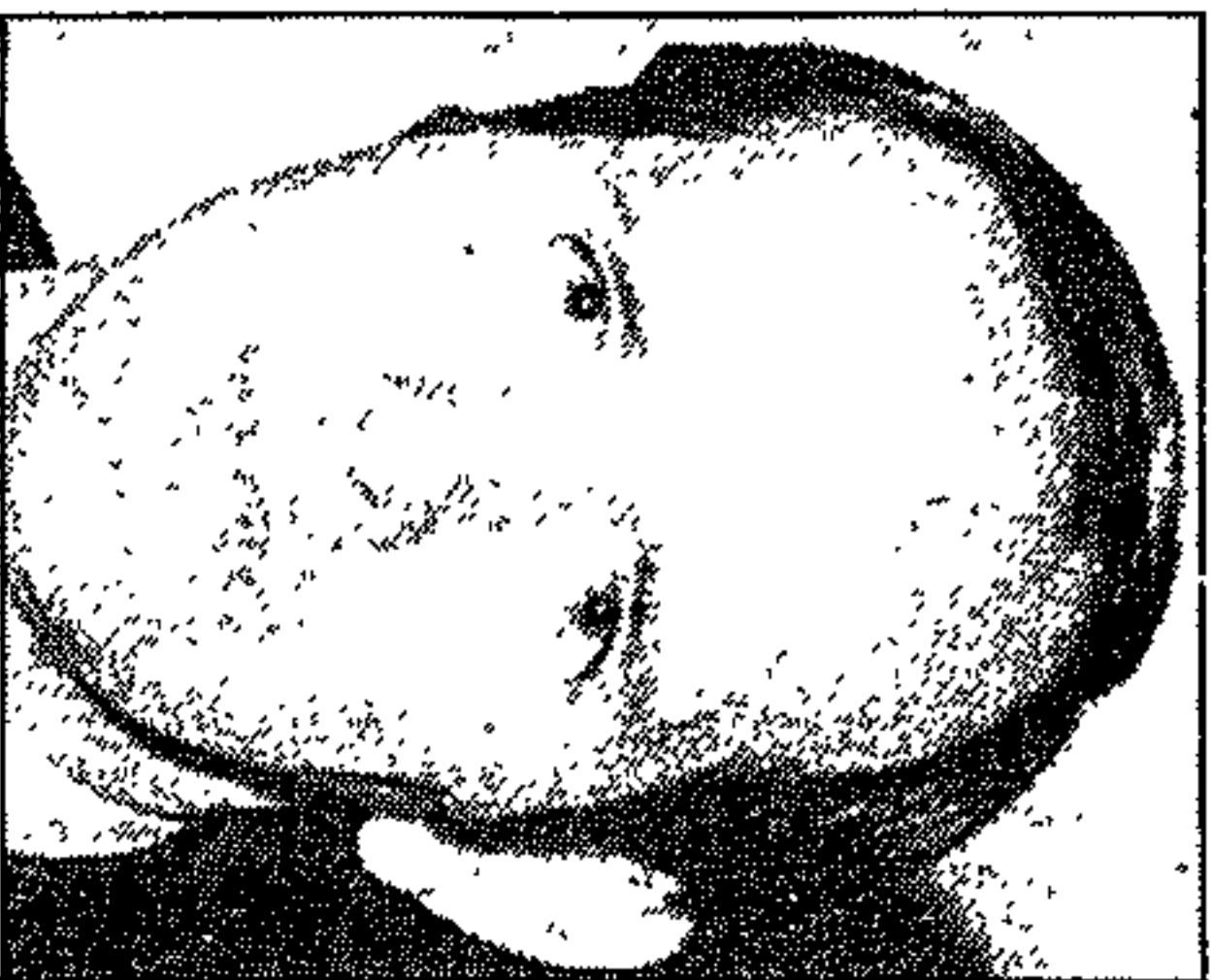
Introducing a private member's motion calling for a new constitution which would incorporate, among other features, the repeal of the Population Registration Act and a vote for all South African adults on a common roll at every level of government, he said the DP did not believe it was in the interests of whites to promote their skin colour as their prime political characteristic.

No special rights

"No special rights reside in having a white skin. A new constitution can and must protect the rights and interests of all South Africans — individuals, minorities and majorities."

The DP recognised the reality of racial and other divisions within the South African society, but did not wish to perpetuate those divisions by using them as a basis for a new constitution.

Mr Andrew said the issue was



Mr Ken Andrew ... Government must clarify its position.

not whether groups existed.

"We are a heterogeneous society and the question is how you cater for it in constitutional terms."

He wanted to know from the National Party how it, as it had said, the Population Registration Act could go, a constitution could not have a common voters' roll.

Dr Tertius Delport (NP Sun-days River), proposed an amendment that a new constitution should be devised in which

all adults should have the vote, with protection for minorities.

People's cultural, religious language rights had to be recognised and protected.

A new constitution would have a far-reaching effect on such existing laws as the Population Registration Act.

Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP, Los-berg) said that if the ANC's constitutional guidelines were laid on the negotiating table, backed by the organisation's strikes and marches, it would lead South Africa to a Leninist-Marxist government.

He said the CP rejected the point of the Law Commission on one man, one vote in a unitary state.

Harmony and good relations could only be achieved through the right of self-determination for individual nations.

Only in this way could conflicts be solved between nations. A North American judge had held that societies would be revolutionised if all human rights were not applied.

Similarly, South Africa would also become revolutionised if a constitution granted minority rights without the right to self-determination. — Sapa.

Voters' roll for each group

Viljoen

CAPE TOWN — The National Party's point of departure was that there should be separate voters' rolls for every group, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during a private Member's motion proposed by Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens) asking for, among other things, a common voters' roll for all South Africans at every level of government, Dr Viljoen said that in the development of a constitutional process, the arithmetic majority was not the "alpha and omega".

The core elements of democracy were the real representation of government, its accountability to voters, and the ability of a government to cope with change.

The Minister said the National Party realised it was facing an arduous challenge in proposing its idea of the group concept. It was seen in some quarters as a disguised continuation of apartheid.

"The group concept will have to be cleared of the albatross of the bad smell of discrimination of the past." — Sapa.



R2,6-m for Info Bureau papers

Twelve regional newspapers to enable the government of the day to liaise with various communities on matters concerning them and on the development and implementation of government policy were published by the Bureau for Information, President de Klerk said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

In a written reply to Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg, North) he said R2 627 000 was allocated to the production and distribution of these newspapers during the current financial year.

"The newspapers carry political news to report on current Government policy because all citizens, being directly influenced, by such policy, have a right to be informed," Mr de Klerk said. — Sapa.

'Lift fireworks surcharge'

The Government had sympathy for the Indian community experiencing difficulties in importing fireworks for the Diwali religious festival, but it would be addressing the problem of surcharges in the Budget next week, Deputy Minister of Finance Dr. Org. Marais said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Replying to a private member's motion by Mr M. Mohanlall (NPP Clare Estate), calling on the Government to remove the 60 percent surcharge on the importation of fireworks, Dr. Marais said it was not planned to have the surcharge as a permanent part of the structure.

"It is distorting the economy and we will be addressing the problem in the Budget."

He said a body of representatives should apply for the exemptions available under the Act. Last year the National Hindu Development Trust had

applied to the Board of Trade and Industries for exemptions.

They had submitted applications to the board for 12 importers to receive R7,2 million of fireworks out of a total of R8,2 million for the entire country. An amount of R2 million had been granted to the 12.

Mr Mohanlall said the purpose of the surcharge was to protect local manufacturers, but fireworks, which were an essential part of the religious celebration of Diwali, were neither made nor available locally.

He also urged the lifting of the surcharge on the importation of prayer goods. It was unthinkable that the Government should impose a surcharge on these items as they did not fall into the luxury category.

Dr. Marais said representation could be made to the Board of Trade and Industries for exemptions for prayer goods. — Sapa.

Cap Times 7/3/90 (3044)
Govt to amend delimitation law

F.W. gets pay rise

THE State President's salary was increased to R165 477 and his allowance to R38 919 yesterday after a motion proposed by the Leader of the House of Assembly, Dr Dawie de Villiers, was passed. — Sapa

Today's business

Private member's motion. Other houses not sitting.



Dr Viljoen

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government would propose an amendment to the constitution this session that a delimitation of constituencies for all three Houses of Parliament should take place simultaneously by June 11, 1994, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, announced yesterday.

This would replace a provision that a delimitation for the House of Assembly should take place by October 3 this year.

Speaking during an interpellation debate, Dr Viljoen said that in terms of the constitution, elections for the three Houses had to take place simultaneously.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP, nomi-

nated) said Dr Viljoen should make it clear that there would be own voters rolls for each group.

The last delimitation had been held in 1980 and Mr Van der Merwe wanted to know whether the postponement to 1994 meant that the government was making provision for all constituencies to disappear and for proportional representation to be introduced.

Mr Jannie Momborg (DP, Simon's Town) said the DP was pleased to hear, in the light of the negotiation stage South Africa was entering, that there would not now be a delimitation.

Dr Viljoen said that in a new constitution it would be something which would have to be negotiated. — Sapa

Ex-MP claimed to act for PW in arms deal, court told

From PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Former National Party MP for East London, Mr Peet de Pontes, had told him he was acting personally for the then president, Mr P W Botha, on "certain sensitive issues", Italian financier, Mr Vito Palazzolo, said here today.

He was giving evidence at the trial of Mr De Pontes, 39.

Mr De Pontes has pleaded not guilty on multiple counts of fraud, theft, bribery, forgery and uttering arising out of his association with Mr Palazzolo.

'SENSITIVE ITEMS'

In answer to cross-examination by Mr F van Zyl (for Mr De Pontes) Mr Palazzolo said he had discussions with Mr De Pontes in a Swiss jail on obtaining certain sensitive items for South Africa, which he had earlier described as armaments.

He said Mr De Pontes had assured him he was acting on President Botha's behalf and that he would be more than welcome in South Africa.

Asked why then he had applied for citizenship of Ciskei, for which a special act of parliament had to be passed to accommodate him, he said it was agreed between President Sebe and the South African authorities that this was the best way to do it, as it would be "less embarrassing" under the circumstances.

Mr Palazzolo said he could elaborate on certain issues but to protect certain people he would not unless obliged.

Referring to his change of name to Mr Von Palace Kolbatshenko, he said he could not recall signing any specific documents requesting the name change.

He needed to change his name because he wanted to travel overseas to conduct business on these sensitive issues.

Cross-examined by Mr Van Zyl on a project to store toxic waste in Ciskei, Mr Palazzolo said Mr De Pontes stood to make about R10 million from the deal.

He said a company was to have been established in Lichtenstein and Mr De Pontes would have 45 percent of the shares, which would have been paid in dollars.

When the first shipment of waste arrived in East London the company would have received a one-off payment of \$5 million (about R12,5-million), from which Mr De Pontes would have received 45 percent, and 45 percent of all future earnings.

Out of these Mr De Pontes would have paid him R1 million for the money he had put in to the company Papillon and \$150 000 (about R375 000) for the house and car in East London, which were worth R455 000.

(Proceeding)

DP, CP blast Govt over Ciskei violence

Political Staff

Opposition MPs yesterday blasted the Government for "taking so long" in sending security forces to contain the outbreak of post-coup violence in the Ciskei.

"I would like to know what the South African Government is going to do to restore the confidence of industry and commerce in the border area," said indirectly elected Democratic Party member Mr Andre de Wet.

He said industrialists in the Ciskei were asking if there was going to be compensation for their losses incurred by the burning and looting.

UNJUST RULE

Speaking in a snap debate on the weekend coup, Mr de Wet, who is from the East London area, said the Government had created the Ciskei, whose people had been severely suppressed by deposed President Lennox Sebe. He said South Africa had supported Mr Sebe and his unjust rule.

Mr de Wet said he had visited the Fort Jackson industrial area near East London at 11 am on Monday and saw people burning and looting factories.

"The Ciskei army were present but they didn't take any action. They even helped the looters," he said.

A limited number of troops had arrived by Monday afternoon. But Ciskei people and industrialists there were asking questions:

Why were South African troops not put on stand-by before it happened

when officials knew about the coup beforehand? And why did it take so long for the South African Government to react?

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said Mr Sebe had allowed corruption, an inefficient regime, and was an autocrat: "There is no sympathy in this House for Mr Sebe."

Conservative Party foreign affairs spokesman Mr Tom Langley blamed the government for the coup and subsequent violence.

The Ciskei was "burning" because South Africa had acted 24 hours too late, he charged.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha replied that to have sent security forces in earlier would have created a Beijing-type situation among the huge, jubilant crowds, and would have been reckless.

PERMISSION

Mr Botha admitted that his department knew of the impending coup, but said the Government could not mobilise the police and defence force every time it received such information.

The government did not believe in overthrowing governments violently, he said.

Mr Botha said his department was investigating information that Mr Sebe had intended the coup to be carried out by his son Lieutenant-General Kwame Sebe.

Mr Botha said that when South Africa intervened on Monday, it had first sought permission to do so.

Star 7/3/90

304H



Stoffel: Mixed schools shouldn't be forced

Good education needed 'irrespective of race'

CAPE TOWN — The problems of black education were the problems of the whole of South Africa, Minister of Education and Development Aid Stoffel van der Merwe said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on a motion by Mr Mahmoud Rajab (DP Springfield), Dr van der Merwe said the question was really whether the country wanted a single education department.

What was required was good education, irrespective of race. There were, however, some unfortunate shortcomings in black education.

It was true that Verwoerdism was part of history, and hence part of the problem in black education, but that was not what was being addressed. Since then, policies had changed totally.

It would be confusing to pretend that the policies of the present Government were in any way remotely related to the unhappy period of Dr Verwoerd.

Apartheid heritage

If there had not been that approach, the situation in black education would have been slightly better.

While apartheid could not take the blame for everything, he was not trying to minimise the problems flowing from the heritage of apartheid.

The Minister said that even if available space at schools were used optimally, it would resolve only a fraction of the problem in black education.

White facilities were not always accessible to black pupils, but the Department of Education and Training was looking into using such facilities.

There was already one education system in South Africa looking after the norms and standards in edu-

cation in a variety of different fields. These included determining general policy and financing, teacher and staff salaries, the professional regulations of teachers, the norms and standards of syllabuses and examinations, and certification of qualifications.

Dr van der Merwe said these areas were common to all education departments, and that education in South Africa was increasingly being handled by the Department of National Education.

There was sense in decentralising education and the department was moving away from a strictly racial basis, with many more pupils than ever before in mixed schools. While there was a tendency to open up schools, this should not be forced since it would create resentment and resistance.

The example of mixed busing in the American South had been a dismal failure, and circumstances should be created whereby all pupils felt comfortable in their own schools.

If a child from a disadvantaged Third World background attended the same school as a child from a First World environment, such a child would have great difficulties. The opposite was also the case.

Sensible education would entail a core syllabus with an educational goal adapted optimally to a child's situation.

While the situation in South Africa was not unique, the different distribution of educational resources between population groups was unacceptable. This could, however, not be changed overnight.

The Government had devised a 10-year plan which would move towards equal distribution of equal opportunity as soon as possible, Dr van der Merwe told the House. — Sapa.

Dune mining: the Minister's views

As a result of my recent criticisms of Mr Gert Kotze, in his capacity as Minister of Environment Affairs — I questioned his attitude over the proposed mining in the Lake St Lucia area and suggested he was not committed enough to environmental matters — he invited me to an open discussion with him in Cape Town.

For 90 minutes we exchanged views, mostly about the Minister's attitude to St Lucia, but also about his public image.

We also discussed the Government's attitude towards environmental matters.

It was a private meeting and I took no notes. But afterwards I suggested to the Minister that what had transpired was of public interest and he agreed to my preparing an article.

The talk, which was frank, took place in the Minister's 15th floor office in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building, Cape Town.

During the meeting the Minister

- Said he would not give the mining activities, in the Eastern Shores State Forest (these forested dunes form the backdrop to Lake St Lucia), the go-ahead if the environmental impact assessment (EIA) showed the effects of mining would be unacceptable. He claimed he had made this point on numerous occasions.

- Gave an assurance he was not indifferent to public petitions.

- Said he did not believe the general environmental lobby in South Africa was leftist and fanatic. The Minister claimed the media had unfairly portrayed this impression. (I insisted that his speech — he gave me a copy — unquestionably attacked the South African environmental lobby.)

- Said he had no control over many situations, such as fisheries inspection services, and that he was worried about divided control.

I conceded that Mr Kotze had done more than he had been credited with concerning the environment.

Since he became Minister of Environment Affairs on April 1 1987:

- The White Paper on Environmental Education (which was praised by The Star) has been published.

- The new Environment Conservation Act has been promulgated.

- There is a new Sea Fisheries Act.

- The department is helping the President's Council to investigate a national environmental management system.

- New major conservation areas have been declared and existing ones expanded, including the Richtersveld, West Coast, Karoo, Vaalbos (national parks) and the most recent, Greater St Lucia Conservation Area.

- Richards Bay Minerals has been forced to prepare a second and, this time, much more comprehensive environmental impact assessment of its proposed mining operation next to St Lucia Game Reserve.

The Minister agreed that environmental legislation was at present fragmented and that as a result conflicts of interest were occurring among departments. He said he hoped the President's Council investigation would find a way of rationalising environmental controls.

Star 7/3/90 (304A) (92)

The Minister of Environment Affairs explains his attitude towards the St Lucia mining controversy to JAMES CLARKE, founder of The Star's environmental campaign, CARE.



The forested dunes that form the backdrop to Lake St Lucia: the shore of Eastern Shores State Forest which is threatened by mining activities.

The Department of Environment Affairs had no control over air pollution, very little over water resources and none at all over soil erosion (possibly South Africa's worst problem). Other environmental controls had been devolved to lower tiers of government, not always with good results.

My view was that the Greater St Lucia Reserve, proposed 20 years ago, was sensible planning and would probably have come about anyway — and that the land the mining company wanted was in the most vital and scenic part of that area.

It was, I said, one of South Africa's few remaining relatively unspoiled great landscapes.

The Minister agreed "the whole St Lucia area is one of South Africa's most precious natural treasures", but argued that the proposed mining area did not form part of a nature reserve and never had.

He said the original natural state of the site of the proposed mine had long been degraded. Of the 1 300 ha which the mining company required, 59 percent was a pine plantation, 27 percent indigenous vegetation and 13 percent grassveld.

The Minister said he had been the first to blow the whistle on the mining issue by turning down the mining company's hurried environmental impact assessment, which was totally unacceptable.

The mining company was anxious to start mining because certain lucrative contracts had suddenly become available, but, said the Minister, "I was not prepared to budge."

I asked the Minister if the next EIA would be a genuine one. Would the public be allowed time to examine it? (He indicated "Yes"). Would the mining

company be obliged to show that it had no alternative but to mine in the Lake St Lucia region? ("Yes") Would it be forced to show what alternatives it had examined and why these were discarded? ("Yes").

I also pointed out that a genuine EIA would have to convince the public the damage to St Lucia's ecosystem and its tourist potential would be tolerable.

The Minister agreed with this.

I told the Minister that all professional ecologists I knew doubted the mining company could restore the water table, which its open cast mine would undermine by 11 m. St Lucia — a dual salt and fresh water system — during the last drought derived all its fresh water from these dunes.

The Minister said he was aware of this and had specifically demanded a complete analysis of the hydrological cycle and had requested specific assurance regarding the effects of dredging below the table.

I then asked the Minister: if the final EIA failed to satisfy him — if there was a threat of intolerable damage — would he refuse to accept the report and, therefore, effectively make it impossible to mine?

The Minister replied that if he was dissatisfied with the EIA he would "fight with all I have got against mining the Eastern Shores State Forest".

I suggested this contradicted an earlier impression that he was powerless against the Department of Mining and Energy: "You do have the power to stop the mining," I said.

"Yes," he said, "depending on the EIA."

I asked the Minister to explain why he thought the environment lobby was leftist and fanatic.

The Minister replied he did not believe the general environmental lobby was leftist or fanatical and that he had in mind the overseas "Green" lobby (which was fundamental-socialist and often violently demonstrative about nuclear power, etc).

I said his speech had referred to the South African national election of October and the way environmental matters had moved to the forefront — and, in the same breath, he had warned that environmentalists were leftist and fanatic and anti-development.

Mr Kotze then quoted from the relevant section of his speech (in Bellville) which reads: "The environment and environmental matters have dramatically shifted from the political back benches to the foreground during the latest election campaign. I want to stress that the source of the political pressures worries me, and most other conservationists."

"It is clear that the pressure emanates from the extreme left of the political spectrum. Although the pressure itself is not a bad thing... the persons who are applying it are often fanatical in their outlook. These fanatics are not prepared to listen to reasons and often cause, through their actions and words, an extremely negative climate in which all development, whether it is essential or not, is branded as evil."

The Minister gave an assurance that he did take the (Save St Lucia) petition seriously, but that he must have the right to evaluate petitions.

● Footnote: This was a week before the Minister claimed in Parliament he had received only about 130 000 signatures. (The Star in fact has hand-delivered 217 728, the Natal Mercury delivered 61 000 and thousands more were sent by the public direct to the department.)

HERE'S SOMETHING
TO SHOUT ABOUT

Star

CP plans 'biggest ever' rally in May

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party's *volksvergadering* in Pretoria on May 26 will be "the biggest ever gathering in the history of Afrikerdom", according to the party's Transvaal chief secretary, Mr Andries Beyers.

At the meeting — planned as the culmination of the party's countrywide protest campaign against sweeping political reform — CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will present a Freedom Manifesto containing signatures of whites who are op-

posed to power-sharing in a united South Africa.

Mr Beyers said forms to be signed by conservative whites as part of the CP's "One Million Signature Campaign" were currently being distributed in constituencies countrywide.

PERMISSION SOUGHT

The CP had re-applied for permission to hold the gathering at the Voortrekker Monument following the control board's decision to turn down a previous application.

Mr Beyers said Dr Treurnicht

had approached Mr Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture — under whose government department the Voortrekker Monument falls — for permission.

Said Mr Beyers: "Even the NP no longer wants to be associated with the Monument. It is our place and we are claiming it now."

OVERWHELMING RESPONSE

As part of the CP's publicity drive to mobilise support against reform, CP MPs were addressing several public meet-

ings throughout the country.

"The response is simply immense. There is also growing support from NP members as well as conservative non-whites who are concerned about the growing chaos in the country," Mr Beyers said.

● This month, Dr Treurnicht will address public meetings in Durban (tomorrow), Worcester (March 12), Johannesburg (March 13), Louis Trichardt (March 15), Moorreesburg (March 22), Port Elizabeth (March 24) and Beaufort West (March 30).

(304A) Star 7/3/90

Delimitation may wait until 1994

The Government would propose an amendment to the constitution this session that a delimitation of constituencies for all three Houses of Parliament take place simultaneously by June 11 1994, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen announced in the Assembly yesterday.

This would change the present provision that a delimitation for the House of Assembly take place by October 3.

Speaking during an interpellation debate, Dr Viljoen said that in terms of the constitution, elections for the three Houses of Parliament had to take place simultaneously.

So it was also desirable that delimitations should take place simultaneously.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP, nominated) said Dr Viljoen should make it clear that there would be own voters rolls for each group.

The last delimitation was in 1980, and Mr van der Merwe wanted to know whether the postponement to 1994 meant the Government was making provision for all constituencies to disappear, and for proportional representation to be introduced.

Mr Jannie Momberg (DP, Simon's Town) said his party was pleased to hear, in the light of the negotiation stage South Africa was entering, that there would not now be a delimitation.

Dr Viljoen said the answer he had given on the next delimitation had a bearing on the current constitution.

With a new constitution, it would have to be something which would have to be negotiated.

Mr Louis Stoffberg (CP, Sasolburg) said the reason why the NP did not want a redelimitation was that it knew it was losing its power base among whites. It was playing for time.

Dr Viljoen said it remained the prerogative of the President and Government to call an election at any time, and this had nothing to do with whether or not there was a redelimitation. — Sapa.

Sta 7/13/90

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PARLIAMENT
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House approves increase for FW

The State President's salary was increased to R165 477 and his allowance to R38 919 yesterday after a motion proposed by the Leader of the House of Assembly, Dr Dawie de Villiers, was passed. — Sapa.

7/3/90

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

New attitudes give rise to optimism in SA

Changing attitudes towards this country must inevitably result in major expansion of the trade community along with renewed confidence in the future, thus impacting significantly on the property market.

In the process, Johannesburg will continue to reinforce its role as the continent's leading financial centre.

The trend, Mr Leissner believes, will be all the more strengthened by the fact that Soweto and its people will be brought into the plan for the decade and beyond.

The expansion has seen substantial growth in the financial institutions and the legal and accounting professions with a corresponding fillup for property developers in the Johannesburg and neighbouring central business districts such as Sandton, Randburg and Bedfordview, says the Ampros managing director.

Those who predicted a move towards Third World quality have been proven wrong by the high standard of buildings being erected.

Mr Leissner also believes that the New Town redevelopment to the west of Johannesburg, parts of which are now complete, proves that South Africa is more than ever in line with international development standards.

"This project has served to stimulate the core, thus extending the urban for the area which began with the move there of the Stock Exchange in 1978," he says.

Unfortunately, the Johannesburg City Council is only now



Mr Gerald Leissner, MD of Anglo American Property Services.

learning to be proactive in its actions, having taken many years to learn the lessons of Durban and Cape Town.

One might well expect drastic changes and a breakthrough from the tendency to plan only for whites "in the face of a massive presence of black residents, workers, entrepreneurs and consumers".

The Ampros managing director believes, too, that the challenges which have been "met with dynamism in Johannesburg have been reflected elsewhere.

"Pretoria remains a govern-

ment city but with the Government's continued expansion, growth in the capital has been consistent," he says.

Even now, in the wake of the De Klerk initiatives, many countries are reported to be eager to set up embassy status as well as renewing trade and business missions.

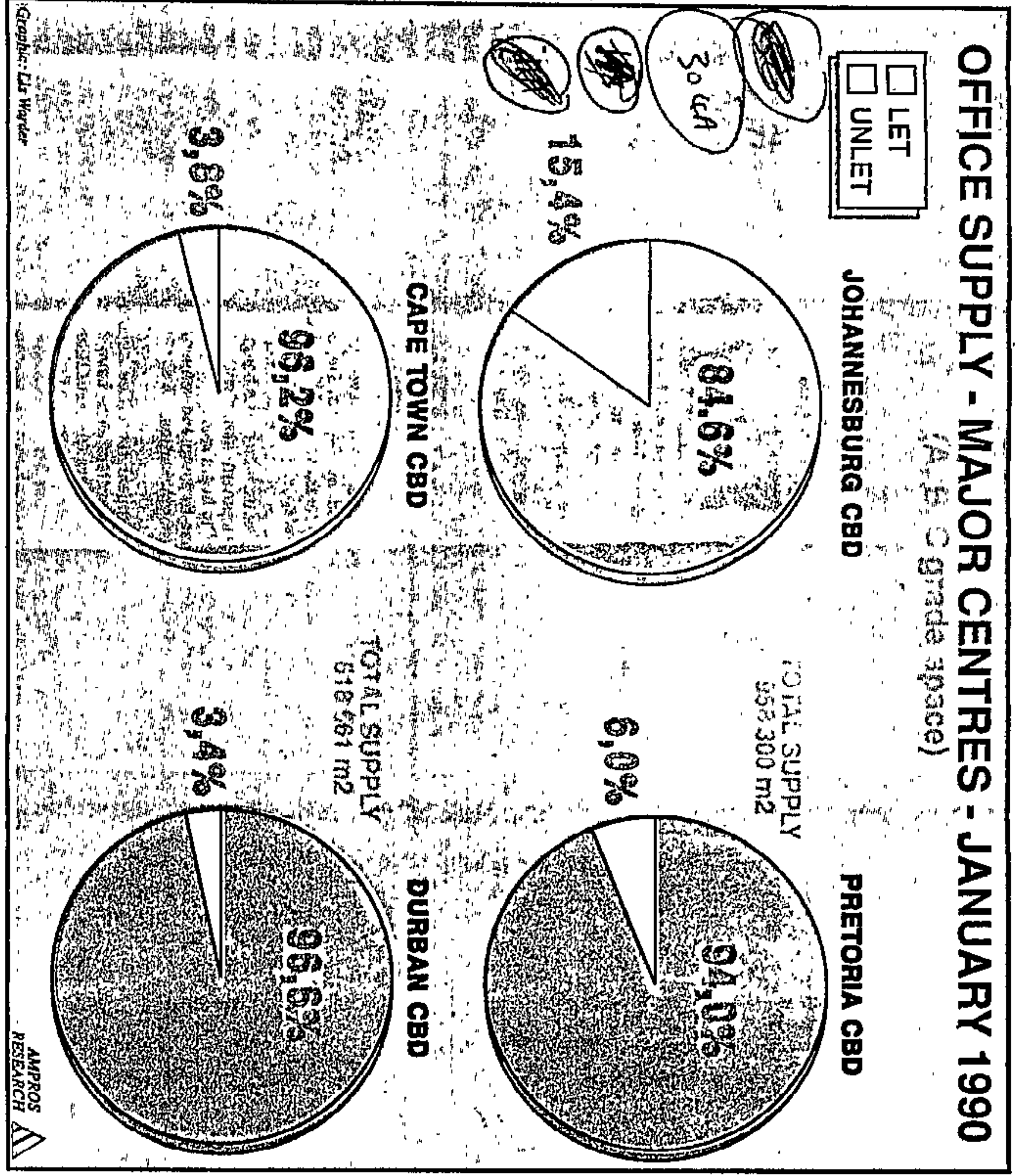
In this connection, Denmark is taking the lead in setting up an embassy again.

"This greater diplomatic representation in South Africa must inevitably spin off into big benefits for the office development market, not to mention steady demand for residential units.

Cape Town, too, has moved into the big league of international-style development with its Docklands venture, while Durban has "reaped the rewards" of major development during the 80s.

Looking at the retail sector, Mr Leissner sees major advantages arising from the privatisation process of South African Transport Services and the development of its land and air-space areas around rail stations.

"Overall, I have no doubt the new decade will be one of immense challenge for the property industry," says Mr Leissner.



New development for Rustivia Ext 3

Rustivia Extension 3, the fast-developing industrial area on the East Rand near the R22 motorway and Jan Smuts Airport, is to get a mini-industrial village.

The village will be developed by LTA Developments for the Southern Life Property portfolio.

"The township of Rustivia Extension 3 has been completely sold, since its rezoning to industrial use in mid-1989", says

Mr Brian Langford, senior partner of API Property Group.

Construction on the Rustivia Industrial Village has started and will be ready for occupation in June.

Rentals at the village are projected at the R8.50 a square metre level.

There will be 24 units ranging from 260 sq m to 675 sq m, including office space.

An investigation, by API agents for the Rustivia Industrial Village, into the availability of industrial land in the East Rand areas of Edenburg, Kempton Park and Germiston has shown that anyone requiring larger amounts of land already in township, have a problem.

Sebenza and Eastleigh are almost fully sold and Spartan and Isando are almost fully developed although some commercially zoned land is in the process of being rezoned industrial.

POLITICS

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De Klerk and Buthelezi meet at Tuynhuys

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had a lengthy meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday afternoon.

In a joint statement, they said the discussions centred mainly on the constitutional negotiation process and emphasised the need for negotiations for a new constitution to start as soon as possible.

Other matters of mutual interest had also been discussed, including the security situation in Natal.

Both leaders expressed their satisfaction with the discussions which they said "were conducted in a con-

structive spirit". The meeting was part of a series of consultations between them.

De Klerk was assisted by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and several others.

Buthelezi was assisted by Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo and several others.

Buthelezi, who had just returned from a trip to the US, said it would be tragic if the momentum of talks about talks — which he had previously held with De Klerk — was allowed to diminish through a lapse of time. — Sapa.

IN BRIEF



TALK SHOW . . . Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi at Tuynhuys after discussions on the constitutional negotiation process yesterday. The talks were held in a "constructive spirit", they said.

Buthlezi more hopeful than ever

Political Staff

KWAZULU chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he had never been more hopeful about the future of South Africa than now.

Speaking informally to the media in Tuynhuys after more than two hours of discussions with President F W de Klerk about getting negotiations going and maintaining the momentum of change, he said the conflict in Natal had also been on the agenda. Asked if he thought lifting the state of emergency would end the violence in the province, he said: "If I were running the country — and I am not so ambitious as to want to — I would find it very difficult to lift the emergency in relation to Natal/KwaZulu.

"The people are pleading for the troops to come and protect them." Chief Buthelezi, who arrived from America and Britain on Tuesday, said his information was that the violence in Natal was "flaring up again".

Asked if he was hopeful about future of the country, he said: "I have always had hope but, in my entire career, I have never been as hopeful for the future of the country.

"I think we will be able to sort out our problems. We are on our way."

Sapa reports that in a joint statement Mr De Klerk and Dr Buthelezi said the discussions centred mainly on the constitutional negotiation process and emphasised the need for negotiations for a new constitution to start as soon as possible.

Story of Pik's remark revealed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A SOURCE close to former president Mr P W Botha revealed yesterday that Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Chris Heunis were the two cabinet ministers who in 1986 complained to Mr Botha that the government could split or fall if he did not repudiate Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha for his "black president" remark.

Speculation about the "black president" controversy and the identity of the ministers was fuelled recently by the publication of a book on the National Party's leadership struggle by two journalists from the Burger, Mr Alf Ries and Mr Ebbe Dommissie, who is the newspaper's editor.

The complaint by the two ministers later led to a humiliating dressing-down for the minister.

The source yesterday told the Cape

Times that there was "no doubt" that Mr De Klerk, then the Transvaal leader of the National Party and now State President, and Mr Chris Heunis, then the Cape leader of the NP, were those involved.

The source said Mr Heunis' objection to Mr Pik Botha's remark flowed in part from his belief that his cabinet colleague's remarks fell within the ambit of his portfolio — constitutional development and planning.

Mr De Klerk was concerned about the repercussions the remark would have on white voters, particularly in the Transvaal, the source said.

Mr Heunis said yesterday: "I have no comment whatsoever — I am out of politics now."

Mr De Klerk responded: "I have never talked out of cabinet and I never would do so. If any conclusion is drawn from this, it would be wrong."

Don't scrap Afrikaans — Viljoen

Cape Times
8/3/90
306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has indicated that he is prepared to discuss certain symbols of nationhood "like the national anthem or possible alternative flags, public holidays and so on".

However, Dr Viljoen said he did not see the status of Afrikaans as an official language being placed on the negotiating table for a new South Africa as a negotiable issue.

In an interview in the latest edition of the journal *Insig*, Dr Viljoen said that he had perceived signs not far below the surface about uneasiness over the future of Afrikaans in a new South Africa.

"I cannot see that a new South Africa can be guided peacefully if the existing recognition of Afrikaans in the constitution, like that of English and possibly other languages, is not maintained."

Dr Viljoen said he was convinced that what had happened in Namibia would hold serious disadvantages for the development of that country be-

cause their apparent language policy denied the reality that Afrikaans is the chief medium of communication.

"You cannot base the language policy and the education policy on a fiction or a myth. You must ground it in the reality of the language."

"What has happened in Namibia, particularly because it is so illogical — although one can understand the political and emotional arguments — is creating uneasiness in South Africa."

Dr Viljoen said the Afrikaner would have to make it very clear that he was not prepared to sacrifice the status of his language.

Dr Viljoen said it was an important departure point that Afrikaans should maintain its statutory position of equality with other languages.

The Afrikaans language, the role of Afrikaans and Afrikaans-speaking people were too great in South Africa's history for Afrikaans to be relegated to a lesser status.

The lesson learned by other countries that acted in a reckless manner with language rights and language sentiments is a very expensive one, Dr Viljoen said.

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Rejoicing at the progress in SA

From L B Lee-Warden, former MP and listed person (Clifton):

MAY I, after an enforced silence of 28 years, express my rejoicings in your columns at the good news that greets us almost daily since the internationally acclaimed speech from President De Klerk.

First let me congratulate the Cape Times and its editors on their persistent opposition to apartheid. From Hertzog to Verwoerd an on-going policy of oppression was relentlessly enforced on a disfranchised majority of our people. It will be a day of even greater rejoicing when the last vestiges of discrimination disappear from our statute books.

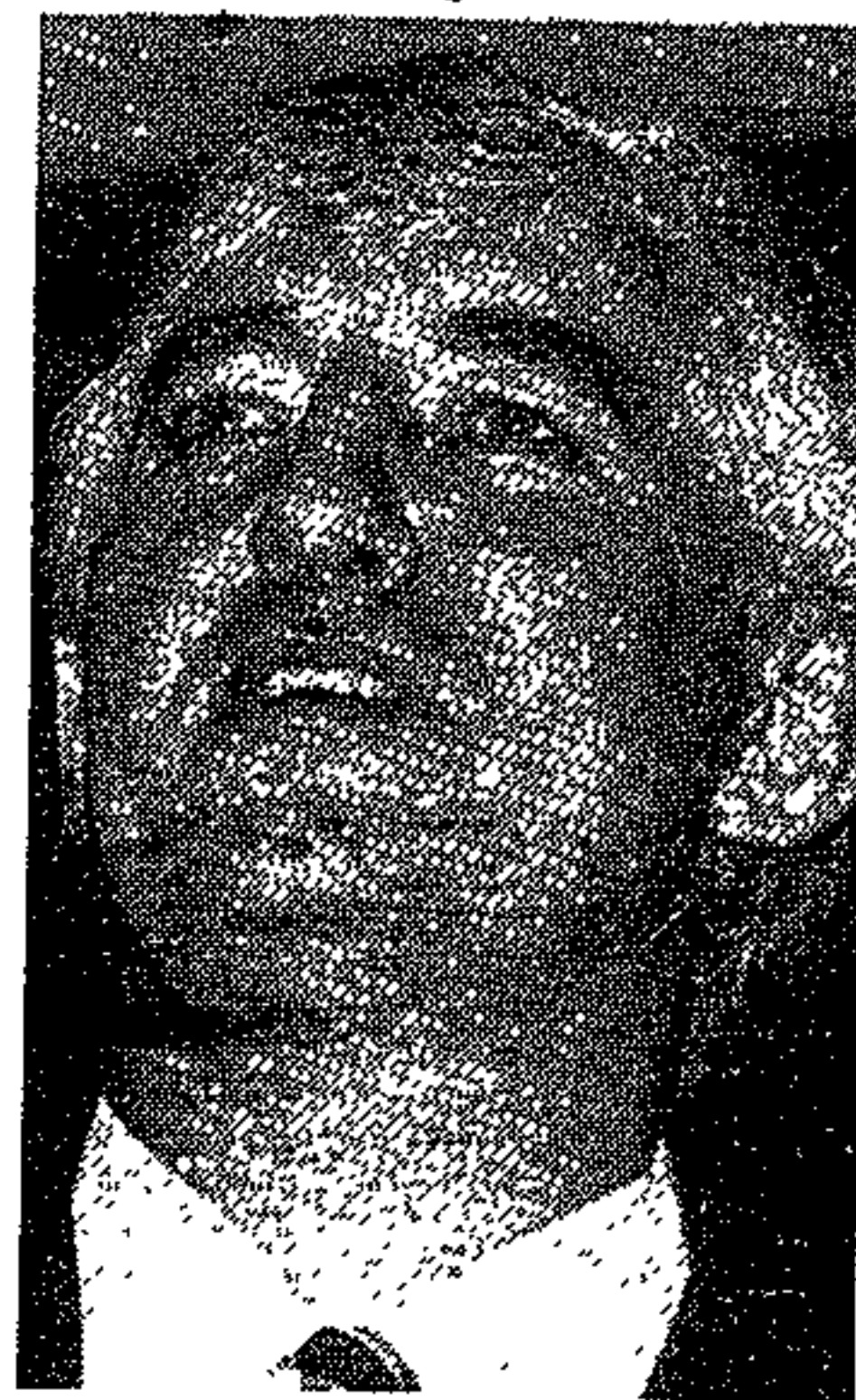
Your news item announcing the arrival home of the first of our exiles, Ray and Jack Simons, is almost a dream come true. A big welcome awaits them all. That negotiating table, no matter how big it is, must accommodate all South Africans, friend and foe, provided the common goal is a democratic South Africa.

So, has the music died for the DP?

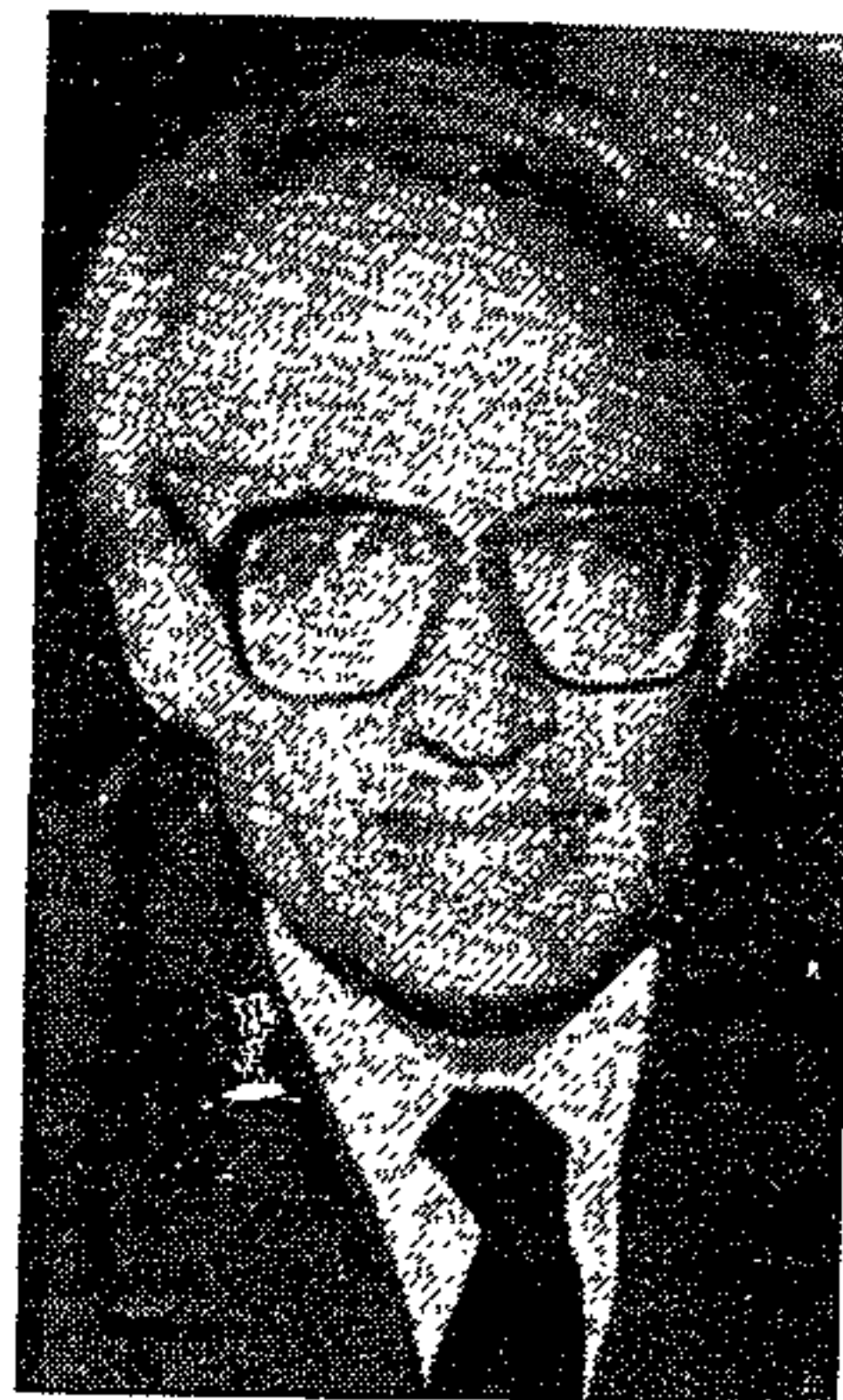
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The DP troika



WYNAND MALAN



DENNIS WORRAL



ZACH DE BEER

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

After all, FW has now changed the rules of the game

ALL fossils were once foetuses and as sure as there is life there shall be death. The Democratic Party in South Africa could soon become a historic symbol of liberalism in this country.

The lofty speech made by President FW de Klerk on February 2 shifted the entire political spectrum to the left. During movement of that magnitude, there are almost always losses to friction and it appears the DP has been lost in the action.

Effectively, the National Party today holds the middle ground, that sacred space the DP and perhaps even the Progressive Federal Party in its time held onto for dear life.

Slabbert quit

In one sweep, De Klerk implemented almost everything the DP had been fighting to bring about.

The State President produced the magic formula which former PFP leader Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert prudently spoke of - unbanning, legalising and de-restricting, etc.

But where does all this leave the DP, now that De Klerk has rendered reasons for its existence defunct?

At a Southern Transvaal chapter of the DP on Monday night Mr Colin Eglin, party stalwart and MP for Seapoint, assured a gathering of about eighty people that the DP "still had a role to play". This conjures the idea that the organisation may indeed be in the midst of a crisis about its political future.

This uncertainty can be traced as far back as 1987 when Slabbert quit parliamentary politics. The sudden absence of such a powerful leader and the vacuum he left segued into the DP.

Many believe his exit led to the sad song that reached a crescendo at the elections of 1987, when the Conservative Party took over as the official opposition.

The lament dropped an octave or more when two NP members, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Dennis Worrall, defected and joined the liberals.

Suzman

They turned the PFP into the DP and it wasn't long before the resignation of Helen Suzman - the coda - left the DP floundering. And then came that speech on February 2. That's when the music died for the DP.

Speaking from All Souls College at Oxford in England on Tuesday, Slabbert agreed (in part) that the DP may be heading nowhere fast.

"The kind of transitional politics we are moving into inevitably must affect the role, composition and style of established parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties," he said, casting a dubious shadow over the entire spectrum.

Slabbert explained that De Klerk asked for and is under the impression that he had received a mandate which made the last year's election the last in which blacks would be excluded.

Far-reaching

"That alone has far-reaching implications for the redundancy of the current constitution," he explained. Here opposition politics change shape, size and colour.

Then Slabbert gets to the point: "It is true that the NP under De Klerk has moved into the space previously occupied by the DP. In fact the Nationalist newspaper, *Beeld*, had an article by its regular columnist WO Kuhne recently speculating whether the NP should not become an open non-racial party."



Mr. F.W. de Klerk 306A Dr. Gerrit Viljoen

Why FW has had Cabinet reshuffle

AR645 8/3/90

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has reshuffled his Cabinet to give greater clout to the new Minister of Administration and Privatisation, Dr Wim de Villiers, and to beef up the negotiation functions of a minister and deputy minister.

Mr De Klerk has announced that Dr De Villiers is giving up his privatisation role, but that he acquires the important portfolio of economic co-ordination.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and his Deputy Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, are to be relieved of National Education to allow them to concentrate on constitutional negotiation.

National Education is going to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, who now will do both jobs.

The privatisation unit becomes a separate body, the Office for Privatisation, and falls under the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

The Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Theo Alant, will keep his present portfolio and acquire the portfolio of Deputy Minister of National Education.

All the changes come into effect on March 15.

Mr De Klerk said that, to help Dr Wim de Villiers in his new portfolio of Economic Co-ordination, the central economic services would be transferred to him from the Department of Finance.

The changes to the privatisation portfolio did not mean the government considered it less important.

"I believe the changes which have been brought about will contribute to an even better co-ordinated unfolding of the government's economic policy and to promote the effective execution of the constitutional development process."

Die Stem negotiable (304A) but not Die Taal

CAPE TOWN — Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen, has indicated that he is prepared to discuss certain symbols of nationhood "like the national anthem or possible alternative flags, public holidays and so on".

However, Viljoen said he did not see the status of Afrikaans as an official language being placed on the negotiating table.

In the latest edition of the journal *Insig*, Viljoen said: "I cannot see that a new SA can be guided peacefully if the existing recognition of Afrikaans in the constitution, like that of English and possibly other

Own Correspondent

languages, is not maintained."

Viljoen said he was convinced that what had happened in Namibia would hold serious disadvantages for that country's development, because its apparent language policy denied the reality that Afrikaans was the chief medium of communication.

"You cannot base the language policy and the education policy on a fiction or a myth. You must ground it in the reality of the language. What has happened in Namibia, particularly because it is so illogical — although one can understand the political

B/Pan 813190
and emotional arguments — is creating uneasiness in SA."

Viljoen said the Afrikaner in SA would have to make it very clear that he was not prepared to sacrifice the status of his language in a new SA.

Viljoen said it was an important departure point that Afrikaans should maintain its statutory position of equality with other languages in a new SA.

The Afrikaans language, the role of Afrikaans and Afrikaans-speaking people were too great in SA's history for Afrikaans to be considered for a lesser status.

Closing white schools 'a recipe for disaster'

Staff Reporter

It was shameful and destructive to close white schools, the deputy director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr Theo Coggin, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing a function at which National Beverage Services made bursary awards to 16 non-racial schools, Mr Coggin said it was shameful because there were thousands of black children who required schooling, and it was destructive "because access to education is being denied to children who are tomorrow's leaders".

ERODE GROWTH

He warned that the denial of access to education on this scale was "a recipe for the creation of generations of semi-literate citizens who will become an even bigger burden on the society of tomorrow than the educational crisis in the society of today.

"We cannot afford to have that happen. Not only will such a situation create massive social/pathological problems which we have not yet thought through, but it will also erode South Africa's ability to grow at

the pace required to sustain the sort of economic growth that it required to provide as many jobs as possible."

He dismissed suggestions that an answer to the problem lay in the creation of more private non-racial schools. He said private schools could only admit a finite number of pupils and that their fees were beyond the means "of the vast majority of South Africans who cannot find a place in school".

Noting that education remained the responsibility of the State, Mr Coggin praised the role played by private schools in spearheading the breakdown in educational segregation in the 1970s and 1980s.

"This will be chronicled by future historians as the most constructive contribution to education of the time. Donors in the private sector who have helped create a new era in education, as well as donors such as foreign governments, multi-nationals and foundations, can also be well-satisfied that their investment has been most fruitful.

"But the job is far from over, and a concerted effort by both the private and the public sectors is still necessary."

The choice is ours

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SOUTH AFRICAN ENVIRONMENTS INTO THE 21st CENTURY by Brian Huntley, Roy Siegfried and Clem Sunter (*Human & Rousseau/Tafelberg, 127pp, R26,95*).

Most people who take even a fleeting interest in SA politics must by now be aware of the terms "High Road" and "Low Road". They have become codewords for the options facing the country and have, therefore, seeped into the political vocabulary. Indeed, in their distilled force, they have probably changed the nature of the debate.

However, as Clem Sunter, star of the original roadshow, readily admits, the Anglo American teams which researched global and SA scenarios were guilty of one serious omission: they paid scant attention to the environment.

This was pointed out to Sunter by the men who were to become co-authors of this book, Brian Huntley of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and Roy Siegfried of the University of Cape Town. Both scientists, they were sceptical as to whether the "High Road" scenario could be achieved without excessive and permanent environmental damage. Put more simply: can we get high growth without destroying our natural resources? The answer is yes — but it won't be easy, and we'll have to act fast.

The authors produce a central thesis for the latest book: "That human wellbeing depends on a favourable interaction between economic development, environmental health and quality of life."

"Economic development" means providing the individual with the basics (shelter, clothing, food) as well as the opportunity to improve himself in order to gain access to some of the luxuries of life. "Quality of life" has to do with freedom and happiness and depends on a sound political structure. "Environmental health" means a beautiful countryside and clean beaches (the aesthetic side) and land that remains productive, towns which are pleasant to inhabit and air that is free of pollution (the practical aspect).

These three dimensions are mutually dependent. If one is missing, the others will not be possible at any satisfactory level.

One of the great problems facing those who attempt to preserve the environment is that their cause has been given such a bad name. As I have argued before (*The Executive* November 1989), good conservative businessmen are reluctant to take the Greens seriously. They include in their ranks too many fanatic vegetarians and pacifists, who seem to demand that one accepts the package they are presenting. In the Sixties, in particular, it was virtually impossible to be pro-environment unless you were also in favour of draft-dodging, abortion and bra-

burning. And the worst damage to the environmental cause has come from its association with socialism.

Just as well, then, that Sunter (who now heads Anglo's gold and uranium division) has such impeccable capitalist credentials. And his two co-authors, both professional ecologists, clearly agree with him:

"Socialism leads inevitably to the malfunctioning of the economy, which means that no money is available for conservation ... By denying that self-interest is a valid principle, socialists are suppressing people's innate ability to think in an efficient manner."

Those are simple assertions: they raise the hackles of socialist intellectuals who are unwilling to change a lifetime of adherence to a bankrupt ideology.

But they are backed up with piles of facts born of exhaustive research. Consider, for instance, that the black taxi industry is now worth some R3bn and, in five years, has created jobs, directly or indirectly, for 300 000 people.

The early chapters offer an excellent thumbnail explanation of the looming environmental crisis — for instance, exactly why ozone and chlorofluorocarbons are so important — and the book then moves on to possible options for SA.

We have big problems. We also have a great future, if we make the right moves now. This is why the debate between government and the ANC must move quickly to address the real problems. If they don't, the heritage will be a wasteland.

Natural disasters have caused enormous economic dislocation, with Natal particularly hard hit. In KwaZulu alone, 40 000 cattle died in 1983 (which may throw some light on why it is Durban that is experiencing such severe pressure on resources). Precious topsoil is being lost faster than it is being replaced; the Karoo is expanding and its grazing is overstocked by nearly 30%. Invasive alien plants are already costing agriculture billions of rands. Crop spraying has done more damage than good.

Our urban population will double in the next decade, and "the increase in numbers of the black population over the next decade will be greater than that of all the other population groups combined in the next 100 years." To house these people, we need 1 000

dwelling units to be built every working day until the year 2000. At present, it's estimated, five million blacks are without a permanent legal home.

Though only 50 000 white farmers have 70% of the arable land, and the homelands are tragically unproductive, we do have the capacity to feed all our people — if all land is made available to all. Money must not be wasted on expensive decentralisation programmes — except where these provide a sound agricultural structure to encourage free-enterprise farming.

Work has already begun in some areas on laying the ground for the "High Road." Mass electrification is essential; so is easy access to domestic water supplies. But education is woefully behind, to the point of



Author Sunter ... no raving Greenie

being an emergency.

Continued air pollution in the eastern Transvaal Highveld will, it seems, be inevitable even if we achieve the "High Road". It seems to me, though, that the authors have not paid enough attention to the use of nuclear power as an alternative.

The book is so dense that it has not been possible even to summarise all the areas covered. But one conclusion seems inescapable: to uproot poverty and get to the "High Road" we need 10% GDP growth every year for the next decade. With our infrastructure, mineral resources and natural entrepreneurs (black and white), it can be done.

The trick, assuming that a political solution is reached, will be to achieve it without taking the "Boom and Bust" option — high growth while pillaging natural resources beyond repair. To be a winning nation, growth has to be *sustainable*.

A thought: this book was written before the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela. Nothing has changed — though the reactionary "wasteland" option may now be less likely.

David Williams

FW losing support of Afrikaans women

CAT TINTS 7/3/90

Political Staff

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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's support among Afrikaans-speaking white women has dropped significantly over the past four months, particularly since his February 2 speech, a survey has found.

But, at the same time, two-thirds of English-speaking women now believe he is doing a good job, compared to the 52% support he had in November last year.

The results of the latest survey, which was conducted door-to-door in the major urban areas of South Africa from February 8, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

The number of Afrikaans-speaking women who thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job dropped from 46% in November last year to 37% in December, 39% in January and 32% in February after his speech when he opened Parliament.

FW, Pik meet homeland leaders

Vlok vows to clamp down on violence

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night vowed to use his wide-ranging emergency powers to stamp out the latest outbreak of violence sweeping through SA and the homelands.

And yesterday President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha met the leaders of Venda and Gazankulu to discuss the situation.

Police and the SADF have already intervened in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Gazankulu, and are standing by to act in Venda.

While major unrest in past weeks occurred in the homelands, there were more than 1 000 incidents of violence in SA itself last month.

Speaking in Aliwal North at the Retired Policemen's Guild congress, Vlok said government was not prepared to compromise on law and order. It would use the emergency even if it meant inflicting discomfort, misery and pain on some people.

Lawlessness and anarchy were unacceptable to the majority of South Africans. They were entitled to protection of life and property, and government would not avoid its duty in this regard, he said.

On the whole, government spokesmen have been reluctant to implicate any particular organisation in the violence.

While some have referred to a growing involvement by the PAC or the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) in fomenting violence, particularly in the Eastern Cape, Deputy Education and Training Minister Piet Marais said his department had detected no signs that the PAM was behind education stayaways.

Prevalent thinking in the security establishment appears to be that there is a general degree of lawlessness among radi-

MIKE ROBERTSON

cal black youths who reject any move by older leadership figures like ANC vice president Nelson Mandela to engage even in talks about talks.

Government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a media Press conference yesterday morning that the unrest appeared to be part of a plan by those who did not want to begin negotiations. Viljoen said "some people" were pretending they wanted to negotiate but were not ready to do so.

De Klerk has stopped short of accusing either the ANC or PAC of being behind the new wave of violence.

Botha said he believed the unrest in Bophuthatswana would not have happened had the Ciskei coup not taken place.

While there appeared to be a determined effort to undermine homeland governments, he could not say there were elements with political goals behind the violence.

He had received reports from the Ciskei saying UDF members had been active in trying to restore order.

On disruption of education, Marais said Mandela's call for pupils to return to class appeared to have had limited impact, and there seemed to be no co-ordinated plan behind unrest at schools.

Sapa reports that Botha met Venda President Frank Ravele and senior Venda cabinet ministers yesterday and said government would not stand by and allow chaos to reign in Venda.

It was aware that criminal elements were "using the shield of the right to pro-

□ To Page 2

Vlok on unrest

test to perpetrate intimidation of the worst kind"

These elements had no authority to loot shops or intimidate or kill law-abiding citizens who had made a success of their lives, and if there was such an authority from any organisation, including the ANC, then the SA public must know about it, Botha said.

His office said economic co-operation and matters of a bilateral nature were discussed.

Meanwhile, De Klerk met Gazankulu Chief Minister Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi to discuss the unrest and the homeland's future as three more deaths were reported.

A government spokesman said Ntsanwisi asked for increased SA military support for the local security forces.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday he believed most residents of Bophuthatswana still supported his government. Most of the participants in Wednesday's riots had been brought in from SA and they had been responsible for most of the violence, he said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the Bophuthatswana town of Garankuwa, under a state of emergency, was tense yesterday with no evidence of the SADF or SAP in the

□ From Page 1

area. Streets, the scenes of pitched battles between residents and police on Wednesday, were almost deserted and covered with debris and barricades.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman said the situation was "under control, although there are some sporadic incidents of violence. But we are patrolling to ensure order is maintained."

In Mabopane, schools, shops and most factories were closed and no buses and taxis were operating.

In QwaQwa, members of the Legislative Assembly yesterday gave Chief Minister T K Mopeli a vote of confidence in his leadership.

□ CHARLENE SMITH reports that the UDF has been involved in peace missions recently to six major flashpoint areas, attempting to mediate an end to violent conflict.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday the areas were Bophuthatswana, Katlehong, Ciskei, Uitenhage, Natal and Venda.

In Ciskei, UDF marshalls arrested looters and today a UDF team is to travel to Gazankulu in an effort to quell the violence there.



Nearly 200 000 joined in strikes

Nearly 200 000 people were involved in strikes and work stoppages from November 1 1988 to October 31 1989, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said 161 499 workers had been involved in strikes during this period, of which 135 714 were blacks. Altogether 16 213 people had been involved in work stoppages.

A total of 1 189 262 man-hours had been lost as a result of strikes and 49 424 hours as a result of work stoppages.

Mr Louw said 783 strikes 72 discontinuances took place during this period. — Sapa.

Star 9/3/90

304A

Govt must restrain security firms - Leon

There were perhaps six times as many private security guards in South Africa as there were members of the SA Police, Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said in Parliament yesterday.

He said in second reading debate on the Security Officers Amendment Bill that the Standing Committee on Law and Order had been told that the size of the industry was between 250 000 and 300 000 members.

The Democratic Party noted with concern how policing and security were being privatised and deregulated.

However this was one activity of the Government that should not be privatised.

The process had resulted in the creation of private armies, with hired guns available to the highest bidder.

Wealthy people assisted by armed response units could buy their peace of mind while ordinary citizens had to rely on a police force from which members were resigning at the rate of about 15 a day and which could not provide motorised or foot patrols.

Stringent regulation and control were made even more necessary by the fact that some security organisations were ill-equipped and ill-trained fly-by-night setups.

The Security Officers Board



Mr Tony Leon: "There are more security guards than policemen in South Africa."

had been unable to effectively. Mr Louis van Schoor, the East London security guard who in less than five years had shot dead 34 people.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the legislation was very important as it would regulate the security industry.

He agreed with Mr Leon that security should not be privatised. He would have more to say about this later in the year.

However there was room for private security firms in SA. The State could not be responsible for services such as protection of individual homes and businesses. — Sapa.

It suits Pretoria to sweep out homeland tyrants

The replacement of homeland tyrants with more liberal leaders suits Pretoria's purpose

9/3-15/3/90
THE South African government has an interest in getting rid of the more burdensome homeland leaders, political analysts observing the collapsing homelands said this week.

Leaders caught up in dynamics of their homelands and intrigue of their legislative assemblies have been sleeping through a revolution, analysts say. And it may suit the government to remove leaders who refused to move with the trend set by President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech.

When De Klerk visited individual homelands recently to inform them they were living in times of change, leaders like the Ciskei's Lennox Sebe did not seem to listen. Sebe was so indifferent to the rumblings in his homeland that he left for Taiwan.

Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi expressed surprise at the uprisings in his country, saying he did not understand why it was plagued with violence when "the cause of black liberation had never looked better".

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Mark Phillips said it suited the government to sacrifice some of its more Verwoedian and corrupt homeland leaders. The government may prefer homeland leaders with popular support — if these came to power the territories would be more stable.

CPS researcher and MDM activist Khehla Shubane noted De Klerk was trying to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations and could not afford to send the army into the homelands to stop rebellions. Troops were sent only to stop looting.

De Klerk has said homeland leaders have a role to play in negotiations and appears to be allowing the replacement of the old-style leadership. He may be hoping for more popular and useful allies at the negotiating table.

Two years ago the government supported Lucas Mangope, chief minister of Bophuthatswana, in the face of a coup in his homeland. But this week the government announced it would not intervene in the Ciskei and it seems set to recognise the new government.

Asked why the government had not come to Sebe's rescue, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told the *Weekly Mail*: the situation in the Ciskei was radically different to that in upon".

Bophuthatswana two years ago — and in the Transkei at the time of the coup there.

Mangope had been unseated by a small faction inside the military establishment. A number of cabinet members and their families took refuge in the South African embassy and asked the South African government to intervene in order to free the president and restore the government.

Botha said recognition of the new military government in the Ciskei depended on factors such as the efficiency of the government; its acceptability to the population and to the security forces.

Responding to questions on the future of the homelands, Botha said there "is no way parts of South Africa can be left without an administration. There are people in the homelands who are entitled to schools, churches, hospitals, roads, police and development — irrespective of the eventual constitutional order agreed upon".

"The South African government's attitude is that re-integration is an option. At present it is simply not possible to spell out what the future South Africa will be like," said Botha.

Ex-president may speak out against FW — report

PW POTSBABAK!



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3044

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

EMBITTERED ex-president P W Botha is seeking to return to active politics, according to a well-placed political source.

And he may speak out against President F W de Klerk's reform policies.

Suggestions that the Groot Krokodil — the nickname given Mr Botha because of his relentless pursuit of opponents — might make a comeback sent a shudder through senior National Party ranks in Cape Town this week.

His plans, still cloaked in mystery, are known to only a few. But reports that he may come out of retirement to "seek a role" in public life even appeared in a respected British newspaper this week-end.

Telephone inquiries to Mr Botha's seaside home at the wilderness were met with responses that the ex-president was not available to comment on the reports.

And when a reporter telephoned the home of the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to seek confirmation that the ex-president had been talking to the CP, Mrs Treurnicht consulted her husband, who is ill, and replied: "Mr Botha must speak for himself."

Bird of a feather



Rapist who got away

THREE MONTHS BEFORE HANIE DIED

THREE MONTHS before the brutal murder of Hanie Viljoen a young Johannesburg girl was raped, stabbed and left for dead on a lonely ridge in the centre of the city, it was revealed this week.

The same night a man was arrested on charges of rape and attempted murder in connection with the attack — but he turned bail and slipped through the



**Crisis
death
of man**

GIRL, 19, TELLS OF HORROR ATTACK THREE MONTHS BEFORE HANLIE DIED

THREE MONTHS before the brutal murder of Hanlie Viljoen a young Johannesburg girl was raped, stabbed and left for dead on a lonely ridge in the centre of the city, it was revealed this week.

The same night a man was arrested on charges of rape and attempted murder in connection with the attack — but he jumped bail and slipped through the fingers of the police.

Now the family of the girl has accused the police of "gross inefficiency" and says they ignored warnings about the assailant. They have also stated the legal system for granting the man bail.

The ordeal of 19-year-old Lisa came to light as police in Durban arrested a 29-year-old farm manager and karate expert, Cyril de Jongh, in connection with the murder of Natal waitress Julia Davis.

De Jongh pleaded guilty to a charge of murdering Julia. However, a plea of not guilty was entered. In a statement to a Natal magistrate he allegedly also confessed to killing Hanlie and is now assisting police with their investigation into her murder.

Also 19 years old, Hanlie was bludgeoned to death and apparently raped last September — three months after the attack on Lisa.

Hanlie's naked, battered body was found lying in a ditch next to the Johannesburg-Vereeniging road.

At the time, Lisa's father Len was struck by the details of Hanlie's death and immediately phoned the police.

Police have denied this.

Hell

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed to the Sunday Times that Lisa's alleged rapist had been arrested on the night she was attacked.

"He was wandering aimlessly around Hillbrow, his clothes splattered with blood and the knife he used still on his body," said Col Malherbe.

The man was charged with rape and attempted murder in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court and granted R1 000 bail.

A few weeks later, he skipped.

Lisa told the Sunday Times this week how she miraculously survived three hours of hell in June last year when she was grabbed by a "tallish, clean-cut man with long dark hair" walking home from a Hillbrow cafe late one night.

He frog-marched her to a deserted spot on Yeoville



HANLIE VILJOEN



JULIA DAVIS

By CHARIS PERKINS

Ridge, holding a knife at her waist, and then raped her three times and stabbed her.

"The man told me my suffering had brought him pleasure and he was going off to call me an ambulance and then shoot himself. He also said he was a psychopath," said Lisa.

The badly bleeding young woman half-dragged, half-rolled herself down the hill where someone picked her up and took her to hospital.

Pinetown waitress Julia Davis, also 19, was bludgeoned to death with a steering wheel lock two weeks ago. Her body was found lying on a car seat cover in a field near Alverston.

Next to her was a purse containing R1 500. She had suffered 86 stab and other wounds — mainly to her head. There was no sign she had been raped.

This week Lisa's tormented family asked:

● Why their daughter's attacker was ever granted bail — "We warned the police he was a psychopath," said her sister Cathy, 26.

Absconded

● Why the police never informed them when the man skipped bail "We only found out two weeks later when we phoned the investigating officer, Detective-Constable Edward Hutcheons, to find out what progress there was," said Cathy.

● Why Lisa's attacker's picture never appeared on Police File or in the Press.

In reply, Col Malherbe claimed the police had informed the family immediately the man absconded.

He also said no picture had been circulated because "the police knew where he was already".

Asked why they had not arrested the man if they knew his whereabouts, Col Malherbe said: "He kept slipping from our grasp — but we were always right behind him."

Police have meanwhile confirmed that numerous other dockets of assaults on women have been re-opened.

In particular they are looking at the case of a man convicted in 1988 for savagely assaulting a young married woman in a block of flats in Johannesburg.

He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, but skipped bail when leave to appeal was refused.

mbique ons ANC

orter ately trying to rebuild by freeing the economy.

● But in Johannesburg this week, Robyn Chalmers reports that veteran black leader Walter Sisulu told businessmen that the ANC favoured a form of government that intervened directly in the economy.

Wealth

"The beginning of a movement towards a redistribution of wealth through nationalisation is a primary requirement for the medium to long-term development of an equal and democratic economy in our country," he said.

● See Business Times

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THERE are increasing signs in Africa that the continent's leaders are moving away from the one-party system.

Practical steps have already been taken in several cases towards a new political dispensation in which more than one party can operate.

In several African countries increasing calls are being made for a move away from the one-party system and the introduction of democratic rule. Clearly the political changes that have swept eastern Europe are now also starting to affect Africa.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda indicated a few days ago that his role in the ruling party, the United Independence Party (Unip), is to assess the effectiveness of the one-party system following the sweeping political changes in eastern Europe, which have paved the way for a multi-party system.

Kaunda said he was confident the Zambian National Convention, scheduled for March 14, would take "the right decision" on the country's political future, ruled by

Africa moving away from the old one-party State system

C/Press 11/3/90 (3044A)

Unip for the past 17 years without any official opposition.

This is the first real indication that Zambia might be preparing to move away from the one-party system.

In neighbouring Tanzania, former President Julius Nyerere and current chairman of the sole ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi said in late February alternative political parties were now possible in the country.

■ ■ ■
Nyerere's critics blame Tanzania's poor economic performance and hardships since independence in 1961 on socialism, which his successor President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has moved towards disman-

ting since Nyerere stepped down as president in 1985.

Former Tanzanian Foreign Minister and political scientist Abdulrehman Balu wrote that the one-party system also bred corruption, favouritism, inefficiency, top-heavy bureaucracy and, ultimately, one-man rule.

In Somalia, President Mohammed Said Barre reiterated a decision taken in January to allow a multi-party system to replace his single ruling party and to hold free elections.

Similar moves are being called for in Kenya.

Out of Africa's just over 50 states, only a handful practise the multi-party system. Among them are

Botswana, Senegal, Mauritius and soon-to-be independent Namibia.

In Zimbabwe the sole ruling Zanu Party is adamant it will continue with the one-party system and the change into a socialist state.

Increasing moves towards a multi-party state is, however, emerging in the form of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (Zum).

This small political party has established itself as a sort of an opposition and might signal the start of an official opposition party - if it is allowed to continue.

■ ■ ■

The ruling MPLA party in Angola recently reiterated its stance that a multi-party system could only be established when the 15-year long war ended.

In early March the Angolan government nevertheless unveiled plans to broaden democracy, including separating government functions from those of the ruling party.

But behind all this lies Africa's economic crisis. The continent is craving for change in an effort to renovate its economic possibilities. - ANO.

Nats scoff at report PW planning to join CP

Can Tans 12/13/90

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Political Staff

SENIOR Nationalists have scoffed at reports that ex-president Mr P W Botha is planning a comeback to active politics in opposition to his successor Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Botha was not available for comment. According to a London Sunday Times report, Mr Botha is considering "defecting" to the Conservative Party.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht declined to say whether the party would accept him as a member. He was sceptical about the accuracy of the comeback reports and said it was too early to comment now on whether the CP would accept Mr Botha as a member, adding "it could cause problems". "I have not spoken to him, but judging from his reaction when the late Mr John Vorster started making noises in retire-

ment, I doubt that he would come back in an active role," Dr Treurnicht said.

Senior Nationalists were also highly sceptical about the report.

One of them, Mr Alex van Breda, former chief NP whip during Mr Botha's term of office and now chief whip of Parliament, said tersely: "Nonsense."

Another, Mr Hennie Smit, who succeeded Mr Botha as MP for George and is in regular contact with him, said: "I was totally surprised by the report. I don't believe it. 'I am in regular contact with him and he has given me no hint of this.'"

Other members of the NP said they would be surprised if Mr Botha was contemplating a comeback.

One dismissed reports that senior Nationalists had "shuddered" when they heard of the report.

Another source said Mr Botha might be bitter about some things "but he is not a fool".

Deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was reported as saying that he had met Mr Botha during the Christmas season and that he had told him he was reconciled to being out of politics.

It is not thought that Mr Botha would have a great personal impact if he returned to politics but that he could cause the government some embarrassment, particularly in the current unrest.

The Sunday Times report quoted unnamed political sources in South Africa as saying the "embittered" Mr Botha was "dismayed" at President F W de Klerk's reforms.

It said he had already "held secret talks with a senior Conservative Party official about how best to thwart De Klerk's initia-

tives towards power sharing".

"Last week Botha refused to discuss the meeting, which is said to have taken place recently. The Conservative Party member said to have met him denied there had been any encounter," the newspaper said.

But a "reliable parliamentary source" said the meeting had taken place at Mr Botha's own request.

The report adds that he is reputed to have said: "I would never have given the country over to a black government."

Speculating on the 74-year-old Mr Botha's value to the CP, the Sunday Times's Johannesburg correspondent, Andrew Hogg, concludes that it would be "largely symbolic" but a "psychological blow".

It could also serve as a catalyst for the "handful" of NP MPs worried about the direction being taken by President De Klerk.



Mr P W Botha

TO SAY that South Africa hangs suspended between hope and despair, peace and war, disaster and triumph, is a cliché — it has been thus for more than three centuries — but for the moment the balance seems more precarious than usual. Prudent people, like the directors of De Beers (Centenary) and Richemont, are taking out insurance.

The balance is precarious because, while the ANC cannot dislodge the whites from power, nor even disarm the suburbs, the National Party has plainly lost the capacity to govern the townships, or even the homelands. The results on both sides are frustration, fear and anger, the progenitors of degeneracy.

The Harms Commission, in its first week, has given us a glimpse of the moral degeneracy on the right where murder has become mere method; the daily slaughter in the black communities, and the quiet return of the "necklace", reaffirm the degeneracy on the left.

An assessment of the evidence before the Harms Commission is the prerogative of the commissioner, and must await his report, but for the past week I have been groping hopelessly for an understanding of the proposal by our vaunted special forces to fight for freedom by sending a monkey foetus to Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Perhaps it is not altogether surprising that those who go to war against the Christian church fall into the methods of witchcraft, but the picture of officers and gentlemen collecting obscene bits of mutilated, presumably to supplement the Kukri and the G-5, is a vision from a madhouse.

The commissioner must decide the relevance of this information to his inquiry, but as evidence of incipient moral collapse in white South African society it is irrefutable, just as the use of the "necklace" is irrefutable evidence of incipient moral collapse in black South African society.

Between foul rites and fire, a moral decay takes hold

6/10/74 12/3/70

KEN OWEN

3044

These malign influences, right and left, are spreading. The leaders of the AWB say from public platforms that in Africa, the unarmed white man is dead, black youths strut in tee-shirts proclaiming "One settler, one bullet". On the one hand, the death squads; on the other, the horrible and summary execution of rivals in a merciless struggle for power.

There is an old story that the angels objected when God created South Africa, saying it was unfair to put all the gold, the diamonds, the platinum, the minerals, all the riches, in one place. "Just wait," God replied, "until you see what sort of people I put there."

It is against the definition of South Africa implicit in this story that wise leaders, black and white, now struggle. President de Klerk on one side, and Nelson Mandela on the other, have put their own survival at risk by committing themselves to peace. Such is the country we have become.

The latest polls, reasonably reliable, show that 46% of Afrikaners voters support the National Party, 42% the Conservative Party. Obviously, rightwing English voters are now leaping in small but significant

numbers clear across the Nats to the CP. It is received wisdom among political animals that the NP cannot win another election under the present constitution.

For black people, a nightmare expressed some years ago by a coloured writer is becoming a reality: the white man sits silently polishing his rifle in the sun. A grim, determined, violent mood, slightly mad when it comes to Archbishop Tutu, is emerging on the white right wing. It is very dangerous.

The situation in black politics is less clear, but also disturbing. The MDM and the UDF have sought to dampen violence in Ciskei, and to restrain looting and wanton destruction in the townships, but it is by no means clear that their writ runs.

In the townships, and in the blood-soaked battlegrounds of Natal, even Nelson Mandela's moral authority falters. He appeals to young black people to exercise discipline, to devote themselves to study, Winnie Mandela, immediately contradicting her husband before the students of

Zambia, retorts: "We shall subject ourselves to discipline as much as possible for as long as the authorities listen to us."

That attitude, fostered by black adults and adopted with ferocious conviction by their children, lies behind the school boycotts, the teachers' boycotts, the demands for re-admission to schools and universities of people who have neither the ability nor the application to succeed.

And it lies behind the graduation, in increasing numbers, of students who have been passed simply because it is too dangerous or troublesome to fail them, and who now clamour to be made the managers of mining houses, which they expect to be nationalised for them.

If Nelson Mandela's appeals fall on deaf ears, if the MDM and the UDF call in vain for order, if neither the church, nor Buthelezi, nor Mandela, nor anybody else can bring the slaughter in Natal to a halt, who then controls the destructive young gangs? Who are the warlords? Who calls the strikes? Who enforces the boycotts? The spectre of Pol Pot, slumbering since 1986, is back.

These are early days. We should not be surprised if the lifting of a 30-year ban on political activity among black people throws up scores of petty claimants to power, or if every faction clings to the power base which it nurtured under the restrictions of apartheid, in the face of death squads.

We should not be surprised if, after 30 years in which government policy has set out deliberately to destroy and disrupt black political organisations and to imprison their leaders or to murder the best of them, the black community remains poorly organised and poorly led.

With luck, if President de Klerk does not lose his nerve as his power base erodes, and if Nelson Mandela does not lose patience as hotheads urge him to recklessness, these factions should gradually coalesce into recognisable political parties. Then leaders may emerge who have the authority not only to call out a crowd but to send it peacefully home again.

With luck, adult blacks will recover their spirit and take charge of their children, and black children will regain the respect for age which is such a powerful feature of their heritage. With luck the desire for education will displace the desire for admission to school or university ... but it will be no easy walk to freedom.

Meanwhile, the future hangs in the balance, and De Beers is wisely putting most of its assets beyond the reach of any South African government. Minotro is out of reach, so is Richemont, and so is Donny Gordon's Transatlantic. Most of the Americans have taken their cash and left, the Europeans watch nervously. Britain and Portugal brace for floods of refugees, visualising a million or more holders of their passports.

Those of us who are committed to stay will need nerves of steel, and a fierce commitment to conciliation, to survive this decade. But the alternative is the degeneracy that ends in necrophilia, and in collecting foetuses to cast foul spells against Christian dignitaries, as the army's warlocks do.

Police halt solidarity^{Star} march in^{12/3/90} city centre^{304A}

By Marguerite Moody

About 500 people gathered in St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg on Friday to express solidarity with political prisoners still on hunger strike in several prisons around the country.

An impromptu march by about 50 people through the city streets after the meeting was halted by police near the Johannesburg station.

The group dispersed after police issued a warning.

A spokesman for the Hunger Strike Support Committee, which organised the gathering at St Mary's, said that although more than 340 political prisoners on Robben Island had suspended their hunger strike on Thursday, the committee would continue to put pressure on the Government until the prisoners' demands had been met.

The demands are the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the cessation of all political trials.

CONDITIONS

The spokesman said a memorandum, setting out these and other demands, would be handed to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee today.

The committee, which comprises 30 organisations including the United Democratic Front, the Five Freedoms Forum and the Black Sash, is also demanding the lifting of the state of emergency and the scrapping of the Internal Security Act.

The memorandum said the Government had to meet the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration before negotiations could take place.

Mr Stan Nkosi, a former Robben Island prisoner, told the gathering that prisoners had decided on a hunger strike as "it was the only avenue open to them".

Political prisoners on Robben Island suspended their hunger strike after lawyers for the prisoners met Mr Coetsee on Wednesday.

The Hunger Strike Support Committee spokesman told The Star that prisoners at Pollsmoor, Westville, Johannesburg and Pretoria Central prisons would end their hunger strikes after meeting with their lawyers.

Star 12/3/90

ANC-Govt showdown ready in two weeks

THE South African Government and a delegation of ANC representatives are to thrash out remaining obstacles to negotiations within two weeks — shortly after Mr Nelson Mandela's return to South Africa.

Mr Mandela, the newly-elected deputy president of the African National Congress and effective leader of the organisation while Mr Oliver Tambo recovers from a stroke, plans to return to South Africa by March 17.

His return is expected to trigger the first round of "talks about talks" between the Government and ANC representatives. They will be in Cape Town, according to both sources.

This follows the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka last week which decided to make immediate contact with the Government and set up talks in which representatives of the ANC and President F W de Klerk will meet for the first

But it'll
be 'talks
on talks'

PAT DEVEREAUX

time over a negotiating table.

The Government this week announced that it was prepared to meet an ANC delegation at short notice to discuss remaining obstacles blocking the way of negotiations.

It seems the ANC delegation will include newly-elected NEC members Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki, and the South African Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo.

The ANC's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Mr Chris Hani, are also expected to be key figures at the meeting.

Expected on Mr de Klerk's team are: Minister of Constitutional Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen; Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and his deputy, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

Recruitment drive

Mr de Klerk admitted recently that legislation concerning the return of ANC exiles was being looked into.

Discussions between the two teams are likely to focus on the ANC's two main preconditions to negotiations — the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the ANC is expected to emerge as a legal political body within the next month.

Mr Sisulu has been given a mandate to set in motion the restructuring of the ANC and establish headquarters in Johannesburg and regional offices.

He spoke this week of a massive recruitment drive to be launched at local and regional levels.

"Membership of the ANC is open to all, and members would pay subscriptions and actively involve themselves in the organisation," he said.

The SACP has announced that it will also send a delegation to South Africa for talks with the Government.

"We shall be announcing a public SACP leadership core within our country and also despatch Communist Party members into the country to strengthen the core as soon as possible," a statement said.

Police halt solidarity march in city centre

By Marguerite Moody

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An impromptu march by about 50 people through the city streets after the meeting was halted by police near the Johannesburg station.

The group dispersed after police issued a warning.

A spokesman for the Hunger Strike Support Committee, which organised the gathering at St Mary's, said that although more than 340 political prisoners on Robben Island had suspended their hunger strike on Thursday, the committee would continue to put pressure on the Government until the prisoners' demands had been met.

The demands are the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the cessation of all political trials.

CONDITIONS

The spokesman said a memorandum, setting out these and other demands, would be handed to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee today.

The committee, which comprises 30 organisations including the United Democratic Front, the Five Freedoms Forum and the Black Sash, is also demanding the lifting of the state of emergency and the scrapping of the Internal Security Act.

The memorandum said the Government had to meet the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration before negotiations could take place.

Mr Stan Nkosi, a former Robben Island prisoner, told the gathering that prisoners had decided on a hunger strike as "it was the only avenue open to them".

Political prisoners on Robben Island suspended their hunger strike after lawyers for the prisoners met Mr Coetsee on Wednesday.

The Hunger Strike Support Committee spokesman told The Star that prisoners at Pollsmoor, Westville, Johannesburg and Pretoria Central prisons would end their hunger strikes after meeting with their lawyers.

CP keeps control after lots drawn

Vereeniging Bureau Sta 12/3/90 (304A)

The Conservative Party has maintained its technical majority in the Vanderbijlpark Town Council after the appointment of Mr Hennie Pretorius as the town's new mayor.

Mr Pretorius was elected to the position on Friday night following the

drawing of lots after he and the National Party's candidate for mayor, Mr Charlie Herbst, received equal votes.

The procedure was repeated with the election of the deputy mayor. Both Mr Eben Potgieter, last year's mayor, and Mr Herbst drew six votes each and, in accordance with the ordinance, lots had to be drawn once again by town clerk Mr Chris Beukes.

Mr Potgieter emerged as the winner, making it a double technical victory for the CP.

The council is at present composed of six CP members and a total of six NP and independent councillors.

During the past year Mr Potgieter often used his casting vote in favour of the CP during his term of office.

The new mayor, Mr Pretorius, is also a member of the CP caucus in the council.

The caucus will be officially inducted at a function this week.

22 killed in Cape

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Peninsula has experienced one of its blackest weekends since the Christmas period.

Nine people died in motor accidents, eight in assaults, three in shootings and two in shack fires.

The most violent death occurred as a result of a bucket of boiling water being thrown over a 37-year-old woman during a fight on a farm in Ottery.

An arrest has been made in connection with the incident. — Sapa.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the work of a Verwoerd and a Kaiser Matanzima is being systematically dismantled by this Government, and nothing must remain. [Interjections.] This Government will not allow Lennox Sebe to return to the Ciskei because the Government is afraid that he will continue with his policy.

My reply is that the dismantling of the two northern independent states is not going well. Matters are not proceeding smoothly. President Mangope and the leaders of Bophuthatswana announced this morning over the news that they were not going to yield to the pressure of the Nats and their Xhosa-ANC pals; they would remain steadfast and independent.

The destruction of Venda is proceeding according to plan. The ANC and the PAC are exploiting the superstitions of those people in a very clever way. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I tried to listen to the hon member who has just spoken, but I could not find anything to which I could reply in an intellectual way. [Interjections.] I shall therefore return to the hon member who asked the question.

†I do not quite understand the hon member. On the one hand he said he appreciated the fact that we should not use coercion. Then what does neutrality mean? Could he explain that to us? One is either not neutral, in which case one coerces . . .

Mr C W EGLIN: [Inaudible.]

The MINISTER: That is exactly what the Government says. We are not coercing. Why should we?

I do not agree with the hon member's rendering of the history of these states. I do not agree that these states were forced into accepting independence. They had a free choice. [Interjections.] I do not agree that we coerced them at the time, because by saying so the hon member is implying that this Parliament did so. I think that is an unacceptable charge to make against Parliament. I believe that some of these states did very well as far as their administration was concerned for quite a number of years before the present wave of unrest was unleashed.

I think there are indeed organisations who would like to undo what these states opted to do. However, that is not the question which the hon

member put to me. I ask him to stick to his question. He asked what steps we planned to take and my answer to him is none, because we are not called upon to take any steps.

Mr A E DE WET: Mr Chairman, it is common knowledge that the people of the Transkei and the Ciskei want to be re-incorporated into the Republic. [Interjections.] The frustration and needs of the people of the Ciskei have led to an outburst and have left a trail of destruction. All the people in the South African Border Corridor and in the Ciskei and the Transkei have lived and are living through traumatic times.

The economies of the three areas are deeply interlinked and the whole area is calling out for help. They need help desperately to restore confidence in the area; the confidence which is essential for any industrial or commercial growth which, in turn, is essential for any hope of employment for the thousands and thousands of destitute unemployed people.

The question of the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic is of great importance for the area. Any doubt or uncertainty creates speculation which is not conducive to confidence. The issue needs to be addressed now. It is vital that the South African Government make a statement of its intent as soon as possible to remove any doubt. Any plans to reconstruct or plans for future development of the area will in many cases be delayed until there is clarity on the situation. Any delay will lead to more and more unemployment and poverty.

I appeal to the Government firstly to listen to the call for help from the people of East London, Border, the Transkei and the Ciskei and secondly to remove the element of speculation by making a statement of its intent with regard to the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I find the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs fascinating. He suggests that the only way of persuading people or of expressing a point of view is coercion. [Interjections.]

If it did not coerce the Blacks to go into the independent states—the hon the Minister would assert that the Blacks were not coerced—the Government persuaded them. The NP said this was their positive policy, and this was the positive policy of the NP at that time. Dr

Verwoerd declared that it was their intention to create these independent states. All we are saying is: "Bury that concept! Leave that independent state concept to the CP because that is where it belongs!" We ask in the interests of a new South Africa that this Government should say that it has had another look, and that it has a positive attitude towards reunification. There should not be coercion, but a positive attitude towards reunification.

I do not think that the Government should be under any illusion as to the impact which that Verwoerdian philosophy made on society. If Mandela was in jail for 27 years it was *inter alia* because of that policy. If the ANC was banned, it was due to that policy. If the liberation movements went underground, it was due to that policy.

The DP says that the trend towards unification is going to be inevitable. What we want is for this Government to take a positive directionful lead, and not to allow the lead to be taken by the people on the streets. We ask this Government to give a lead in the interests of this society.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I have made the position of the Government very clear. Reincorporation is an option open to those states. There are many complicated matters about which the previous speaker preferred not to speak. Let me just mention one aspect to him. In the Ciskei laws were introduced which give tax-holidays to companies. Is that hon member who has just spoken prepared to go and say that he will change that law overnight and make it impossible for those companies to operate? If he is not, what is he up to in this House today? Is he just making cheap propaganda as usual? I am not impressed by these arguments. [Interjections.] The Government's position is quite clear. We realise that these four states are in a difficult situation because they have not achieved international recognition. The Government recognises that they are in a difficult economic situation.

The only thing the Government has said is that we should look at it quietly and calmly. Reunification is an option, but we are not going to force anyone back into South Africa. This is clear and I think anybody can understand it. It is for them to decide what they want to do and then to start negotiations with us because of the complicated issues involved, but which are, as usual, just

glibly glossed over by the DP living in their illusory world. [Interjections.]
Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Visit to President Kenneth Kaunda

*1. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs visited President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia during August 1989; if so, when;

(2) whether this visit took place with the approval of the previous State President;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *Hansard* 13/3/90 B418E

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(1) Yes. On 28 August 1989.

(2) and (3) The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I were questioned directly, on the SABC-TV programme "Network" on 15 August 1989 regarding the circumstances surrounding arrangements for this visit. We both gave full answers to the questions, including one of the same tenor as that asked by the hon member. I would like to refer the hon member to reports dealing with our answers which appeared in the printed media on 16 August 1989. The SABC could also be asked to provide the hon member with a verbatim text of our answers.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I have nothing to add to our answers.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, as mention is made in these reports of tape recordings of the conversations that hon Ministers had with the previous State President, I would like to enquire from the

Hansard

3044

TUESDAY, 13 MARCH 1990

Hansard

hon the State President and the hon the Minister who is now replying on his behalf, whether he is prepared to have those tape recordings released for publication or to agree that it be released for publication?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, because those tape recordings containing the words of the previous State President were made with the approval of himself and all the members of the Cabinet, one Minister or even the State President alone, cannot decide to make it available. [Interjections.]

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, is the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs prepared to refer the matter to the Cabinet in order to take a decision on this matter?

†The MINISTER: Not by any means, because I have no need for it. [Interjections.]

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, I should like to state to the hon the Minister that it is the most blatant disparagement of this Parliament . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member may not make statements now; the hon member must put a question. [Interjections.]

†Mr T LANGLEY: No, Sir, it is by way of a question that I say that it is the most blatant disparagement of this Parliament and its customs and traditions to refer to television reports and other media reports . . . [Interjections.] . . . and I want to enquire whether the hon the Minister will review . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Soupanberg should know to interrupt himself when another hon member raises a point of order. [Interjections.] Order! I am already taking a point of order.

†Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, the hon member for Soupanberg was really challenging the Chair and did not obey your ruling. [Interjections.] I ask that . . . [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I listened very carefully to the hon member for Soupanberg. He said to me that he put a question in the form of a positive statement. I accepted it as such. Did the hon member for Brakpan also wish to raise a point of order?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Mr F J LE ROUX: On a point of order, Sir! Can the hon the Minister be allowed to refer to an hon member on this side of the House as a blockhead (skaapkop)? [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I did not hear such a statement. Who made such a statement?

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Are you prepared to be brave?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I made such a statement as a result of your ruling, after the hon member referred to me as a sheep face. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! May the Chair now have the opportunity to give a ruling? The reference to the hon Minister was not to his person. I interpreted the words as a reference to a sheep-like smile. The hon the Minister's reference was somewhat different. I shall therefore be glad if he would withdraw it.

†The MINISTER: The form was sheep-like (skaapkopagig). Sir. [Interjections.] Sir, I withdraw the remark. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I should like to know from him whether it is his opinion or that of the South African nation that should be asked for on whether such a tape recording should be made available. [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if at any confidential meeting, also of the CP, the members as a club, organisation or national executive decide to make a tape recording of the discussions, and there are 12 or 20 such members, and they decide that a tape recording be made on condition that it is not released without each one's approval, I cannot see what is so strange about that to the hon member that in this case it is also done. I cannot understand it by any means. [Interjections.] Unless he is suggesting that all Cabinet meetings should be totally open to the public of South Africa from now on. [Interjections.]

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Mr Chairman, may I ask the hon the Minister the following? In view of the fact that on that occasion it led to the resignation of the previous State President of the

Hansard

3044

TUESDAY, 13 MARCH 1990

Hansard

Republic of South Africa, is he prepared to put that issue before the Cabinet so that the nation can know what the true facts are? [Interjections.]

†HON MEMBERS: What nation? [Interjections.]

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Further, in view of the fact that the contents of that tape recording will most probably bring to light that the previous State President was in the right, and not this Cabinet, are they prepared to do it? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman . . .

†Mr F J LE ROUX: What do your notes now say?

†The MINISTER: I am not searching for my notes. I am trying to be courteous to the hon member, if he is interested in the information. If it is not the case, I cannot help him. [Interjections.]

On behalf of the State President I referred with great courtesy to a programme in *Network* wherein this question specifically, as well as supplementary questions . . .

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: *Network* is not Parliament.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

†The MINISTER: The hon member has got hold of a point but his point is running away with him. [Interjections.]

It specifically, on behalf of the State President, referred to the programme *Network* because it is a relatively long programme. Here I have it. It is typed in single spacing! There is no reason why I should not read it aloud, even if I must take up the rest of the time allotted for questions. [Interjections.]

It was a courteous gesture and can be obtained from anybody. It also appears completely in Messrs Alf Ries and Ebbe Dommusse's book. There is thus nothing secretive about the handling of that matter here! It boils down to the fact that the hon the State President that might said in reply to a direct question:

On the contrary, he was treated with utmost cautiousness and respect . . .

That is the previous State President.

and I cannot agree that there was a deviation from the rules.

It was broadcast to the whole country! It was not a secret conversation! [Interjections.]

Thereafter, in the same programme, Mr Pk Botha was asked what South Africa's future relationship with Pres Kaunda and other African leaders will be.

Supplementary questions have thus been added, by reason of the whole Kaunda visit which extends much further and provides much more information than the question that the hon member tried to put today. [Interjections.] I replied that if a person must do the test that if the ANC is in a specific country, a person may not visit that country, then nobody, also not the CP, may visit Britain because one of the ANC's head offices is in London. [Interjections.] That norm is therefore not a valid reason why a person cannot visit an African country.

Mr Botha said that when he phoned the State President at Westbrooke and informed him about the visit to Pres Kaunda, Pres Botha's reaction was: "Very well, arrange your African visits as you see fit." Mr Botha continued: "There is no way in which it can be denied. Officials of my department were present. My private secretary, who normally puts this kind of call through to me, was in my presence, plus another official. They clearly heard what I said, but I am not here to bring a matter of this nature to a head."

In reply to a question on the State President's allegation that he was not consulted in arranging certain foreign tours, Mr Pk Botha said: I am afraid that is not correct. I am very sorry to say that I think, with great respect to the State President, that his memory has forsaken him at times. I do not want to enter into a struggle with him about that tonight because we all took our leave of him today with great sadness.

Those were our replies and I tried to be courteous. If they would just have taken the trouble to get hold of the written text, then they would have found the replies. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I do not allow any further supplementary questions. We have already taken the maximum number of supplementary questions.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: when the hon member for Soutpansberg had put his question, there were so many points of order and problems that no reply was given to the question. I should just like to remind you of what the question was. He asked . . . [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! As far as the Chair is concerned, we have allowed the maximum number of supplementary questions and the questions have been replied to. It has thus been concluded. We proceed to question 2. *Answered 13/3/90*

*2. Mr J H HOON—State President. [Question standing over.]

CCB

*3. Mr C W EGLIN asked the State President:

Whether the Minister of Defence at any stage informed him of the (a) existence and (b) activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau; if so, when in each case? *Answered 13/3/90*

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(a) Yes, on 2 January 1990.

(b) On the date in question the Minister of Defence briefed me on the existence of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and certain allegations regarding its activities. I was further informed that these allegations were being urgently investigated. I was provided with further information on this matter on several occasions thereafter, until the appointment of the Harms Commission. The very purpose of the Commission is, among other things, to establish the facts regarding the alleged activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and submit them to me.

Recreational resorts: transfer

*4. Mr C W EGLIN asked the State President:

(1) Whether he authorised the transfer of any recreational resorts in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal from general to own affairs; if so, (a) in terms of what constitutional provision and (b) for what purposes;

(2) whether this transfer will allow the authorities administering these resorts to apply racial segregation after the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act? *Answered 13/3/90*

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(1) Yes, in respect of resorts in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State. In respect of resorts in the Transvaal my predecessor declared certain resorts to be own affairs of the White population group.

(a) Sections 16 and 98 of the Republic of the South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983).

(b) To give effect to the intention of the Constitution as contained in Section 14 read in conjunction with item 3 of Schedule 1 thereof.

(2) As far as the resorts in question are concerned, the legal and practical implications of the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953, envisaged during this session, have to be determined by a process of interpretation of law. This is receiving the urgent attention of the relevant authorities.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply to the first question concerning the transfer of resorts in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State from general affairs to own affairs, can the hon the Minister tell us what happened? How did these resorts change character to the extent that for seven years under the previous State President they were deemed to be general affairs and suddenly, within three months, the new hon State President has proclaimed them to be own affairs? What difference of substance occurred in relation to these resorts that it led to this change decided by the hon the State President?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I would suggest the hon member formulate his question for reply by the hon the State President, and I am sure he will be glad to reply.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 27 February 1990.

White State Schools: compensation for teachers

*14. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether any compensation was paid to teachers at White State Schools who were retrenched or made redundant in or at the end of (a) 1988 and (b) 1989; if so, how much in each case? *Answered*

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

Yes, according to information obtained from the employer bodies concerned, the following number of teachers at White State Schools were made redundant:

(a) During 1988, 56 teachers at White State Schools were made redundant. The total costs of pension benefit amounted to:
— R1 166 398 regarding gratuities and
— R172 985 regarding monthly pensions.

(b) During 1989, 97 teachers at White State Schools were made redundant. The total costs of pension benefits amounted to:
— R7 972 862 regarding gratuities and
— R172 708 regarding monthly pensions.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask her in respect of 1989, in view of the fact that the hon the Minister of Education and Culture indicated that over 200 teachers had been made redundant or retrenched, how it is that her department is working on figures of less than a 100?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, these were the figures supplied to my department. I can only give the hon member the available information based on the figures we receive. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I regret the time for questions has expired.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Chairman, on a point of order. Surely it is quite wrong to cut off a question in mid-flow. You should allow the question to finish and then announce that the time has expired.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister responded to the question. The time for questions under general affairs has expired and I cannot allow further questions to

be put. That would only result in curtailing the time for questions under own affairs.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

New questions:

Zonkisiwe/Rietfontein: sites

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

(1) (a) How many sites are there at Zonkisiwe, Rietfontein, and (b) how many of these sites are currently occupied;

(2) whether any regulations regarding the administration of Zonkisiwe or the establishment of a Black local authority for the area have been published; if so, what regulations; if not, why not;

(3) what services have been established in Zonkisiwe?

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) 6 269

(b) 3 159

(2) No. The regulations for the area which has been established in terms of sections 6A of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Act 52 of 1951) are still in the process of being finalised and will shortly be published.

(3) (i) Graded streets

(ii) Refuse removal

(iii) Chemical toilets as well as aqua privies

(iv) Communal water taps at strategic positions

(v) Clinic services by the City Council of Germiston

(vi) Curative services by TPA

(vii) A public telephone service

(viii) Sport facilities

(ix) Sites for 9 primary and 4 secondary schools are available to the Department of Education and Training for their use.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Workers' Day

1. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Manpower:*

Whether discussions had been held with White trade unions before 1 May was declared Workers' Day; if so, with which such trade unions; if not, why not?

B499E:INT

*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, there were comprehensive consultations with White trade unions *inter alia* before 1 May was declared Workers' Day. This took place *inter alia* at a gathering in Stellenbosch on 14 April 1988 and on 10 June 1988 in the Union Building, Pretoria

During the gathering on 14 April 1988 the question of Workers' Day was discussed in depth, and the delegates were almost unanimous that Workers' Day should be on 1 May. During the second meeting, on 10 June 1988, the vast majority of delegates, with the exception of the Mineworkers' Union, expressed themselves in favour of 1 May as a paid holiday.

A total of 26 trade unions were represented, of which 15 were exclusively White trade unions. [Interjections.] In addition the National Manpower Commission, in which both the employer and trade union organisations are represented, held detailed consultations with all parties. Here, too, a broad spectrum of White trade unions was represented.

The recommendation of the National Manpower Commission remained that 1 May should be declared Workers' Day.

The Government realises that there are certain groups of people who have objections to 1 May as a holiday for ideological reasons, because of the connection it has with communist ideology. The recent past has shown that this connection is

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

becoming irrelevant. [Interjections.] Yes, that is the case. This is happening as a result of the economic failure of that ideology. [Interjections.] Consequently Workers' Day will become more and more detached from any specific ideology. [Interjections.]

Therefore it is artificial to keep the dispute concerning 1 May as Workers' Day going, and it is not in the interests of industrial peace or of all the workers of South Africa. [Interjections.]

*Mr P J PAULUS: Mr Chairman, I want to make it very clear today that White trade unions were not consulted when it was decided to let Workers' Day fall on 1 May this year. [Interjections.]

Let us see what the hon the Minister—then still Acting Minister—said last year when we spoke about Workers' Day. He said that Workers' Day would fall on a Monday, and no longer on a Friday, so that the workers could have a long weekend. We made it very clear to the hon the Minister that the Government would change its standpoint and move Workers' Day to 1 May. I can see why the hon the Minister is moving it to 1 May this year, because he has just told us. He said Workers' Day had a communist connotation and they have now embraced the Communist Party in a big way. . . . [Interjections.] I want to ask whether the hon the Minister spoke to comrade Ramaphosa when he did this. [Interjections.]

In the *SA Worker* of February 1990, the general secretary of the trade union for iron and steel workers said it was a sad day on which we had to see 1 May declared Workers' Day, and that the perennial demand to declare the first Monday in September as such, as well as the possibility of a long weekend, were things of the past.

We read the hon the Minister's reply in *Hansard* of 26 April 1989. [Interjections.] The reason we have the first Monday in May, is that all the workers should get a long weekend. I still remember the remark made by the hon member who was the MP for Sasolburg. He said we had not given them any reason for not wanting the first Friday.

The NP is turning somersaults. When I was still with the trade union, I called Fanie Botha Somersault Botha. I shall be calling the hon the

Minister of Manpower Somersault Louw because he does not know what he wants. [Time expired.]

Mr B B GOODALL: Mr Chairman, there are two issues involved here. One is whether there should be consultation with trade unions on matters like this. The answer is yes, there should obviously be consultation—not only with the trade unions, Black and White, but also with the employers' organisations. This, we understand from the hon the Minister, has been done. It would not have helped, however, because what we have here is an attempt by the far right to organise White labour in South Africa for political purposes. [Interjections.]

The second point is whether we should celebrate 1 May as Workers' Day. It is an internationally accepted holiday. It is celebrated in West Germany and in France, and those are not communist countries. In South Africa 1 May was a *de facto* holiday. We have actually brought the law in line with reality. We had a situation in which we were celebrating the same event on two separate days. We cannot afford to do that. Our labour productivity is low enough as it is. It is estimated that each time we have a public holiday, we lose R340 million in lost production.

We have got to decide how many public holidays South Africa is going to have. We should then work out what they will be. We shall have to take into account the needs and wishes of the various segments of our population, not only the White sector. That is the same, rational thing to do. I find the growing similarity in the tactics of the lunatic left and the reaction very interesting. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, I want to thank the hon member for Edenvalle for his sensible arguments in this debate.

*It is a pity that the CP is trying to score political points out of this matter. [Interjections.] The hon member for Carletonville denied that there had been negotiation. I told him that one out of the 15 White trade unions were opposed to this, and he can come to my office where I shall give him the names of the other 14. [Interjections.]

Then he said we had suddenly embraced the communists because we had declared 1 May Workers' Day. [Interjections.] As the hon member for Edenvalle said, this is also the case in

England and Holland, and after all, they are not communist countries. [Interjections.] The CP has not embraced the communists just because the hon member for Overval is going to Russia, after all. [Interjections.]

The hon member referred to what I had said about the long weekend in a previous debate on my Vote. I still think a long weekend is a good idea. I told the White trade unions that if there was consensus among the workers of South Africa, they could come back to me on the question of a long weekend, and I would consider it once again. I said then that it was a good idea.

To say that we are hand in glove is the biggest load of nonsense under the sun, and I blame the hon member and his party for trying to manipulate our White workers, who should actually play a leading part, for political gain. They can play a part on the basis of reliability, expertise and discipline, but the CP is politicising them so that they cannot play that part. [Interjections.]

*Mr P J PAULUS: Mr Chairman, I should like to tell the DP that the only difference between them and the NP nowadays is the name. [Interjections.] Every time a DP member rises, he is praised and thanked by the NP for what the DP says about the NP. [Interjections.] They are fraternising with the NP just as the NP and the SA Communist Party are fraternising today. [Interjections.]

I want to repeat that I did not even mention the name of the Mineworkers' Union, because I know they did not negotiate, but I did mention the trade union for iron and steel workers. That is the largest White trade union, and they deny that there were negotiations with them at any stage.

What was even more ridiculous, was that the hon the Minister mentioned 1988. In 1989 he said we knew what the Government's standpoint was, and that was to make it the first Monday in May. Once again I say the Government does not know what is going on. [Interjections.]

They say they want to protect the rights of the minorities. Up to now they have avoided telling us how they want to protect the rights of the minorities. I want to make it clear that the employers and the Black trade unions—I said this last year, and that was exactly what happened—are going to celebrate Workers' Day

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

from 30 April to 4 May. Once again the White workers are going to sacrifice traditional White holidays to give the Blacks in South Africa an opportunity to have a holiday. [Interjections.]

How is the hon the Minister going to prevent that, and how is he going to protect this minority of Whites? He cannot do so, because he fears the Black trade unions. If he picks up the telephone and it is a Black trade union, he says they must not speak. He has heard it is a Black trade union, and he will comply with their demands. The hon the Minister does so without even listening to what they want. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*Mr P J PAULUS: I want to make it clear that at present the Blacks are demanding Soweto Day. When the Manpower Vote is discussed, we must not be surprised if this hon Minister says the Government has decided to make 16 June Soweto Day, because the SA Communist Party and the ANC are going to claim that day, and once again the minority of Whites in South Africa are going to be left in the lurch by the NP. There is no point in the hon the Minister's telling us we want to capitalise on the question. We want to protect the White workers in White South Africa, and we shall do so as far and for as long as possible. The Government will not stand in our way.

The White workers are turning against the NP to an increasing extent, because they know they can no longer rely on the NP for protection. [Interjections.] That is why the hon the Minister for Virginia received a majority of only 47 votes. That is proof that the workers are turning against them.

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! There is no Minister for Virginia in the House. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, the hon member said we did not protect minorities. If 14 of the 15 White trade unions say 1 May is acceptable to them, must I permit the standpoint of the remaining one to prevail? How does he justify his story about minorities then?

The fact is that in order to gain points for the CP, the hon member is reducing the White mine-workers to a political group of people who have to experience a threat in everything. He is doing the White trade unions a great disservice by

option to strive for any political objective they want to strive for, provided it is borne in mind that one cannot unilaterally by means of legislation in this country bring about their re-incorporation in the Republic of South Africa.

Similarly, it will again require a decision from this Parliament. It will require a thorough study of the various implications. It will require consideration of the type of structure those countries are going to submit to their voters, because they cannot ask their voters, even in a referendum, to become part of the Republic again if they do not tell their voters on what basis they will do so. [Interjections.]

Will it be on the basis of a confederal relationship, a federal relationship, a regional government or a provincial government? What are the implications in respect of agreements which they entered into after they became independent? What are the implications of loans they may have negotiated with foreign banks, governments or other financial institutions in this country?

This Government cannot be expected simply to take over debts incurred and contractual obligations entered into by independent countries. Hon members can therefore see that there are quite a number of complex questions arising from this issue. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I have noted the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs' cautious reply to this question. I am not arguing about the details and how one should get there.

The South African Government was for many years not neutral on this issue. For many, many years after Dr Verwoerd came to Parliament, they actively pursued the idea of Bantustans. They promoted that concept. What is more, the choice that was given to Black South Africans at that time was not a neutral choice. It was Hobson's choice. Their choice was either to go independent and have citizenship in relatively poor Black territories or else to stay in apartheid South Africa with no vote and no constitutional redress in this country.

I do not believe that a neutral approach is good enough. We believe the time has come for the Government to try to bring down the curtain on the Voworidian era of apartheid. [Interjections.] It has done enough damage to South Africa internally and externally, more than any other policy ever pursued in South Africa. We have

asked and expect this of the Government in view of the expectations raised *inter alia* by the hon the State President's speech, and by the Government's constant reference to an undivided South Africa, which to Black people has a very specific meaning, and in view of *inter alia* the instability which is being created because of the economic and political uncertainty of the future of those TBVC countries.

We believe that this Government must admit that the Bantustan experiment in South Africa's history was costly and disastrous. While the Government may not be able to force or to coerce, it must adopt a very specific attitude and say that it is leaving the nightmare of partition to the CP. It must say it stands for a truly reconstructed and united South Africa to which all the components that were part of South Africa can come back home.

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Including Botswana? [Interjections.]

Mr C W EGLIN: The Government should adopt a positive attitude towards this. This does not mean that it invades or that it coerces, but it means that it must stop being neutral on this matter. The Government must say that its policy is to work together with those other states for a new united South Africa.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister did not answer the hon member's question. The hon member's question was actually to what extent the prescriptions and the instructions of the ANC, which were probably issued from the Victor Verster Prison, to the effect that the independent states in South Africa must be destroyed to pave the way for the holistic Azania of the NP/ANC, have been complied with. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister can sit there grinning sheepishly. That is what is happening [Interjections.] They have destroyed the work of Matanzima and Hendrik Verwoerd. . . [Interjections.]

*Dr F J VAN HEERDEN: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: I do not think it is parliamentary to refer to a sheepish expression.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have one on your own face. Sit down! [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Soutpansberg may proceed.

Talks with Govt near

30/4/76

DISCUSSIONS are taking place between "intermediaries" to arrange a meeting between the Government and the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC, said yesterday.

"I can't give more facts. There are discussions being held to prepare for a meeting where talks about talks will take place. We don't know yet when the meeting with the Government will take place," he said.

Mr Sisulu reiterated his call for calm and peace and said the unrest sweeping the country "is disturbing any progress we are making". - Sapa.

By HANS MIDDELMANN

former President of Assocom and a leading businessman

BOUNDLESS opportunities opened for South Africa with F W de Klerk's speech on February 2.

He promised to "our country and all its people ... universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights..." and, in more detail, "... a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour — constitutional, social and economic."

It was a startling unilateral statement of intent of immense merit and was made firmly and sincerely. The world at large and most South Africans had waited for it a long time. In making it, the State President, in less than an hour, discarded four decades of ideological baggage which had brought the country to its present sad state of affairs.

Visible proof

Clearly, the aim now is to build one nation in a single South Africa. For this to succeed and for the nation to be at peace with itself and to prosper, it requires further great statesmanship by President De Klerk and his colleagues. It requires also that the currently voteless majority of the population can recognise the proposed new dispensation to be to their advantage. They must also experience soon, in practical and specific terms, the equality of opportunities in all spheres that should flow from making South Africa an open society.

Unbanning the ANC and the lifting of press and other restrictions provided some immediate visible proof of the changing climate. Nelson Mandela's release strongly reinforced this impression as no other move could have done. And the amazing vitality with which he, a free man again

SA urgently needs a new constitution to save economy

304A
CMT Timp 13/3/90

after years of incarceration, responded positively and without malice to the challenges, augurs well for our future.

However, the events of the last few weeks have dealt with symptoms rather than with the substance of what is needed. By and large, what South Africans have experienced has come to them on the TV screen. It is still like watching chapter after chapter of an exciting television serial while wondering what comes next. The viewers can even identify with some of the events, particularly as they do not seem to affect their daily lives.

Chicken and egg?

Right now, South Africans continue to battle with many acute problems. Lawlessness remains widespread, not only in Natal. The economy is in an almost no-growth situation and unemployment is growing.

Inflationary price rises are not matched by wage increases. (Only the parliamentarians easily overcame this handicap because, to their shame, even the gutless oppositions in the continuing tricameral system could not resist the temptation.)

Outside assistance can hardly be expected until the structure of the new South Africa is clarified and has the support of the population at

large. But, says the State President, "The new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment."

So, if a new constitution is dependent on the economy, are we then in a true chicken and egg situation? Is it not that prosperity can only come to South Africa after we make the long overdue incisive political changes? It seems clear that any further delays in grappling with the fundamental details of the new constitution become increasingly costly in terms of political and economic frustrations.

Nationalisation

This is all the more so while many of the voteless majority in South Africa still believe that "taking over power", followed by the installation of a different "economic system", can resolve our problems. It is the result of years of rhetoric by those organisations that tried to act for the black masses who have neither political representation nor equal opportunities in their own country.

But, in the light of the history now being enacted elsewhere, the rhetoric of the ANC, MDM, UDF and others is changing. The lessons of the recent bloodless revolutions

in Eastern Europe are not lost. After all, these came about because the ordinary people had realised that political structures, more than anything else, determine the level of prosperity in any country. The pseudo "democracies" of Eastern Europe and throughout Africa have paid a heavy price for having had one-party ideological self-perpetuating regimes in power for decades.

It is a pity, therefore, that the State President, in his famous speech containing his unilateral statement of intent, still hung on to the concept of protection of group rights and went no further than asking the Law Commission to identify "the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context". No wonder Nelson Mandela and his colleagues also hang on to "nationalisation". Both believe that these are bargaining points in "negotiations".

Namibia

There is, in fact, not much to "negotiate" about the essential terms of a truly democratic constitution. Namibia went through the whole process in a matter of months. Their constitution, which comes into force this month, could well serve as a model for us. It has real legitimacy because it followed free and fair elections in which all citizens took part as equals. Its crucial terms cannot easily be abused by one or the other group. They follow the lines of those democratic constitutions that have proved themselves in all the successful countries.

What South Africa needs now is a second "Rubicon speech", in which the government sets itself a "Resolution 435". This resolution would contain the proposed procedure and timetable to achieve what the State President set out as the aim on February 2. It would be another unilateral declaration of intent. The urgency is great if we are not to have a prolonged period of uncertainty with disastrous effects on the economy. The time is now.

Sowetan 13/3/90

C'mwealth door may be reopened for SA

LONDON - A message from the Queen is at the centre of speculation that a reformed South Africa could rejoin the Commonwealth.

Several senior statesmen believe that is the prize on offer if President FW de Klerk abolishes apartheid and negotiates a settlement with Nelson Mandela.

The return of a truly democratic South Africa, with a multi-racial government, would heal the breach of May 1961 when Pretoria declared a republic and withdrew from the Commonwealth.

The speculation has been aroused by an intriguing reference in the Queen's message for Commonwealth Day yesterday.

She speaks of dif-

ferences in the Commonwealth family causing estrangement and highlights the way such differences could escalate: "Now and then a member may even feel constrained to go off on his own."

Although she illustrates her point by citing the case of Pakistan, some senior Commonwealth diplomats saw a clear parallel with South Africa.



De Klerk... could rejoin Commonwealth

NEGOTIATIONS FIM 23/3/90

(304A)

It must be a two-way process

The announcement that F W de Klerk is to meet an ANC delegation on April 11, even if just for "talks about talks," is not only epochal in itself, it confirms that, for the moment, the initiative is still firmly in government's hands.

True, we may eventually end up with a one-man-one-vote system, as the ANC wants. But let's be perfectly clear that, as of now, the ANC is in no position to demand *anything*.

The cut in the defence vote in last week's Budget, made possible by the abandonment of military adventures in the sub-continent, is an indication of strength. Conversely, not only has the ANC's external military position deteriorated, its apparent inability to stop domestic black-on-black violence is doing nothing for its credibility.

In the past week, we have also seen Sweden — of all countries — flatly refuse to step up sanctions on SA; and a mere 10 000 people, 10% of the expected gate, turn up to a concert at Ellis Park, addressed by Nelson Mandela himself.

Fact is that, whether the ANC likes it or not, the political running is being done by F W de Klerk. Perhaps the old men of Robben Island felt that their release meant that white-run SA was ready to roll over and die; it's to be hoped that they're now learning to face a somewhat different reality.

Of course they are right when they say that business has so far reacted to threats of nationalisation with rhetoric rather

than a specific alternative for an equitable wealth redistribution. But business will retort that at this stage all that is possible is the general statement of principle, that only private enterprise can generate real wealth.

And if this is the ANC's biggest complaint, more than anything else it just exposes the aridness of that organisation's own bargaining position.

Indeed, other than arrangements for a total handover of power, it's not obvious what the ANC wants. It must face the fact that, unlike what may have happened in Algeria or Zimbabwe, white SA is strong enough to ensure a voice in its own future. "Negotiation" is not just a face-saving camouflage for surrender.

Nothing of this is to be construed as an attempt to defend the indefensible system of apartheid. The *FM* has consistently argued for the need to reach a fairer, richer post-apartheid SA as peaceably as possible. The point we wish to make is that negotiation does not mean dictation of terms by one side to the other; it means flexibility on both sides.

And right now, rightly or wrongly, it looks to the outside world as if most of the flexibility is coming from government. That earns lots of brownie points for F W. But if we're to make real progress, the ANC will soon have to show that it, too, can deliver more than just demands. ■

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Workers' Day

1. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Manpower:*

Whether discussions had been held with White trade unions before 1 May was declared Workers' Day; if so, with which such trade unions; if not, why not?

B499E.INT

*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, there were comprehensive consultations with White trade unions *inter alia* before 1 May was declared Workers' Day. This took place *inter alia* at a gathering in Stellenbosch on 14 April 1988 and on 10 June 1988 in the Union Building, Pretoria.

During the gathering on 14 April 1988 the question of Workers' Day was discussed in depth, and the delegates were almost unanimous that Workers' Day should be on 1 May. During the second meeting, on 10 June 1988, the vast majority of delegates, with the exception of the Mineworkers' Union, expressed themselves in favour of 1 May as a paid holiday.

A total of 26 trade unions were represented, of which 15 were exclusively White trade unions. [Interjections.] In addition the National Manpower Commission, in which both the employer and trade union organisations are represented, held detailed consultations with all parties. Here, too, a broad spectrum of White trade unions was represented.

The recommendation of the National Manpower Commission remained that 1 May should be declared Workers' Day.

The Government realises that there are certain groups of people who have objections to 1 May as a holiday for ideological reasons, because of the connection it has with communist ideology. The recent past has shown that this connection is

becoming irrelevant. [Interjections.] Yes, that is the case. This is happening as a result of the economic failure of that ideology. [Interjections.] Consequently Workers' Day will become more and more detached from any specific ideology. [Interjections.]

Therefore it is artificial to keep the dispute concerning 1 May as Workers' Day going, and it is not in the interests of industrial peace or of all the workers of South Africa. [Interjections.]

*Mr P J PAULUS: Mr Chairman, I want to make it very clear today that White trade unions were not consulted when it was decided to let Workers' Day fall on 1 May this year. [Interjections.]

Let us see what the hon the Minister—then still Acting Minister—said last year when we spoke about Workers' Day. He said that Workers' Day would fall on a Monday, and no longer on a Friday, so that the workers could have a long weekend. We made it very clear to the hon the Minister that the Government would change its standpoint and move Workers' Day to 1 May. I can see why the hon the Minister is moving it to 1 May this year, because he has just told us. He said Workers' Day had a communist connotation and they have now embraced the Communist Party in a big way. . . . [Interjections.] I want to ask whether the hon the Minister spoke to comrade Ramaphosa when he did this. [Interjections.]

In the *SA Worker* of February 1990, the general secretary of the trade union for iron and steel workers said it was a sad day on which we had to see 1 May declared Workers' Day, and that the perennial demand to declare the first Monday in September as such, as well as the possibility of a long weekend, were things of the past.

We read the hon the Minister's reply in *Hansard* of 26 April 1989. [Interjections.] The reason we have the first Monday in May, is that all the workers should get a long weekend. I still remember the remark made by the hon member who was the MP for Sasolburg. He said we had not given them any reason for not wanting the first Friday.

The NP is turning somersaults. When I was still with the trade union, I called Fanie Botha Somersault Botha. I shall be calling the hon the

Minister of Manpower Somersault Louw because he does not know what he wants. [Time expired.]

Mr B B GOODALL: Mr Chairman, there are two issues involved here. One is whether there should be consultation with trade unions on matters like this. The answer is yes, there should obviously be consultation—not only with the trade unions, Black and White, but also with the employers' organisations. This, we understand from the hon the Minister, has been done. It would not have helped, however, because what we have here is an attempt by the far right to organise White labour in South Africa for political purposes. [Interjections.]

The second point is whether we should celebrate 1 May as Workers' Day. It is an internationally accepted holiday. It is celebrated in West Germany and in France, and those are not communist countries. In South Africa 1 May was a *de facto* holiday. We have actually brought the law in line with reality. We had a situation in which we were celebrating the same event on two separate days. We cannot afford to do that. Our labour productivity is low enough as it is. It is estimated that each time we have a public holiday, we lose R340 million in lost production.

We have got to decide how many public holidays South Africa is going to have. We should then work out what they will be. We shall have to take into account the needs and wishes of the various segments of our population, not only the White sector. That is the sane, rational thing to do. I find the growing similarity in the tactics of the lunatic left and the reaction very interesting. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, I want to thank the hon member for Edenvalle for his sensible arguments in this debate.

*It is a pity that the CP is trying to score political points out of this matter. [Interjections.] The hon member for Carletonville denied that there had been negotiation. I told him that one out of the 15 White trade unions were opposed to this, and he can come to my office where I shall give him the names of the other 14. [Interjections.]

Then he said we had suddenly embraced the communists because we had declared 1 May Workers' Day. [Interjections.] As the hon member for Edenvalle said, this is also the case in

England and Holland, and after all, they are not communist countries. [Interjections.] The CP has not embraced the communists just because the hon member for Overvaal is going to Russia, after all. [Interjections.]

The hon member referred to what I had said about the long weekend in a previous debate on my Vote. I still think a long weekend is a good idea. I told the White trade unions that if there was consensus among the workers of South Africa, they could come back to me on the question of a long weekend, and I would consider it once again. I said then that it was a good idea.

To say that we are hand in glove is the biggest load of nonsense under the sun, and I blame the hon member and his party for trying to manipulate our White workers, who should actually play a leading part, for political gain. They can play a part on the basis of reliability, expertise and discipline, but the CP is politicising them so that they cannot play that part. [Interjections.]

*Mr P J PAULUS: Mr Chairman, I should like to tell the DP that the only difference between them and the NP nowadays is the name. [Interjections.] Every time a DP member rises, he is praised and thanked by the NP for what the DP says about the NP. [Interjections.] They are fraternising with the NP just as the NP and the SA Communist Party are fraternising today. [Interjections.]

I want to repeat that I did not even mention the name of the Mineworkers' Union, because I know they did not negotiate, but I did mention the trade union for iron and steel workers. That is the largest White trade union, and they deny that there were negotiations with them at any stage.

What was even more ridiculous, was that the hon the Minister mentioned 1988. In 1989 he said we knew what the Government's standpoint was, and that was to make it the first Monday in May. Once again I say the Government does not know what is going on. [Interjections.]

They say they want to protect the rights of the minorities. Up to now they have avoided telling us how they want to protect the rights of the minorities. I want to make it clear that the employers and the Black trade unions—I said this last year, and that was exactly what happened—are going to celebrate Workers' Day

from 30 April to 4 May. Once again the White workers are going to sacrifice traditional White holidays to give the Blacks in South Africa an opportunity to have a holiday. [Interjections.]

How is the hon the Minister going to prevent that, and how is he going to protect this minority of Whites? He cannot do so, because he fears the Black trade unions. If he picks up the telephone and it is a Black trade union, he says they must not speak. He has heard it is a Black trade union, and he will comply with their demands. The hon the Minister does so without even listening to what they want. [Interjections.]

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*Mr P J PAULUS: I want to make it clear that at present the Blacks are demanding Soweto Day. When the Manpower Vote is discussed, we must not be surprised if this hon Minister says the Government has decided to make 16 June Soweto Day, because the SA Communist Party and the ANC are going to claim that day, and once again the minority of Whites in South Africa are going to be left in the lurch by the NP. There is no point in the hon the Minister's telling us we want to capitalise on the question. We want to protect the White workers in White South Africa, and we shall do so as far and for as long as possible. The Government will not stand in our way.

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*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Mr Chairman, the hon member said we did not protect minorities. If 14 of the 15 White trade unions say 1 May is acceptable to them, must I permit the standpoint of the remaining one to prevail? How does he justify his story about minorities then?

The fact is that in order to gain points for the CP, the hon member is reducing the White mine-workers to a political group of people who have to experience a threat in everything. He is doing the White trade unions a great disservice by

presenting that argument. I shall say that to the White trade unions, because they have a function to fulfil. They can play a leading role, also in the new South Africa, as a result of their expertise and reliability. The White trade unions can play an enormous role on that basis, and I shall continue to say that.

Naturally productivity is an important consideration. After all, we cannot afford to have another workers' day. We acknowledge that there must be a workers' day, but as the hon member said, almost R400 million is lost every day that workers do not go to work. No country's economy can afford that. Nor can the country subject its workers to that. The National Productivity Institute was also consulted in respect of the matter, and gave it their full support.

By declaring 1 May as Workers' Day, we have done all the workers of South Africa a good turn. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Independent Black states

2. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether the Government is prepared to consider taking steps which would make it possible for the four independent Black states once again to become part of the Republic of South Africa?

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*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, it is not up to the South African Government to take steps to make possible the re-incorporation of the TBVC states in the Republic of South Africa. Those states became independent in terms of legislation of this Parliament, and that independence was preceded by lengthy discussions, negotiations and in most cases by referendums or elections which were held in those countries before it was decided that they should become independent.

It is therefore not up to this Government to take the initiative. It is up to the relevant countries. This Government has made it clear, through the hon the State President, that their return to the sovereignty of the Republic of South Africa is an option. It is an option, not because this Government has made this decision or needs to make this decision. It is an option which they have as independent states in any case, namely the

option to strive for any political objective they want to strive for, provided it is borne in mind that one cannot unilaterally by means of legislation in this country bring about their re-incorporation in the Republic of South Africa.

Similarly, it will again require a decision from this Parliament. It will require a thorough study of the various implications. It will require consideration of the type of structure those countries are going to submit to their voters, because they cannot ask their voters, even in a referendum, to become part of the Republic again if they do not tell their voters on what basis they will do so. [Interjections.]

Will it be on the basis of a confederal relationship, a federal relationship, a regional government or a provincial government? What are the implications in respect of agreements which they entered into after they became independent? What are the implications of loans they may have negotiated with foreign banks, governments or other financial institutions in this country?

This Government cannot be expected simply to take over debts incurred and contractual obligations entered into by independent countries. Hon members can therefore see that there are quite a number of complex questions arising from this issue. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I have noted the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs' cautious reply to this question. I am not arguing about the details and how one should get there.

The South African Government was for many years not neutral on this issue. For many, many years after Dr Verwoerd came to Parliament, they actively pursued the idea of Bantustans. They promoted that concept. What is more, the choice that was given to Black South Africans at that time was not a neutral choice. It was Hobson's choice. Their choice was either to go independent and have citizenship in relatively poor Black territories or else to stay in apartheid South Africa with no vote and no constitutional redress in this country.

I do not believe that a neutral approach is good enough. We believe the time has come for the Government to try to bring down the curtain on the Verwoerdian era of apartheid. [Interjections.] It has done enough damage to South Africa internally and externally, more than any other policy ever pursued in South Africa. We have

asked and expect this of the Government in view of the expectations raised *inter alia* by the hon the State President's speech, and by the Government's constant reference to an undivided South Africa, which to Black people has a very specific meaning, and in view of *inter alia* the instability which is being created because of the economic and political uncertainty of the future of those TBVC countries.

We believe that this Government must admit that the Bantustan experiment in South Africa's history was costly and disastrous. While the Government may not be able to force or to coerce, it must adopt a very specific attitude and say that it is leaving the nightmare of partition to the CP. It must say it stands for a truly reconstructed and united South Africa to which all the components that were part of South Africa can come back home.

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Including Botswana? [Interjections.]

Mr C W EGLIN: The Government should adopt a positive attitude towards this. This does not mean that it invades or that it coerces, but it means that it must stop being neutral on this matter. The Government must say that its policy is to work together with those other states for a new united South Africa.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister did not answer the hon member's question. The hon member's question was actually to what extent the prescriptions and the instructions of the ANC, which were probably issued from the Victor Verster Prison, to the effect that the independent states in South Africa must be destroyed to pave the way for the holistic Azania of the NP/ANC, have been complied with. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister can sit there grinning sheepishly. That is what is happening. [Interjections.] They have destroyed the work of Matanzima and Hendrik Verwoerd. . . . [Interjections.]

*Dr F J VAN HEERDEN: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: I do not think it is parliamentary to refer to a sheepish expression.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have one on your own face. Sit down! [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Soutpansberg may proceed.

*Mr TLANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the work of a Vervoeerd and a Kaiser Matanzima is being systematically dismantled by this Government, and nothing must remain. [Interjections.] This Government will not allow Lennox Sebe to return to the Ciskei because the Government is afraid that he will continue with his policy.

My reply is that the dismantling of the two northern independent states is not going well. Matters are not proceeding smoothly. President Mangope and the leaders of Bophuthatwana announced this morning over the news that they were not going to yield to the pressure of the Nats and their Xhosa-ANC pals; they would remain steadfast and independent.

The destruction of Venda is proceeding according to plan. The ANC and the PAC are exploiting the superstitions of those people in a very clever way. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I tried to listen to the hon member who has just spoken, but I could not find anything to which I could reply in an intellectual way. [Interjections.] I shall therefore return to the hon member who asked the question.

†I do not quite understand the hon member. On the one hand he said he appreciated the fact that we should not use coercion. Then what does neutrality mean? Could he explain that to us? One is either not neutral, in which case one coerces...

Mr C W EGLIN: [Inaudible.]

The MINISTER: That is exactly what the Government says. We are not coercing. Why should we?

I do not agree with the hon member's rendering of the history of these states. I do not agree that these states were forced into accepting independence. They had a free choice. [Interjections.] I do not agree that we coerced them at the time, because by saying so the hon member is implying that this Parliament did so. I think that is an unacceptable charge to make against Parliament. I believe that some of these states did very well as far as their administration was concerned for quite a number of years before the present wave of unrest was unleashed.

I think there are indeed organisations who would like to undo what these states opted to do. However, that is not the question which the hon

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

member put to me. I ask him to stick to his question. He asked what steps we planned to take and my answer to him is none, because we are not called upon to take any steps.

Mr A E DE WET: Mr Chairman, it is common knowledge that the people of the Transkei and the Ciskei want to be re-incorporated into the Republic. [Interjections.] The frustration and needs of the people of the Ciskei have led to an outburst and have left a trail of destruction. All the people in the South African Border Corridor and in the Ciskei and the Transkei have lived and are living through traumatic times.

The economies of the three areas are deeply interlinked and the whole area is calling out for help. They need help desperately to restore confidence in the area; the confidence which is essential for any industrial or commercial growth which, in turn, is essential for any hope of employment for the thousands and thousands of destitute unemployed people.

The question of the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic is of great importance for the area. Any doubt or uncertainty creates speculation which is not conducive to confidence. The issue needs to be addressed now. It is vital that the South African Government make a statement of its intent as soon as possible to remove any doubt. Any plans to reconstruct or plans for future development of the area will in many cases be delayed until there is clarity on the situation. Any delay will lead to more and more unemployment and poverty.

I appeal to the Government firstly to listen to the call for help from the people of East London, Border, the Transkei and the Ciskei and secondly to remove the element of speculation by making a statement of its intent with regard to the re-incorporation of the Ciskei and the Transkei into the Republic.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I find the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs fascinating. He suggests that the only way of persuading people or of expressing a point of view is coercion. [Interjections.]

If it did not coerce the Blacks to go into the independent states—the hon the Minister would assert that the Blacks were not coerced—the Government persuaded them. The NP said this was their positive policy, and this was the positive policy of the NP at that time. Dr

Vervoeerd declared that it was their intention to create these independent states. All we are saying is: "Bury that concept! Leave that independent state concept to the CP because that is where it belongs!" We ask in the interests of a new South Africa that this Government should say that it has had another look, and that it has a positive attitude towards reunification. There should not be coercion, but a positive attitude towards reunification.

I do not think that the Government should be under any illusion as to the impact which that Vervoeerdian philosophy made on society. If Mandela was in jail for 27 years it was *inter alia* because of that policy. If the ANC was banned, it was due to that policy. If the liberation movements went underground, it was due to that policy.

The DP says that the trend towards unification is going to be inevitable. What we want is for this Government to take a positive directional lead, and not to allow the lead to be taken by the people on the streets. We ask this Government to give a lead in the interests of this society.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I have made the position of the Government very clear. Reincorporation is an option open to those states. There are many complicated matters about which the previous speaker preferred not to speak. Let me just mention one aspect to him. In the Ciskei laws were introduced which give tax-holidays to companies. Is that hon member who has just spoken prepared to go and say that he will change that law overnight and make it impossible for those companies to operate? If he is not, what is he up to in this House today? Is he just making cheap propaganda as usual? I am not impressed by these arguments. [Interjections.] The Government's position is quite clear. We realise that these four states are in a difficult situation because they have not achieved international recognition. The Government recognises that they are in a difficult economic situation.

The only thing the Government has said is that we should look at it quietly and calmly. Reunification is an option, but we are not going to force anyone back into South Africa. This is clear and I think anybody can understand it. It is for them to decide what they want to do and then to start negotiations with us because of the complicated issues involved, but which are, as usual, just

glibly glossed over by the DP living in their illusory world. [Interjections.] Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Visit to President Kenneth Kaunda

*1. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs visited President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia during August 1989; if so, when;

(2) whether this visit took place with the approval of the previous State President;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? Hansard 1313190 B418E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(1) Yes. On 28 August 1989.

(2) and (3) The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I were questioned directly, on the SABC-TV programme "Network" on 15 August 1989 regarding the circumstances surrounding arrangements for this visit. We both gave full answers to the questions, including one of the same tenor as that asked by the hon member. I would like to refer the hon member to reports dealing with our answers which appeared in the printed media on 16 August 1989. The SABC could also be asked to provide the hon member with a verbatim text of our answers.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and I have nothing to add to our answers.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, as mention is made in these reports of tape recordings of the conversations that hon Ministers had with the previous State President, I would like to enquire from the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hansard

3044

TUESDAY, 13 MARCH 1990

Hansard

hon the State President and the hon the Minister who is now replying on his behalf, whether he is prepared to have those tape recordings released for publication or to agree that it be released for publication?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, because those tape recordings containing the words of the previous State President were made with the approval of himself and all the members of the Cabinet, one Minister or even the State President alone, cannot decide to make it available. [Interjections.]

†Mr F J LE ROUX: My Chairman, is the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs prepared to refer the matter to the Cabinet in order to take a decision on this matter?

†The MINISTER: Not by any means, because I have no need for it. [Interjections.]

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, I should like to state to the hon the Minister that it is the most blatant disparagement of this Parliament . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member may not make statements now; the hon member must put a question. [Interjections.]

†Mr T LANGLEY: No, Sir, it is by way of a question that I say that it is the most blatant disparagement of this Parliament and its customs and traditions to refer to television reports and other media reports . . . [Interjections.] . . . and I want to enquire whether the hon the Minister will review . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Soutpansberg should know to interrupt himself when another hon member raises a point of order. [Interjections.] Order! I am already taking a point of order.

†Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, the hon member for Soutpansberg was really challenging the Chair and did not obey your ruling. [Interjections.] I ask that . . . [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I listened very carefully to the hon member for Soutpansberg. He said to me that he put a question in the form of a positive statement. I accepted it as such. Did the hon member for Brakpan also wish to raise a point of order?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Mr F J LE ROUX: On a point of order, Sir! Can the hon the Minister be allowed to refer to an hon member on this side of the House as a blockhead (skaapkop)? [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I did not hear such a statement. Who made such a statement?

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Are you prepared to be brave?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I made such a statement as a result of your ruling, after the hon member referred to me as a sheep face. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! May the Chair now have the opportunity to give a ruling? The reference to the hon Minister was not to his person. I interpreted the words as a reference to a sheep-like smile. The hon the Minister's reference was somewhat different. I shall therefore be glad if he would withdraw it.

†The MINISTER: The form was sheep-like (skaapkopagig). Sir. [Interjections.] Sir, I withdraw the remark. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I should like to know from him whether it is his opinion or that of the South African nation that should be asked for on whether such a tape recording should be made available. [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if at any confidential meeting, also of the CP, the members as a club, organisation or national executive decide to make a tape recording of the discussions, and there are 12 or 20 such members, and they decide that a tape recording be made on condition that it is not released without each one's approval, I cannot see what is so strange about that to the hon member that in this case it is also done. I cannot understand it by any means. [Interjections.] Unless he is suggesting that all Cabinet meetings should be totally open to the public of South Africa from now on. [Interjections.]

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Mr Chairman, may I ask the hon the Minister the following? In view of the fact that on that occasion it led to the resignation of the previous State President of the

Hansard

3044

TUESDAY, 13 MARCH 1990

Hansard

Republic of South Africa, is he prepared to put that issue before the Cabinet so that the nation can know what the true facts are? [Interjections.]

†HON MEMBERS: What nation? [Interjections.]

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Further, in view of the fact that the contents of that tape recording will most probably bring to light that the previous State President was in the right, and not this Cabinet, are they prepared to do it? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman . . .

†Mr F J LE ROUX: What do your notes now say?

†The MINISTER: I am not searching for my notes. I am trying to be courteous to the hon member, if he is interested in the information. If it is not the case, I cannot help him. [Interjections.]

On behalf of the State President I referred with great courtesy to a programme in *Network* wherein this question specifically, as well as supplementary questions . . .

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: *Network* is not Parliament.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

†The MINISTER: The hon member has got hold of a point but his point is running away with him. [Interjections.]

It specifically, on behalf of the State President, referred to the programme *Network* because it is a relatively long programme. Here I have it. It is typed in single spacing! There is no reason why I should not read it aloud, even if I must take up the rest of the time allotted for questions. [Interjections.]

It was a courteous gesture and can be obtained from anybody. It also appears completely in Messrs Alf Rles and Ebbe Domisse's book. There is thus nothing secretive about the handling of that matter here! It boils down to the fact that the hon the State President that night said in reply to a direct question:

On the contrary, he was treated with utmost cautiousness and respect . . .

That is the previous State President.

and I cannot agree that there was a deviation from the rules.

It was broadcast to the whole country! It was not a secret conversation! [Interjections.]

Thereafter, in the same programme, Mr Pik Botha was asked what South Africa's future relationship with Pres Kaunda and other African leaders will be.

Supplementary questions have thus been added, by reason of the whole Kaunda visit which extends much further and provides much more information than the question that the hon member tried to put today. [Interjections.] I replied that if a person must do the test that if the ANC is in a specific country, a person may not visit that country, then nobody, also not the CP, may visit Britain because one of the ANC's head offices is in London. [Interjections.] That norm is therefore not a valid reason why a person cannot visit an African country.

Mr Botha said that when he phoned the State President at Westbrooke and informed him about the visit to Pres Kaunda, Pres Botha's reaction was: "Very well, arrange your African visits as you see fit." Mr Botha continued: "There is no way in which it can be denied. Officials of my department were present. My private secretary, who normally puts this kind of call through to me, was in my presence, plus another official. They clearly heard what I said, but I am not here to bring a matter of this nature to a head."

In reply to a question on the State President's allegation that he was not consulted in arranging certain foreign tours, Mr Pik Botha said:

I am afraid that is not correct. I am very sorry to say that I think, with great respect to the State President, that his memory has forsaken him at times. I do not want to enter into a struggle with him about that tonight because we all took our leave of him today with great sadness.

Those were our replies and I tried to be courteous. If they would just have taken the trouble to get hold of the written text, then they would have found the replies. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I do not allow any further supplementary questions. We have already taken the maximum number of supplementary questions.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr J H VANDER MERWE: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: when the hon member for Sourpansberg had put his question, there were so many points of order and problems that no reply was given to the question. I should just like to remind you of what the question was. He asked . . . [Interjections.]

3044

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! As far as the Chair is concerned, we have allowed the maximum number of supplementary questions and the questions have been replied to. It has thus been concluded. We proceed to question 2. *Handwritten: 13/3/90*

*2. Mr J H HOON—State President. [Question standing over.]

CCB

*3. Mr C W EGLIN asked the State President: Whether the Minister of Defence at any stage informed him of the (a) existence and (b) activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau; if so, when in each case? *Handwritten: 13/3/90*

B431E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(a) Yes, on 2 January 1990.

(b) On the date in question the Minister of Defence briefed me on the existence of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and certain allegations regarding its activities. I was further informed that these allegations were being urgently investigated. I was provided with further information on this matter on several occasions thereafter, until the appointment of the Arms Commission. The very purpose of the Commission is, among other things, to establish the facts regarding the alleged activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and submit them to me.

Recreational resorts: transfer

*4. Mr C W EGLIN asked the State President:

- (1) Whether he authorised the transfer of any recreational resorts in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal from general to own affairs; if so, (a) in terms of what constitutional provision and (b) for what purposes;

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(2) whether this transfer will allow the authorities administering these resorts to apply racial segregation after the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act? *Handwritten: 13/3/90*

B432E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (for the State President):

(1) Yes, in respect of resorts in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State. In respect of resorts in the Transvaal my predecessor declared certain resorts to be own affairs of the White population group

(a) Sections 16 and 98 of the Republic of the South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983).

(b) To give effect to the intention of the Constitution as contained in Section 14 read in conjunction with item 3 of Schedule 1 thereof.

(2) As far as the resorts in question are concerned, the legal and practical implications of the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953, envisaged during this session, have to be determined by a process of interpretation of law. This is receiving the urgent attention of the relevant authorities.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply to the first question concerning the transfer of resorts in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State from general affairs to own affairs, can the hon the Minister tell us what happened? How did these resorts change character to the extent that for seven years under the previous State President they were deemed to be general affairs and suddenly, within three months, the new hon State President has proclaimed them to be own affairs? What difference of substance occurred in relation to these resorts that it led to this change decided by the hon the State President?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I would suggest the hon member formulate his question for reply by the hon the State President, and I am sure he will be glad to reply.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 27 February 1990.

White State Schools: compensation for teachers

*4. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether any compensation was paid to teachers at White State Schools who were retrenched or made redundant in or at the end of (a) 1988 and (b) 1989; if so, how much in each case? *Handwritten: 13/3/90*

B228E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

Yes, according to information obtained from the employer bodies concerned, the following number of teachers at White State Schools were made redundant:

(a) During 1988, 56 teachers at White State Schools were made redundant. The total costs of pension benefit amounted to:
— R1 166 398 regarding gratuities and
— R72 985 regarding monthly pensions.

(b) During 1989, 97 teachers at White State Schools were made redundant. The total costs of pension benefits amounted to:
— R7 972 862 regarding gratuities and
— R172 708 regarding monthly pensions.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask her in respect of 1989, in view of the fact that the hon the Minister of Education and Culture indicated that over 200 teachers had been made redundant or retrenched, how it is that her department is working on figures of less than a 100?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, these were the figures supplied to my department. I can only give the hon member the available information based on the figures we receive. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I regret the time for questions has expired.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Chairman, on a point of order. Surely it is quite wrong to cut off a question in mid-flow. You should allow the question to finish and then announce that the time has expired.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister responded to the question. The time for questions under general affairs has expired and I cannot allow further questions to

be put. That would only result in curtailing the time for questions under own affairs.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

New questions:

Zonkisiwe/Rietfontein: sites

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

(1) (a) How many sites are there at Zonkisiwe, Rietfontein, and (b) how many of these sites are currently occupied;

(2) whether any regulations regarding the administration of Zonkisiwe or the establishment of a Black local authority for the area have been published; if so, what regulations; if not, why not;

(3) what services have been established in Zonkisiwe?

Handwritten: 13/3/90

B347E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) 6 269

(b) 3 159

(2) No. The regulations for the area which has been established in terms of sections 6A of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Act 52 of 1951) are still in the process of being finalised and will shortly be published.

(3) (i) Graded streets

(ii) Refuse removal

(iii) Chemical toilets as well as aqua privies

(iv) Communal water taps at strategic positions

(v) Clinic services by the City Council of Germiston

(vi) Curative services by TPA

(vii) A public telephone service

(viii) Sport facilities

(ix) Sites for 9 primary and 4 secondary schools are available to the Department of Education and Training for their use.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

3014 H

Vlok expresses surprise at objections

CP opposes firearms Bill

The Conservative Party's attitude to a measure controlling the carrying of firearms in public was surprising in view of the incidence of violence in South Africa and the need to curtail it, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to second-reading debate on the Dangerous Weapons Amendment Bill, he said South Africa was a violent society and everything had to be done to limit the number of firearms and to control the use of those already in circulation.

"We don't need firearms at public meetings. Even in the calm atmosphere of Parliament, people become heated and have to be called to order by the Speaker. What will

happen if armed people become excited at meetings outside, where there is not as much control?"

The CP was trying to create the impression that the restrictions on the carrying of firearms were aimed only at parts of the white community, but this was definitely not the case, Mr Vlok said.

"The law applies to everyone and will be enforced against everyone who transgress it."

Mr Vlok accepted the point made by Mr P J Groenewald (CP Stillefontein) that people often had to travel through dangerous areas on their way to meetings and needed to carry firearms with them as protection.

"We will consider making an arrange-

ment that people who bring weapons to meetings may hand them in to the police officers on duty, who will taken care of them until after the meeting."

Smokescreen

Mr F P Smit (NP Algoa) said CP members were reluctant to explain why they were against the measure and were merely putting up a smokescreen to hide their real reasons for opposing the Bill.

"Is the member for Stillefontein a member of the AWB?" Mr Smit asked — to which a CP member replied by asking: "Are you a member of the Broederbond?"

The Bill was passed after a division called by the CP. — Sapa.

Guns not really dangerous — MP

A firearm should not be classified as a dangerous weapon as there were other laws — the Arms and Ammunition Act — which strictly governed the requirements for owning firearms, Mr Rosier de Ville (CP, Standon), said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Dangerous Weapons Amendment Bill he said the CP would oppose it.

It was apparently aimed at certain white organisations, but there was no evidence that these organisations had used firearms in an improper way.

Mr K H Lategan (LP, Hanover Park) said the Labour Party would support the Bill.

As far as he knew, the Dangerous Weapons Act had never been applied — and it should be — and should also be extended to include townships and gangs.

Mr Lester Fuchs (DP, Hillbrow) said it had become necessary, after incidents at sporting, cultural and political events, to include firearms in the definition of dangerous weapons in case there had been any doubt before.

The DP welcomed the Bill because it believed weapons and replicas of weapons had no place in the debate of the political future of SA.

Equally, the spectacle of people carrying wooden guns at Soccer City during the welcome rally for Mr Walter Sisulu and other released political prisoners last year, was not acceptable, Mr Fuchs said.

Mr Sakie Pretorius (NP, Tygervallei) said the CP's opposition to the Bill was "just an attempt to embrace the AWB and other right-wing organisations".

Funeral marchers attracted interest

Minister is sued for shooting of boy (14)

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

A summons will be served on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Soweto City Council this week after police allegedly shot and seriously injured a 14-year-old youth, a lawyer revealed at the weekend.

The lawyer said the mother of the minor, Mrs Paulina Monamodi of Soweto, claimed in an affidavit that on September 16 1989 police allegedly assaulted and shot mourners during a funeral procession. Her son, David Monamodi, was injured while walking alongside the mourners "out of interest".

A claim of R50 000 was being sought for David, the lawyer said.

"On September 16 1989 at about 2 pm in Jabulani, Soweto, members of the South African Police (alternatively municipal police of the Soweto City Council) arrived at a scene where mourners were marching.

"Both black and white policemen allegedly confiscated a flag that was being flown by the mourners and assaulted people in the crowd. Some of the white policemen allegedly shot at the crowd with what seemed like police service pistols," the affidavit claims.

According to the affidavit, one of the bullets allegedly fired by police hit David in his back.

He was treated at Baragwanath Hospital and later underwent further and more extensive treatment at the hospital from September 21 to October 5 1989.

"David complained of an inability to walk and talk and he complained of severe pain in the right leg. The doctor informed us that permanent damage may have been caused," the lawyer said.

Spinal cord injury

According to the medical report there was stiff paralysis of the left leg, flaccid paralysis of the right leg and no sensation to pain or touch on the left leg. The chest x-ray revealed an opaque small foreign body on the right side compatible with a bullet.

"A clinical diagnosis of a gunshot injury to the spinal cord was made. On discharge David was limping severely," according to the medical report.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said: "We cannot comment because a summons will be served."

A spokesman for the Soweto City Council, Mr Jabu Mnguni, refused to comment.

NP says its
days are
numbered

- Worrall

Political
Correspondent

The National Party has admitted that its days are numbered. Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

He was referring to a speech made by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen over the weekend to a National Party youth seminar at Wellington.

Dr Viljoen said, "If the National Party is serious, it cannot expect to continue to govern in the new South Africa."

Dr Viljoen was saying in effect that the NP's days were numbered. Dr Worrall said at a report-back meeting in the Houghton constituency.

MIDWIFE

The NP was the midwife of the future South Africa. After that it would have little prospect of exercising real political influence because it lacked the capacity — which the DP had — to form political alliances.

Dr Worrall said the NP was trying to secure a "special constitutional niche" for white South Africans.

The DP opposed this because it condemned whites to being a political minority forever.

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer told a report-back meeting in his Houghton constituency that two very important matters remained in dispute.

HESITANT

One was that the NP was hesitant to accept a common voters roll offering one vote, one value.

The other difference was that certain ANC leaders clung "nostalgically" to the idea of nationalisation.

Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon told the meeting in his constituency that liberation forces should discard the idea that there was a third way between communism and freedom.

New powers allow Vlok to ban guns

Parliamentary Staff

CAPE TOWN — Guns and dangerous weapons could be banned from political meetings to ensure heated emotions did not erupt into shooting, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said last night.

The Government's intention was to try to calm down political activity to allow the country's future to be assessed peacefully.

Mr Vlok was empowered through the Dangerous Weapons Amendment Act passed by Parliament yesterday to prevent people from taking guns (or replicas) and dangerous weapons to sports, cultural and political meetings, or into an area at a specified time.

The penalty is a maximum fine of R4 000 and up to a year in jail.

To put the ban in force, Mr Vlok needs to publish a notice in the Gov-

ernment Gazette.

This would enable him to act against armed people at political meetings ranging from AWB to anti-apartheid events.

The Minister has similar powers to ban weapons at political meetings under the emergency regulations, and has used them against the AWB.

This amendment means he would continue to have these powers if and when the emergency regulations were lifted.

Mr Vlok envisaged using the Act when prominent people addressed meetings and police had information that there could be problems.

"We would like to have peaceful political meetings in this country, where people will stand up and speak and get hot under the collar without the danger of a firearm."

The prohibition could be used at

meetings where speakers incited the audience and made things unsafe for other people, or where people walked around with guns in their hands.

Mr Vlok said he would consider very carefully before imposing a blanket ban on weapons at political meetings.

The Government is mindful that convicted killer Barend Strydom took a firearm to a meeting in Pretoria and would have killed President de Klerk had he announced the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"It is a crime prevention measure," Mr Vlok said. "We want to calm down the situation to make sure we have peaceful political activity."

The law would also enable Mr Vlok to act more effectively against people taking knobkerries and bottles to soccer matches, against criminal gangs, and against the political violence in Natal.

In terms of the Arms and Ammunition Amendment Bill, also passed yesterday, courts have been given discretion to rule if people convicted of some crimes should be declared unfit to carry a firearm.

See Page 6.

Star 13/3/90

Conditions set for talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba ~~3044~~ ~~12~~ cal prisoners in South African jails.

If President de Klerk wanted to get negotiations started as soon as possible he would have to lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, speakers at a National Detainees' Day prayer meeting in Johannesburg said yesterday.

Addressing the lunchtime meeting of about 70 people at the Central Methodist Church, Dr Max Coleman of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said as long as detention without trial was on the statute books, anti-apartheid activists would have to campaign much more vigorously against repressive and racist legislation.

"In terms of the state of emergency and the Internal Security Act, political trials continue unabated, there is still a blanket ban on all outdoor political activities without permission, police brutalities in dealing with protest marches abound and harassment of the press still continues despite the lifting of the media regulations.

"The total strategy of the security forces is far from being abandoned," he said.

Dr Coleman said while the State had identified fewer than 100 political prisoners who qualified for release following President de Klerk's historic February 2 speech in Parliament, there were about 300 politi-

cal prisoners in South African jails. Dr Coleman said it was alleged that the violence now sweeping across the country — especially in the homelands — was a result of "unrealistic expectations" since Mr Mandela's release early this year.

The people's expectations, he said, were "not at all unreasonable and should have been fulfilled a long time ago".

Mr Brian Hlongwa, chairman at the meeting, said detention without trial had to be fought and that March 12 would have to continue to be observed as National Detainees' Day even if a new, democratic Government took over.

Many people had died in detention and "out there are police whose hands are dripping with the blood of our people".

The general secretary of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa), Mr Vusi Khumalo, said the Government had now decided to privatise the post office as soon as possible, and not in 1991 as initially scheduled, because ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela had spoken about nationalisation.

Potwa was therefore planning to ask the ANC to tell the Government privatisation should be suspended to further create a climate conducive to talks.

Mayor protests

New city

housing

for 14/3/90

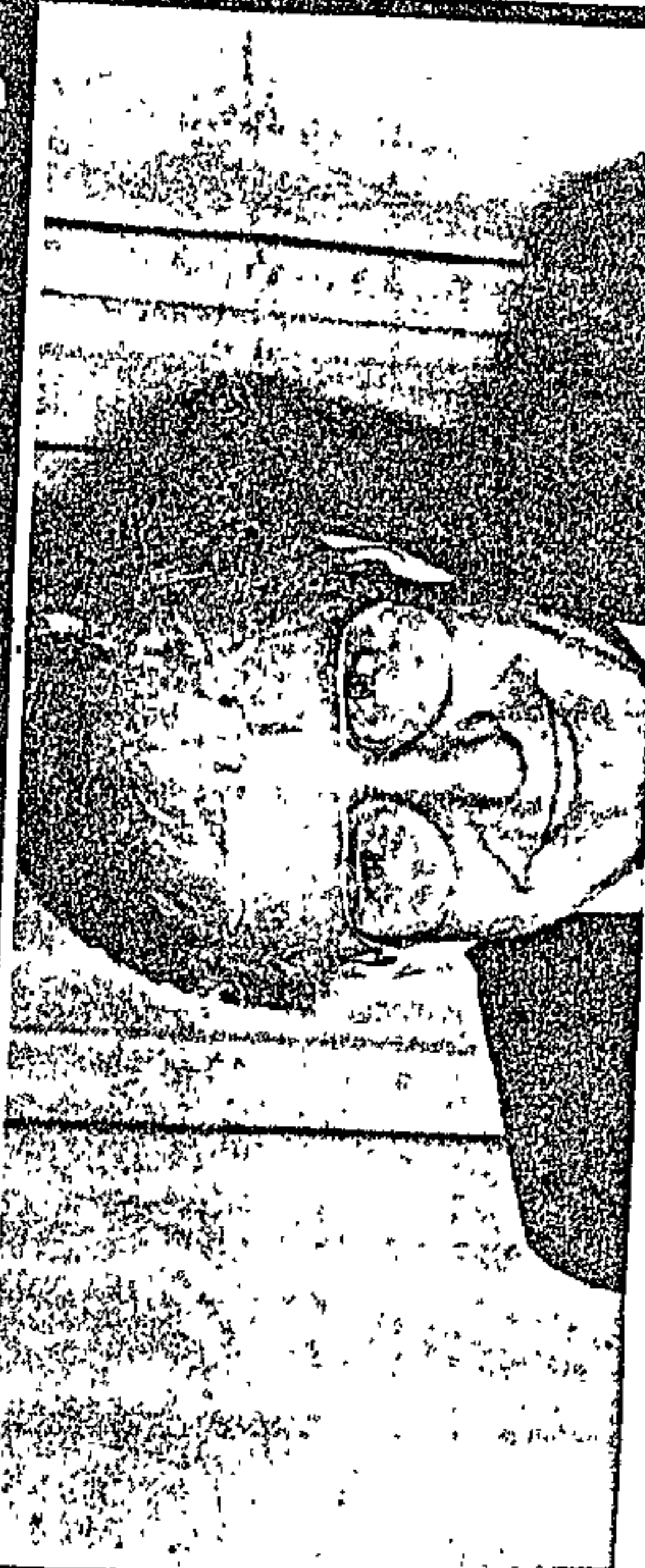
86 000

blacks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government is considering declaring five more sites for permanent black housing in the greater Cape Town area to house 86 300 people.

Barend deals his hand today



By JULIET MILNE

THE MAYOR of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, is to be taken to task by the Green and Sea Point ratepayers' executive.

He will be censured for his participation in last year's peace march and for his refusal to extend civic hospitality to the rebel English cricketers.

According to reliable sources, a closed "in committee" meeting on Monday night, attended by 13 members of the ratepayers' executive and six councillors of the Green and Sea Point areas, became heated following a motion by Mr Peter Humphries that the mayor be censured over these incidents.

Mr Humphries apparently had received many complaints from ratepayers who asked that the matter "be seriously addressed". The question of the singing of the hymn "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" at the mayor's Sunday Service in February was not raised.

Strong objections were raised to a written censure, particularly by councillor Dr John Sonnenberg. He said a written censure would break up the association and he would have to "reconsider his position" should the executive go ahead with this decision.

It was then resolved that an appointment would be made for a delegation to see Mr Oliver on his return from Europe early next month.

Dr Sonnenberg's objections were apparently backed by another councillor, Mr Chris Joubert, who told the Cape Times yesterday that while he supported the mayor and believed his motives were for peace and prosperity in the city, he should avoid becoming too involved in politics "for the good of the city".

The executive's chairman, Mr Maurice Silber, declined to comment. The motion was passed with an eight-to-three majority.

To page 2

From page 1

Mayor

Voters against the censure motion were: Mr Errol Anstey, Ms Wendy McIlrae and Ms Michelle Guttler.

Those who voted for were: Mr John Buchner, Mr Bob McClelland, Mr D Hauptfleisch, Mr S Munro, Miss Anette Reinecke, Mrs Esther Bloch, Mrs Grace Pick and Mr Peter Humphries.

Mr Silber, who has a casting vote, abstained, as did Dr D Barron.

City councillors present also included Mr Neil Ross, Mr Joe Rabinowitz, Mr Clive Bilski and Mr Hugh (Jack) Frost.

The question of who will form part of the delegation to see Mr Oliver is expected to be decided at the next meeting of the executive, in mid-April.

Speaking from his Paris hotel yesterday, Mr Oliver said he would be happy to meet a delegation when he returned.

Defending his actions, Mr Oliver said he had not said he would definitely not offer his hospitality to the English cricketers, but he had said that it was unlikely due to the "divisive nature of the tour".

"And the fact that the tour was cancelled confirms my stand and vindicates my position."

On the march, he said: "I'm not a politician and I don't want to be, but I acknowledge the political expressions and experiences of the vast majority of Capetonians who are disenfranchised. I would like, therefore to reflect their views too. After all I still represent these people, even if they don't have a vote."

CAP 71165 14/3/70 (3049)

Busy time ahead for Idasa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) expected to be "busier than ever" in future in promoting democratic values and practices, its executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

Idasa was currently undergoing a major reassessment of its role in the light of the political initiatives launched by President F W de Klerk.

The process included receiving suggestions from staff members countrywide, debates within the Idasa board and the need to consult with political leadership "across the spectrum".

However, early indications were that the thrust of Idasa's future work

would be broadened from promoting democratic practices among whites to all South Africans.

Idasa will be focussing on a number of critical themes:

- How to deal with the highly sensitive issue of land reform.

- How to meet the genuine economic grievances of the vast majority of the population while at the same time increasing economic growth.

- How to address white concerns following the widespread looting and arson that has swept many areas recently.

Idasa plans to hold a public meeting in East London on Friday to discuss implications of the recent upheavals in the region following the military coup in Ciskei.

X 7:1

Motion to censure mayor overturned

By DON HOLLIDAY, Municipal Reporter

A GREEN and Sea Point ratepayers' motion calling for the censure of Cape Town's Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, for his "politicised" stance has been overturned after heated debate.

The motion was tabled at an executive meeting of the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers' Association.

Executive member Mr Peter Humphries called for the written censure of Mr Oliver for his involvement in last year's peace march and his refusal to extend civic hospitalities to the rebel English cricketers, city councillor Dr John Sonnenberg said today.

"EXTREMELY DIVISIVE ISSUE"

It was passed on a vote but Dr Sonnenberg, who attended the meeting as a non-voting member, said he appealed to the executive not to proceed with it as it was "an extremely divisive issue".

After discussion it was decided that a delegation from the executive would rather meet Mr Oliver to air opinions on his return from Europe this month.

Mr Humphries told the closed meeting he had received many complaints from ratepayers about the mayor's actions and had asked for the matter to be addressed.

Dr Sonnenberg said he believed the issue could have "fractured" the ratepayers' association.

He said that many, if not the majority of ratepayers, agreed with Mr Oliver's stand.

On the question of extending civic hospitalities to the cricketers, Dr Sonnenberg said Mr Oliver had the prerogative to invite or not invite whoever he wished.

Dr Sonnenberg said the discussion which followed his appeal resulted in an "amicable" resolution.

Firearms Bill ridiculous - AWB

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has rejected proposed legislation, prohibiting the carrying of weapons at public meetings, as ridiculous.

Commenting on the Dangerous Weapons Amendment Bill debated in Parliament on Monday, AWB spokesman Mr Kays Smit said people carried guns because they felt unsafe. It was the Government's task to restore law, order and security.

"AWB members are unfairly portrayed as gun-slingers. We simply carry guns because we feel insecure. We say to the Government: secure the country and we will put away our weapons."

UNSAFE AREAS

He dismissed as unpractical Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's announcement that firearms could be left in the care of policemen during political meetings as the Government understood some people's need to carry weapons to ensure their own safety

while travelling through dangerous areas.

Said Mr Smit: "We expect 10 000 people at an AWB rally in Klerksdorp (to be held night). Are they going to install Pick 'n Pay parcel-counters? How many policemen will be needed to take in weapons? And how fast will they be able to hand weapons back after the meeting before fighting erupts?"

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota supported the Bill.

Referring to an incident last week when armed AWB members confronted peaceful black demonstrators, Mr Lekota said the goodwill which was needed for political reform was easily destroyed during such open confrontation.

He added that it was unnecessary to prohibit the display of wooden guns — such as sometimes seen at ANC rallies — since those were "only dummies".

● The Bill was supported in Parliament by the National Party, Labour Party and Democratic Party but opposed by the Conservative Party.

March 14 1990

Star 14/3/90 (304A) (100)

Ball in TBVC regions' court, says Pik

Reunification 'up to states'

It was up to Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei (the TBVC states) to take the initiative and start negotiations with the Government on reincorporating into South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate introduced by Mr Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point), he said the Government had made it clear that reincorporation was an option open to them.

It realised that they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then

start negotiating with the South African Government.

Mr Eglin said the Government should, in the interests of a new South Africa, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the Democratic Party was asking the Government to play a leading role.

Mr Botha said reincorporation could not take place unilaterally — the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the South African Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those states may

have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Mr Eglin said he was not arguing about the details — but it had to be borne in mind that for years the SA Government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's choice.

"We believe the time has come for the Government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

The "disaster of partition" should be left to the Conservative Party, and the Government should state its policy and work for a new South Africa.

Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said Mr Botha had not answered Mr Eglin's question as

to whether the Government was prepared to take steps to make it possible for the TBVC states to rejoin South Africa.

Mr Botha said he did not agree that the states had been forced to accept independence.

Mr Andre de Wet (DP, Nominated) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be reincorporated.

This was essential for there to be any hope of employment being created for the unemployed. "It is vital that the South African Government states its interests as soon as possible," Mr de Wet said. — Sapa.

Steering through a new Europe

Prepare now for post-apartheid Europe. That is the message for South African businessmen from European Community experts. For when apartheid finally dies its lingering death, the world abroad will have changed as much as South Africa.

At least four new factors have to be included in the trader's 1993 crystal ball:

- Europe's internal borders will have softened or gone.
- Formal sanctions against South Africa will no longer exist.
- There will be a united Germany.
- The economic curtain between the EC and Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia will be in shreds.

Bolder ball-gazers could predict a future with the Soviet Union trading freely, but with only these four predictions, a new wisdom has to creep into marketing strategies.

Only six months ago not even the wisest of world players would have dared to suggest such significant structural changes could occur so quickly. Each has brought problems and opportunities.

The first condition, a single Euro-

PETER SULLIVAN discusses the need for a changed outlook from local businessmen to cope with political changes at home and abroad.

pean market which does away with trade borders between the 12 EC countries, is now a certainty. There is some debate among the nations here on whether it can all be achieved by December 31 1992, but for most businessmen the debate is academic.

It will be achieved either by then or pretty soon afterwards. Vast amounts of bureaucracy and endless EC directives are churning out new standards for a single European market.

The most basic switch in policy has been a learning curve for participating nations.

They used to insist on consensus with veto rights for every nation, satisfying the natural reluctance to give away any sovereign rights. Now they have come to know each other at endless committee meetings, deciding precise standards for everything from brass tacks to railway steel, the bureaucrats and politicians are opting more and more

for majority votes in committees. They realise at last that what is lost on the roundabouts can be gained on the swings.

Obviously there are still many problems: Germans are unsure of Italian border controls on criminals or Portuguese veterinarian expertise, and Italians and Spaniards are worried because Germany refuses to set controls on Japanese car imports.

But the painstaking business of establishing trust in negotiations on the size of budgets has run its course.

The second issue, sanctions against South Africa, is dying as fast as apartheid. Whether they end this year or next, or the year after that, is unimportant for those seeking to buy and sell in the new 1993 single European market.

Unfortunately, when formal sanctions go, there may still be an inherent antipathy towards South African goods.

No simple PR campaign will wipe the apartheid slate clean in Europe's political consciousness. Eating oranges from South Africa may remain a no-no long after apartheid has been buried.

White South Africans will be regarded with suspicion probably for a decade to come, even if an ANC government were to rule, according to some commentators. Others say the new Europe is sophisticated enough to change its attitude overnight.

Like the inevitability of the single market, a unified Germany will be in place by 1993. There is no debate on whether it should happen, only on when and how.

Everything is on hold in West Germany until Sunday's elections in East Germany, but the outcome of those elections is widely predicted and it will only serve as the starting gun for politicians to work out rules for reunification.

Perhaps the least predictable event was the rapid fall of the communist dominoes, but smart operators already fill the foyers of hotels in Prague, Budapest and Warsaw looking for ways to get at the new markets, knowing that even if people cannot pay now, they will be able to afford some luxuries once capitalism takes root.

How do we take advantage of these insights? South Africans wondering how to find the expertise to advise them on new EC directives or put them in touch with importers, exporters, marketers or distributors need wonder no longer. The EC has established 127 information centres across Europe, each linked to huge data bases kept in Brussels, whose function it is to answer questions, and connect businesses with each other.

At this stage most of these centres offer free advice, but some already charge for services because the first simple questions have now been answered and the new questions often take days of expert analysis. As Europe changes so rapidly that politicians are kept off-guard, the one pole of stability appears to be the new single market, with everyone rushing to join or trade.

The whole idea of Europe will have to be discussed again after 1992, but until then those who do not join the rush could be left so far behind that they will not catch up until the next century.

day March 14 1990

SGW

Letters

Letters to the editor must be sent to P O Box 61682, Marshalltown 2107 (fax: 836-8398). Preference will be given to letters which include the writer's name for publication.

MPS' huge salary increases incomprehensible

14/3/90

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Notwithstanding that we should be used to our inflation-battered economy and conditioned to shocks on an on-going basis, one can only greet with outrage the announcement that Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, etc., are not only being given an increase in salary but increases beyond reasonable comprehension.

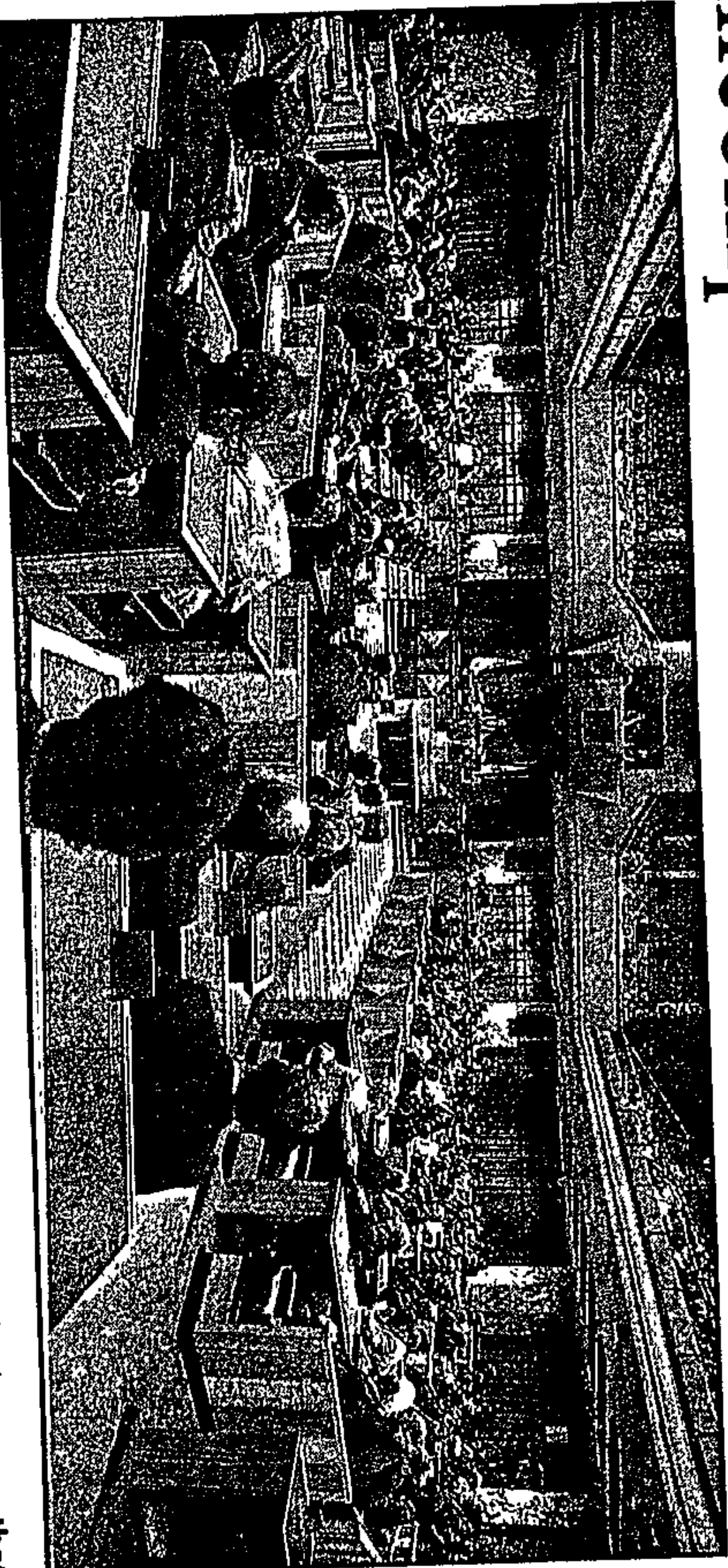
It is sad that President de Klerk has allowed his reputation to be tainted by endeavouring to justify the unjustifiable.

By so doing, Mr de Klerk has created the first chink in his armour of credibility, his banner till now having espoused the containment of inflation.

How can one compare the existing salary of a Member of Parliament of R6 250 a month, plus numerous perks, with that of an ordinary civil pensioner, the most highly paid of whom is entitled to the disgraceful amount of R251 a month?

We won't even mention the other races who are obliged to survive on much less!!!

It is totally frustrating for one to hear the argument that the increases can be justified



Inasmuch as "nurses, policemen and other occupations would also be getting increases over and above the general 10 percent".

How can one possibly compare the MP's salary which is R75 000 a year — now about to be pushed up to R94 000 a year — or the Cabinet Minister earning R158 000 a year (and in some cases the word "earning"

is used very loosely), now to be pushed up to over R181 000 a year, with the salaries of nurses, teachers and policemen whose take-home pay can range from under R8 000 a year to less than R36 000 a year?

It is saddening that these increases are taking place with the approval, and no doubt concurrence, of the opposition parties and one wonders if by so

doing they do not add credence to the thought that all politicians are "in it for themselves". This is an issue on which all consumer organisations should unite.

It is a sign of the measure of the sincerity of the politicians themselves that they do not feel ashamed of what is happening.


Harry Friedgut
Johannesburg

The increases that Members of Parliament have voted themselves is "beyond reasonable comprehension", says Mr Harry Friedgut, who asks whether it does not lend credence to the thought that all politicians are "in it for themselves".

Editor, ^{Sowetan} 14/3/90. FW talks

THE Editor of the Sowetan, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, and his Deputy, Mr Joe Thloloe, will have a special interview with State President F W De Klerk on Thursday night at Tuynhuis, Cape Town.

Klaaste was invited by the President to see him in Cape Town while Thloloe had asked for permission for an interview.

304A 
Last year Klaaste led a delegation of senior journalists to see Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London.

Diplomatic links singled out (304A) (304A)

Mandela calls on world to cut all SA ties

B/D am 14/3/90

STOCKHOLM — Nelson Mandela yesterday asked world governments to drastically intensify sanctions, and called for the total diplomatic, cultural and sporting isolation of SA.

In his first major media conference in Europe, he told more than 300 international journalists that sanctions were essential to pressurise Pretoria into accepting a peaceful negotiated settlement.

Seated alongside Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, he used the occasion, which was being broadcast around the world, to appeal for intensified sanctions to bring about the end of white apartheid rule.

He said even pressures such as cultural and sporting boycotts had to be used to full effect. Sportsmen who longed to compete against South Africans would do so all the sooner if they cut all ties now.

The ANC was stronger now than at any time in its history, and he would act in unison with all the oppressed movements and people of SA.

Mandela began the day by attending a meeting of the Swedish cabinet. It is understood he urged Sweden and the Nordic bloc to use their influence on other governments



● MANDELA

IAN HOBBS

to enforce sanctions, with an emphasis on immediately cutting diplomatic ties and the flow of oil to SA.

Carlsson told the media conference Sweden's support for "forces working against apartheid" would continue, but he did not say whether his government would act as drastically as Mandela had requested.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Cape Town that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in reaction to Mandela's call for the total isolation of SA that this kind of statement would not harm the SA government.

"I don't know what Mr Mandela is trying to achieve by his call to the international community to sever all diplomatic ties with SA. What I do know is that this kind of call will not harm the SA government," Botha said.

Mandela repeated his assertion that President F W de Klerk was a man of integrity, but the main "pillars of apartheid" were still in place and sanctions should be enforced to break them down.

He said the ANC had not decided whether or not he should accept an invitation to meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London next month.

He dismissed suggestions that increased sanctions raised the danger of a right-wing backlash against De Klerk.

The last election showed 75% of whites favoured change, and if SA was viewed in perspective the right wing was "very weak", Mandela said. De Klerk would have the support of the overwhelming majority

□ To Page 2

Mandela call

From Page 1

of the population, including blacks, if he went ahead with fundamental change.

If this happened there would be "nothing the right wing could do to undermine him".

Asked whether he intended nationalising the mines, Mandela said he saw no reason for "a hue and cry" over the issue of nationalisation. But political rights would be meaningless without economic power for the people.

Economic imbalances had to be redressed and a formula found to "share the wealth ... among all the people".

Nationalisation was only one avenue of consideration, and it had precedents.

"Many sectors of the economy are already nationalised," he said.

Asked about the possible redistribution of land, 86% of which is owned by whites, he replied this would be an important matter for negotiation.

He was asked repeatedly about his health and age, but each time replied that

he believed he was fitter and healthier than his questioners.

Also in Stockholm, ANC executive member Aziz Pahad said yesterday the first formal meeting between government and the "united front" of the ANC and opposition parties -- to define the obstacles to constitutional negotiations -- could take place very soon.

Pahad said the meeting would be "technical rather than political", and there was no reason for delay. Because so many senior opposition leaders were still in exile, the meeting could be held outside SA.

He denied a newspaper report in Johannesburg last week which claimed he and ANC Foreign Secretary Thabo Mbeki had already held secret talks in London with SA government representatives.

Other ANC executive members in Stockholm suggested yesterday that the movement's president Oliver Tambo could return to SA in the near future to take part in the negotiating process.

Reunification with SA is an open option Botha

5/10/90 14/3/90

304A

CAPE TOWN — The initiative for any re-incorporation of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei (the TBVC states) into SA lay with those territories and it was for them to start negotiating on the issue with the SA government, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate introduced by Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point), he said the government had made it clear that re-incorporation was an option open to them. It realised that they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then start negotiating with the SA government.

Eglin said the government should, in the interests of a new SA, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

Legislation

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the DP was asking government to give a lead in the interests of SA.

Botha said re-incorporation could not take place unilaterally — the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the SA Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those states might have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Eglin said he was not arguing about the details, but it had to be borne in mind that for years the SA government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's

choice.

"We believe the time has come for the government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said Botha had not answered Eglin's question as to whether the government was prepared to take steps to enable TBVC states to be re-incorporated into SA.

Botha said he did not agree that the states had been forced to accept independence.

Andre de Wet (DP nominated) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be re-incorporated.

"The whole area is calling out for help."

□ Sapa reports from Gaborone that Botswana's External Affairs Minister Gaoitse Chiepe said yesterday that any talk of a "bantustan" amalgamating with Botswana was totally misplaced and unacceptable.

It said that Chiepe, speaking in Parliament, stated Botswana had always been opposed to the fragmentation of SA, which was manifested by the bantustans strewn all over the territory.

"Therefore," she said, "any talk of any bantustan amalgamating with Botswana is totally misplaced and unacceptable."

Chiepe said Botswana subscribed fully to the OAU's declaration on the absolute need to recognise and observe colonial boundaries.

Recent media reports have quoted Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope as having said his homeland would not be interested in re-incorporation with SA. Instead he would consider amalgamating with Botswana, as both housed one nation, divided by an imaginary border. — Sapa.

304A

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, March 14 1990

FW ACCUSED OF SLIPPING BACK

BILLY PADDOCK

THE UDF yesterday accused President F W de Klerk of reverting to "the old repressive measures and exacerbating riotous behaviour" by detaining more than 179 of its supporters since Thursday.

But a Law and Order spokesman denied the police were detaining political activists and said they were clamping down on people involved in intimidation and violence.

Responding to the police clampdown on unrest, which has reached the heights of the mid-'80s in the first two weeks of March, UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota called on De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to reconsider their actions.

Lekota said the immediate cause was "the provocative presence of the corrupt local administrations linked to the heightened expectations of the people,

since the release of Nelson Mandela.

"De Klerk and Vlok must realise our people expected the negotiation process to start immediately. They must move quicker and at least meet the ANC so the focus can be shifted and our people will see things starting to move," Lekota said.

However, Law and Order spokesman Capt Peet Bothma said the clampdown was the only way to stabilise the situation.

He said De Klerk had warned in his February 2 speech that the security situation was volatile and if bloodshed and unrest grew the security forces would act against it.

He said police were acting against "those who are attacking innocent people and destroying their property".

Murder is committed every 45 minutes

CAPE TOWN — A person was murdered every 45 minutes in SA last year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in Parliament yesterday.

He also said a serious assault took place every four minutes, a rape every 26 minutes, a car theft every nine minutes, a robbery every 10 minutes and a burglary every three minutes.

And he revealed that the rate of resignations from the police force in the past two months had risen to 22 each day.

Speaking during a debate on a private member's motion on the police force yesterday, Vlok said 11 750 murders took place in SA last year.

Discussing last year's crime statistics, Vlok said there were 128 887 serious assaults, 50 636 rapes; 58 298 car thefts; 50 636 robberies; and 187 946 burglaries.

Almost 60% of murder cases, 75% of rape cases, 44% of robberies, 25% of burglaries, 22% of car thefts and 39% of other cases of theft were solved.

This was despite a serious shortage of policemen.

About 725 policemen left the police force

MIKE ROBERTSON

in January and 595 in February, Vlok said.

The resignations were not surprising as 373 members of the police had died in the course of duty over the last five-and-a-half years, 232 were disabled and 23 340 sustained injuries, he said.

As a result, policemen were forced to work long hours.

A total of 11 039 extra members would be needed to do away with the need for policemen to work overtime.

For this reason, he said, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had been instructed by President F W de Klerk to investigate what could be done to improve the lot of policemen.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:	668
February 1989 — March 12 1990:	689
Past 24 hours' official toll:	8
TOTAL:	1 365

B1Paw 14/3/90

Budget reaction

Pensioners get 'raw deal' again

300
CMT Times 15/3/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties in Parliament expressed qualified support for Mr Barend du Plessis's record R72,9 billion budget unveiled yesterday.

While parties generally welcomed the shift in priorities away from defence towards socio-economic spending, there was also disappointment that pensioners had been given a raw deal yet again.

The government was also criticised for milking individual taxpayers in the past and using surplus revenue to bail out the government's own pension fund.

The Democratic Party's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the party welcomed what he called "a fresh approach to fiscal policies". "We readily concede that a new direction has been taken and we congratulate the Minister of Finance on this."

The social objectives out-

lined in the budget speech were "laudable", but more important, the objectives were strengthened by making additional funds available for socio-economic upliftment.

However, the DP was disappointed at the treatment of social, disability and military pensions.

The DP was also concerned that the growth in GDP continued to be negative in per capita terms, that inflation remained a major problem and that the increase in the money supply was at too high a rate and that incentives to savings were still insufficient.

The UDF welcomed the increase on social spending as opposed to defence.

"But sadly the money made available for social spending is far too little to address the needs of the most disadvantaged communities," the UDF said.

The UDF also welcomed the relief in personal taxation for the elderly and low-income groups.

The Conservative Party's

finance spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, said the budget was very complicated and he did not want to jump to conclusions before considering Mr Du Plessis's speech in detail.

However, the CP was expecting more tax relief for individual taxpayers.

The pension increase was unacceptably low and the provision for improved benefits for the SAP were not good enough.

MDM economist Mr Fuad Cassim strongly criticised the budget's emphasis on privatisation and supply side economics.

Mr Cassim added that the R2 billion set aside to address "backlogs" in such areas as education, training, basic health care and housing was a "drop in the ocean" in addressing drastic structural inequalities.

He said privatisation would not automatically lead to a redistribution of income.

Mr Cassim argued that supply side economics — the hope that incentives such as re-

duced tax would lead to increased employment and output — had not worked in the US and UK, and such measures were even less likely to work here.

The Labour Party spokesman on finance, Mr Les Abrahams, said the party welcomed the government's reappraisal of state spending priorities which provided for a "greater emphasis on socio-economic development".

"Although we are appreciative of the R25 a month across the board increase in social pensions, it still does not meet the objective of decreasing the disparity in pensions between black and white.

"It is immoral to discriminate against the elderly in this way," Mr Abrahams said.

Calls for wage restraints would not be tolerated by workers, National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) engineering secretary Mr Bernie Fanaroff said.

However, he welcomed budget allocations for job creation and training.

Pensioners 'have nothing to smile about'

SOCIAL pensioners have nothing to smile about — the pension disparities between racial groups have not been addressed by the allotted R25 across-the-board increase.

This is the view of Mr Syd Ickley, director of the National Council for the Aged, who said the budget deal for social pensioners was "disappointing".

"We feel that the minister should have

at least made an effort to close the gap in pensions," he said.

"We hope that some of the money that he has set aside in the announced socio-economic fund of R6 billion, created by a transfer from the surplus, will be dedicated to the removal of socio-economic backlogs in our country, especially pensions," said Mr Ickley.

And the DP spokesperson on welfare, Ms

Carole Charlewood, said the Government Services Pension Fund was bolstered in yesterday's budget at the expense of the social pensioner.

Speaking also as MP for Durban's Umbilo constituency where she said many pensioners lived, Mrs Charlewood said she was "appalled" at the R25-a-month increase. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent.

High revenue an 'embarrassment'

By MAGNUS HEYSTEK

The Government suffered from an embarrassment of riches during the 1989/90 financial year as revenue collections, from individuals in particular, raced far ahead of estimates.

Total tax revenue for the 1989/90 financial year exceeded the budgeted estimate by no less than R6,3 billion, rising to R61,385 billion.

Tax collections from income tax on individuals are estimated to have exceeded the budgeted amount by R2,190 billion, or no less than 36,6 percent.

Several factors contributed to this flood of money.

Higher salaries

Salary adjustments in the private sector were higher than predicted, which, together with the effects of fiscal drag, resulted in an avalanche of revenue which surprised most commentators. More than R3 billion of this surplus will now be used to reduce the losses on forward cover transactions.

Another factor was that tax collections were much more effective as a result of the introduction of SITE, which greatly improved cash flow to the Receiver of Revenue.

Good profit performance from companies in 1988 continued into 1989 and this, along with the third provisional tax payments for the 1989/90 year, resulted in an

increase in the estimated revenue from non-mining companies of R1,5 billion over the budgeted amount.

The import surcharge, announced in August 1988 and revised in May last year, also boosted Government's income. An original amount of R1,3 billion was estimated but the continued high levels of imports saw Government rake in an additional R1,3 billion.

Government also raked in R240 million more than estimated as a result of higher fuel consumption, a result of the buoyant state of the economy.

Other noteworthy increases above the budgeted amounts are to be found in stamp duties and fees (R109 million), marketable securities tax (R120 million), departmental operations (R232 million) and interest and dividends.

Although described by officials of the Department of Finance as "exceptional circumstances", which were unlikely to be repeated during the current financial

year, it nevertheless increased the total tax burden.

Total tax collections during 1989/90 increased to 24,9 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). This is significantly higher than the average ratio of 18,8 percent in the 1970's and the average of 21,4 percent in the 1980's.

Another disquieting figure is the sharp rise in the relative contribution to overall Government revenue made by individual taxpayers and non-mining companies.

In the 1970's the contribution to total tax was 23,1 percent and 23,4 percent respectively. This situation changed drastically in the 1980's: individuals' average contribution in those years was 27,2 percent as against 17,6 percent by non-mining companies.

Individuals taxed more

Since 1983/84 income tax from individuals has invariably been over 28 percent of total tax revenue and for 1989/90 it is estimated at close to 31 percent.

In the case of non-mining companies the position is the reverse: since 1983/84 their income tax was always less than 17 percent of total tax revenue, although for 1989/90 it rose marginally to 18 percent.

For all companies the average contribution to total tax revenue in the 1970's was 32,5 percent, as against 27,3 percent in the 1980's. Since 1987/88 it has been below 25 percent and for 1990 it is estimated to be as low as 21,8 percent.

F W unveils R3-billion black upliftment plan

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has launched a major R3 billion black upliftment initiative which the ANC and UDF are being invited to join.

Mr de Klerk announced last night that the Government would add another R1 billion from the proceeds of privatisation to the R2 billion fund for tackling backlogs in black socio-economic development announced by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis on Wednesday.

Mr de Klerk said the R3 billion would be divided into two funds.

A total of R1 billion would be used by the Government to eliminate capital backlogs in education and to acquire land for black urbanisation.

The remaining R2 billion would be used to start a private trust to be managed by Mr Jan Steyn, honorary chairman of the Urban Foundation.

Mr Steyn will decide how the trust money should be used, after consultation with community leaders and the private sector.

Mr Steyn said this could include members of the ANC and UDF, who would be invited to serve as trustees.

He said he had put out feelers to ANC and UDF leaders and top businessmen and had been encouraged by their response. One businessman approached was Mr Hal Miller, outgoing chairman of the Argus group.

Mr de Klerk said that the Government wanted to ensure that the trust enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

Mr de Klerk said: "I am fully aware that R3 billion will not suffice



ANC to meet Govt in 'talks about talks'

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Historic talks between the ANC and the Government will take place in Cape Town on April 11 to try to remove obstacles delaying the start of real negotiations for a new constitution.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, announced yesterday that the Government would meet an ANC delegation headed by vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and including exiles and leaders from within the country.

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Mr de Klerk said that the Government wanted to ensure that the trust enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

Mr de Klerk said: "I am fully aware that R3 billion will not suffice to eliminate all of South Africa's socio-economic problems.

"There is a compelling need to provide as many South Africans as possible with a better quality of life and with greater opportunity for individual advancement.

"It is thus my earnest hope that this initiative will receive the widest possible support from every quarter in South Africa, as well as from abroad."

The trust would be run outside the ambit of the Government, so that private sector and other institutions in South Africa and abroad may also contribute to it.

Commitment

Mr de Klerk said the Government's commitment to improving the quality of life of all was demonstrated by the 40 percent share socio-economic development had in the Budget tabled on Wednesday.

"Government also clearly intends to base the development process on economic enablement and not on the hand-out approach that has failed so dismally in similar circumstances elsewhere."

Mr de Klerk said the Government's contribution to the trust would be augmented when resources permitted.

"And I am confident the trust will grow apace though contributions from other sources."

Mr de Klerk and Mr Steyn said no new bureaucracies would be created to administer the R1 billion fund.

It would be administered through agencies such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Small Business De-

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the ANC a place in C to remove of real nation.

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No one forming grounds d

Saturday Star March 17 1990

R3-bn plan

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velopment Corporation and the Urban Foundation.

If proceeds from privatisation in the coming financial year did not materialise because of market factors, other steps would be taken to finance it in anticipation of future privatisation proceeds.

Mr Steyn said he had been concerned that racially discriminatory legislation could inhibit the project.

But the Government

had assured him of its commitment to removing such legislation with all deliberate speed.

The Urban Foundation welcomed the announcement. "The Urban Foundation has always held the view that there needs to be much more equitable access to development resources especially aimed at assisting the poor," it said.

The Democratic also Party welcomed the fund, and was especially pleased it was to be administered independently of the government, co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said.

Discount houses set for change

Finance Staff

The role of the discount houses will change fundamentally this year, says Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

He said that a new bill, the Deposit-Taking Institutions Bill, would be tabled in Parliament during the current session to replace the current Banks Bill.

In view of the changes in the traditional functions of discount houses, provision would be made in the proposed Bill for the phasing-out of the investment channel facilities which they offered to banks and building societies.

The discount houses would be given the option of registering as deposit-taking institutions in terms of the proposed legislation.

06/15/1990

2049

CP rejects Namibia uhuru Bill

South Africa was paying R5 million towards the independence festivities of a country that wanted to scrap Afrikaans and intended to break rugby ties with this country, CP chief spokesman on foreign affairs Mr Tom Langley said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Recognition of the Independence of Namibia Bill, he said he understood that President de Klerk would attend the celebration on March 21.

The R5 million had been paid for his "admission ticket" while

there were pensioners in SA who had to eat cat food, members of the police force could not live off their salaries and hospitals were at a standstill because nurses were not paid properly.

A whole gallery of Pretoria's foes, including Yasser Arafat and the USSR, would be there with Mr de Klerk. The money would enable these foes to celebrate their victory over SA.

The Government was acting recklessly because it knew it would not be around to "take the chestnuts out of the fire".

15/3/90
Mr Langley said the Bill was unnecessary. The clause by which Namibia was recognised as a sovereign independent state was a joke. The Act was merely to confirm the fact that SA had capitulated over SWA.

Mr Tommy Abrahams (LP Wentworth) said the allegation had been made that SA was giving Namibia the same status as it had given to the TBVC states. He urged the Minister to clarify this.

The Labour Party totally supported the sovereignty and independence of Namibia. — Sapa.

black socio-economic development and
Barend du Plessis on Wednesday.

ANC to meet Govt in 'talks about talks'

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PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent (304A)

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● TO PAGE 2.

Talks

15/3/90
● FROM PAGE 1.

side South Africa, he said. (304A)

This means that former government bogymen such as SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Chris Hani will probably step with impunity on South African soil for the first time in years.

The meeting follows the decision by the ANC national executive committee in Lusaka on February 16 to send a delegation to South Africa to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

Mr de Klerk agreed on February 23 to receive the delegation, and intense behind-the-scene activity since then has resulted in the April 11 meeting.

The ANC leadership identified the conditions for negotiation as the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the ending of the state of emergency, the repeal of repressive legislation, the halting of all political trials and the removal of troops from the townships.

Asked if other matters would be discussed, such as economic policies, Mr de Klerk said that the meeting had been structured to deal with stumbling-blocks to negotiation.

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Baker plans to meet FW in Cape Town

DAVID BRAUN

Sta 15/3/90
304A

WASHINGTON — United States Secretary of State Mr Jim Baker will meet President F W de Klerk and other South African leaders in Cape Town this month.

State Department spokesman Ms Margaret Tutwiler made the formal announcement about Mr Baker's plans at a briefing for the media in Washington yesterday.

She said President Bush had designated Mr Baker to lead the American delegation to the Namibian celebrations, scheduled to take place in Windhoek on March 21 and 22.

"We view this trip as an opportunity to demonstrate our support for the birth of a new and democratic nation in Africa. Namibia can serve as a model for a multiparty democracy in the region and for a peaceful, negotiated settlement," she said.

While in Windhoek, Mr Baker plans to meet the new Namibian government.

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Govt expenditure to rise by 9,7 percent

304A

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government estimates it will spend R71 546 million (not including contingency reserves) in the coming year, R6 365 million over the revised estimate of R65 181 million for last year.

The breakdown is (with last year's figures in brackets):

- State President, R15,9 m (R17,5 m)
- Parliament, R36,9 m (R56 m)
- Bureau for Information, R41,3 m (R47,9 m)
- Foreign Affairs, R3 795 m (R3 255 m)
- Constitutional Development Services, R14,4 m (no separate listing last year)
- National Education, R204,9 m (R148,2 m)
- Defence, R10 070 m (R9 937 m)
- Mineral and Energy Affairs, R1 133 m (R786,9 m)
- Privatisation, R2,5 m (not listed separately)
- Justice, R430,8 m (R348,6 m)
- Prisons, R878,1 m (R751 m)
- Administration, House of Assembly, R7 657 m (R6 400 m)
- Finance, R1 140 m (R1 188 m)
- Audit, R1 000 (R1 000)
- Manpower, R328 m (R216,2 m)
- Administration, House of Representatives, R3 245 m (R2 742 m)
- Administration, House of Delegates, R1 171 m (R1 000 m)
- Police, R2 927 m (R2 496 m)
- Environment Affairs, R177,9 m (R160,6 m)
- Water Affairs, R351,6 m (R374,7 m)
- Trade and Industry, R2 215 m (R1 484 m)
- Development Aid, R5 119 m (R5 014 m)
- Education and Training, R2 642 m (R1 952 m)
- Home Affairs, R241,1 m (R173,1 m)
- Transport, R1 508 m (R1 509 m)
- Public Works and Land Affairs, R1 893 m (R1 730 m)
- National Health and Population Development, R719,4 m (R2 680 m)
- Planning and Provincial Affairs, R408,1 m (no department before)
- Agriculture, R302 m (R288,7 m)
- Commission for Administration, R407,3 m (R277,1 m)
- Improvement of conditions of service, R1 921 m (R41,3 m).

Baker will spearhead the big US-SA indaba next week

WASHINGTON — US Secretary of State James Baker will hold separate meetings next week with President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

US officials say the location will be announced on Wednesday.

Also, a group of prominent black US citizens headed by TransAfrica leader Randall Robinson has asked Baker for about \$25-million in aid for a leading anti-apartheid group in SA.

The money will be used to help the

ANC plan a new political structure.

Baker has not given the group any commitment as yet.

US State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said the US was prepared to assist SA refugees as they returned home and that the US would contribute \$31.6-million this year to help prepare South Africans for leadership in a post-apartheid democracy.

Tutwiler said the programme would be administered through private organisations.

Of the ANC, she said: "We share many of its political objectives, such as ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial SA." *BIDAM 15/3/90*

Baker will visit Namibia on Sunday to attend the country's March 21 independence celebrations. He will use the trip for a round of active US diplomacy.

He may go to Zaire to see President Mobutu Sese Seko and he is also trying to arrange talks with Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. — Sapa.

Leon, FMF clash over security Bill

16/3/90 Political Correspondent (Sout A)

CAPE TOWN — Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon has been slammed by the Free Market Foundation (FMF) for demanding greater regulation and control of security firms.

And Mr Leon hit back last night by saying the FMF had failed to understand that the security of the people was something which the Government and not private enterprise should properly do.

He was responding to FMF senior researcher Ms Nancy Seijas, who criticised him in a letter to The Star for supporting the Security Officers Amendment Bill in Parliament last week. The Bill calls for tighter regulation of security officers.

Ms Seijas said that by supporting the Bill the

DP was contributing to increased costs of security.

The Bill's new range of regulations would drive smaller security firms out of business.

Small businesses and individuals who patronised these small firms, who only wanted "a large man with a knobkerrie" to protect their shops or homes, would now be unprotected.

She said that Mr Leon might be concerned that there were about six times as many private security guards as there were policemen.

But this made consumers feel a lot better.

Illustrating the need for regulation of security firms, Mr Leon pointed out that East London security guard Mr Louis van Schoor had been involved in killing at least 34 people in less than five years.

Indians barred from Rustenburg gym class

(304A) Star 16/3/90

By Monica Nicolson

A fun evening of aerobics and exercising in the Rustenburg town hall turned into a humiliating experience for some gym members when a town councillor ordered them off the premises.

The four keep-fit gyms in town planned an aerobic marathon at the beginning of the month to raise money for the South African Heart Foundation but it turned sour with over 100 people marching out after an incident of racial discrimination.

Local businessman Mr Farouk Ebrahim said he had just begun the warm-up when a councillor, Mr John Watson, told him and other Indians to get out because the hall was reserved for whites only.

The owner of the Rustenburg Health Club, Mr Ian Gilbert, said the incident had disgusted and enraged him.

"When I saw Farouk being called by Mr Watson, I followed them to try and sort the problem out.

"Mr Watson refused to be rational or reasonable, so I and my club members walked out, along with members of another gym."

"The whole scene was ridiculous — Farouk has been training in the club for years and is a popular member of our community," he said.

Mr Gilbert also complained that the organiser, Ms Ronelle Muller, had paid for the hall until 12 pm, but had been asked to vacate the hall at 9 pm because people were dancing around.

Ms Muller said people had been very upset over the unpleasant situation, but that she did not want to comment further.

Rustenburg's town clerk, Mr N Erasmus, confirmed that only whites were allowed to use the town hall. He said he could not comment on the recent incident as only Mr Watson knew the full story.

Attempts to contact Mr Watson over the past few days have been unsuccessful.

Sonn defends mayor over censure row

Municipal Reporter

THE rector of the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Franklin Sonn, has sprung to the defence of the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, as the row over his "high-profile" behaviour continues.

Mr Sonn, who is also president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, said Mr Oliver deserved to be encouraged and complimented rather than criticised.

He was responding to reports that Mr Oliver was to be censured by the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers' executive for his participation in Cape Town's peace march last year and for failing to extend civic hospitality to the "rebel" cricketers.

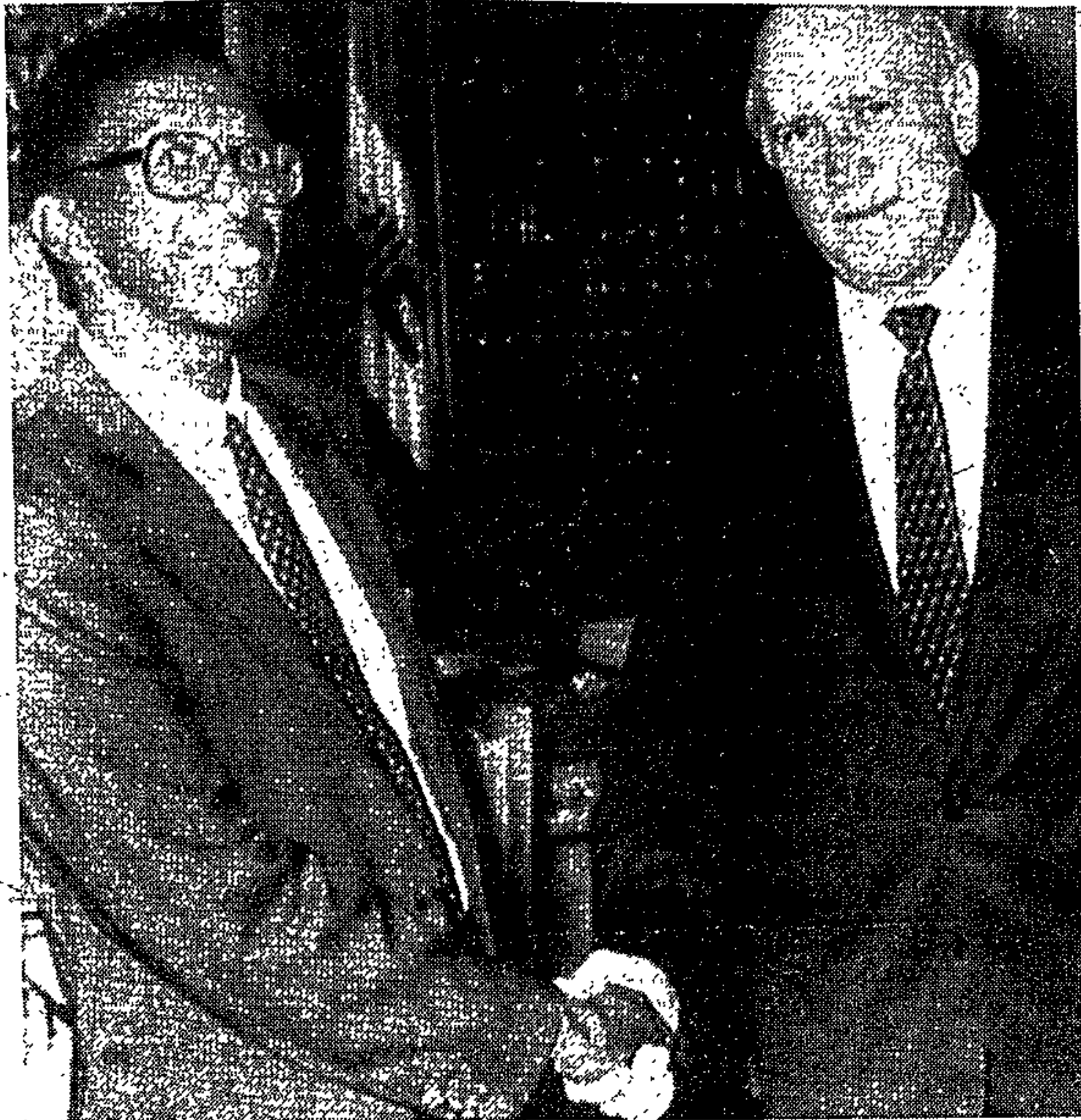
Mr Sonn said the mayor was "not getting involved in politics" but trying to identify with the aspirations of the people of Cape Town.

Yesterday Mr Maurice Silber, chairman of the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers' Association, revealed that there had actually been two votes on the same issue taken at Monday's meeting.

First Mr Peter Humphries' proposal that the mayor should be censured by letter had been voted on and approved. Then Dr John Sonnenberg had suggested that a delegation should rather go and see the mayor and speak to him about their concerns.

"Mr Humphries was prepared to withdraw his motion. The second proposal, Dr Sonnenberg's, was put to the vote and passed by eight votes to three."

Maurice Silber



Sowetan Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste shakes hands with Mr FW de Klerk after their meeting in Cape Town yesterday. Klaaste was accompanied by Deputy Editor Mr Joe Thloloe.

De Klerk is ready for talks

THE Government is waiting to talk to the ANC before it considers releasing "so-called political prisoners" who have committed crimes in

the process of political activity, State President Mr FW de Klerk said in a wide-ranging interview with the *Sowetan* yesterday.

De Klerk was inter-

viewed at his Tuynhuys residence in Cape Town by the Editor, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, and his deputy, Mr Joe Thloloe.

De Klerk also rejected

● To page 3

Govt prepared to talk - FW

● From page 1

the creation of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for the country.

The State President said that when he opened Parliament on February 2 he had said prisoners who were convicted of being members of banned organisations or who were convicted because the organisations were banned would be

released. Many had been released and others would.

"Other people have been convicted of crimes like murder, arson and theft in pursuance of their political activity. These did not fall within this category."

De Klerk said he was prepared to talk about these with a delegation from the ANC.

On the demand for a Constituent Assembly, De Klerk said that any person

who stated a precondition that would offer him victory before the negotiating process started was not helping the process.

He also rejected the one-person, one-vote model as it "would not protect the rights of minorities".

However, the Government had abandoned the idea of a "black election" to choose the representatives of the disenfranchised.

Cambridge to honour Suzman

304A

16/3/70

VETERAN crusader Mrs Helen Suzman is to receive an honorary degree from Cambridge University in June.

It will be her 15th honorary degree since she was first honoured by Oxford University in 1973.

Rhodes University will give her a degree next month.

Top US official

304A

DETAILS of a trip to Southern Africa by the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, will be released in Washington today, a US embassy official in Pretoria confirmed yesterday.

Scotching mounting rumours, Baker will be meeting the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, in Windhoek early next week. *sowetan*

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to join Baker, De Klerk and other foreign dignitaries and heads of state in the Namibian independence celebrations next Tuesday. *16/13/90*

The territory gains formal independence from South Africa the next day.

AWB beat passer-by

JOHANNESBURG. — A number of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members beat and kicked a man on Wednesday night during an AWB protest march in Klerksdorp.

The victim, who appeared intoxicated, passed out on the pavement soon after the assault by a small group of men, who attacked him when a uniformed AWB member slapped him on the arm with a flag. Uniformed men stopped photographers from taking pictures.

The man had been walking on the pavement just as the crowd of about 5 000 marched past him. — Sapa

FW urged to hold talks on violence

6/2/90 Political Staff (304A) (RFB)

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk should bring all parliamentary and extra-parliamentary leaders together to discuss how to end the violence and political intimidation, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the Natal-kwaZulu Indaba said yesterday.

He said there could be no free political activity while the state of emergency was in place.

But while violence and political intimidation plagued the country, it would not be possible for the Government to lift the state of emergency.

Dr Dhlomo believed that Mr de Klerk "should urgently consider convening a conference of leaders of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political organisations to discuss ways of ending the violence".

WILLEM STEENKAMP

FIM 16/3/90

A new chapter



Willem Steenkamp... new challenges

As a journalist and author, it's understandable the newly appointed President's Councillor Willem Steenkamp sees life in terms of chapters.

The end of the border war in Namibia last year was the close of a chapter he helped to write both as a soldier and a reporter of military affairs. President FW de Klerk's opening of parliament speech on February 2 was the start of a new chapter — and again Steenkamp (49) feels a need to be in on its making.

"I'm a closet adventurer and I see what's happening now as a great adventure. It's good for the spirit, it keeps me on my toes."

To some colleagues Steenkamp's acceptance of the NP's nomination to the President's Council is puzzling. He's giving up 17 years continuous service on the *Cape Times* to move to a lower-paid job on a political advisory council. It's also uncommon for notoriously cynical journalists — particularly on opposition publications — to embrace government with such confidence.

"I'm not a cynic. Cynicism is essentially a negative frame of mind. But I'm also not an idealist; I'm a realist. For instance, I don't believe people are inherently bad. Sometimes they make decisions based on bad information or no information at all, or because they're prisoners of past experiences or

outdated attitudes. That's where the President's Council comes in, it's our job to pass on good information to the president.

He sees the emphasis in the council as being on problem solving rather than adversarial politics. He's also not worried about being labelled a Nat. "Labels have lost their meaning. How can you apply the old Nat label to the party that's unbanned the ANC and stated categorically that it wants to work towards a new constitution that doesn't disadvantage anyone?" He admits, however, he probably wouldn't have accepted the post had it been offered before De Klerk loosened up the political scene.

He cherishes the concept of duty and doing what's right because of inner conviction. He also believes it's important to "put something back."

He's been a journalist for nearly 30 years, has written scripts for stage and screen and written 15 books in English and Afrikaans, including fiction for adults and children. His latest book — *South Africa's Border War 1966-1989* — chronicles the campaigns in Namibia and Angola. He has served in the ranks and as an officer of the Citizen Force since 1961.

Steenkamp is married and has two sons. One, a student at UCT, seems set to become a journalist. The other is an articled clerk with a firm of Cape Town accountants.

Steenkamp plans to keep on writing books: "I've got plenty of facts stored in my head plus a few novels — besides, I'll be needing the money."

Maybe he will: the lifespan in years of the President's Council can confidently be counted on the fingers of one hand. ■

MORGENZON is so small that a traveller passing through would barely notice its existence, let alone recognise it as the capital city of the proclaimed *Boerestaat* many Afrikaners see as their last vestige of hope.

A few old-fashioned houses and shops, a post office, police station, church, a couple of banks and garages comprise the small Eastern Transvaal town which superficially resembles so many other tiny South African *dorpe*.

But on closer look, Morgenzon is a unique place: there are few blacks and many of the white residents seem preoccupied with their own make-believe world. They wear conservative, simple clothes — men in khaki casual suits and felt hats and women in dated cotton dresses. Some are overly friendly, others blatantly hostile, but all are painfully aware of passing visitors who do not belong there.

The public toilet at one garage is decorated with doilies, lacy curtains and a sackcloth *boere-doll* which graces a shelf above the basin like a shrine.

The dominant shop in the town is a *boekwinkel* which not only sells books such as *Witman waar is jou vryheid?* (White man where is your freedom?) but braaivleis sets, potjiekos pots and busts of the architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd. But more important, this shop is the office of the Vereeniging van Oranjerwerkers, an organisation of Afrikaners who came to Morgenzon four years ago to establish their own self-sufficient homeland.

The office resembles a museum, with plaques, maps of the

The capital of apartheid, where a black man can't buy a book

There's a quaint, feel about the rural town of Morgenzon. The buildings are old-fashioned and the residents dress in the clothes of yester-year. But there is something strange here ... almost everyone is white.

PHILIPPA GARSON reports

"homeland", portraits and statuettes of their hero Verwoerd and pictures of ox-wagons on the wall.

Verwoerd's son, who has inherited not only his father's first name but the same piercing blue eyes, is a director of the organisation. He is 49 and married with five children.

Though Verwoerd was preoccupied this week with trying to spur the police into taking action against squatters at the nearby township of Savukile — who the Oranjerwerkers say are stealing zinc sheeting from their *veeshuis* where they annually commemorate "the Day of the Vow" on December 16 — he was only too willing to talk about the Oranjerwerkers' mission, and agreed to do so in English.

He says the idea of a separate homeland for whites began in the 1970s, when Afrikaners began to feel



Acting mayor ... Sibeko

overwhelmed by the black majority.

"Despite being deeply involved in the economic structure, in the social sense, they (blacks) started more and more to create their own atmosphere in the streets, in the shops, in daily life and Afrikaners began to feel like strangers in their own country."

The Oranjerwerkers believe there are only two options: total racial integration without apartheid, or total separation. They opted for the latter because they felt they would otherwise "be absorbed in the long run".



Like father like son ... Verwoerd

Verwoerd practiced as a missionary among Sotho people in northern Lebowa for 10 years. He felt "their culture" to be a "stabilising factor in community life" and this strengthened his desire for the same situation for Afrikaners.

He then joined the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs in 1975, which developed the idea of a separate homeland for Afrikaners.

Officially formed in 1980, the organisation set out to put this ideal of carving out an "exclusive geographical area for our people" into practice.

One of the key principles of the Oranjerwerkers is doing without black labour.

"We chose Morgenzon because one can farm cattle, sheep, maize and sunflowers, which are not labour intensive."

"Also, it is very central to a large part of the country, where blacks were not present historically," he said.

This includes the Eastern Transvaal and the Northern Free State which these Afrikaner fundamentalists would like to colonise as their own. It is also an area rich in coal mines, electricity power stations and Sasol plants. These industries, says Verwoerd, are not particularly labour intensive either.

"The idea was to start in Morgenzon and spread our ideas outwards. We hoped for an evolutionary development and did not think it necessary to be aggressive or violent." Families began to move to the area in 1984, and in Verwoerd's view the settlement is spreading slowly.

He estimates the movement's constituency to be around 400 (including

children) — a third of the tiny white Morgenzon population. Other sources say there are far fewer Oranjerwerkers in the region. Verwoerd stresses, however, that though their numbers are small, the "character of the community" has changed considerably.

Initially Morgenzon residents resisted the newcomers and were particularly against the idea of sacrificing black labour, but now, says Verwoerd, the tiny *dorp* has settled down.

Most of the Morgenzon members are academics, and though whites have been known to work for them, Verwoerd says the approach is "to do the work ourselves".

The Oranjerwerkers are hoping to attract disillusioned white workers to Morgenzon: "We are already getting queries about jobs from white workers who are being forced out of work by black and coloured people who are taking over."

Though the Oranjerwerkers have no formal relations with the Conservative Party or the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Verwoerd says they maintain "friendly" links with the two organisations. The AWB is also promoting the idea of a *Boerestaat*, but has different means of achieving it.

He adds, however, that the Oranjerwerkers' methods are more constructive, and many Afrikaners sloganeer about a separate homeland without making the necessary sacrifices.

The biggest thorn in the side of the Oranjerwerkers is the black township Sivukile, a few hundred metres from Morgenzon.

"The black townships are our biggest problem, I must admit," says Verwoerd. He hopes black residents will "spontaneously move away" because "we don't give them any work and they are not welcome here".

But the present government is spoiling everything, says Verwoerd. "(State President FW) De Klerk and those influencing him are pressing us to integrate and forcing us to accept sharing everything with blacks in the country."

"We are not even sure that here in Morgenzon we will be excluded."

Blacks in Morgenzon are prohibited from entering the bookshop and a fabric shop and most stores have separate entrances for blacks and whites.

Verwoerd says the Oranjerwerkers will continue to encourage Afrikaners to populate the earmarked *Boerestaat* and blacks to move out.

"If blacks cannot accept this as the reality ... and want to claim what we say is ours, there will be confrontation. If necessary we will use force."

He adds that the "purpose of shooting black people should be because they don't agree to leave certain parts of the country. The purpose will be to get them over the border."

SA's Minister of

TERRY COLEMAN of The Independent

SO you are saying, "Sorry, apartheid didn't work," and you must try something else?

"Sure," said Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister who is the South African Government's negotiator of his country's future. "It (apartheid) is no longer a theory that should be given a chance. It has been given a chance, and it didn't work."

But wasn't that a huge admission for him to make, since he had been in the Government for 10 years?

"Yes. And that is why we went to the electorate and said, 'We want to change our approach completely. We want to include blacks as fellow citizens'."

But he would be negotiating even the name of his country, wouldn't he, and didn't many blacks want to call it Azania?

"They are the blacks who see no place for the white man. They are the extreme Pan African Congress (PAC). I think there's no likelihood of coming to an agreement with them."

I said I was trying to imagine being asked to change the name of England.

"The name is of symbolic value, yes. But we wouldn't make a final issue of it if we could achieve a mutually acceptable constitutional model."

"But the name Azania sounds a warning note, of completely ending South Africa and bringing about a break in history. In our thinking a complete cut, a complete break in history would be unacceptable. We will have to provide some continuation with the past ... But, you see, we who want change wait it exactly because we realise that our survival as Afrikaners depends upon orderly change."

"Others are completely averse to any change. We say, 'No, we must be realistic. We must see that change is inevitable, and can be made in such a way that we do not put our existence as a nation at stake.'"

So change or you die? "Yes".

Dr Viljoen is Minister of Constitutional Development. He was educated at Pretoria, Cambridge, Leyden and Paris. He is the son of a professor of Greek, and, before he went into politics, himself became a professor of Classics. He is a former chairman of the Broederbond. After President de Klerk, he is the man in charge of change. Change is his portfolio. I met him in his office in Cape Town, and I never heard a man, in an interview, use the word "risk" so often.

I recalled that when I'd first met him five years ago he had said that his principal interest was the survival of civilised values rather than simply that of the Afrikaner people; was that what was happening now?

"Yes, the whole approach of the Government is to shift the emphasis from race to the quality of government and the broadening of democracy, in spite of the risks."

Enormous risks?

"Enormous risks. It's not so much the group as such which is at stake, as the quality of government. But despite the emphasis on nationhood, building one nation and one nationality and one patriotism, the facts are such that clearly distinguishable minority groups, their aspirations and their existence and their identity, are a part of the reality of South Africa and should be accommodated. If they are swept under the carpet, it is not going to promote nation building."

But in 1984 he had been speculating that such change might take place in 20, 30, 50 years: when had he known that it had to be sooner?

He said the acceptance that all South Africans should take part in government had been made when the Tricameral system had been set up in 1984.

He said that former President Botha had set up a commission to prepare the road for blacks as well, but that the Government's opponents had found it politically expedient (I took him to mean opponents principally on the Left) to play this down, and had set up a strong resistance to even the tricameral constitution.

"But," he said, "it is, in retrospect, quite clear that the Government at the time underestimated the emotional impact of not including the blacks in that constitution".

Might not South Africa be overtaken by events, and lose control?

Dr Viljoen said there was a risk. But the whole strategy had been to identify risks which had to be taken, because if they weren't taken they would lead to certain rather than possible danger. So they had unbanned parties and released leaders.

"The risk is now, I'm afraid, beginning to show up, that unbanned organisations and released leaders may fail to see that the need for violence has fallen away and still go on to use violence and the rhetoric of the armed struggle."

Then, he said, there was another risk the National Government had taken, which was that it might lose its political mandate, that people might shift away and support the Conservatives, who wanted partition. "Now, although there is certainly a measure of fear among the white supporters of the National Party that matters might have been pushed too far too quickly, in spite of that, my assessment

is that there is no sign of a large shift from the National Party. Our considered strategy was to do the things that entail risks and may have unpleasant or unpalatable consequences, to do them as quickly as possible, so that people can digest them, so that by the time we go back to the voters with a new constitution ..."

Within four years! "Yes. They have a chance by referendum to confirm or deny this. The sooner we do things the better. We're confident that this risk is not getting out of hand."

But he believed that one-man one-vote in a unitary state would be suicide both for white and black?

"Yes, it would be suicidal not so much for the white man as in respect of the maintenance of

Dr Gerrit Viljoen: The man who has to think what was once unthinkable



RISKY BUSINESS: Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen speaks openly on the testing times ahead for all South Africans.

an acceptable standard of public life ... There would be a complete collapse of the quality of government and of economic life. And if the economy and the government collapsed to the extent that the generation of wealth, and therefore the ability of the State to improve all its citizens' quality of life were diminished, then the opposite of the whole object of reform would be achieved."

Was he apprehensive of the too great expectations blacks — to have a big house and a big car tomorrow?

"That is a correct analysis. The expectations of the blacks, especially of the unsophisticated masses." And he made the point that this unsophistication was also a reason why a mere majority system would not work.

Not that they would offhand reject one-man one-vote as a component of a new order. A two-House Parliament, one House elected on a single roll, and the other House elected specifically to protect minority rights, especially on vital issues — such a combination was on the table.

I said most people in the West, and particularly Americans, saw this all very simply: Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress had been seen on television to be released, and to be a man of dignity, and the received wisdom was that Mr Mandela could now talk with President de Klerk, just like that. Could blacks be thought of as one entity?

He said Mr Mandela had been emphasising black unity, and the greater the unity the greater

the political pressure blacks could exert. But when you came down to practical terms, their conflicts of interest were very real, and had a strong ethnic basis.

Tribalism?

"Not just tribes. The Zulus, the Xhosa, the Tswana are nations. Within these nations you have tribes." In Natal, where there was serious unrest, the strongest element was a political clash between Inkatha (which is Zulu) and the United Democratic Front (which has a strong Xhosa element).

"But apart from the Inkatha-UDF conflict, there are also, even among the Zulus, tribal jealousies, you can almost say clan jealousies, which have existed for generations. The moment you have a flare-up, they use it to settle old scores."

Why shouldn't South Africa, for all its history, for all the determination of the Afrikaner, for all its minerals — go the way of the black States to the north of the Limpopo, almost all of which were in chaos?

"If we accept a new constitution in which there is a simple majority on a common voters' register, well, that would be the end. But we won't accept that."

But even given a compromise, there would be more black faces in

any legislature and more blacks living in any city; so mightn't there be a slide towards what we saw in the rest of Africa?

"Yes. We live in a dangerous country. None of these things can be changed unless you in some way or other decimate certain parts of the population."

Decimate? "Yes, as the Nazis did. Or as the British did with our women and children in the Anglo-Boer war."

Now the British setting up of concentration camps is something never forgotten by the Afrikaner, and properly never forgotten, but although Dr Viljoen spoke with no animus, I did suggest that those deaths were caused not by intent but by error and disease.

"No, no. Well, let's not go into that. I mean, there are some drastic genocidal solutions, which are out."

He wasn't going to exterminate anybody, was he?

"No. So you have a fact here, and you cannot dream this fact away — a South Africa with a mixture of population which is virtually a reflection of the world as a whole. And we have to try and make things work, in such a way, first, that the exclusion of the black masses from political power ceases and a reasonable accommodation is found; that it is done in such a way, secondly, that reasonable standards of public life and civilisation can be maintained; and, thirdly, in such a way that we as a minority group, the whites,

can feel that it is possible and worthwhile to survive.

"And the fact that we are not 30 000 as in South West (Africa), or 250 000 as in Rhodesia, or a million as the *pieds noirs* were in Algeria, but 5,5 millions, makes, I think, the difference. And the achievement of South Africa, visible and tangible as it is, also in my experience makes a big difference in the thinking of black people here about the role of their fellow South Africans who are white. It may all be still, shall I say, optimistic and wishful thinking, but we believe it is hard Realpolitik."

He had talked about decimation, but surely, there had been recent reports which suggested the black population might be a great deal more than decimated by Aids. One prediction, not the worst, had been that half of all blacks in the Republic might be infected or dead by the end of the century.

Dr Viljoen thought these reports scientific and reliable, but said you could hardly let this affect planning.

Did he think that people generally, black or white, realised the full extent of the changes to which South Africa was committed?

"I think," said Dr Viljoen, "that many people do not have the ability to fathom the depth of the changes

taking place. And you could say that the Afrikaner and the white man in South Africa is accepting a challenge comparable to that which they accepted when President Kruger issued his ultimatum (of 1899) to the British Empire. It's of an entirely different nature but ..."

Yes it was, because in the last resort the British weren't going to exterminate the Afrikaner, were they? "No, no".

And the Afrikaner might, to take the worst case, face extermination now?

"Yes. (But) I think there are several situations where countries can face extermination. Say by way of nuclear warfare."

Did he know of a precedent for any nation giving up sovereign power over its own territories, as South Africa was proposing to do?

Dr Viljoen hesitated. It was a long pause as I can remember in an interview. Then he said: "You say 'own territories'. These territories have never been our own exclusively. That is the wrong thinking in the minds of the Conservatives. This country has been shared through history by three or four different races, and 10 or 15 different ethnic groups."

I said that what South Africa was doing did seem to be the bravest thing.

"We would like to think of it as brave, but we would be very concerned if people considered it reckless. It is a risk, though."

'The whole approach is to shift the emphasis from race to the quality of government.'

State trying to reduce civil service

Dr 17/3/90
304A
THE Government is planning to get retired businessmen to assist different departments to plan their management controls and work out targets, says Deputy Minister of Finance Dr Org Marais.

"You will see very interesting rationalisation in the civil service in the next five years. The State President has already said he wants a smaller, but better paid, civil service," Dr Marais said.

Dr Marais said this in answer to a question about what the Government was planning to do over the next few years to restrict the

PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

growth of the civil service and about the cost of large civil service at a post-Budget forum organised by Nissan South Africa.

He indicated Minister of Privatisation and Administration Mr Wim de Villers would be playing an important role in bringing about structural changes and reducing the size of the civil service.

Turning to the statements made by ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Nelson Mandela about nationalisation, Dr Marais said he believed with South Africa's current free market system they

could make the cake big enough to satisfy them.

He said they had to sell it to them and, although the bargaining would be tough, he believed they would "find one another".

Dr Marais emphasised South Africa could not move towards a one-man-one-vote system without a better distribution of income.

On interest rates, Dr Marais indicated there was no chance of any cut in rates at present.

"You can take it as fixed we are not going to allow real interest to become negative again. Don't expect an adjustment in interest rates before you see inflation coming down," he said.

Political Staff

THE first direct talks between government and ANC delegations are to take place in Cape Town on April 11 — and the ANC will be free to include anyone it likes in its delegation.

The meeting was announced simultaneously yesterday in a statement by State President Mr F W de Klerk in Cape Town and at the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka, Sapa-Reuter reported.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said he would head the movement's delegation. He did not name the other members.

At a press conference held after his statement was released, Mr De Klerk was asked whether the ANC would be free to include anyone in its delegation.

He replied: "We are not prescribing to other organisations how their delegations must be compiled and constituted."

This means that the ANC will be able to include people like the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, who is also a member of the ANC's national executive, and Mr Chris Hani, the commander of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Mr De Klerk made it clear that the April 11 discussions would be aimed at removing obstacles in the way of negotiation.

"I think we must draw a distinction between the problems experienced by the ANC and the issues in which all people have an interest."

In his statement he said: "At the meeting, the State President, assisted by members of the cabinet, will discuss with Mr (Nelson) Mandela and ANC leaders from outside and from within the country the obstacles perceived to obstruct the process towards negotiations."

He explained at the press conference that

Date set for FW to meet the ANC

CNA TWP 17/3/90 304A

he had seen various lists of what could be discussed at the meeting, and while he agreed some of items should be discussed, others should be the subject of negotiations.

For instance, it was reasonable that the question of people living outside South Africa and who wanted to return to the country but were concerned about whether they would be arrested, should be discussed.

He stressed that the April 11 meeting would discuss items that were perceived to be obstacles in the way of negotiation and he felt it would be orderly if this agenda was adhered to.

Mr De Klerk denied there was any connection between the announcement on the ANC talks and the announcement of the R3 000-million fund aimed at removing backlogs.

He also reiterated that the test for the lifting of the state of emergency would be the security situation in the country and was not a matter for negotiation.

"It is not a card we are keeping up our sleeves to play in the negotiating process."

He hoped that government actions and the influence of the total leadership in South Africa, including the ANC, would make it possible to end the state of emergency.

The state of emergency was not aimed at any organisation and was the same for the National Party, the ANC and any other organisation.

Mr De Klerk added that he hoped that these initiatives would make it possible to achieve a practical solution.

Mr Mandela, 71-year-old ANC deputy president, told Swedish radio in Stockholm, where he has been visiting ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, that future negotiations would depend on the outcome of the initial talks.

"Our strategy is going to be that the very first meeting between the ANC and the government must produce a result if we are going to continue talking," he said.

Yesterday's announcement quelled fears that the encounter had been torpedoed by political violence which has claimed more than 220 lives since Mr Mandela was freed from jail on February 11.

The violence spread to the prison service for the first time yesterday, with police firing tear gas at more than 260 black prison warders striking in protest at racial discrimination.

In Natal, police said a black policeman being held for the murder this week of the area's most senior riot squad officer, was shot and killed while trying to escape.

● Mandela returns to peace talks — Page 2

Government source said...

FW sets date for ANC talks

W/E AR64J 17/3/90 (11) 304A

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS to change the face of South Africa have come a step nearer with the announcement that President De Klerk and other Cabinet ministers will sit down to talks with Mr Nelson Mandela and other senior African National Congress (ANC) members in Cape Town on April 11.

This first engagement — it has taken weeks of consultations to prepare — will be vital to the process to follow.

Lusaka-based ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina indicated that the movement was approaching the first formal contact with hope and "a sense of patience".

"We hope that after these initial talks we will be able to see movement towards full-scale negotiations."

Hailed by DP

He added: "We are dealing with a very serious matter and it is not necessary to rush into things ... I think F W understands that."

The meeting has been hailed by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer as "a major step in an historic process".

Mr De Klerk said yesterday the talks would focus on "those things perceived to be stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations".

The meeting had been "structured to address" this issue and the parties would "stick to the agenda".

He made a distinction between matters of specific interest to the ANC and the government and "other issues in which everybody has an interest".

High on the list was resolving the uncertainty among ANC exiles as to whether they could return without being arrested.

The ANC has condemned the view that its members who have committed acts of violence — or any other actions which could lead to prosecution — would, in the case of prisoners, be kept in jail or, in the case of exiles, be arrested if they returned.

In the meantime, the composition of the ANC delegation for next month's meeting is not being dictated by the government.

Mr De Klerk said the government was not "prescribing how their delegation for meetings with the government should be constituted".

State of emergency

Mr De Klerk also has insisted that the state of emergency should not be a feature of the negotiation bargaining process.

It was simply the law and order "situation on the ground" that would determine when the emergency was lifted.

Weekend Argus Foreign Service reports from Stockholm that the ANC expects "immediate results" from the April 11 meeting.

Mr Mandela said on Swedish radio that a long, protracted negotiated settlement would be "unacceptable" to the ANC, but he promised "rich rewards" for a unified South Africa.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking," he told listeners. "We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years."

A delegation of ANC officials, including Mr Thabo Mbeki, secretary for international affairs, is to meet UDF representatives at the end of March in Johannesburg.

A meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu Inkatha movement, is due to be held next week after the Mandela delegation's return home.

For

CP admits to talks^(304A) with PW

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

A TOP Conservative Party official has disclosed a confidential meeting he had "a few weeks ago" with deposed former State President P W Botha.

The right-wing party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, acknowledged the meeting in a front-page report in the CP's party newspaper, the Patriot.

The Patriot report followed disclosures in the Sunday Times last week that Mr Botha had recently met prominent right-wing politicians. *S. Times 18/3/90*

Friday's Patriot report said cryptically that "it would not be surprising" if Mr Botha, at some occasion, made his views known on "issues like the ANC".

There is hope if we can forgive

LEFT South Africa in early January for a visit of two months to the United States and the United Kingdom and saw on television the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the momentous events unfolding in South Africa.

With the notable exception of outstanding interviews with the State President and Mr Mandela, there was no in-depth reporting. The complexities of South Africa were glossed over and never did I hear mention of our coloured and Indian leaders. South Africa as a regional power was ignored, and the issues reduced to simplistic fare for American television audiences.

Yet when speaking to people across that great continent, there was hunger to know more of our land and its history, a subliminal understanding that something was missing in the news.

My brother Gary and I had dinner in Palm Springs with Mr George Schultz, the former US Secretary of State. What a relief to meet one man of outstanding integrity who really understood South Africa.

In Washington DC I met leading Senators and Congressmen and said that sanctions had made their impact as a political statement but what seemed unappreciated was the dimension of human suf-



Dr Ian Player

expresses his feelings on witnessing the big changes in South Africa from abroad

30411

fering. Washington DC itself needed no reminders of human suffering, because there are people living on the streets in plastic shelters within yards of Federal buildings.

Admiration

I returned home via the United Kingdom where there is a surreal grasp of the South African situation because they are still attached to us by an umbilical cord of blood and history. The word Zulu has a magical ring to it.

At a luncheon, John Aspinall, the former casino owner and businessman, spoke, with admiration of the qualities of the Zulu people and his friendship with the Chief Minister, Dr Buthelezi, and King Zwelithini.

John Aspinall's imagination had been fired by Rider Haggard's

books. I told him of my 38-year friendship with Magqubu Ntombela, who at 90 was still capable of walking a man half his age off his feet. It was Magqubu who became a father, companion, mentor and teacher and by example brought me to an understanding with the black people.

Natal is the land of my forefathers. My great-grandfather was a founder member of the Natal Carbineers, a Byrnie settler and the first Englishman in Natal to marry an Afrikaner girl, daughter of a Voortrekker.

It is a place I am deeply committed to and know intimately, having spent more than half my life in the service of conservation — 22 years with the Natal Parks Board and 16 with the Wilderness Leadership School.

I have walked with many people from all over the world among

those ancient hills of Umtfolozi Game Reserve and watched people being transformed by what can only be described as the spiritual impact of wilderness.

Black people and white people have seen each other as human beings across the small fire, while the sounds of lion, rhino, owls and hyena echoed in the night and old Magqubu imitated, mimed and spoke to the natural world. Magqubu can interpret the landscape, the plants, birds and animals in a way no white man ever could. His ability to soothe the ruffled feelings and settle an argument would make him the envy of modern psychological counsellors.

Indaba

I arrived home in time to attend the KwaZulu Prayer Breakfast, which for 15 years has been a source of deep inspiration for me. But never have I been so moved as by the one on Thursday, March 8.

The leading prayer of the Rt Rev Patrick Mwenve was spoken simply and with the sincerity of undeniable truth about the acceptance of a higher spirit. The stage was set for us to find each other on the long journey of faith to the negotiating table of the Great Indaba.

I have often criticised priests

for trying to assume the role of politicians, but the Rt Rev Mwenve dealt with both the religious and political realities in a way I have heard no other religious leader do.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — a man I am proud to have known for 35 years — had himself only just returned from an exhausting and successful visit to President Bush and Mrs Thatcher.

He gave, I believe, his best speech. He spoke of the awesome violence sweeping the country and a whole new generation of blacks who have only known the politics of violence. Yet South Africa has a golden moment of opportunity in which whites and blacks can get together.

His closing words struck at the heart of our turbulent country. "A time has come," he said, "to forgive and to be forgiven unconditionally. When I refuse to forgive unconditionally, my soul remains imprisoned in the bile and anger of past hurts. Let there be a healing in the land."

Over the years when we rise to sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika I have had to choke back the tears, but this day I wept openly and unashamedly. There is a God and the mysterious ways of the Spirit move in the hearts of people. There is hope in our land.

By the left, slow

MARCH

S1 Times 14/3/90

LOOK around and see who's standing in the way of the making of the "New South Africa".

There's the usual bunch of suspects on the right: latter-day King Canutes who would resist the inevitable tide of history with the discredited schemes of apartheid.

They see the restoration of birthright to others in a common land as a loss of their own, and they allow themselves the perverse luxury of a belief in their own superiority.

They will not validate their vision of South Africa by discussing it with the South Africans it is meant to exclude. Their voice is loud and strident, but the power of conviction at the centre of politics is such that the right's voice is consigned to the sidelines of the main arena.

But what of our earnest friends on the left?

How much are they helping to make — bit by bit as it will have to be made — the new society they have so long and ardently desired?

To what degree are they, within whose reach the new South Africa is, displaying the flexibility that has become the name of the game even among previously rigid, grey-suited government autocrats and bush-jacketed revolutionaries?

Some recent events have made the questions worth asking.

One of those is the story of SA's two political showcase cities, Johannesburg and Cape Town. Both have come out in favour of being "open" cities — cities free of the racial stranglehold of the Group Areas Act.

Amazing

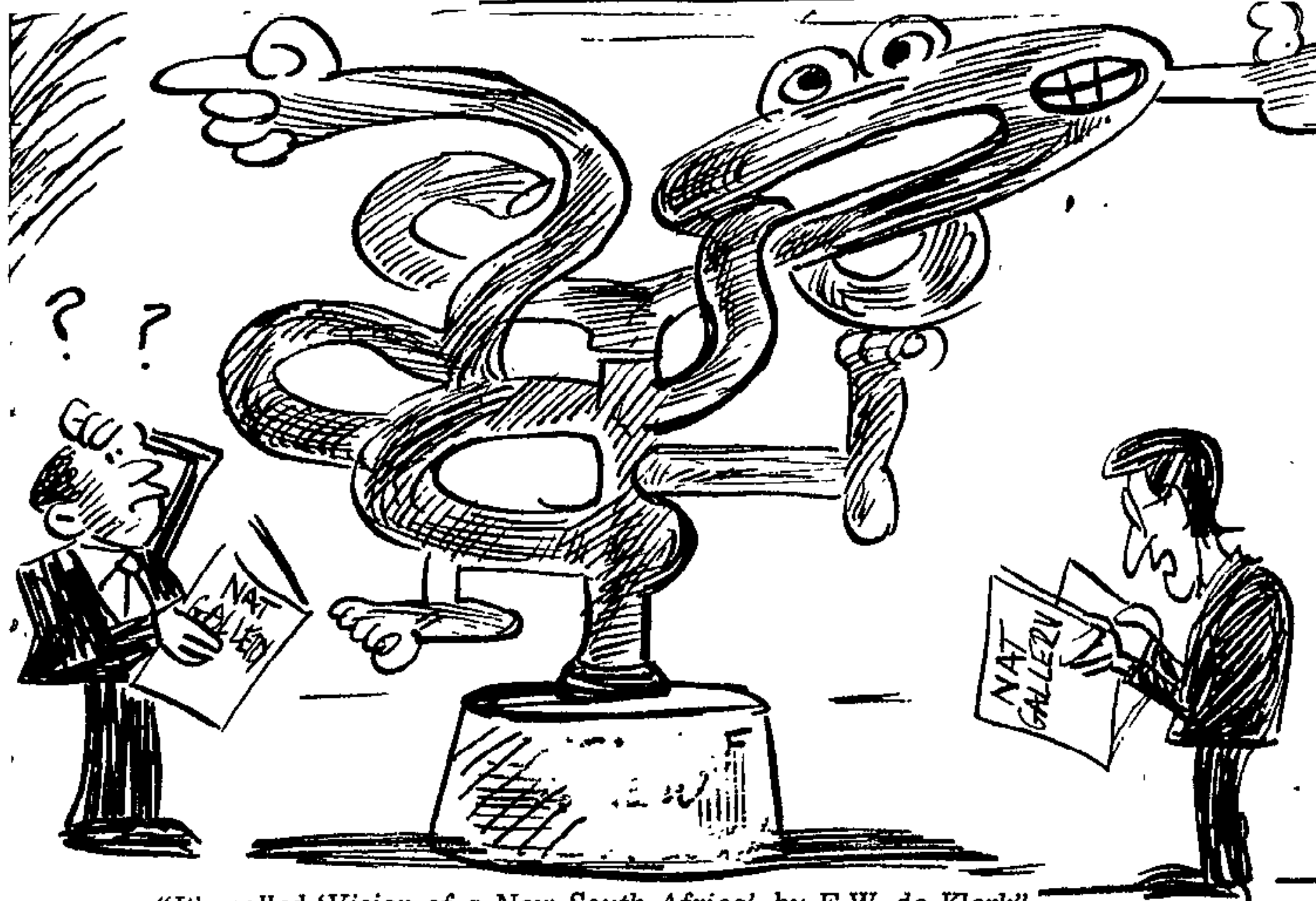
As far as the new thinking contains the root realisation that the function of government is to lead rather than dictate, the Government came quietly round to being prepared to let the cities have their way.

Moreover, the Government came to accept that the cities had a valid objection to the legislation that created "grey areas" — the Free Settlement Areas Act.

The cities held that grey areas must not be created piecemeal — that the Act was fundamentally inadequate in that it would detain city voters in such areas on separate voters rolls.

The Government quietly, but definitely, indicated its willingness to change this so that the cities could have what they wanted — non-racial local governments. Not multiracial, mind you — non-racial.

For South Africa, this is rather amazing stuff and in view of that, the Government has some special



"It's called 'Vision of a New South Africa', by F.W. de Klerk"

but quite reasonable requirements.

The main one is that it has already brought enough white reactionary wrath on its head with what it has been "giving away".

It is, after all, just a government made up of politicians whose deepest need is to be voted for.

So its requirement on open cities is that the cities should ask the Government for what they want, with the clear implication that they will get it.

Furthermore, the Government requires that request to take the shape of an application through the Free Settlement Areas Act.

Finally, it requires that there be some demonstration that the application carries the approval of the inhabitants of the city. The

point is that the Government may be seen to be responding politically to the wishes of the major cities' dwellers, and that this response is manifested through channels established by Parliament.

All this is politics.

Its real-world consequence is free cities open to all inhabitants. But so far the city councils won't play.

Cape Town, particularly, has a rump of rigid ideologues who won't apply through the FSA because it is legislation of the apartheid Government and part of the package of Group Areas legislation.

The consequence of their intransigence is that thousands of people who can afford not to will be spending another cold, damp winter on the Cape Flats. This

example of the cities is replayed every day in business as capital and labour struggle for conciliation, and in Government departments staffed by bureaucrats who have not achieved new thinking.

What is at issue here is a true, democratic understanding of negotiation.

Negotiation for a new society is not going to be a David and Goliath battle from which only one will walk away.

The purpose of negotiations, as the fundamental democratic tool, is that in the creative interaction of the desires and reservations of the participants a new, previously non-existent element arises: a product that all can live with and defend.

Goals

The Government has clearly illustrated it understands how that dynamic is going to work in its negotiations with the African National Congress.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC's effective leader, has also demonstrated that understanding.

Whose fault is it, then, that this grasp and flexibility is not reflected down the line — where South Africans really live?

The answer is apparent in even a cursory look at what the Government has done — or rather has not done — about it.

The most striking omission in

its brave opening gambit on real reform is that it has told South Africans a new society must be created — but it has not said what that society must be, or what it must look like.

If the Government sees itself in the role of managing a transition to a new society it is failing on one of the most important fundamentals of management: that management sets clearly defined goals for people to work towards and achieve.

In the absence of a clear understanding of what will make up the new South Africa, South Africans can be forgiven some confusion about how to create it.

Mr Mandela has scored very substantial early debating points by pointing out that only the ANC — in the form of its Freedom Charter — has spelt out what it wants the future to look like.

Mr Mandela ascribes much of the extremism of the right to the fact that whites do not have anything similar to the Freedom Charter. As a result, the past is for them a clearer beacon than the future.

The Government has raised two concerns about being more definite about its aims.

It does not want to reveal its strategy, it says, because a strategy revealed ceases to be a strategy.

Ideal

However, a clear constitutional goal for SA and a strategy for achieving it in the intricacies of negotiation are two different things.

It says, too, that there is no point in negotiating if you make clear before the start what you want to result from the negotiations.

Here again, Mr Mandela is picking up points.

He has made it clear that the Freedom Charter represents an ideal and there is no point in negotiating if one does not enter the room prepared to make concessions.

The danger facing the Government is that unless it makes its vision clear to at least some degree, a suspicion is going to arise that it has so little confidence of its acceptability that unveiling it would kill off prospects of talks.

The only alternative available to the Government is to hurtle the country into and through negotiations so quickly that whites end up with a bargained *fait accompli* rather than the opportunity to mull — and even fight — over a vision.

Ultimately, though, it's going to be up to every city councillor, every employer and every bureaucrat to piece together a new society.

The longer South Africans sit back critically and wait for President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Mandela to create the new society, the smaller its chances of becoming reality are going to be.

Lester Venter

304A

identifies some of the obstacles that are obscuring our vision of a New South Africa



S/Times 18/3/90 (304A)

Prophet dreams up a land of promises

RIGHT-WING prophet Professor Carel Boshoff has finished designing his white castle in the air. Now he is starting to rent out the rooms.

The avuncular former theology professor and son-in-law of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd has just completed a study to prove the viability of his white homeland in the arid desert of the Northern Cape and the Kalahari.

And the verdict: it can be turned into a lush paradise capable of accommodating about 250 000 Afrikaners in the short term and, eventually, up to 2-million.

Professor Boshoff and his Stigting Afrikanervryheid (Foundation for Afrikaner Freedom) are unperturbed about criticism of their redoubt. Nor are they put off by the prospect of leading the faithful from the Promised Land into the desert.

The area — straddling the lower reaches of the Orange River — chosen as home to conservative Afrikaners has, according to his study, three of the biggest dams in the country, ample agricultural ground, a coastline, a power grid, roads, railway lines and an airport. What more would anyone want?

And, says the professor, all great civilisations have started next to major rivers — the Rhine, the Nile, the Volga and the Jordan. Why would the Orange be an exception?

It is clear that the Orange River with its three major dams — Hendrik Verwoerd, P K le Roux and Boegoeberg — will form the heartland of the proposed area.

Rosy

Major towns to be included are Beaufort West, Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, De Aar, Prieska, Upington and Saldanha in the Northern Cape — and even Keetmanshoop, Luderitz and the diamond-rich areas of Oranjerund in Namibia. In fact the whole south of Namibia — due to become the world's youngest independent state this week — is included.

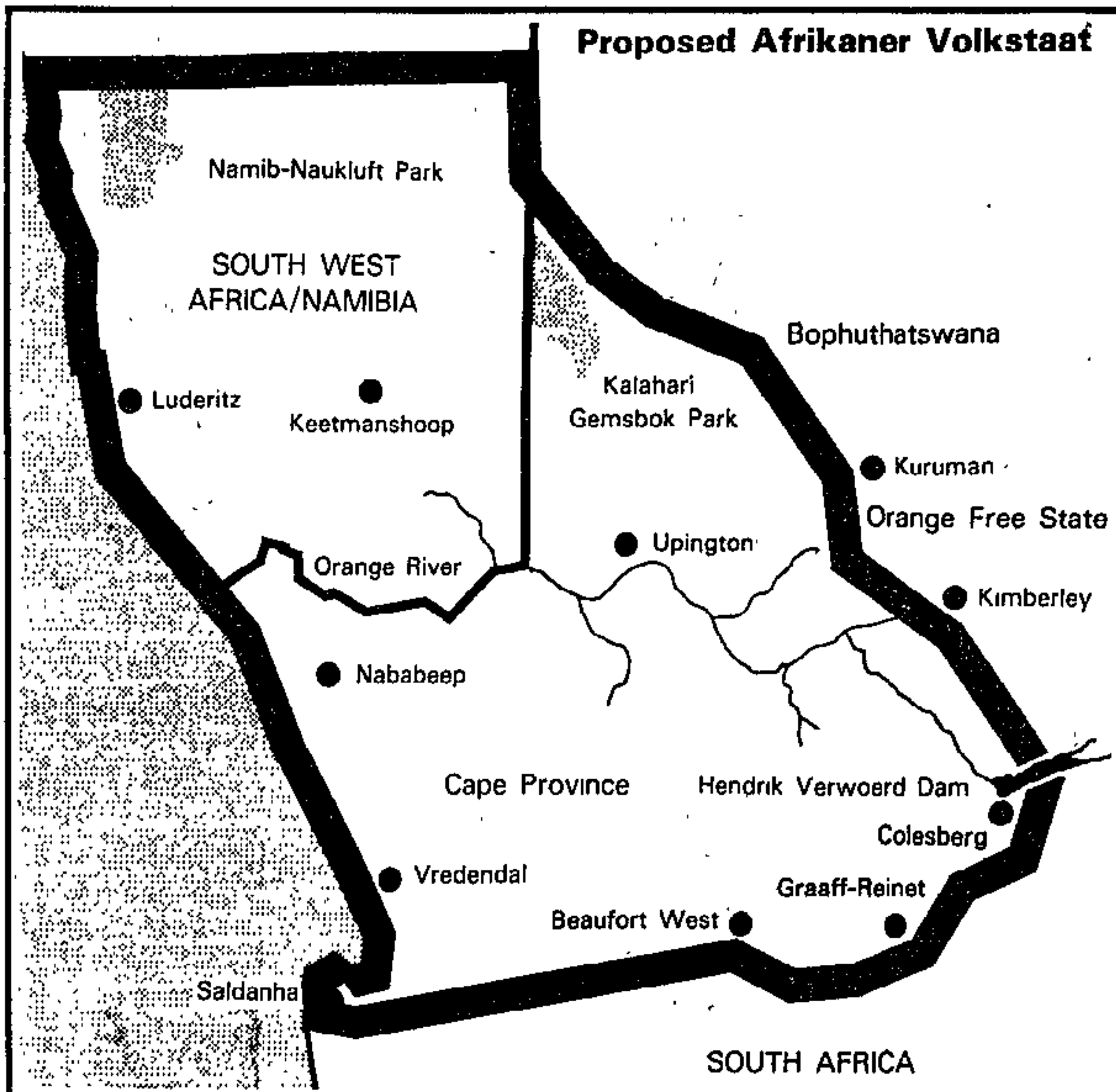
Nowhere does Professor Boshoff explain how this will be achieved.

But he is not daunted by the harsh physical characteristics of the Afrikaner state-in-waiting. On the contrary, he paints a rosy picture of its agricultural potential.

Among the crops expected are lucerne (1.5-million tons annually), potatoes (2.2-million bags), sultanas and raisins (13 tons), peaches and apricots (47 tons), vegetables (5 000 tons) and onions (900 000 bags).

Neither is energy a problem: research will be conducted on hydro-electricity, nuclear energy, and sun, wind and geothermic sources.

The present infrastructure



HOPES AND STORIES . . . the borders of Professor Carel Boshoff's Boerestaat

By DRIES van HEERDEN

is there for the taking, according to the Boshoff report: the Sishen-Saldanha railway line connects the major growth points, Upington has a well-developed airport, the Orange River west of Augrabies Falls is navigable and a second harbour will be established on the West Coast.

There are excellent schools and hospitals available and the area boasts large deposits of unmined minerals.

In fact, such a rosy picture of the area is painted that it makes one wonder why it has

always been the most thinly populated area in southern Africa. And nowhere does Professor Boshoff mention that, according to official statistics, "non-whites" already outnumber the whites in the area by four to one. At least 250 000 brown people will have to be moved out to keep the Nirvana white.

Because, if there is one thing that Professor Boshoff is adamant about, it is that the Boerestaat will be a pure, lily-white country. Other than Afrikaners, the only people who will be allowed



CAREL BOSHOFF

within its boundaries will be those who "can be assimilated by the volk".

A question-and-answer sheet produced by Professor Boshoff asks: "Why can't black people be allowed to work in the Afrikaner state?"

The answer is: "Once you allow in a small number of foreign workers it will create enormous political and social problems. Through the years they acquire certain vested rights and as their numbers grow it becomes more difficult to withhold those rights by way of legislation."

● See Partition and the Reasonable Right on Page 22

POLITICIANS, I was told many moons ago, are masters of double-speak.

When they say something they actually mean the opposite.

The indigenous American Indians stretched it further. They said all white people speak with a forked tongue. They base this assertion on their first encounter with whites who robbed them of their land while assuring them of co-existence.

Today the American Indians are placed in reserves - what we call reservation areas - far away from the cities and highly developed areas.

We are told this is how they prefer to live. However, this was disputed by many Indians I spoke to during my stay in the United States four years ago.

A parallel between our situation and that of the American Indians has been drawn by many people. In short, it is said when Jan van Riebeeck landed in the Cape in 1652 he was warmly welcomed by the indigenous people who extended a hand of friendship only to be displaced in their rich, God-given land.

It is also said the missionaries who later arrived in South Africa spoke about the Bible when in fact they were referring to the land. Whether this is true or false, I leave to your judgement.

Internationally acclaimed musician Hugh Masekela who went into self-exile almost 30 years ago

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

18/3/90

3044

The fine art of double-speak



composed a hit album about Vasco Da Gama "the sailor man" who, he said, set off on his mission to India "searching for curry and pepper but instead 'invented' discovery around our shores".

What Masekela meant was that Vasco Da Gama was sent to India but on his way he discovered a land that was already occupied by people.

So the history of double-speak dates back many moons - the politicians have merely perfected it to suit modern times.

Recently, ANC secretary general, Alfred Nzo said the ANC had to review the question of the armed struggle. But a few days later, when he addressed a Press conference in Lusaka, Nzo said the armed struggle would continue until the South African government complied with the Harare Declaration.

President FW de Klerk

said his government was flexible on the question of group protection and that negotiations would not be bogged down by this concept.

But in an interview with a morning newspaper this week he rejected the one-person one-vote concept because it would not protect the rights of minorities.

Last week I was invited to a radio talk show by the Voice of America. Also on the panel were representatives of the ANC in

Washington, a representative of the South African ambassador in Washington and an expert on international foreign relations.

The discussion was about a post-apartheid South Africa. Without getting into details, those who had the opportunity to tune in to this station will tell you the government representative came out tops.

He spoke the language of the oppressed people. He said one-person one-vote was what the South African

government wanted; that one vote, one nation is the goal and it was non-negotiable.

He said the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act should go as soon as possible because that's what the government wants. The listeners must have wondered what blacks in South Africa were actually fighting for.

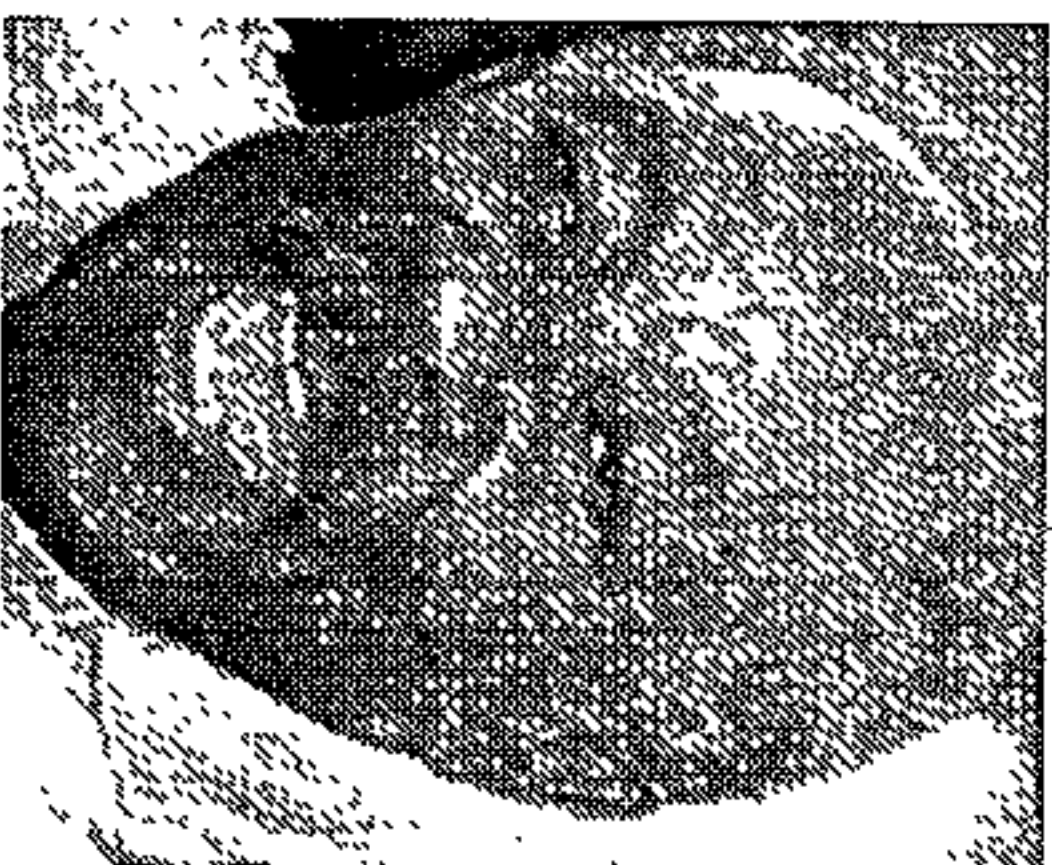
Was the representative speaking on behalf of the South African government or was it double-speak?

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu will have to learn this art very fast if they hope to survive as politicians.

Let us take Mandela's speech on nationalisation. It drove many white people including some middle class blacks up the wall. But if Mandela had spoken about a fair and equal distribution of wealth instead of nationalisation, I'm sure the Gavin Rellys of this world would still be smiling today.

On the question of intensification of sanctions and the cutting of diplomatic ties with South Africa, if Mandela had said De Klerk and his government were on the right track and should be given a chance while everything was put on hold, I'm sure the United States and other countries including South Africa would have smiled and given him a pat on the back as a true politician.

Yes, perfecting the art of double-speak seems to be the best answer to appease people.



ANC's Alfred Nzo and President FW de Klerk ... guilty of double-speak?

Concern over insincerity in peace talks

THE government was concerned that some organisations continued to adhere to the armed struggle while still preaching a peaceful solution for South Africa, President FW de Klerk said on Friday.

He also told a Press conference in Cape Town that the issue of the safe return of exiles might be one of the "stumbling blocks" to be discussed at his April 11 meeting with an ANC delegation.

He hoped that the "armed struggle" terminology would drop away so a stage could be reached where all the leaders of this country would commit themselves to peaceful solutions and reject violence.

De Klerk said the meeting with the ANC flowed from his earlier announcement that he was prepared to meet the organisation to discuss stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation.

Asked if he thought that agreement between the government and the ANC on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners had been made more difficult by the recent unrest, he said he was on record as saying the test for the lifting of the emergency was whether the security situation in the country made it possible to do so.

Asked whether any preconditions had been set about the makeup of the ANC delegation, and whether they would be able to enter SA without fear of prosecution, De Klerk said the government was not prescribing to other organisations how their delegations to meetings with the government should be compiled. - Sapa.

C/Press 18/3/90 (304A)

April meeting for ANC and FW

c/press 18/3/90

(304A)

THE ANC and President FW de Klerk will meet in Cape Town on April 11 for pioneering talks about formal negotiations on political reform in South Africa.

The meeting, possibly the most important breakthrough in 30 years of armed conflict, was announced simultaneously on Friday in Cape Town and at the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said he would head the movement's del-

egation. He did not name the other members but De Klerk said it would include ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk told a Cape Town news conference the sole purpose of the discussions was to "address those facets which are perceived to be stumbling blocks on the way to negotiations".

De Klerk said the ANC would be free to send anyone to Cape

Town, including military commanders who might be sought by South African police on terrorism charges.

Mandela, told Swedish radio in Stockholm, where he has been visiting ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo, that future negotiations would depend on the outcome of the initial talks.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by K Naidoo, both of 204 Eloff Street Ext., Johannesburg.

Partition and the Reasonable Right

304A

S/Times
18/3/90

PARTITION conjures up nightmares of Verwoerdian divide-and-rule policies.

Small, impoverished homelands ruled by kleptocracies and serving mainly as a reservoir of cheap, black labour for adjoining white areas.

But, as the day of the round-table discussion about South Africa's future political dispensation draws inevitably closer the idea of partition — not balkanisation — is once again being dusted off for inspection, and not only by the lunatic fringe or the ultra-right wing.

Even Dr Willem de Klerk — brother of the State President, leading verligte thinker and one-time policy adviser to the Democratic Party — believes partition as an option should not be dismissed before the talking starts.

He's right; the merits —



Dries van Heerden

looks at the possibility of partition as a serious option at the negotiating table

or demerits — of the idea are worthy of examination.

The partition option has a place in the national debate, even if its eventual implementation would amount to a confession of human failure of gigantic proportions.

"I don't think it is a viable alternative in the present climate," says Dr De Klerk.

"But, who knows, as negotiations drag on and stalemates develop... it might just become something to look at in the future."

Divide

If anybody gave this dog a bad name it was Hendrik Verwoerd and his spiritual successor, Conservative Party leader Dr Andriëns Treurnicht.

In their rhetoric, partition is merely a euphemism for white minority domination over a black majority.

Whites divide the country, take the choicest parts for themselves and blacks have to be content with those areas allocated to them by the benevolent "baas".

In that sense there is not much difference between the Treurnicht faction of the CP and its even more right-wing adversaries in the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the left-overs of Mr Eugene Terre Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The HNP posters say it all: "This land is our land."

Yet there are also those belonging to what, for purposes of this discussion, we will call the Reasonable

Right. They have recently come up with novel suggestions on partition.

Inside the CP this group is said to include MPs such as the Mulder brothers — Dr Pieter and Dr Corné (the sons of Dr Connie), Mr Jurg Prinsloo of Roodepoort and even the robust but often underestimated Mr Koos van der Merwe.

At least the realisation has dawned on them — even if they do not yet publicly enunciate it — that to remain "white" means having to make sacrifices.

It is less than honest to tell the voters — as Dr Treurnicht is wont to do — that all we need is to return to the *lullekker* days of apartheid before Mr P W Botha threw it all out of the window.

Few people have a clearer understanding of the basic reality — which is a choice between "white and poor" or "rich and mixed" — than Dr Verwoerd's son-in-law Prof Carel Boshoff, he of the desert *heimat* idea.

Baasskap

A former theology professor, Carel Boshoff is a deeply moral man. And his thorough examination of different policy options has led him to one inescapable conclusion: "No country can be ruled indefinitely by a minority."

He has harsh words for those fellow right-wingers who believe the country can revert to old-style baasskap.

"The present South Africa, where 2,5-million Afrikaners continue to govern over 30-million other

people, is morally untenable," he says.

No one is better placed than he to define the failures of the National Party's disastrous attempts at social engineering over four decades.

It is a pity his reasoning leads him to a desert Shangri-la for the Afrikaner in the old Kalahari.

But there is no doubt that partition is — at the very least — a viable academic exercise to be considered by those thinking seriously about future constitutional options.

Morality

But to move it from the realm of the loony right and political flat-earthers to the real world will require a number of important adjustments.

It should be understood that it is not a "first option" to be placed on the table during the early rounds of the constitutional debate.

It is rather a "Plan C" to be considered if all else fails.

South Africa is moving inexorably towards some form of mixed government where those numerically in the majority will cut the mustard politically.

Negotiators representing the white community will have to come to terms with this before they have a moral basis to try to secure some form of minority protection.

But if all else fails, there may still be the partition option.

It is something that could never be imposed; to have a chance, it would have to be the product of negotiation.

It would also have to be devoid of any vestiges of Afrikaner or white exclusivity. Even in a partitioned South Africa it would be impossible to draw boundaries in such a way that whites are in the majority inside any part of it.

Official statistics show

that even in Professor Boshoff's Promised Land, coloured people outnumber whites by at least four to one.

Moreover, partition — if it came — would have to avoid forced relocation of people or the uprooting of economic infrastructure.

Those who are serious about partition should spend their time investigating the possibilities and come forward with maps, census figures, economic statistics, constitutional proposals and contingency plans.

Emotional speeches promising conservative audiences a Cloud Cuckoo Land where the decor is exclusively lily-white are not enough.

For any plan to be taken seriously it should be backed by facts and figures.

One theory being floated — especially by West German political scientist Klaus Baron von der Ropp — involves "radical partition".

Simply put, it means drawing a line from Sishen in the Northern Cape through Bloemfontein to Port Elizabeth.

Negotiate

To the north, there would be a state with blacks by far in the majority but with a small and economically influential white population choosing to remain — especially in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging triangle.

In the south, there would be another state where blacks are also the biggest single group — but in which a more substantial number of whites and coloureds can negotiate for themselves some form of political and cultural autonomy.

The discussion about partition as an option is still in the preliminary stages, but we can be sure that it will become more refined in the months ahead.

5/Times 15/3/90

Steyn

VOWS:

Racial

laws

will go

Political Correspondent

THE application of the new R2-billion trust fund for black upliftment will go hand in hand with the lifting of laws that block equal opportunities, says fund chairman Jan Steyn.

Mr Steyn, also chairman of the Urban Foundation, said he had sought an assurance from the Government that racially discriminatory legislation still on the statute book — which could inhibit the initiative — would be scrapped.

Mr Steyn said he had been assured this would be done "with all deliberate speed".

Commenting on his approach to his new task, Mr Steyn said his priority would be to consult with leadership groups from all sectors of the communities involved and with the business sector.

Resource

"Without their involvement our task will be even more onerous than it already is."

He described the trust's task as addressing "the unacceptable heritage of unequal opportunities".

The trust, he said, should not be seen as a fund giving handouts to the needy but a resource that would open the way to economic and other opportunities.

Existing organisations would not be supplanted by the trust. The Urban Foundation, he said, would now have "many more opportunities" to contribute to the advancement of urban communities.

Sunday Times Reporters

THE US Government has brushed aside a bid by Mr Nelson Mandela to veto this week's crucial meeting between President F W de Klerk and US Secretary of State James Baker.

Mr Baker's visit is the most significant contact between South Africa and the United States in this country since the visit by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in 1976.

It signifies Washington's approval of President De Klerk's bold steps to end apartheid and

embark on peace negotiations with extra-parliamentary movements.

When he returned to South Africa yesterday after a two-week trip abroad, Mr Mandela left no doubt that he opposed Mr Baker's visit.

"We do not want high-profile visits," he said at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport.

"They result in confusion and suggest that Mr De Klerk has done something positive."

He said such visits would create a false impression regarding sanctions — which the ANC has said must be intensified to increase pressure on the Government.

He said he was not planning to see Mr Baker in South Africa — although he would be prepared to meet him "if he wants to see me".

The go-ahead for Mr Baker's visit to Cape Town was preceded by intense behind-the-scenes discussions and a final decision was only taken in Washington on Thursday.

Keen

The trip carries the approval of President Bush and has also been endorsed by anti-apartheid Congressmen who visited South Africa recently.

The final decision was delayed after the ANC had been sounded out for its opinion — and replied negatively.

Mr Baker decided to go ahead nevertheless.

It is understood the SA Government, while keen for the visit to take place, stayed out of the lobbying.

When he announced his plans to visit South Africa, Mr Baker said the US would strongly disapprove of either the Government or the ANC damaging the prospects of negotiations in the country.

When Mr Mandela returned yesterday from visits to Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Sweden he confirmed that he would lead an ANC delegation to the movement's historic first official talks with the Government.

The Sunday Times learnt yesterday that the meeting — on April 11 — will take place on a Cape wine estate.

Mr Mandela said it would be improper to disclose what would be discussed at the encounter, but before leaving Sweden he said that it would have to produce results if the ANC was to continue talking.

BRUTAL
AVARICE
S/Times
18/3/90
30x11

US sidesteps Mandela attempt to veto Baker visit to Cape Town

Indaba with ANC armed wing put off

STimes *30411*

By CHARIS PERKINS

A HISTORIC meeting between high profile Umkhonto we Sizwe members and South African military experts has been postponed in the face of the coming talks between the ANC and the Government.

The meeting between the ANC's military wing, former SADF members, military academics and members of the End Conscription Campaign — originally scheduled for next month — will now take place in the second week of May.

Organised by Idasa, it will examine ways to defuse long-standing hostility — and promote reconciliation — between the SADF and the ANC's military wing.

Declined

Idasa Western Cape director Nic Borain said the ANC had asked for the postponement because many of the representatives due to meet President De Klerk on April 11 also wanted to be at the Idasa meeting.

He said he would meet MK leader Chris Hani in Johannesburg early next week to discuss final arrangements.

"The ANC remains very enthusiastic," he said.

The SADF has meanwhile declined an invitation to take part.

Idasa invited the SADF to send four representatives,



BOB ROGERS

He'll meet MK leaders

but this week Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said integration with Umkhonto we Sizwe was "not on the table".

Mr Borain said Idasa was "disappointed" by the SADF's response.

"Their presence would have been invaluable," he said. "We hope, however, they will take a close interest in the proceedings."

Set to attend this week were the former chief of the Air Force and Democratic Party spokesman on defence, General Bob Rogers, former Chief of Air Staff Operations General Wally Black and DP President's Council member James Selfe.

Said Mr Selfe: "A new South Africa will need a defence force which symbolises national unity. And that cannot happen unless different parties involved get together to discuss integration."

Technology 'key' to creating wealth

Business Day Reporter

WHITE fears were not of a black-dominated government or sharing of the country's wealth — the fear was the rapid lowering of standards, said Society for Professional Engineers president Ron Heydenrych.

In his first presidential address to the society last week, Heydenrych said this would not happen if technology was given its rightful recognition by the decision-makers and was seen as a priority in SA's education and development strategies.

"The future of SA will depend on its ability to create wealth."

"There are many components of wealth creation ... However, a key component is the application of technology."

It was unfortunate that in political terms money spent on maintenance carried few rewards compared with

education and hospitals.

"But, if we fail to maintain and extend our infrastructure we will seriously undermine the potential economic growth of the country."

While SA had many fine engineers, there was a critical shortage and it was getting worse, Heydenrych said.

"Even assuming that only half of our population is economically active, we only produce 56 engineering graduates per million of population compared with Japan's 500 and US's 370. In these terms we are hardly in a position to challenge the world."

As a profession "we work in a way which strips away political pressures and because of this unique relationship to society we can make an important contribution to development strategies in SA", Heydenrych said.

304A

GM- T/4P 19/3/90 (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE first opportunity National Party members will have of changing the party's whites-only status will be at its provincial congresses in the second half of this year.

However, it is by no means certain that the NP hierarchy would want the thorny issue publicly debated and resolved by the party rank-and-file at this stage.

Largely informal, behind-the-scenes discussions on the sensitive subject have been taking place for some months now.

But the private debate has failed to produce consensus on how

Nats debate opening party to all

to go about tackling the delicate membership issue — or whether the party should indeed open its doors to all races.

The ongoing debate was given a fresh sense of urgency by the Minister of Constitutional Development and chief govern-

ment negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, when he surprised many observers by stating that the National Party was likely to forgo its monopoly on power in a few years' time.

His remarks have led Nationalists to ponder ways of broadening the party's support base to play a significant role in the "the new South Africa".

Apart from opening its membership to all races, the NP members and formations have been looking into the possibility of establishing alliances and affiliations in a bid to bolster the party's influence in coming years.

By PETER VALE

THE heads of South African Foreign Missions who met in Cape Town last month will have regarded the new impulse within the country's politics as manna from heaven.

For 40 years it has been extraordinarily difficult — if not impossible — to represent this country abroad. Even the Foreign Minister had recently come within a whisker of admitting that, as a young diplomat, he had found it hopeless to defend apartheid.

The new situation suggests, however, that the diplomatic service itself will have to drastically change its composition, if it is going to be even remotely representative of the country. Clearly, this thought is also in Mr Pik Botha's mind: Whilst briefing his colleagues, he suggested that more — as it was reported — "blacks" would have to be recruited.

This is not the first time that the racial composition of the Department of Foreign Affairs has been addressed: Indeed, some gestures in this direction have already been made. Important embassies, the Netherlands and the European Economic Community, have been headed by — to use apartheid terminology for the sake of the point — a coloured and an Indian. In addition, a dozen junior officials drawn from these racial groupings have served as diplomats.

Tokenism

But tokenism of this kind, if it ever had a role, has been rendered utterly superfluous by the search for a new South Africa. As the faltering structures of apartheid collapse, it is quite obvious that the co-option of groups and individuals was both counter-productive and wasteful.

But what has gone before will make the journey to a new South Africa very difficult. For example, because the bureaucracy is skewed towards the interests of one racial group, the approach of real change might induce bureaucrats to dig in their heels; the consequences will be devastating.

To bypass this, both the government and the ANC might consider — even at this pre-negotiation stage — whether it is possible to

Foreign service needs drastic changes

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19/3/90

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cultivate a corner of the civil service which could serve as an example of genuine integration. There are strong grounds for believing that the Department of Foreign Affairs can play this role.

Compromise and reconciliation are the stock-in-trade of the diplomatic profession. They are, accordingly, less likely to be imprisoned by the unfulfilled expectations of more politically inspired bureaucrats.

This consideration aside, the international interest to end apartheid means that an anxious world awaits the new South Africa. The country will be the first middle power to emerge into an international community in which the rules of the road have entirely changed as a result of the shift in East-West relations.

Third World expectations will be especially high because this country is a relatively developed African power with specific regional responsibilities.

South Africans will suddenly find themselves members of particular international associations with which they may not necessarily be comfortable: For instance, the Antarctic Club and (probably) the Nuclear Club. Nevertheless, a true democracy will enable these important issues to be debated without endangering the security of the state.

Share burden

In addition to grappling with these expectations, South Africans will be expected to share

their burden of multilateral diplomacy, through the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of Africa Unity to name only three forums.

But, more importantly, our foreign representatives will have to ensure that the country's tenuous share of world trade is sustained or, preferably, increased. International relations in the 90s will be dominated by competition for world markets: South Africa will certainly be no exception.

These reasons all suggest that the managing of a post-apartheid foreign policy will be an exacting task which will demand the best skills and the brightest talent the country has to offer.

Both the ANC and the South African government have relatively effective foreign representatives in place. The government has missions in 20 countries and — as the successful negotiations over Namibia showed — South Africa's diplomats are more than able to hold their own when pitted against their international colleagues.

The ANC, too, has strong diplomatic skills. The movement is represented in 41 countries and has developed coherent positions on a range of international questions. This is not surprising when one considers that its 200-strong Department of International Affairs is headed by the man who recently made such a strong impression on South African television viewers, Mr Thabo Mbeki. The department's administrative secretary is Mr Neo Mnumzana, a Cornell-trained mathematician, who was formerly the ANC's representative in Paris and in New York.

The international representation both of the government and the ANC, therefore, represents a formidable body of knowledge and the necessary range of contacts to construct an imaginative new foreign policy which will liberate the country from the isolation which apartheid wrought.

South Africans will need this freedom as they draw together a non-racial constitutional and political order which can proudly be defended in the furthest corners of the globe.

[Professor Peter Vale is director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.]



Early return of SA exiles on the cards

B1 Day 1913/90

304A

CAPE TOWN — The first meeting between government and the ANC on April 11 is expected to pave the way for the tabling of legislation allowing the early return of exiles.

It can also be expected to lead to a series of prisoner swaps involving SA agents like Odile Harrington imprisoned in Frontline states and key ANC political prisoners.

But, according to senior officials here, a general amnesty for all political prisoners can only be expected at the end of the negotiation process rather than at the outset.

ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela arrived back in SA on Saturday after his trip overseas. However, it emerged at the weekend that government decided to announce the date of the meeting on Friday, thereby overshadowing its highly publicised Press conference to release details of its R3bn plan to eradicate backlogs brought about by apartheid, because it had been struggling for more than 10 days to pin the ANC down on a date.

Once agreement was reached, it wanted the date of the meeting made public immediately.

While it had been expected that the composition of the ANC delegation was a matter delaying the talks, President F W de Klerk said on Friday government had not attempted to prescribe to the ANC whom it could include in its delegation.

At this stage it seems one issue which could emerge as a stum-

MIKE ROBERTSON

bling block in the initial talks is the continued state of emergency.

While the ANC continues to insist that the emergency be lifted as a pre-condition to negotiations, De Klerk said on Friday it could not be a feature of the negotiating process.

Government, he said, had committed itself to lifting the emergency but that decision would be determined by the law and order situation.

Whereas in the past government spokesmen have been quick to finger the ANC as being behind unrest, they now perceive regional variations.

Violence

The Natal situation, they believe, has deteriorated to a point where warlords are operating independently of any organisation.

In Gazankulu, however, they insist that the ANC is both behind and actively instigating outbursts of violence.

In the Ciskei, on the other hand, they acknowledge that UDF officials have played a prominent role in preventing continued looting and violence.

While acknowledging that the ANC has had barely six weeks to organise itself since being unbanned, ministers say the thing that has surprised them most since February 2 is the remarkable fluidity in black politics. In the Eastern Cape, in particular, they detect a strong swing to the PAC.

They also find it surprising that organisations like the UDF, in particular the Western Cape branch, have chosen to remain independent of the ANC.

Government spokesmen have been reluctant to comment on Nelson Mandela's call in Sweden for total isolation of SA and stepped up sanctions. They feel every such statement contributes to exploding the myth built up around him while he was in prison.

There is, nevertheless, concern that the fact that he felt it necessary to make such statements is an indication that hardliners in the ANC, among whom they include NUM general secretary Cyril Rampahosa, continue to hold considerable sway in the movement.

Despite these concerns ministers are on the whole satisfied that developments since February 2 have gone as well as could be expected.

A factor which bodes well for the success of negotiations is the realisation by both government and the ANC that results have to be achieved quickly.

Mandela, talking on Swedish radio last week, echoed these sentiments when he said he expected immediate results from the April 11 meeting.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking. We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

Govt must meet several preconditions

Remove barriers to talks — Mandela

Star 19/3/90 304A

Nelson Mandela demanded at the weekend that Pretoria quickly remove obstacles to talks on power-sharing between blacks and whites.

"The Government knows very well it has met only one of our major preconditions," the ANC leader said on Saturday after returning to South Africa from a five-nation trip.

"The Government has to move very fast with the remaining ones: the return of the exiles, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and that it should

stop political prosecutions," Mr Mandela told reporters at Jan Smuts Airport.

"These are the minimum conditions we require the Government to meet before we can sit down to talk," he said.

He confirmed, however, that an ANC delegation, led by himself, would be sitting down with President de Klerk on April 11.

Mr Mandela said it would be improper for him to disclose now what would be discussed, but it seems that these preconditions will be at the top of the ANC delegation's agenda.

President de Klerk and exiled ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo announced on Friday that talks would take place in Cape Town on April 11.

Mr Mandela did not say who would join Mr Nzo and himself in the ANC team for their first talks with the SA Government.

Mr de Klerk met a key ANC demand last month by unbanning the organisation and other black opposition groups. But the President said the state of emergency was not negotiable and could be lifted only when violence abated in the black townships.

Since Mr Mandela's release, more than 220 people have been killed in fighting between black factions and many more injured.

Mr Mandela said that as soon as he had been briefed by local black leaders about the recent wave of violence in black townships and tribal homelands, "we will go into action" to stop it.

But he said that the violence was clearly a rejection by blacks of the apartheid system and that the unrest was an upsurge of popular resentment.

"Those who are worried about violence must talk to the Government," he said, adding that the conflicts would end if the Government permitted "peaceful agitation".

Mr Mandela said the violence showed that the Government's policy of separating blacks into their own areas "has no popular support whatsoever". — Reuter.

● See Page 3.

FW to hold important talks with Baker, Hurd

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's meetings this week with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd and US Secretary of State Mr James Baker are being seen by the SA Government as "highly significant".

Mr Hurd was due to arrive here later today for talks with Mr de Klerk. Mr Baker will see Mr de Klerk on Thursday after talks with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The Government regards the Baker visit as particularly important because it appears to herald a new US policy on South Africa, inspired by Mr de Klerk's bold reform moves.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden said today the Baker visit was taking place in the face of severe opposition in "certain circles" (a reference to the ANC).

Mr Baker has shrugged off criticism from Mr Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress over his decision to visit South Africa for talks with Mr de Klerk after the Namibian independence celebrations. Mr Baker will meet Mr Mandela in Namibia.

State Department officials said Mr Baker's upcoming meeting with Mr Mandela and his visit to South Africa underlined Washington's enthusiasm for budding prospects for negotiation between Pretoria and black leaders.

Mr Mandela on Saturday reiterated the ANC's policy of promoting South Africa's diplomatic isolation when he returned home from a two-week foreign visit. He said, however, that he would be willing to meet Mr Baker in Namibia.

Star 19/3/90 3086A

6 holidays to cost more than R2,4-bn

By Helen Grange

Six public holidays in April and May this year — all of which fall on working days — will cost the economy in excess of R2,4-billion, according to the SA Chamber of Business.

With these holidays falling on days at the beginning and end of the working week, some extra days would also be lost so workers could take long weekends, the chamber said.

Extremely costly

The highly disruptive holidays concentrated over these two months — (Founders Day, April 6; Good Friday, April 13; Family Day, April 16; Workers Day, May 1; Ascension Day, May 24 and Republic Day, May 31) — would play havoc with productivity countrywide every year.

"We lose something of the order of R400 million for every working day lost," said Mr Vincent Brett, labour adviser at the SA Chamber of Business.

Mr Brett said the chamber would again look at the uneven spread of public holidays, but it

was unlikely the Government would change them at this stage.

"Economies the world over make allowance for public holidays and most countries have an average of 10 public holidays a year. We are not unduly over-average," Mr Brett said.

Mr Colin Boyes, deputy director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said the April and May holidays were "extremely costly to industry".

"And worse still is when the holiday falls on a working day. Twenty percent of the working week translates into a lot of money," he said.

Industry field that a number of core holidays should be identified and more evenly spread. "At present, we are dealing with many demands from different community sectors and it is highly disruptive," Mr Boyes said.

● The Government last year recognised May Day (May 1) as a public holiday for "practical and productivity reasons". This was to stop workers staying at home on both May Day and Workers Day (May 7).

Violence: ANC blames apartheid

10/3/90 Political Reporter

African National Congress leaders yesterday reiterated a call for discipline during South Africa's political transformation, citing apartheid as one of the main reasons for the recent spate of violence which has left hundreds dead.

Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota addressed an ANC rally in the Lenasia Stadium.

They received an enthusiastic welcome from a crowd estimated by marshals at about 15 000. However, most people left before the end of the rally.

Mr Sisulu repeatedly called for unity. He said: "We have to ensure that the transition to a new South Africa will be a disciplined and an orderly process."

Mr Kathrada said the upsurge in violence was a direct result of apartheid, through which the Nationalist Government had tried to sow racial hatred.

Mr Lekota claimed that much violence was committed in the name of the ANC by people who wanted to portray the organisation as a threat.

"The looting of a shop, the senseless killing of an ordinary white man in a Vaal township, cannot advance our struggle. If you throw a stone at a white man simply because he is white, you undermine the capacity of our organisation to attract support."

ANC, Govt talks to be held on April 11

304/1

THE African National Congress (ANC) and President F W de Klerk will meet in Cape Town on April 11 for pioneering talks about formal negotiations on political reform in South Africa.

The meeting, possibly the most important breakthrough in 30 years of armed conflict, was announced simultaneously on Friday in Cape Town and at the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said he would head the movement's delegation. He did not name the other members.

De Klerk said the group would include Mr Nelson Mandela, whom he

freed last month after 27 years in prison for plotting to overthrow white rule.

"The sole purpose of these discussions is...to address those facets which are perceived to be stumbling blocks on the way to negotiations," he told a news conference in Cape Town.

De Klerk said the ANC would be free to send anyone to Cape Town, including military commanders who might be sought by South African police on terrorism charges.

Mandela told Swedish radio in Stockholm, where he has been visiting ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo, that future negotiations would depend on the outcome of the initial talks.

1713/90
Soweto

EDYTH BULBRING

GOVERNMENT had assured Jan Steyn, newly appointed manager of a R2bn social upliftment trust, that it was committed to removing racially discriminatory legislation from the statute books with deliberate speed. 1310 am 19/3/90

Steyn said yesterday he had a real concern that legislation still on the statute books could inhibit the dynamism of the initiative announced by President F W de Klerk on Friday.

De Klerk said government would add another R1bn from the proceeds of privatisation to the R2bn fund for tackling backlogs in black socio-economic development.

The private trust would be managed by Steyn, honorary chairman of the Urban

Racial laws will be lifted 'with speed'

Foundation. 304A

Steyn said the initiative should not be seen as a fund making hand-outs to the needy, but a resource to be directed at the facilitation of access to economic and other opportunities.

He would not like to speculate about how these issues should be addressed until he had canvassed priorities, strategies and opportunities with leadership groups from all sectors of the communities involved and with the private business sector.

Trustees could include members of the ANC and the UDF, Steyn said.

1310 am 19/3/90

1310 am 19/3/90

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1310 am 19/3/90

Mandela's isolation call 'a no-go'

20/3/90 Political Staff 304/A

CAPE TOWN — The call to isolate South Africa diplomatically was as outdated as apartheid itself, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday.

He based this, he said, on discussions he had with diplomatic representatives while in South America recently, and on trips to five African countries since President de Klerk's February 2 speech.

Mr Wessels attended the inaugurations of President Patricio Aylwin in Chile and President Fernando Collor de Mello in Brazil.

He represented the South African Government at both ceremonies and was one of 125 special missions at the Brazilian ceremony. This presented several opportunities for talks.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had called on world leaders to isolate South Africa but, Mr Wessels said, from his experience this call was "absolutely a no-go" and was as outdated as apartheid itself. It had no chance of success whatsoever.

There were still people who doubted

the sincerity or integrity of Pretoria, but their hostility had made way for a feeling of anticipation.

Mr Wessels said that when he met President Collor de Mello, the Brazilian leader had congratulated him on what was being done in South Africa.

American Vice-President Dan Quayle had asked about the personal relationship between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk and said he hoped that if the two of them could strike up a personal understanding, that could give the country a lead.

Mr Wessels said one Scandinavian representative had told him his government would soon announce the establishment of an embassy in South Africa.

And African leaders were asking South Africa to make it possible for them to help Pretoria and to work openly with South Africa.

"African countries really want us to be successful," Mr Wessels said.

They wanted to move closer to South Africa in view of the closer European unity from 1992, and were looking to Pretoria to offer some sort of lead.

Sta 20/3/90 (300A) (22)

Govt leaving SWA in the lurch - CP

The people of South West Africa were being left in the lurch by the SA Government and handed over to a dictatorial one-nation regime — that of the Owambos, Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to the second reading on the Recognition of the Independence of Namibia Bill, he said the Conservative Party would vote against the Bill because the possible independence of the Rehoboth people would now become null and void.

The Bill totally ignored minority groups, and the SA Government was also taking its first steps towards handing Walvis Bay over to the Namibian government.

"Namibia will remain nothing more than a name to us," Mr Jacobs said.

Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said his party fully supported the concept of a free and independent Namibia and believed it was appropriate that the South African Parliament should record its recognition of a neighbour-state.

"We wish Namibia well and hope they will prosper as a nation, that the two countries will live together in a spirit of co-operation and harmony," Mr Eglin said.

He said the Democratic Party hoped the two governments would engage in discussions over Walvis Bay without souring relations between the two countries.

"Our view is that Walvis Bay is of critical importance to Namibia and, if the necessary safeguards could be negotiated, the transfer may be in the interests of the people of both South Africa and Namibia."

Dr J P Delpont (NP Sundays River) said the Bill placed the seal on the dynamic role South Africa had played in bringing South West Africa to full maturity and independence.

The Bill was passed, after a division, with only the CP voting against. — Sapa.

'ANC, NP like centralised govt'

10/3/90 Staff Reporter

The African National Congress and the National Party were allied in their support for strong, central government and hatred of capitalism, author Don Caldwell said at Wits University yesterday.

He predicted the ANC's demands would be similar to the NP's when the two sat down to negotiations. These would include nationalised education, transport, social services and media.

"You should try to build a democratic, capitalist alternative to the failed collectivism of left and right," he said.

star 20/3/90

All eyes on Mandela and FW at celebrations

JON QWELANE of The Star's Africa News Service reports on South Africa's key personalities at tonight's Namibian independence celebrations.

WINDHOEK — The presence of two men at Namibia's independence celebrations could eclipse the combined significance of all the heads of state and foreign senior government officials expected to attend.

It could also have a positive spin-off in ensuring the first tentative steps by all concerned to thaw the regional and continental ice which has enveloped relations for so long.

It will be their first meeting since Mr Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years in prison. They last met when President de Klerk told the prisoner his day of release.

Excitement after Mr de Klerk's milestone address of February 2, when he lifted prohibitions on more than 35 organisations, including the ANC and the PAC, and promised Mr Mandela's release, saw some members of the Constituent Assembly hinting at inviting both men to the festivities.

New stature

Mr de Klerk's presence at the celebrations will certainly enhance his new stature as a pragmatic politician whose contribution is vital to the overall well-being of the sub-continent in particular and Africa in general. That he will be presiding over his country's last colonial rites in a territory whose freedom was won not without a small spillage of blood on both sides will not be lost on many people.

His presence among representatives of various states, some of them members of the Frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity and almost all of them openly hostile to his government's racist policies, will give Mr de Klerk a rare opportunity to put his case to them.

But his dramatic acceleration of change in South Africa has not gone unnoticed by even his loudest critics, though many still insist he has a long way to go before he can claim a clean bill of health.

Mr Mandela's presence at Namibia's independence celebrations will mean many things to many people.

His ordeal at the hands of the South African Government was mainly through the same ideal for which Swapo and, for that matter, Mr Mandela's organisation, went to war with the same government. Namibia's attainment of independence will, in many ways, certainly lend credence to his cause and perhaps even, in the eyes of many, vindicate it.

Swapo and the ANC have a long history of co-operation and collaboration against Pretoria, their forces often fighting side by side in combat with South African forces.

To the majority party in Namibia's parliament, Mr Mandela's presence will cement even more the common bonds between the two organisations.

Sharing a platform with Mr de Klerk and heads of state will, in the minds of some, be a likely indicator which direction Mr Mandela, otherwise an ordinary member of a political organisation holding no elected office, could be heading.

After all, there on the stage with the recently released political prisoner will most likely be other former political prisoners jailed for precisely the same cause — possibly men like President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

It could well turn out that the path for Mr de Klerk to hold private talks, if any, with African heads of state attending the celebrations could be smoothed out by Mr Mandela. It was the ANC leader himself who heaped unprecedented praise on the National Party leader, calling him "a man of integrity and courage".

In his own right, of course, Mr Mandela will be the major attraction of the celebrations.

His lengthy incarceration bestowed on him a stature to which few in the world could ever aspire, and the adulation his release received at home and internationally established him firmly as a man most people and nations would like to deal with.

It all depends on the men coming to the celebrations.

3044

Budget Bill is passed despite stiff opposition

The "own affairs" budget of the House of Assembly was one of a crumbling and capitulating National Party and was an exercise in misleading the people, Mr CH Pienaar (CP Heilbron) said yesterday.

He said the budget had been reduced to an arithmetic example of Chinese bookkeeping in which own affairs money was being used for other races.

Another reason why the CP would oppose the budget was because the help it afforded farmers was pathetic.

"If there is a section of the white community being disgracefully treated, it is the farmers."

Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said that the National Party was underestimating the power of nationalism and was going against the tide of history.

He said even after centuries of oppression, the nationalism of the Lithuanians could not be dampened or extin-

guished.

"It was nationalism that established the Conservative Party and which will make us the majority party. We and our land will not become part of Azania. We will do what we have to in order to restore peace," he said.

The Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said his party would oppose the budget because the concept of a tri-cameral system only catered for three of the four population groups and was inefficient and wasteful when the country was in dire need of funds.

He said the increase of R25 a month for social pensioners was inadequate due to the high rate of inflation.

Mr J W Maree (NP Klerksdorp) said the own affairs system was still the only method by which each group's interests could be looked after.

The Bill was passed after a division.

— Sapa.

EW to meet Shevardnadze

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is expected to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze in Windhoek today in his first diplomatic contact with a Soviet representative.

He is also likely to meet President Chissano of Mozambique, President Kaunda of Zambia and President dos Santos of Angola in the Namibian capital.

SA diplomatic sources said there was a waiting list of 30 people to see Mr de Klerk and he would probably not see them all. Others he will see include the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

● This week, the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee on southern Africa agreed to begin direct contacts with the South African Government in an effort to find a peaceful end to apartheid.

SAC 20/3/90

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'Talks must include all parties'

Political Reporter

It would be a mistake by the Government and the African National Congress to determine an agenda for negotiation without the participation of all other political parties, Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said last night.

Speaking at a public meeting in Pietersburg, Mr Malan said the April 11 meeting between the Government and the ANC should be aimed at creating a climate for negotiations.

Topics which should be addressed included the release of all political prisoners, the state of emergency, amnesty to exiles and sanctions.

One issue which could already be placed on the table was the names of people alleged to have been involved in hit squad hierarchies, he said.

Most of them probably believed their actions were legitimate. They were victims of the "total onslaught" propaganda.

He added: "And to (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan I want to ask whether there is not enough evidence on the existence of unacceptable secret projects to demand his apology and disappearance from politics."

World reaction to SA 'very positive'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government was approaching "a watershed" in its foreign relations, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday.

Mr Wessels was speaking at a press briefing after a week-long trip to South America during which he met scores of senior politicians including Portuguese President Mr Mario Soares, US Vice-President Mr Dan Quayle and senior African politicians.

Mr Wessels, who attended the inaugurations of the new Chilean and Brazilian heads of state, said South Africa had received "a very positive reaction" from virtually

all the foreign government representatives there.

"I can categorically say that the ANC call to isolate SA is now as outdated as apartheid itself.

"Mr Nelson Mandela's plea to the international community to isolate the so-called apartheid government is a 'no go' and has no chance of success."

Mr Wessels said that while certain countries still questioned the motives of the SA government, he had not encountered any "hostility" from other governments.

Even representatives from Scandinavian countries had been "very positive".

"Hostility is making way for participation," he said.

Mr Wessels said the reaction he had received from African politi-

cians had been particularly encouraging.

"They are saying: Settle things in SA so that we can do business with you openly."

It was time for SA to become more ambitious about its international relations given the platform provided by the reforms President F W de Klerk had unveiled in recent months.

"We must prepare ourselves for a situation where SA will be a full participant on the international scene and stop being modest about our role in international affairs."

Mr De Klerk would receive tremendous appreciation for the role South Africa had played in the election process which led to Namibian independence, he said.

'New era for farming'

Political Staff

AGRICULTURE in South Africa was entering a new era, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Jacob de Villiers, said yesterday.

"The political reform process together with a more market-related economic system will demand adjustments from everyone, but at the same time it will open doors to greater prosperity," he told Malmesbury Farmers' Association.

Pienaar appointment a 'political move'

Staff Reporters

THE appointment of Namibian Administrator General Mr Louis Pienaar to head the Censor Board was a "political appointment" which would lead to more state control over censorship, leading Afrikaans writer Professor André P Brink said.

Wits University publications law expert Prof John Dugard said he believed Mr Pienaar did not have any experience in the field of censorship.

Anti-Censorship Action Group spokeswoman Ms Pat Sidley said the organisation wanted to see the "censorship apparatus" dismantled.

Professor Ample Coetsee, professor of Afrikaans at UWC, said "it didn't matter" whether a conservative or a "verligte" headed the Appeals Board as "it was a bad system".

'SA economy has improved'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

Even with sanctions and boycotts the economic situation in South Africa had improved over the past few years, the Minister of the Budget and Local Government, Mr Amie Venter, said yesterday.

He said during resumption of the first reading debate on the Appropriation Bill that the government could not give everyone what they wanted. — Sapa

AT YOUR SERVICE

YOUR LUCK TODAY

Aquarius (January 20 — February 18): Guard against a mood of over-optimism which could lead you to take on more than you can handle in the time available. The result could be chaos. You may be disappointed by someone's reaction to you.

Pisces (February 19 — March 20): You may have to extricate someone from a self-inflicted predicament and you can gain gratitude for your tact and good sense. This is a promising day for preparing and submitting plans for approval.

Aries (March 21 — April 19): Readiness to adjust your day's schedule can give you the time needed to attend to significant details that could otherwise upset calculations. Someone upset in an emotional hassle could need a shoulder to cry on.

Taurus (April 20 — May 20): Disagreement on a point of principle is likely, but be careful that you don't lose the argument in a display of temperament. Keep cool, whatever the provocation. It could be a rather jolly evening socially.

Gemini (May 21 — June 21): You could receive an unexpected favour, but be wary that there are no strings attached. Ulterior motives could be behind events during the day. Having a little money put by could be welcome later. Lucky numbers 10, 15, 31.

Cancer (June 22 — July 22): There could be a puzzling event and the explanation offered may not add up completely. Sapa

SUPREME COURT ROLL

THIRD DIVISION Court No 6

Admissions
P J van der Merwe — Attorney and Conveyancer.

Rule nisi

P Bannings v The Partnership Estate of Fancy Feathers The Partners being RE Bannings & 2 other; NB Lotz v WF Smit; G J van Wyk v G J van Wyk (Jnr) — Sequestration. Boland Bank Bpk v Sylva Holdings (Edms) Bpk — Liquidation. Aasfan CC v C Said & 2 other; Mondl Paper Company Ltd v Bruply Sawmills Cape v Paper, Printing, Wood & Allied Workers' Union & others — Interdict.

Quinwood Construction (Pty) Ltd v D J Stein — Spoliation Order. PG Glass Holdings (Pty) Ltd v Alex Awnings (Western Province) (Pty) Ltd v Decor Services — Declara-

S Reed v Mutual & Federal Insurance Co Ltd — Damages.

Divorces

S Y v E Q Adams, B L v S R Alexander, S C K v A Barron, G L v R R Botha, S D v E J M Botha, U E v M C Collins, E G v F M A Cook, J J v P S Cornelius, P F v D A Damons, K v T Davids, M E L v M C de Jager, C v J R du Plessis, W T v J Fredericks, C G H v J P Fry, U J v E F Groenewald, G U v M J Lasker, D v J J Lombard, E V C B Maroe, V M v D J Marsh, D M v K S Michaels, D W v K Palmer, D J v A M Pennett, D J v G Peters, J v C H Phala, M M H v S G Taylor.

FOURTH DIVISION Civil trials

A Pentz v W Grobbelaar — Koopkontrak. Metro Cash & Carry Ltd v Metco One Wholesale Supermarkets — Goods Sold.

Diplomatic flurry

CAF 7/4/15 20/3/10 3064



TALKS... President De Klerk and Mr. Pik Botha with British Foreign Secretary Mr. Douglas Hurd at Tuynhuys yesterday.

THE independence of Namibia at midnight tonight has brought a diplomatic flurry to Southern Africa.

In Cape Town for a one-day visit on his way to Windhoek, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Douglas Hurd, disclosed that a summit between President F.W. de Klerk and British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher will take place in Britain in May.

Mr. Hurd, who met Mr. De Klerk and a number of senior cabinet ministers as well as visiting British-sponsored projects in Crossroads, also announced an additional R40 million in aid to black South Africans.

World reaction to SA very positive — Page 5

The OAU move followed a recommendation by the ANC to set up a group to maintain contact with all parties to the SA political dispute.

Yesterday the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Leon Wessels, said the government was approaching "a watershed" in its foreign relations. He was speaking at a press briefing after a week-long trip to South America during which he met scores of senior foreign politicians.

Meanwhile, as thousands of Namibians yesterday began descending on Windhoek to witness the birth of their republic, a steady stream of international guests headed by the world's chief diplomat, UN Secretary-General Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, arrived to grant the fledgling territory world status.

On his arrival he said "We now look forward to Namibia taking its place at a very early date among member states of the UN."

"The world now speaks of the Namibian model in praise of the determination, restraint and political maturity demonstrated by Namibians as they joined together in national

reconciliation inspired by Mr. Sam Nujoma," Mr. Wessels said.

Mr. De Klerk arrives in the former colony this morning and will hold talks with a host of local and world leaders before lowering the SA flag at midnight tonight to indicate Namibia's entry into the world community.

Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze arrived via Luanda where he threw Moscow's weight behind Angolan government efforts to end a 15-year war against UNITA.

Soviet diplomats said his visit to Southern Africa marked the dramatic shift in fundamental Soviet political thinking and its recognition of the major importance of Africa in global politics.

"We have always thought that such a visit was necessary due to Africa's major importance and the role of African nations in the global community."

US Secretary of State Mr. James Baker arrived last night with jazz great Dizzy Gillespie, who will take part in the celebrations, and was a guest on board Mr. Baker's plane.

Mr. Baker planned to see several major figures involved in US policy toward Africa and other areas, including President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Mr. Shevardnadze. Both meetings are set for today.

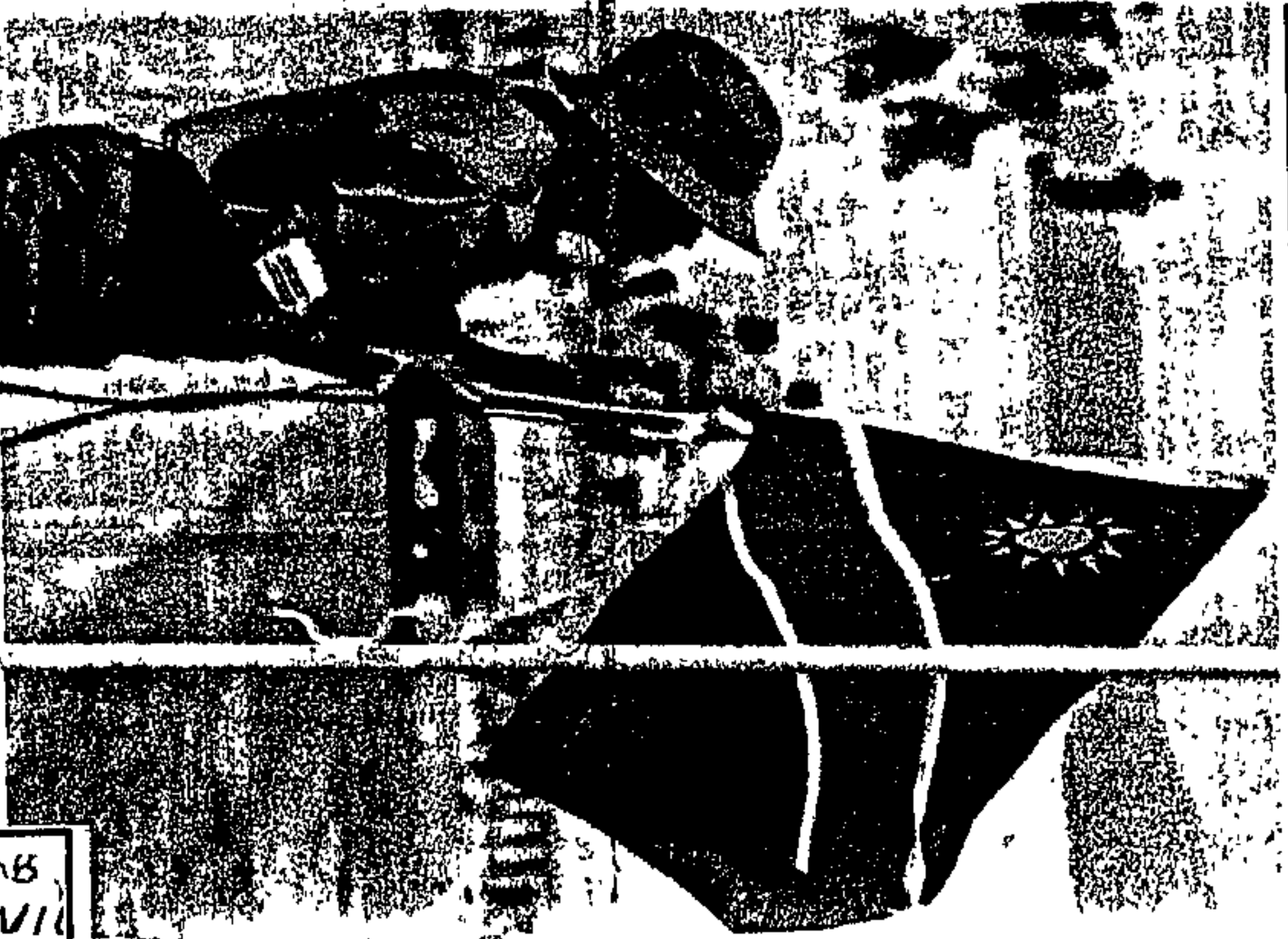
Mr. Baker also will hold talks in Windhoek with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and intends to urge him to negotiate for a share of the government with UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi. He will see Dr. Savimbi and President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire before flying home on Saturday.

But his key meetings will be with the South African government and Mr. Nelson Mandela. En route to Windhoek Mr. Baker was cautious about the developing US role in encouraging negotiations in Southern Africa, but said that he would encourage Mr. De Klerk during their meeting on Thursday in Cape Town to continue the process of stripping away apartheid.

"We are going to point out that the question is not really one of sanctions or their removal, but rather one of negotiations," Mr. Baker said.

Mr. Baker's aides made it clear before his departure that the administration of President

Freedom at midnight



GETTING READY... When Namibia becomes an independent nation at midnight tonight the country's new flag will go up in place of the South African flag. Here a Namibian soldier hoists the new flag during practice for tonight's celebrations. ● Report — Page 3

George Bush would not yield to Mr. Mandela's demands for all political prisoners and end of emergency.

Yesterday's announcement of Mr. De Klerk's meeting with Mrs. Thatcher followed a meeting with the State President.

To page 3

P.T.O.

W L T S L T M L T P.T.O.

BELLVIL

Sapa

CVI-744-1 20/3/80

Anglo's new advert drive

30/6/80 (22/80)
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Anglo American yesterday launched its overseas ambassadorial offensive to raise the group's international profile in the politico-economic debate.

Two full-page advertisements in both The Times and The Guardian signalled the start of a campaign disclosed when Anglo's chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, announced his retirement and his new role as an unofficial ambassador for the group and South Africa.

THE Reverend Joseph Lowery heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a position once held by Dr Martin Luther King. I met him nine years ago while doing a story on a string of child murders that was gripping Atlanta. He was playing a major role in the episode, but not a useful one. To the contrary, he seemed to be doing his best to foment a race riot.

Children die routinely in Atlanta's slums, as in other American inner cities. I spent a week of night shifts with a policeman finding out why. Mostly, it is a matter of broken homes. A drunken common law father lashes out a little too viciously. A pimp gets angry. And of course there is the drug business. A dealer thinks his nine-year-old runner has short-changed him; end of nine-year-old.

In late 1980, early 1981 there was also a serial killer loose in the city. Lowery caused a national stir by charging that a group of white terrorists was trying to wipe out "our future" while the white establishment stood nonchalantly by. This caught on, as did Lowery's dark warning of a long hot summer if something was not done about it. With the body count at over 20 and the police unable to crack the case, it became fashionable across the country to sport a green armband in solidarity with Atlanta's suffering.

When an arrest was finally made, the killer turned out to be a young black man. Furthermore only a fraction of the deaths could be directly linked to him. The rest were the routine kind, though nobody ever wanted to admit this of course, least of all Lowery. It would have meant looking the real problem in the face. The poverty and hopelessness of the ghetto is too fruitful a source of political leverage ever to be seriously addressed.

This came back to me last week

US politicians care for their own futures as much as for SA's

SIMON BARBER in Washington

when Lowery and a flying wedge of fellow black leaders — including the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Randall Robinson and Coretta Scott King — descended on Secretary of State James Baker demanding that they be allowed to dictate US policy towards Africa, especially the southern bit.

Differences of opinion over how long and which sanctions should remain in force against SA are legitimate. Anyone is entitled to the wedge's view that Namibia is getting too little American aid, and that the US taxpayer should be obliged to fork over \$25m to the ANC. However, the line must surely be drawn at branding the State Department an "apartheid" institution because there are too few black Americans making administration policy on SA. Lowery and his colleagues asserted exactly that.

Their real beef with Baker boiled down to the extraordinary notion that the department somehow commits the same sin as Pretoria by not, repeat not, protecting "group rights" in its appointments. By this logic, only Jewish diplomats should deal

with Israel, Hispanics with Latin America and WASPs with Britain. Absurd, yet the irony quite escaped the delegation. Lowery's tongue could not have been further from his cheek when he said: "We believe the State Department can be much more effective in dismantling apartheid in southern Africa if it dismantles its apartheid-like personnel policies right here".

Laughaible it may be, but this madness is also highly revealing. What it reveals is that the positions Lowery and the rest take on SA are in very large measure an irresponsible hus-

What is especially startling on this occasion is the transparency. Thanks to President F W de Klerk, the SA issue has lost its power to turn the US establishment into jelly. Opposing additional sanctions can no longer be construed as "racist". All sorts of decent people do it. So the ante must be upped. What is "racist" now is that the administration insists on funneling hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to white Eastern Europe while only \$500 000 to Namibia, that it will not accord the ANC the same status as Lech Walesa's Solidarity, and most preposterously of all, that there are insufficient black Americans sitting next to Secretary Baker when policy on the region is formulated.

Happily, President George Bush is quietly refusing to let himself be shaken down in this manner. He wouldn't take Jackson's call when the latter returned from SA last month. It is entirely likely that once the political prisoner issue is settled, and the state of emergency lifted, Bush will move to certify that Pretoria has made sufficiently "substantial progress" toward eliminating

apartheid to enable him to start lifting sanctions. That's the good news. The bad news is that Baker has effectively been deputised to take the heat. The flying wedge would have liked to have gone to the White House, but it was shunted over to the State Department for Baker to deal with. Both by temperament and because he apparently nurses an irrational ambition to succeed Bush as president, he is the last person one would want for the task of standing up to these people. This, after all, is the profile in courage of the man who mixed De Klerk's visit to Washington last year and who had to be overruled by the President when he tried to stop the South African leader being invited over after Nelson Mandela's release. As for lifting sanctions, once the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's terms are met, Baker's advisers stress he does not even intend to discuss the subject when he gets to SA on Thursday.

There are several reasons the Secretary decided, after prolonged dithering, to attend the Namibian independence bash and then fly on to meet De Klerk in Cape Town. Two of the weightier ones have nothing to do with SA. First, the wedge kindly agreed that it was okay for him to see the State President, the ANC's opposition notwithstanding; without that permission he would almost certainly have gone directly from Windhoek to Zaire. Second, Vice President Dan Quayle wanted to make the trip. Quayle is a potential rival in 1996 and therefore could not be allowed to be the first senior American official to have his picture taken shaking Nelson Mandela's hand. There was a turf fight. The Vice President lost.

It would be nice to believe that Baker's visit was part of a coherent diplomacy to promote a decent outcome in SA. Bush probably sees it that way. His Secretary of State has other motivations. SA's realities are the least of his concerns, just as Atlanta's were for the Rev Lowery.

LETTERS

Hurd buoyed by De Klerk's initiatives

CAPE TOWN — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said yesterday he was impressed by the scope and conviction of President F W de Klerk's thinking and was convinced he would strongly pursue the reform initiative started on February 2.

Hurd disclosed that De Klerk would meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in May. Thatcher, he said, had no immediate plans to visit SA.

The Foreign Secretary also announced an extra £10m in British aid to SA.

Hurd, who visited Crossroads yesterday, said the greater part of assistance would go into projects to improve the quality of

MIKE ROBERTSON

black education. Britain was also looking at ways to support efforts to help improve conditions in squatter settlements and had increased support for rural projects.

He said De Klerk's bold steps had brought about a sea change in SA which made negotiations a real possibility. The SA government's pace was impressive.

De Klerk had outlined steps during their "invigorating and illuminating" talks that would be taken towards negotiations and how he perceived the prospects for the initial talks with the ANC.

He said he was impressed by the R3bnc plan which government had announced to eliminate backlogs resulting from apartheid legislation and believed that the EC, which gave a lot of money to help black South Africans, should consider diverting some of the money to improve housing conditions.

Hurd said he had not asked to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on this trip. Mandela, he said, was aware of Thatcher's invitation to him and it was up to him to decide on when he wished to raise the level of contact with Britain.

□ To Page 2



Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his British counterpart Douglas Hurd after Hurd's talks with President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys in Cape Town yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

Hurd

While the British government had a number of points of disagreement with the ANC, it also had areas of agreement with the organisation and intended to "keep in touch".

Asked whether he had pressed De Klerk to drop the state of emergency, Hurd said it was incumbent on every government to take steps to protect its citizens.

But De Klerk knew that the lifting of the emergency, an important obstacle, figured among the suggestions by international organisations of how to bring about negotiations.

Addressing a Press conference immediately after Hurd, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said De Klerk had given Hurd a preview of how he saw developments to come.

De Klerk, he said, outlined government's approach to dealing with the release of

political prisoners and the return of exiles which it perceived to be obstacles in the way of negotiations.

Pressed for further details, Botha said it would be inappropriate to make public "discussions of a delicate nature that must still take place with the ANC". De Klerk had also raised the issue of who should participate in eventual negotiations.

Asked whether De Klerk had told Hurd that the recent increase in unrest made it impossible to lift the emergency, Botha said the violence had put a brake on government's desire to do away with the remaining parts of the emergency.

However it firmly believed this was an area where the ANC, UDF and others could make a positive contribution. Government hoped that together they could find a way to lift the emergency not as a political gesture but as an act of joint responsibility.

□ From Page 1

Anglo in UK ad campaign

5/Day 20/3/90

LONDON — Anglo American yesterday launched its overseas ambassadorial offensive to raise the group's international profile in the politico-economic debate now starting in SA. (304A)

Advertisements in The Times and The Guardian, each of two full pages, signalled the start of a campaign revealed when Anglo chairman Gavin Relly announced his retirement and new role as unofficial ambassador for the group and SA.

Both proclaim Anglo's whole-hearted commitment to a fully democratic, free market society.

The Times advertisement says SA's democratic constitution, "however it is finally devised, must reflect a political and economic structure that creates wealth rather than re-allocates poverty".

The Guardian advert announces Anglo's intention to invest R8bn over the next three years and says: "In a post-apartheid

JOHN CAVILL

SA all its people must have equal access to both the ballot box and the market place, if they are to be liberated not only from oppression, but from poverty."

Anglo plans to use all the UK "quality" newspapers and The Economist. (1221)

Yesterday's advertisements may have cost £63 000 and similar placements in three other newspapers could amount to another £133 800. Matching-size advertisements in the four "serious" Sunday papers could add another £190 000 to the bill.

Michael Spicer, assistant to Relly, said in London yesterday: "The advertisements are part of an exercise to gradually raise Anglo American's profile (1221)

"It will embrace Anglo as a business and, on the political agenda, what we can contribute to, and stimulate, the coming debate in SA."

NP 'scouting area outside Parliament'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The extra-parliamentary political scene had been neglected for too long and the National Party was busy bilaterally scouting this area and having discussions in it as it was within the parliamentary system.

This was said yesterday by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Kobie Coetsee, during debate on his vote.

This was why the NP was meeting the ANC on April 11.

Turning to the Democratic Party, he said that "for the sake of a big cause, I do not mind saying 'you were right'."

Points that parties in the Assembly — the NP, DP and CP — shared included:

- The recognition of the existence of groups in South Africa.

- All were against discrimination — the NP and DP most clearly, and the CP yesterday from its back benches.

- All spoke out against domination of others.

The NP was busy with an outward movement and saw it as its task to lead all the people of the country to a better South Africa in the new century.

Mr Coetsee reiterated an undertaking given by President F W de Klerk that before any material changes were made to the constitution, the electorate would be consulted.

The whole cabinet was bound by this. — Sapa

Sowetan 21/3/90

Parallel diplomacy

WINDHOEK - ANC
vice-president Nelson
Mandela will have a
series of meetings in
Windhoek with foreign
government representa-
tives, including United
States Secretary of State
James Baker.



304A
Southern Africa to initiate
discussions with South
Africa.

Mandela's meetings
will run parallel to a
similar though more ex-
tensive series of meetings
being held by President F
W de Klerk. After flying
into Windhoek yesterday
afternoon, Mandela is
due to meet today with
Soviet Foreign Minister
Eduard Shevardnadze,
among others.

According to the
schedule his day will be-
gin with a working break-
fast with African heads of
state whose identities
were not immediately
made known. Among
other government repre-
sentatives he will meet
will be West German for-
eign minister Hans-
Dietrich Genscher.

The major subject of
discussion will un-
doubtedly be De Klerk's
reform programme and
the ANC's reaction to it.
It is likely that the discus-
sions will also touch on
the decision taken in
Lusaka this week by the
Organisation of African
Unity's committee on

Britain's Douglas Hurd looks back over 12 years

A sea of changes in SA, says UK minister

(304A)
Jowelan
21/3/90

FOCUS

THIS is my second visit to South Africa. I was here twelve years ago. My hosts on that occasion were the South Africa Foundation. I am delighted to be back with you today.

In the 12 years since I was here, there have been enormous changes in South Africa, affecting the lives of all South Africans.

Many of you helped achieve these changes. When we spoke of market forces, the emphasis was on forces, as well as market.

Pressures

The pressures of the market place have done more than anything to bring home to the South African Government that the elaborate system of apartheid simply does not work.

The decisions of the past six months signalled a major transformation - the tolerance of large peaceful demonstrations, repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, desegregation of the beaches, scrapping of the National Security Management System, the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and other Rivonia trialists.

At the same time there has been the remarkable progress in the successful accomplishment of internationally recognised independence for Namibia - a goal towards which the international community had struggled in vain for the past 10 years.

Cooperation

That has opened up entirely new possibilities for cooperation in this region.

But it was President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament which marked, I believe, a sea change in South African politics. The measures he announced were more than a pragmatic response to the pressure of events. They showed sincerity,



Rt Hon Douglas Hurd, CBE MP

courage and a new insight into South Africa's problems and the range of measures needed to tackle them.

The pictures which appeared in newspapers throughout the world of Mandela and De Klerk standing side by side brought home what an enormous burden rests on their shoulders.

The rest of world cannot second-guess the negotiations on which South Africans are soon to embark.

Words

But our words and actions can affect the prospects of success.

The changes that have taken place are ones which we in Britain have campaigned long and hard. When De Klerk and other senior South Africans Ministers visited Britain last year, the Prime Minister and my predecessor, Sir Geoffrey Howe, argued strongly for the unbanning of the political long-term security prisoners as the means to create the possibility which now exists, probably for the first time in South Africa's history, to achieve its rightful place as a democratic, non-racial and prosperous country and as the eco-

nomic powerhouse of the region.

In doing so, we were guided by the negotiating concept put forward in 1986 by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group.

Task now

The task now is to get to the point where negotiations on the future constitution begin.

The shape of that future constitution must be for South Africans - black and white - to decide.

There has been much talk of outside powers seeking some kind of mediating role or to act as "honest brokers".

In Britain, our objectives are more modest. We cannot decide the outcome of the negotiations. We are trying to help to get the parties to the negotiating table.

We do not believe that it will be possible to achieve a settlement except on the basis of one person, one vote.

That does not rule out protection for minority rights or structural guarantees, as Mandela puts it, for which there are perfectly respectable precedents around the world.

Sensitive

A year or two ago, it was still a sensitive matter here to argue for one person, one vote - as if it somehow might be possible to deny some citizens the right to vote or to devise arrangements with any prospect of permanence based on a partial or qualified franchise.

Today I am glad to note that the South African Government itself is talking in terms of universal franchise and De Klerk has made clear that the future constitution has to be acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

There is a long and difficult road ahead. Three legislative pillars of the apartheid system still remain.

The group areas are being eroded. It must be obvious that the days of residential segregation through racially-based legislation are numbered.

Equally discriminatory are the provisions of the Land Acts, under which black South Africans are

precluded from owning agricultural land over the greater part of the territory of South Africa.

We hope that a decision to repeal them will be taken sooner than later. We have welcomed the statement by the Minister responsible for negotiations on a new constitution, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, that the Population Registration Act cannot be carried forward in a new constitution. State schools are still segregated.

I was encouraged by Mandela's remarks in Harare. He recognised the need for people to be able to attend schools in their own cultural tradition. But he also emphasised the overwhelming need for the state school system in South Africa to be de-segregated. We entirely agree.

We do not believe that any efficient allocation of resources can be made to education until that happens.

But that does not, in the meantime, dispense us from making great efforts ourselves to help prepare South Africa and black South Africans for the role they are going to be called upon to play in the government of this country.

There is no more important area in which we can contribute our help - or where we are better qualified to do so - than in education.

The British Council opened their new centre in Johannesburg last October and we are financing scholarships for about 1 000 black South African students at universities in Britain and in South Africa.

Those numbers will increase rapidly. I was glad to be able to announce that the British Government is pledging an additional 10 million pounds (about R40m) worth of assistance - over and above the programmes we are funding already - in aid to black South Africans over the next three or four years.

The bulk of that additional assistance will again go towards education where we see an urgent need, for instance to help train black South Africans in administration and public finance.

*Continues tomorrow.

No party can go it alone in new SA - Coetsee

NP 'seeking future partners'

Political Staff

The National Party was actively scouting for future partners as it entered the "new South Africa", Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has disclosed.

He referred to partnerships with those who shared the NP's values, omitting any references in a House of Assembly speech yesterday, to skin colour.

The comments by Mr Coetsee, leader of the NP in the Free State, followed the weekend announcement by the party's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, that future partners would have to be viewed in terms of their values and not their race.

Their utterances came amid a debate in NP ranks on whether it could or should retain its whites-only membership as it enters a new political era.

No party could go it alone, Mr Coetsee said yesterday in a white own-affairs budget debate.

"The NP must at least enjoy the co-operation of other political parties in supporting (certain) value systems.

Bill of rights

"Yes, with an eye to this the NP is exploring the terrain where there can be co-operation between parties."

Mr Coetsee said the NP was scouting the expansion of value

systems to which as many political parties as possible could bind themselves.

It was reconnoitring aims and goals such as a bill of human rights as a binding mechanism, he said.

A variation of understandings between political parties could arise from this process, he said, raising the possibility of partnerships and alliances. A future constitution would determine the nature of what forms that co-operation would take.

Mr Coetsee said an example of how it could look in practice was reflected in the co-operation with other parties in Parliament.

"In the process of scouting,

obstacles are identified and removed," he said.

Other political groups outside Parliament were also scouting, he said. They were doing so to overthrow the system.

"For too long we have left the extra-parliamentary scene to itself," he said. "The NP is thus talking from Parliament with that scene, also in search of common ground on which a future State model can be built.

"That common ground lies in the acceptance of a specific system of minimum values."

● Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said six weeks ago that the NP alone would not hold power by the turn of the century.



PARLIAMENT
1990

Ministers paid to live at home

Star
21/3/90

Political Staff 304A

Three members of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council are being paid more than R2 000 a month each to live in their own houses as opposed to living in State-provided homes.

This has emerged from questions posed by Mr Kamal Panday, the National Peoples Party member for Reservoir Hills, to Mr George Bartlett, Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs.

Mr Bartlett said Dr J N Reddy, Chairman of the Ministers' Coun-

cil, was paid R1 925 a month, plus his expenditure on municipal services, rates and taxes.

Mr Baldeo Dookie, Minister of Health Services and Welfare, received R1 708,50 a month, plus municipal services, rates and taxes, while Mr Yunus Moolla, Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, received R1 925 a month plus municipal services, rates and taxes.

Mr Bartlett said other Ministers were provided with furnished, official residences.

Kobie explains Mandela talks

Star 21/3/90
Government Ministers had held talks on a variety of subjects with Mr Nelson Mandela while he was in prison, but had most definitely not taken part in negotiations with the imprisoned ANC leader about country's future, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) during an interpellation debate, he said he and another Cabinet Minister had met Mr Mandela on several occasions to discuss ways in which a peaceful political climate could be created.

Mr Mandela had emphasised his loyalty to the ANC and that he was not negotiating on behalf of the organisation. However, it was the ANC and not he that should negotiate with the Government, Mr Mandela had said.

Mr Jacobs said Mr Coetsee was making a fine distinction between talks and what amounted to negotiations. What was clear was that Government Ministers had talked to Mr Mandela about the South Africa's constitutional future even though the NP had told voters in the September 1989 elections that it would not talk to ANC. — Sapa.

Change behaviour, not the law, says doctor

By Carina le Grange

The abuse of alcohol and drugs were a "people's problem and not a substance problem" for which yet more new legislation was not needed, Sanca's Johannesburg director Dr Sylvain de Miranda said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He gave the opening address at the seventh summer school on alcohol and drug dependence organised by the Centre for Alcohol and Drug Studies.

"Alcohol and drug dependence have become probably the major threat to community life. Unless we're going to be successful in diminishing demand for drugs, in offering effective treatment, we're not going to be successful in containing this problem," Dr de Miranda said.

The need to apply scientific knowledge to the problem was

great but was badly lacking.

"We aim for an effective strategy against the escalation of alcohol and drug abuse, which affects families, parenting, child-rearing and the economy.

"What we need is to change behaviour — not yet new drug legislation — as the conclusion has been reached that you can't shoot down the drug problem."

Human Sciences Research Council researcher Mrs Lee Rocha-Silva said 20 percent of teenagers had admitted to using dagga in a 1985 study in Natal.

Alcohol, rather than dagga, was believed by them to have negative effects on health. Curiosity, peer pressure and "getting a kick out of it" were the main reasons dagga use was started.

She said the study indicated that dagga use increased with the level of education and age.

Sanca hails Bill on drug dealing, abuse

By Stan Hlophe

304A
The steep new penalties for drug dealers and users tabled in Parliament this week have been welcomed by the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence.

Sanca executive director Dr Liz Pretorius said the organisation supported the fact that attention was being given to increasing the severity of sentences with regard to the possession of and dealing in dependence-producing and dangerous substances.

In the Abuse of Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Amendment Bill, mandatory imprisonment for drug dealers is to be reintroduced and maximum fines will be scrapped to allow courts to impose whatever fines they like — in keeping with the value of the drug involved.

Dr Pretorius pointed out that to curb the growing drug abuse problem, South Africa had to have an integrated and co-ordinated approach.

"We not only need effective prevention and treatment programmes but must have appropriate legislation to deal with those persons dealing in drugs and making drugs available. The new legislation is, furthermore, in keeping with international trends."

Lighter sentences for first offenders will be ditched and fines may be imposed on top of jail sentences.

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Thumbs-down for medicinal dagga use

By Carina le Grange

The use of dagga could cause coronary problems and lead to heart attacks, to which people older than 30 were particularly vulnerable, Professor Aubrey Theron said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The professor, a clinical psychologist attached to the University of Pretoria's criminology department, was speaking on whether dagga should be legalised for medicinal purposes, at the seventh summer school of the Centre for Alcohol and Drug Studies.

He said dagga had been used for medicinal purposes throughout the ages for medical problems such as gout, asthma, migraine and pain in childbirth. But several studies had proved it had no medicinal advantages, while some people believed that only the strongest forms, such as Durban Poison, could be harmful.

Professor Theron said arguments to legalise the substance had to look at facts such as that dagga could cause permanent brain damage in animals.

"People who use dagga four to five times a week over a prolonged period suffer from slurred speech, tremors of the hands, are clumsy in their movements and find that their depth perception is impaired."

Traces of the psycho-active substance of dagga, THC, had been found in intestinal organs of animals only 30 minutes after use; could cause permanent damage to the liver; and collected in the testicles.

"We don't yet know what the effects are on babies conceived while THC is present in the testicles. THC also finds its way into the milk of nursing mothers."

"Is there any reason it should be legalised? We have so many other drugs — should we have another harmful substance legalised? It would be unwise."

21/3/90

(244P) (244P) (304A)

Harms has Lubowski details – Malan

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan told Parliament yesterday he had given the Harms Commission detailed information about claims of how assassinated Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski was recruited and paid as a SADF agent. He was replying to questions from Democratic Party MP Mr Tian van der Merwe who asked:

- When, where, on what conditions and by whom was Mr Lubowski recruited?
- Was he still an agent of the State at the time of his death? If so, when was the last payment made to him?

- How much was he paid from the time of his recruitment as an SADF agent to the time of his death, and on what basis was he paid?

- If he was paid in cash, by whom and how?

- If he was paid by cheque, who were the signatories of the cheques, and where were they deposited?

- If he signed receipts on payment, to whom were the receipts made out?

- If records of such receipts were kept, by whom, and where? If not, why not?

General Malan said he had told the Harms Commission all these details on March 9.

● See Page 7.

Slabbert: Hard road to democracy

Political Correspondent

FORTY years of apartheid rule have effectively destroyed the "normal" political infrastructure which have to make democratic policies viable in South Africa, according to Idasa policy director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

In his "state of the nation" analysis in Idasa's first annual report, he says that constituency issue-related and organised politics had been superseded by con-

frontational, charismatic and mass mobilisation politics.

"Anyone who thinks that this deficiency is going to be overcome simply by releasing political prisoners and lifting the emergency, believes that Cinderella really did find her glass slipper."

Dr Slabbert acknowledges that while there was "much to get excited about" by recent political developments, observers should — "before we get too excited"

about the possibility of genuine liberalisation in South Africa — recognise that the country is:

● On the social front, polarised and riddled with racial deprivation.

● On the economic front, domestically underdeveloped, racially unequal and internationally isolated.

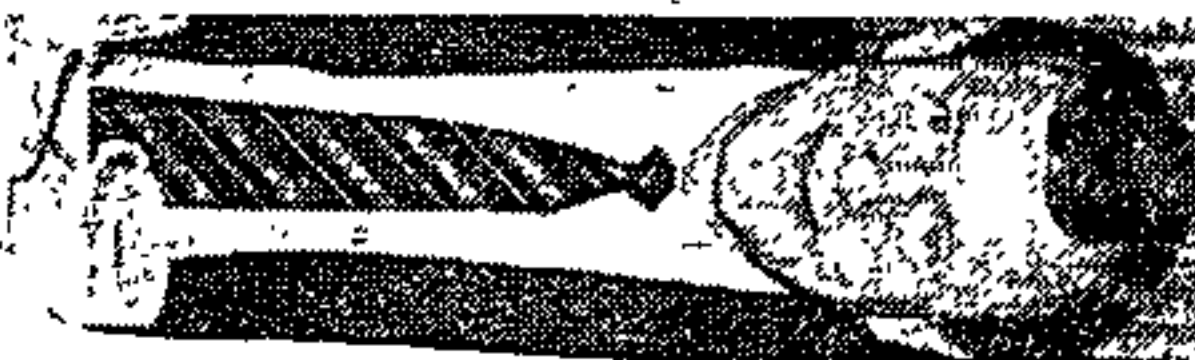
● On the political front, without the organisational infrastructure to assist the country in tackling its

socio-economic problems democratically.

"As far as the prospects for the future are concerned, we have much to be humble about.

"But we are better off than last year, and this is the source of our hope and anticipation. Maybe next year will be better still."

Dr Slabbert said that most important was that most of the key political participants had declared themselves willing to explore a genuine democratic alternative.



Idasa's work 'never done'

Political Correspondent

THE latest reforms introduced by President F W de Klerk have not removed the need for Idasa to continue nurturing democracy in South Africa, according to Idasa board member and political scientist Professor Peter Vale.

Writing in Idasa's first annual report, he notes that many would suggest that recent events had brought to an end the passionate desire for democracy which drew many to its mission is now shared by South Africa's state president.

"But if the country's recent history teaches anything, it is that its citizens should recognise that Idasa's work is never done. The nurturing of democracy is not a part-time vocation."

FW doing a good job, say blacks

CM-
TLP
21/3/90
304A

REMARKABLE levels of support for President F W de Klerk among black men have been found in a new public opinion survey, which was released yesterday — and 85% believe he is doing a good job.

Although 67% of the blacks opted for the ANC's deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, as their first choice as leader of South Africa, Mr De Klerk was second with 16%.

Mr De Klerk received more support as first choice for leader than many other leading anti-apartheid figures, including the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who got 4%, the ANC secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, with 2%, the ANC foreign-affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, with 4%, the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with 2%, the president of the PAC, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, with 2%, and the head of the Anglican Church, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with 1%.

As second choice for leader of South Africa, Mr De Klerk was third (20%), after Mr Mandela (23%) and Mr Tambo (21%).

As third choice for leader of South Africa, Mr De Klerk was fourth (9%), after Mr Sisulu (28%), Mr Tambo (21%)

and Mr Mbeki (15%).

The results of the opinion poll, which was conducted door-to-door among 500 adult black men in the major urban areas of South Africa in the two weeks from February 22, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

It showed that among all categories and in all areas, more than 80% thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job, with the highest level, 94%, being found among men who were over the age of 50.

The survey found that 60% were more optimistic than they were six months ago, 14% less optimistic and 15% about the same.

Higher levels of optimism were found among those aged between 35 and 49 (66%), North and South Sotho (76%), Xhosa (66%), those earning more than R2 000 a month (77%), those in East London (70%) and the PWV area (66%), but were lowest in Durban (39%) and those earning less than R500 a month (43%).

It also shows that Mr Mandela has consolidated his position of leadership among black men: In a similar survey in 1988, it was found that 38% accepted him as leader.

SA's future not discussed with jailed Mandela

304A

10

Sowetan 21/3/90

Government ministers had held talks on a variety of subjects with Mr Nelson Mandela while he was in prison, but had most definitely not taken part in negotiations with the imprisoned ANC leader about country's future, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (DP Losberg) during an interpellation

debate, he said he and another cabinet minister had met Mandela on several occasions to discuss ways in which a peaceful political climate could be created.

Mandela had emphasised his loyalty to the ANC and that he was not negotiating on behalf of the organisation.

He had seen his role as that of facilitator in bringing the ANC and the Government to the negotiating table. However it was the ANC and not him that should negotiate with the Government.

Subjects

The subjects covered in the talks were the release of other prisoners, the movement towards negotiations between the main political groupings and aspects of political history including that of the Afrikaner in which Mandela had expressed great interest.

Coetsee said the talks had touched on political and constitutional matters but there had been no question of negotiation.

Jacobs said Coetsee was making a fine distinction between talks and what amounted to negotiations.

What was clear was that government ministers had talked to Mandela about South Africa's constitutional future even though the NP had told voters in the September 1989 elections that it would

not talk to the ANC as long as it remained committed to violence.

Misled

He said Mandela had misled Coetsee and the rest of the Cabinet. The ANC leader was still committed to the principles of the ANC such as nationalisation and violence.

Mr Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) said Coetsee should be congratulated for his initiative in talking to Mandela even though members of the DP had been castigated and branded as "useful idiots" when they had talked to the ANC.

The Government had now finally realised that it should talk to the ANC and he believed that people such as businessmen and city councillors should do the same. Sapa

Handshake with Arafat only adds to FW's discomfort

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk had some embarrassing moments at the Namibian independence celebrations.

Namibia was 11 minutes into independence when Mr De Klerk stood up to deliver the short speech he was supposed to give before midnight.

He was quick to point this out to the crowd in the Windhoek stadium just after he had announced that he stood before them "as an advocate of peace".

The independence programme ran late and as UN Secretary General

Perez de Cuellar droned on past midnight church bells in the town started ringing and hooters were sounded.

But Mr De Klerk's remarks went down well with the crowd and he drew applause on several occasions.

Mr De Klerk sat next to the new Namibian President, Mr Sam Nujoma, on the dais draped in the green, red, gold and white colours of the new nation.

The two had a smiling and animated conversation and at one stage the two warmly shook hands.

Later on there were deeply emotional moments for Mr De Klerk as

he saluted the coming down of the South African flag with his hand on his heart. There were cries of "down, down" from sections of the crowd and he pursed his lips as he appeared to struggle to control his emotions.

Mr De Klerk also showed some signs of frustration soon after his arrival when there was so much pressure from the back of the dais that there was no sitting room for Mr P'ik Botha, who in the end had to sit on the steps.

Mr De Klerk was heard to ask members of his entourage whether there was a master of ceremonies.

There was praise for Mr De Klerk from Mr Nujoma when he said that the South African decision to relinquish control over Namibia had been an act of statesmanship.

Apart from having to start after midnight there was another embarrassing moment for Mr De Klerk when he had to shake hands with PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat.

After the independence ceremonies, Arafat, wearing a revolver on his right hip, went on to the stand and embraced Mr Nujoma and greeted Dr De Cuellar. He then attracted Mr De Klerk's attention and they shook hands, with Mr De Klerk giving his characteristic smile.

Hectic diplomatic activity continues

TOS WENTZEL of
the Presidency

WINDHOEK. — President De Klerk is continuing a day of hectic diplomatic activity in Windhoek today after talks yesterday which could lead to important breakthroughs for South Africa.

Specially important was the meeting last night between Mr De Klerk and President Mubarak of Egypt, who is present president of the Organisation of African Unity.

The hush-hush meeting took place at South West Africa House while other African heads of state, Western diplomats and dignitaries were having drinks before a dinner given by the outgoing Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

The two presidents met with only their two ministers of foreign affairs present and no announcement of the meeting was made beforehand.

It lasted half an hour.

There was no comment from either side after the meeting.

FRIENDLY CONTACT

The meeting took place against the background of indications that the OAU may be willing to consider friendlier contact with South Africa in the light of Mr De Klerk's reform moves.

Mr De Klerk was tight-lipped about all the meetings.

After a meeting with President Chissano of Mozambique he would say only that it had been "positive and fruitful".

Mr De Klerk met President Dos Santos of Angola earlier in the day.

He also met the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Perthi Paasio, the UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Mr Martti Ahtisaari the UN special representative and General Prem Chand, commander of the UN task force.

Mr De Klerk is having another series of meetings today before he goes to the stadium where the independence celebrations are continuing this afternoon.

Mr De Klerk flies back to Cape Town tomorrow and will meet Mr James Baker, the United States Secretary of State.

ANC demand on political prisoners needs urgent attention

Where talks could founder

The question of an amnesty and pardon for ANC prisoners currently serving sentences in jails in South Africa is a sensitive, but urgent, topic.

Sensitive because it involves the burning issue of releasing some 400 persons who are currently in jail serving often long sentences after convictions for common law crimes, including murder, arson and assault, which are politically motivated.

It is urgent because this issue stands as an obstacle in the way of the negotiating process which is now in danger of foundering.

The ANC insists on the unconditional release of such prisoners, while the Government, for its own reasons, opposes it.

I wish to propose guidelines for disposing of all difficult and inter-related problems attached to this topic: the recognition of political prisoners and prisoners of war; reciprocity by the ANC; the definition of a "political prisoner"; and the mechanics for the release of such prisoners.

The Government has over the years said it was involved in a war against the ANC/SACP. The ANC has equally viewed itself as being involved in an armed struggle against the "South African regime".

The Government now proposes to initiate discussions with ANC leaders. It has said there would be no limitations or restrictions placed on the entrance of such people into South Africa for negotiations about a new constitution.

The question rises how the Government can expect such people to enter South Africa while operatives

Excerpts from a speech by Mr TONY LEON, MP (right), in Parliament this week on the difficult question of ANC demands for the release of political prisoners. The question needs to be addressed urgently because it is an issue standing in the way of the negotiations.



and insurgents who entered South Africa under the specific instruction of such ANC leaders to commit acts of violence and sabotage as part of the ANC's struggle have been convicted by South African courts and remain in jail. This is the crux of the issue.

Equally, if the ANC believes all the persons who are ANC prisoners in jail serving sentences for various crimes related to the armed struggle should be released, then there must on their side be a cessation of hostilities.

Ceasefire

To this extent there will then be a truce or a ceasefire within South Africa. As a further measure to consolidate the process, some 15 South Africans who are currently captive in neighbouring states and who are serving sentences related to their activities on behalf of the South African Government for offences such as spying and treason should also be released.

For over 100 years, courts of

many countries have grappled with a test for determining whether or not an offence is a political one.

There are very few precedents in South African case law. Anglo-American decisions have refused to lay down an exclusive test of a political offence. However, various decisions have set a number of guidelines:

There must be some political disturbance. A criminal act aimed at effecting an escape from an oppressive regime may qualify. It is not necessary that the act should be part of an attempt to overthrow a government.

It is sufficient that the act be aimed at making the government concede some measure of freedom. The fugitive must be "at odds" with the requesting state on some issue connected with political control or government or country. The act must not take the form of "indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population".

These tests would probably, not on their own, secure the release of all persons who have committed politically motivated offences in South Africa. However, if accepted, they would cover the cases of persons convicted of treason, terrorism, sabotage and any offence under the Internal Security Act.

They would also cover persons convicted of any crime of violence committed in the furtherance of a political disturbance, including crimes such as murder, arson and assault. Probably most persons convicted of township violence would qualify here.

They would not cover the case of persons found guilty of "indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population" such as Robert MacBride who was convicted of the Magoo Bar bombing.

However, it is possible these persons could be covered in the multi-lateral exchange of political prisoners with neighbouring states. The case of ANC soldiers could also be strengthened by the argument that they are entitled to prisoner of war status.

Although neither the South African Government nor the South African courts accept this argument, there is a substantial body of international opinion in support of the view that ANC soldiers qualify for prisoner of war status.

Using the above formulation, the widely accepted test of political crimes in extradition cases found in the jurisprudence of the courts throughout the world could secure the release of most persons in South African jails convicted of politically motivated crimes.

Namibian example

If Government believes the above tests are too wide, then the mechanism for the release of such prisoners could be through a bi-partisan panel consisting of an internationally recognised jurist.

I believe we could use the Namibian example as a satisfactory formula to distinguish between offences that have been committed with political motives and those that amounted to indiscriminate violence against civilians or crimes for personal gains.

It might even come to light that members of the CCB, who if convicted of committing crimes in furtherance of the South African Government's counter-insurgency against the ANC, would also qualify for an indemnity or pardon in terms of this new approach.

If we are to make any progress in the achievement of new constitutional dispensation then both the Government and the ANC need to take a generous and long-term view of this extremely vexing question.

History in The Star

100, 50, 25 years ago
1890. During the past six months, a total of 5 416 people of British origin emigrated to South Africa. The number of other foreigners was 833 persons.

1940. A 1st SA Irish Regiment statement says that should the

Government allow any regiment to fight outside the Union, it claims the right to be first.

1965. The Stirling Castle makes her last mail voyage to Southampton next month. Then she will go to Gin Drinkers' Bay in Hong Kong for dismantling

Two Houses recall Sharpeville

The leader of the House of Representatives, Mr Miley Richards, yesterday referred to Sharpeville as the record of the sins of apartheid.

It was an important day for people of colour and the Labour Party identified with blacks' hopes and aspirations.

"The memory of the late Robert Sobukwe is alive with us today, the day of Sharpeville, which is a record of the sins of apartheid," Mr Richards said.

"The events of Langa will eternally be created in our hearts and our minds. We can never forget the harshness and wickedness of the police action which

resulted in death and injury. However, although we do not forget, we will have to learn to forgive in preparation for the day of reconciliation."

Mr Richards said he wanted to assure the remaining people of Langa and McNaughton that in no way did the I.P. support their forced removals.

● The House of Delegates observed a minute's silence. Mr D K Padiachey (NPP Central Rand) moved that the House should pay tribute to all those who died in the fight against apartheid, and that it should honour and salute those shot at Sharpeville. — Sapa.



Sec 22/3/90

100

304A

Blacks must get jobs before vote, says Org Marais

Pretoria Correspondent

South Africa could not enter a system of one man, one vote, with the majority of its population impoverished, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, said in Pretoria last night.

Addressing economists on the new Budget, Dr Marais said: "Yes, we are taking from the rich to give to the poor, the blacks."

Dr Marais said the Budget was aimed at generating wealth and using it to uplift the black population: "All blacks must be able to own their own homes in four to five year's time, their children must have decent schooling."

"That is the only way to fight the African National Congress and socialism."

Dr Marais said the new Budget was progressive, but simple: "We are looking at a Third World budget. We cannot enter the new South Africa with a rigid budget along the old lines."

"In four to five year's time personal tax could be as little as four percent."

Key Cabinet bushveld indaba

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is to hold a crucial bushveld indaba in April to try to resolve several major issues facing the Government as it goes into pre-negotiations with the African National Congress.

These questions which have been hotly debated in the National Party lately are expected to be on agenda:

- Whether the NP should broaden its power base by opening its membership to other races or forming alliances with other parties.
- What is the best constitutional model to fight for in negotiations.
- How to define groups.
- The future of the Group Areas Act.
- The future of the 1913/1936 Land Acts.
- The future of the homelands.

Senior government sources confirmed today that Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers would probably meet during the first week of April and the National Party caucus would gather for a one-day meeting in May to continue the discussion.

The special Cabinet indaba is expected to be crucial for setting the NP's direction as it enters the maelstrom of negotiations.

At the last bushveld indaba which the Cabinet held in December in the Transvaal, the vital decisions to unban the ANC and release Mr Nelson Mandela were taken.

Government sources said today that on all the issues under discussion there was still great fluidity in the NP.

On the question of the NP broadening its power base, some felt that the NP should form a moderate alliance with other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties — especially black ones such as Inkatha — as soon as possible before other alliances were formed. Others felt that black politics was so fluid that it would be wiser to wait a while to avoid the danger of forming alliances with the wrong partners.

Several Cabinet Ministers have recently raised the possibility of the NP opening its membership to other races for the first time.

The suggestion has been that membership should be based on common values, not on race. This is related to the debate in the NP on a new group definition.

On group areas there is a school of thought in the NP that the Free Settlement Areas Act should be summarily scrapped as it has only complicated the issue.

Idasa warns over spy ring disclosure

304A

THE shock disclosure of a spy ring in the Johannesburg City Council was "symptomatic of a sickness which pervades South African society", the executive director of IDASA, Dr Alex Boraine, said in a statement released in Cape Town yesterday.

"Almost every week there are new exposures of brother spying against brother, of secret organisations and groups spying and even infiltrating organisations which are opposed to the apartheid system.

"This tragic and sinister situation does

not augur well as we seek to build a democratic culture for a new South Africa," he added.

Sowetan 22/3/90

He said it was "imperative that urgent action be taken against those in the Johannesburg City Council who have been party to this operation", and urged all other city councils to "disclose their own brand of security."

IDASA has been mentioned as one of the organisations which the spy ring in the Johannesburg City Council was investigating. - Sapa



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME

WITH the scheduled meeting on April 11 between the government and a delegation of the ANC, South Africa is finally entering the phase of pre-negotiations.

It is in the pre-negotiations phase that the major disputants have to decide whether they are prepared to make a pact to move from conflict to conciliation. It is also in this stage that they must agree on the principles on which the ultimate negotiations are to rest.

In most other contemporary conflicts, and certainly in the case of South Africa, pre-negotiations and pacts between parties do not take place when the level of violence and the overall stage of the struggle embolden the oppressed to make absolute demands. Nor do they occur when a government fears massive resistance from its constituency on issues at the core of national identity and security.

Ongoing commitment

As William Zartman argues in a special issue of International Journal, devoted to the topic, pre-negotiations begin when one of the disputants abandons the attempt to impose its favoured solution of the conflict and persuades its main antagonist that some joint resolution is possible. This was the main impression cabinet ministers got in their prison talks with Mr Nelson Mandela: that an operative solution involving both the NP and ANC was indeed possible.

The international literature on pre-negotiation stresses that the pre-negotiation period must serve two major functional needs. The one is to define the problem and the other is to develop an ongoing commitment to negotiation on the part of the parties.

Can the FW de Klerk administration and the ANC delegation decide upon a common definition of the South African problem? It is not too difficult to imagine

that the parties would agree that the root of the political problem is firstly the exclusion of blacks from government and secondly, the practice of race classification which compels everyone to participate in politics according to his or her statutorily defined racial group.

The major question would then be: how to address this problem? Here one expects major disagreement. Professor Nic Olivier, special adviser to the Democratic Party, gives an acute definition of the fundamental choice: "It is between a constitution which provides for a majoritarian-type of government (in other words, in which the majority party — or alliance of parties — has the sole and exclusive right to govern) and one based on the principle of joint or co-government in which all the major political groupings are involved in the government."

Olivier believes, correctly I think, that the white community will not accept a constitution which does not provide for its effective participation on both the legislative and executive levels of government, enabling it the means to prevent domination. This obviously goes beyond mere protection of language and

cultural rights. At the same time, one expects the ANC to state clearly in the pre-negotiations phase that it cannot be expected to participate in any constitution which does not give symbolic and concrete expression to the growing political predominance of blacks.

Heeding this, growing numbers of the more enlightened members of government now begin to talk about a new political system in which the next president would be a widely respected black person (Mr Mandela is an obvious choice), and in which at least one of the projected two houses of parliament would be chosen on the basis of a common roll.

At the same time, there is a strong insistence in the NP that the president's powers have to be scaled down substantially, that the main party representing minorities (i.e. an "open" National Party) must be able to control a projected second house and that this party would have ensured adequate representation in cabinet. In the NP perception, the army would ultimately be the guarantor of white interests over the short-to-medium term.

This is the bottom line for which the NP would probably

settle, but it would obviously try for better terms. One expects protracted haggling over this issue but in the pre-negotiations phase it is only necessary to establish the principle of a fully representative government and to develop a common commitment to seek a mutually acceptable resolution of the issue.

It is when this Rubicon is crossed that pre-negotiations may develop into a productive, instead of a conflictual, process. As Zartman points out, the major parties start seeking solutions with, not against, their adversaries. This is the time when parties find out whether concessions they make are repaid or whether they are banked and run away with. Parties are also able to make much better assessments of the costs of concessions and agreements.

Afrikaners capitulate?

If sufficient trust develops between the main parties, they soon learn that it is in their respective interests to build up its partner and to construct a coalition for accommodation. Since South Africa cannot afford to have an election where parties would be literally at each other's throats, the NP and ANC will simply have to build each other up as the only two political organisations which have enough support and legitimacy to devise a new constitution. Furthermore, they will have to do some mutual persuasion that they cannot do without each other.

Members of the government find it difficult to fathom how seasoned observers could misunderstand President De Klerk's initiatives as evidence that the Afrikaners are finally prepared to capitulate politically. Perhaps they should not protest too much. To paraphrase Honor Tracy's famous comment on the Irish: "The Afrikaners often complain they are misunderstood, this is so and it is much to their advantage."

As SA
gears up
for talks

CH-
Time
22/3/90
304A

Talks with Soviet minister

304A

Dignatories queue up to meet FW

B/Dam 22/3/90

BILLY PADDOCK

WINDHOEK — President FW de Klerk yesterday continued to be the centre of the diplomatic flurry that has marked the Namibian independence celebrations in Windhoek.

Foreign political leaders once totally opposed to meeting an SA head of state were eager for discussions with De Klerk.

Several had to be turned down because of lack of time.

De Klerk had 10 meetings yesterday, beginning with Cape Verde Prime Minister P Pirez, in half-hour slots throughout the day.

His most significant talks were with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

After his meeting with the Soviet minister, De Klerk met Namibia's new president Sam Nujoma for the second round of talks in two days.

The meeting was regarded as one of the most important because of the advanced stages reached in setting up structures for future relations between the two countries.

While in Windhoek De Klerk has also met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak.

And in Cape Town tomorrow, he is to meet US Secretary of State James Baker.

A Foreign Affairs official said here: "Our major problem has been trying to balance refusals, due to lack of time, with not offending people."

He said a few people who could not be accommodated here had agreed to go to SA to meet De Klerk.

After De Klerk met Shevardnadze yesterday, both delegations said the meetings were extremely important and fruitful

with agreement on numerous issues.

They had discussed developments in SA and the Soviet Union, Namibia and peace initiatives in the southern African region.

Shevardnadze said: "It was a necessary and very important meeting which has taken place in an important phase of the development of this region and of the world."

The meeting, initiated by the Soviet, was apparently intended as an encouragement to De Klerk to continue the reform process.

He was impressed with the SA leader and had said the meeting would have been inconceivable a year ago.

His optimism was displayed later yesterday after his meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, when he said important results were expected from negotiations between the Pretoria government and the ANC.

"And we want it to happen like this (Namibia)," he said.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Cape Town that Baker is expected to press De Klerk to speed up the negotiation process and to lift the state of emergency.

But although SA's ambassador in the US Piet Koornhof has arrived here to warn government of the consequences of being seen to be dragging its heels on these two issues, De Klerk is likely to stand his ground and repeat his contention that the lifting of the emergency depends on law and order conditions on the ground.

It can also be expected that he will contend in his talks with Baker that while government is ready to negotiate, it is not

□ To Page 2

FW 210 am 22/3/90

convinced the ANC is in a position where it has managed to draw together its disparate elements to formulate a coherent position on negotiations.

De Klerk is likely to tell Baker that government believes the ANC is trying to buy time by raising as obstacles to negotiations issues which should either not be part of the agenda of pre-negotiations or on which compromises could be reached in face-to-face talks.

A US official said yesterday that from their point of view the focus of the Baker-De Klerk talks would be on promoting negotiations rather than on the possible implementation of further sanctions if immediate progress was not made.

Baker is to hold talks with a delegation of ANC and UDF leaders at the US ambassador's residence in Cape Town before meeting De Klerk.

After that meeting he will meet with Foreign Minister Pik Botha before seeing

De Klerk at 3.45pm.

De Klerk appears to have got undertakings from leaders he has spoken to in Windhoek that they will support a new constitutional dispensation in SA and will not support unreasonable demands.

□ Just after Namibia became independent, PLO leader Yasser Arafat barged through the crowd of delegates and pumped De Klerk's hand.

□ A gift of R5m to tNamibia, towards establishment of an education institute, has been announced in London by De Beers subsidiary Consolidated Diamond Mine (CDM).

□ Namibia signed its first major foreign investment contract only hours after independence when it reached agreement with British multi-national giant Lonhro Plc on the establishment of a \$50m sugar project in the north of the country.

● Comment: Page 8

● Picture: Page 3

304A □ From Page 1

FIM 23/3/90 (304A)

BY-ELECTION FIM 23/3/90

Keep fighting (304A)

There have been rumours that the Democratic Party will pull out of the Umlazi by-election. The idea would be to ensure a Nat victory over the Conservative Party.

The idea was firmly rejected at the AGM of the DP's Natal coastal region. However, some DP members in Durban admit privately that they don't think it a good idea to contest the seat (which becomes vacant next month when NP stalwart Con Botha takes office as administrator of Natal).

Regional director Roy Ainslie and chairman Mike Ellis are firm that the party is taking the by-election seriously — and believe they have a chance of winning.

The NP won the seat comfortably in last year's general election by nearly 3 000 votes,

followed — surprisingly — by the DP, which bettered by 2% the support achieved by the PFP in the 1987 general election. But the CP increased its support from 9% of the total vote in 1987 to 20% last year.

Umlazi is one of the safest NP seats in the country, but the hesitation among some DP supporters to fight the Nats perhaps reflects a dilemma at national level. A point of debate among rank-and-file DP members is whether the party should consider some sort of relationship with the NP, or whether to merge with the ANC. A third group strongly rejects both ideas, arguing that for the time being, the DP has an important role to play.

Meanwhile, the DP should welcome the chance to test its support. It could even win the seat if there is a war of attrition between the Nats and the CP. ■

World accepts SA's bona fides, says FW

Sowetan 23/3/90 (304A)

WINDHOEK - State President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday said he had found the international community now accepted South Africa's bona fides for change.

Addressing a Press conference before returning to South Africa, he said there was no doubt that good results would flow from the Namibian exercise.

"I expect South Africa's diplomatic relations will broaden in the next months and years," he said.

De Klerk said future diplomatic relations with Namibia had not been finalised and was subject to further discussions.

"In my talks with President Nujoma it was clear that also from the Namibian side there is a wish to remain good friends and that interaction between us as neighbours and friends should continue on a sound basis."

De Klerk said that diplomatic activity surrounding the independence celebrations had not been used to address the sanctions issue.

"We rarely raised the question of sanctions and we did not use the opportunity to have them lifted," he said.

"We do not regard it as a pawn in the negotiation process," he said.

He said he and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha had emphasised that South Africa could live through sanctions but that it was harmful to

young people as they hampered the growth needed to provide employment.

"Sanctions and the European Community are counter-productive in that regard," he said.

De Klerk said he had gained the impression, however, that the Europeans wanted to get that (sanctions) chapter behind them and wanted to establish what was necessary to attain such a situation.

"Southern Africa is growing together, especially in the economic sphere," he said. This was clear from his discussions with not only neighbouring African states but also with European heads of state.

"I also detected a real desire that things should go well in South Africa and a realisation of the importance of South and Southern Africa as suppliers of raw materials and a future blossoming market."

"We found that South Africa's bona fides are now generally accepted."

"The international community accepts that drastic change will take place in South Africa, that we mean what we say."

"From that flows a more trusting approach from the international community," De Klerk said.

Asked about his historic discussions with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, he said these had been enlightening and informative.

De Klerk left us as vague as ever

THESE past few days have been exciting.

The drama, for my boss Aggrey Klaaste and me, started last Thursday when we went to see State President FW de Klerk.

It got rather hairy when we had to report the renewed violence between supporters of Black Consciousness and those of the UDF in the West Rand and the horror ambush in Hammersdale when 15 people died.

It reached an emotional climax when the South African flag was lowered and the Namibian one was hoisted in Windhoek at midnight as March 21 started.

Then we reported on South Africans remembering the massacre of 69 people in Sharpeville on March 21 1960 and that of 21 in Langa in Uitenhage on March 21 1985.

Waited

I would have paid a fortune to read De Klerk's mind as the South African flag came down in Namibia. He stood there, right hand on his left breast, and emotion swept over him. As he turned to find his seat afterwards, I thought he would shed a tear, but he did not.

Cape Town: The guards at the gate let us through. We went through another guarded gate before we reached the door of Tuynhuys. We wait for a while in an elegant meeting room with a South African flag.

Then Mr Casper Venter takes us to meet De Klerk.

I'm surprised that he looks smaller than in his pictures and on television. He has his charming smile as he shakes hands and the photographer takes pictures.

Then we sit down to talk, for 30 minutes off the record and another 30 on record.

Process

His major problem is that his vote is coming up in Parliament in three weeks' time, so he cannot disclose too much. But we have to ask what is on everyone's mind now.

Sowetan: How do you see the process of negotiations from now, sir. Dr Viljoen has said that the National Forum, for instance, has already shown that it has a constituency and it therefore has a place at the negotiating table.

You have also mentioned people like Dr Buthelezi. How do you see all these people coming into the negotiating process? By invitation?

De Klerk: I would say that before you can really have full negotiations in the fullest sense of the word, you will have to broaden the consensus as to who must sit around

that table ... in bilateral discussions - with maybe multi-lateral but different types of the total leadership in South Africa.

I personally think that it will be a good thing if that broader consensus can be reached as soon as possible.

Sowetan: The Pan Africanist Congress has recently said that it believes that there should be a one-person one-vote election for a Constituent Assembly and it believes that this would be a democratic way of getting the negotiation process going.

Helping

De Klerk: My reaction is that - it is not specific to that but you can take it as a reply to that - the negotiating process should in no way be seen as a replacement of normal ... the continuance of orderly government. It is firstly a parallel process.

Secondly, any person or organisation who states a precondition for negotiation which will really of-

fer him a victory with regard to points which have to be discussed at negotiations is really not helping the process of negotiations.

It is for that reason that I emphasise that we want to enter the negotiations without preconditions.

Route

Sowetan: But is this not a way of saying, how does the process start? And they are saying, if you have a one-person one-vote election to a Constituent Assembly that will debate a new constitution for the country ...

De Klerk: That would appear to be the route that was followed in South West Africa/Namibia and I think that South Africa's position is totally different because South Africa is a recognised State and the effect of that will be to a certain extent to ignore the constitutional realities of South Africa.

Sowetan: Dr Viljoen at one point suggested that there might be an election for black representatives...

De Klerk: He mooted it as a possibility some time ago but the impression that I have is that there was quite a negative reaction to that and we do not intend to force such a

method down the throats of anybody.

Sowetan: What do you see as a fair way of getting the negotiation process going?

De Klerk: I think it is getting the most important leaders to agree on how to get it going. So I think we must concentrate now on discussions with each other and leaders of South Africa. How we want to get the negotiation process going and how we hope to structure it ... must be the result of

discussions and dialogue and negotiations about negotiations.

I have talked to homeland leaders. I will continue to talk to them - they have a constituency. It is a question of talking to everybody, leaders of smaller groups, leaders of bigger groups, leaders with smaller constituencies, leaders with bigger constituencies.

Sowetan: You have already said that the idea of a vote for black representatives was received nega-

tively. Since then have you thought of other possibilities that the Government can put forward to get the negotiations going?

De Klerk: Yes, but I would prefer to discuss that with leaders and not to discuss it through the media.

And so as we walked out of his office we knew only what De Klerk has been saying all along - that he wants to negotiate a new constitution - but we were as vague as ever

SPECTIVE



about our destination and the route to take us there.

De Klerk and the National Party remain as ambiguous as ever even at this critical time, on the eve of their meeting with the African National Con-

gress in Cape Town on April 11.

South Africans should pray that after his experiences in Namibia De Klerk manages to pull another rabbit from his hat at that crucial meeting.

Now FW plans longer trip to Europe...

ARC 45 (305-11)
23/3/90

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

FURTHER top-level diplomatic contact between South Africa and an East European country has taken place as plans proceed for an extended trip by President De Klerk to Europe in May.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night met the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr S Celac, in Cape Town after the Namibian independence celebrations.

Mr Celac and a number of officials were guests at a dinner at Newlands House, also attended by South African businessmen.

The meeting followed hard on the heels of President De Klerk's meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze in Windhoek on Wednesday.

After his meeting with Mr Celac, Mr Botha said events in South Africa, East Europe and Russia were discussed.

The possibility of diplomatic and trade ties between the countries were also considered.

TO SEE MAGGIE

The initial purpose for Mr De Klerk's trip in May is to visit British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, but plans are now being worked out for him to visit other West European countries. It is unlikely that he will visit East European countries.

Details of a trip to the United States also are being worked out, but he will not combine his trip to Europe with one to America.

Mr Botha said today there was still intense interest in Europe as well as in Africa, in contact with Mr De Klerk.

This had been the case before the intense diplomatic activity at the Namibian independence celebrations and had

now reached the stage where South Africa would have to be more selective.

Mr Botha would not elaborate on this, but it appeared as if South Africa would give closer attention to its priorities in order to make contact with the most important countries.

He said there was growing recognition in Africa of South Africa's infrastructure as an example to be followed by the rest of the continent. There was growing admiration, also, of South Africa's industrial and technological achievements.

"EMPTY SHELL"

Although Mr De Klerk saw Egypt's President Hosnia Mubarrak, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, there appeared to be no firm plans for ties between South Africa and the OAU.

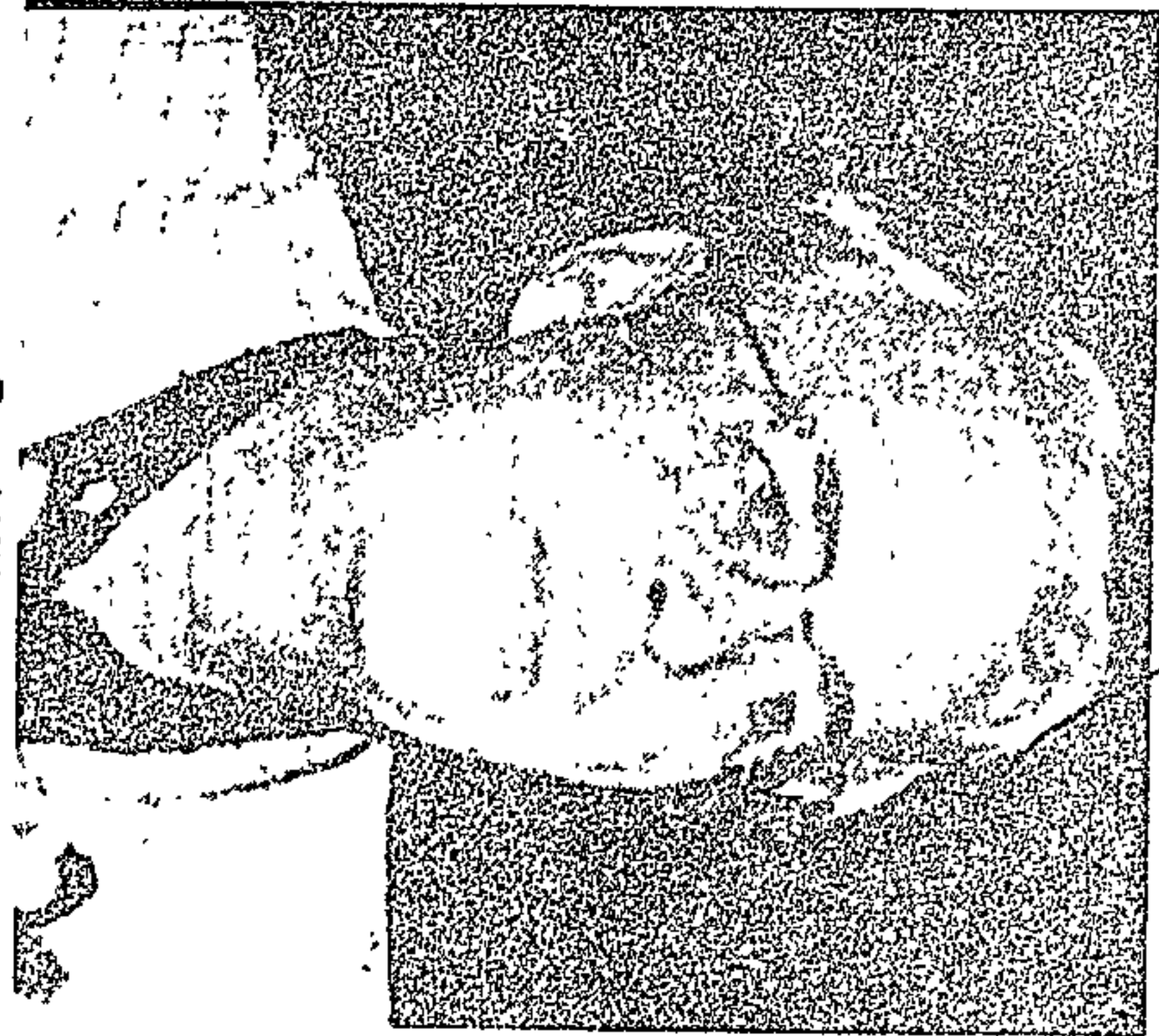
The OAU is regarded by many political observers as an "empty shell", a debt-ridden bureaucracy which has achieved nothing and to which South Africa would have to give financial aid without gain.

Apart from United States Secretary of State Mr James Baker, Mr De Klerk also saw the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Somalia, Mr Mohammed Ali Samanter, and Mauritian Prime Minister Mr Anerood Jugnauth in Cape Town yesterday.

● Pictures and report, page 4.

304A

Cry Freedom - director slams



Donald Woods

LONDON - Sir Richard Attenborough believes his film Cry Freedom, which is finally being released in South Africa, has a powerful message for people in the political middle ground there.

In an interview with the Times, published Thursday, Attenborough says some of these people "are ignorant to a point you cannot believe."

"We showed the film to one South African whom Donald (Woods) knows very well. He came out afterwards very

ignorant audience

moved, streaming tears. "Great film, Donald," he sobbed. "only there are terrible mistakes."

"You must take out that scene where white police are hitting black women with truncheons. That would never happen. You'd never see a white policeman hit a black woman with a truncheon."

"It's people like him we want to see the film.

The people who are going to affect what happens now in the centre section. It is terribly important that these people - who have been comforted by the things De Klerk has done - realise that only when the state of emergency has been ended and when political prisoners have been released will the cornerstones of apartheid be removed."

Attenborough made it

clear he was exasperated by the British Government's decision to lift certain sanctions.

"How dare they, when they know the brutality and oppression that still exists, and when the state of emergency is still in force."

"I would certainly not wish to denigrate de Klerk; but to suggest that all the admiration and respect should be lavished

on him, to talk of 'rewarding' him and by the same token to marginalise Mandela is extraordinary, unforgivable."

Members of the Conservative Party, he said, had snubbed offers to attend viewings of Cry Freedom. In the United States it had been "the most diabolical failure in the theatres".

But everywhere else the film, which chronicles the relationship between Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and journalist Woods, had been a success.

"The West German Chancellor told us: 'After seeing your film there can be no question about one's emotional reaction, that sanctions have to be maintained.'"

The same thing happened in Japan and Sweden..."

Attenborough

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President de Klerk, and the US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, talk to reporters after the highest level meeting between the two countries in 12 years. Mr Baker said his visit was to show that America approved of the direction in which South Africa was moving.

Baker shrugs off ANC's opposition to visit

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — United States Secretary of State Mr James Baker said after meeting President de Klerk here yesterday that he had come to South Africa "to show we approve of the direction in which South Africa is moving".

Shrugging off opposition from the ANC to his visit, he gave little indication that he had put pressure on South Africa.

He had not pressed for a timetable for the lifting of the state of emergency.

He believed the Government wanted to lift it and hoped the circumstances would arise which would allow it to be lifted while ensuring safety.

Mr de Klerk also had meetings at Tuynhuys with the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr Mohamed Ali Samanter, and the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk said these were spill-overs from the round of contacts with international leaders in Namibia earlier this week.

Mr Baker had a day of meetings with ANC and UDF leaders under Mr Govan Mbeki, a lunch with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and other Ministers, and a meeting with Mr de Klerk.

Mr Baker had a meeting in the former Prime Minister's residence, Groote Schuur, with Mr Botha, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Earlier, Mr Baker came under fire from the ANC/UDF

delegation during a meeting at the residence of the US ambassador.

Mr Mbeki, a member of the ANC national executive committee, said the ANC was not happy with Mr Baker's visit to the Government.

By staying away, Mr Baker would have kept up the pressure on South Africa which the ANC was demanding.

The ANC told Mr Baker that America should not relax pressure until it was clear that SA had no way of going back.

After 76 all-white years . . . pondering admission of all races

Nats think the unthinkable

The ruling National Party, which came to power as a propagator of apartheid and which for decades was the premier vehicle of exclusive Afrikaner nationalism, is considering opening its ranks to people of all races.

As the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport put it in a front-page article: "The question is on the table whether the National Party can remain much longer a party for whites only."

The next day, Beeld followed up with a front-page report of its own, under the more prescriptive headline: "An open NP necessary for new South Africa."

The headline was based on a speech made by Cape leader of the party, Dr Dawid de Villiers, at an NP information conference in Claremont.

He said: "If we want to build a new South Africa, we must seek allies . . . on the basis of community values that have to be built into our new South Africa."

The NP director of information, Mr Renier Schoeman, issued a cautious statement which reflected NP nervousness at the step it was contemplating. It did not, however, contradict the newspaper reports.

NP membership, as benefits a party which has campaigned for most of its political life under the banners of segregation, apartheid and white hegemony, is constitutionally restricted to whites.

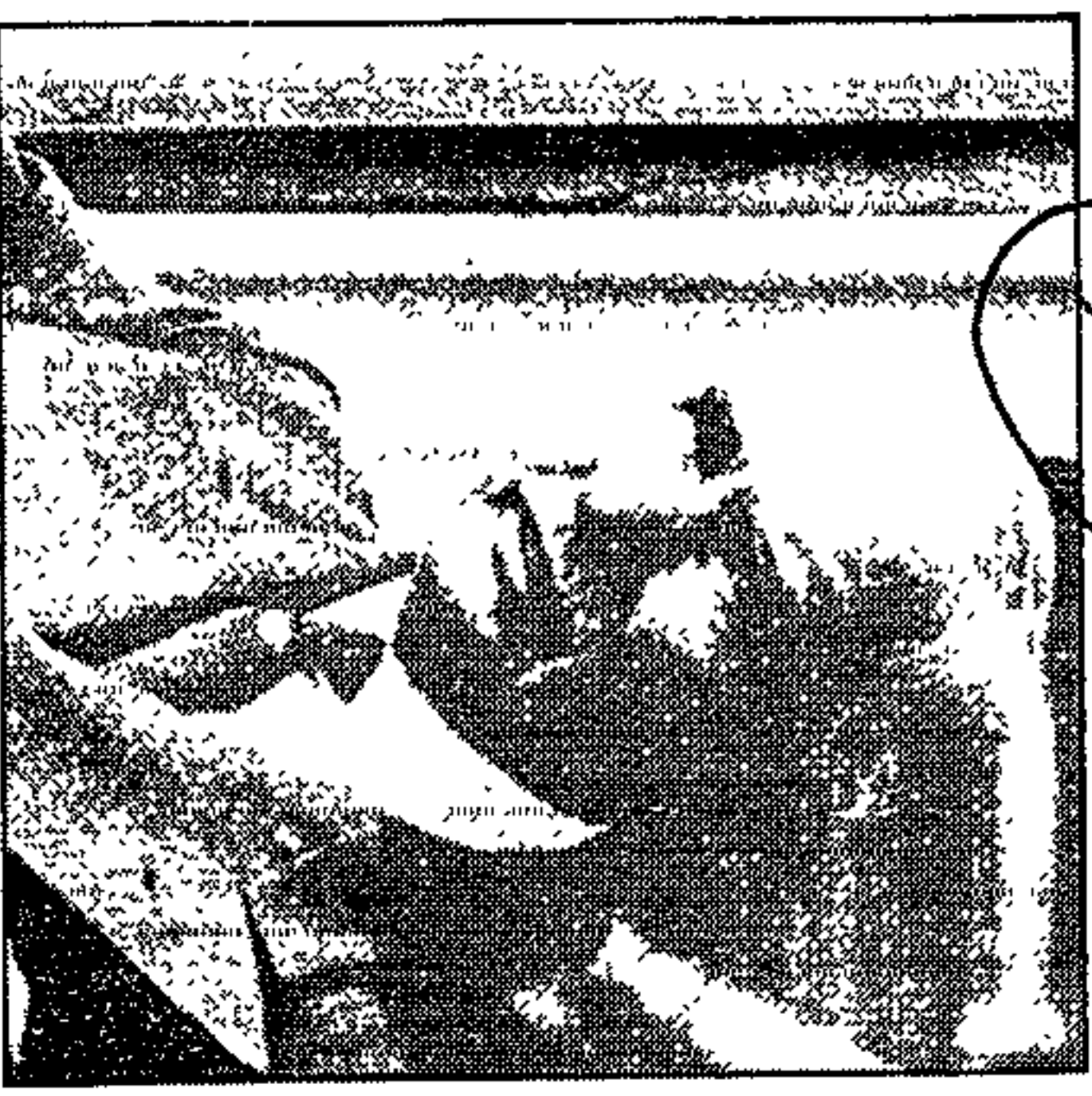
The debate within the NP is as much a sign of the changing times as any single development. The degree to which the ferment outside has penetrated is illustrated by recalling a few facts about the NP.

Founded in 1914 by Boer General J B M Hertzog, it started life as a "volksparty", a party whose membership was very largely, if not completely, drawn from the Afrikaner folk and which consciously sought to mobilise all Afrikaners under its banner.

It only gradually developed into a party of white supremacy, as it drew more and more non-Afrikaner whites to its fold.

Today, according to a recent

The National Party, founded in 1914 by Boer General J B M Hertzog (right), started as a "volksparty" which consciously sought to mobilise all Afrikaners under its banner. Now the party of apartheid and exclusive Afrikaner nationalism considers the previously unthinkable: opening its ranks to people of all races. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.



opinion poll, it has more support from English-speaking whites than the Democratic Party (41,2 against 41,1 percent).

The NP's earlier exclusivist tendencies were most starkly manifest in the decade 1940-1950, during that period the constitution of the Transvaal NP — the biggest of its four autonomous branches — included a clause barring Jews from membership.

The clause was only rescinded in 1951. As late as 1968, however, the NP was trying to implement a modified form of its racist approach to politics.

Political interference

It placed the Prohibition of Political Interference Act on the statute book. The law prohibited mutual political parties and forbade a person of one race from addressing an audience composed predominantly of people from another.

Now, however, the NP faced with the reality of a South Africa in which the black majority will have a parliamentary vote within a few years, has realised that if it is to survive it will have to garner black support.

It is a lesson which the South African Communist Party learnt as long ago as the 1920s when, after a

brief attempt to confine radicalism to white workers, it actively sought black members.

The Liberal Party came to the same conclusion in 1953 when it was formed. It chose to dissolve in 1968 rather than form separate Liberal parties for each of the four statutorily recognised races, as required by the 1968 Act.

The Progressive Party, which contributed an important component to the present Democratic Party, started life in 1959 as a multiracial party. In 1968, however, faced with the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, it chose to continue as a uniracial white party.

One year later, the African National Congress took a critical decision. At a watershed conference in Morogoro, Tanzania, it resolved to admit whites and Indians to membership.

These developments meant that for nearly 20 years — from 1968 until the abolition of the Political Interference Act in the 1980s — propagation of multiracialism or nonracialism through deeds as well as words was largely the prerogative of the outlawed ANC and SACP and, from 1983, of their extra-parliamentary ally, the United Democratic Front.

It is debatable whether the NP has a future as a multiracial party or, if it takes a slightly different tack, as the nucleus of a multiparty and multiracial alliance along the lines of Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of South Africa's Democratic Party, thinks not. The NP's role is to help act as the midwife of the new South Africa, but after that it will be sidelined, he says emphatically.

He may be wrong. The Afrikaners have shown themselves adept at winning black allies in the past.

Dingane, the Zulu king who fought against the Afrikaners' 19th-century Boer forbears, was not finally defeated at the celebrated battle of Blood River, but at the battle of Magongo. He was crushed by a Zulu army under Panda, his half-brother, who had been recruited as a Boer ally.

As the historian Eric Walker has succinctly recorded: "Panda's men did the fighting and the Boers took the loot."

It remains to be seen whether the NP will be able to win black political allies with the same success as it recruited blacks to the civil service, police and defence force to administer, enforce and protect its apartheid policies in the past.

DTA model

But the relative success of the DTA in last November's one-person, one-vote election in Namibia serves to caution against too speedy a dismissal of the NP as a future force.

The DTA, a multiethnic alliance embracing the white Republican Party, captured nearly 30 percent of the vote. It was led in effect, if not in name, by a wealthy and prescient Afrikaner farmer, Mr Dirk Mudge.

Significantly, the DTA was one of the models under consideration at the NP's information conference.

The NP, no doubt, weighed up whether it could fulfil the same pivotal role in the new South Africa as Mr Mudge's Republican Party did in Namibia.

NP seeks direction via indaba

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is to hold a crucial bush indaba in April to try to resolve several major issues facing the Government as it goes into pre-negotiations with the African National Congress.

These questions, which have been hotly debated in the National Party lately, are expected to be on the agenda:

- Whether the NP should broaden its power base by opening its membership to other races or form alliances with other parties.
- What is the best constitutional model to fight for in negotiations.
- How to define groups.
- The future of the Group Areas Act.
- The future of the 1913/1936 Land Acts and
- The future of the homelands.

DIRECTION

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers would probably meet during the first week of April and that the National Party caucus would gather for a one-day meeting in May to continue the discussion.

The special Cabinet indaba is expected to be crucial for setting the NP's direction.

At the last bushveld indaba, which the Cabinet held in the Transvaal in December, the vital decisions to unban the ANC and release Mr Nelson Mandela were taken.

Government sources said yesterday that on all the issues under discussion there was still great fluidity in the NP.

Baker meets FW

23/3/90
Soweto
THE constructive interest of the United States and other countries worldwide helped create a climate for peaceful negotiations in South Africa, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday afternoon.

Following more than an hour's talks with the United States Secretary of

State, Mr James Baker, in Tuynhuys, he said he hoped the discussions would help create a new understanding between the two countries.

Baker said De Klerk had told him the SA Government was engaged in an irreversible process and intended following it to its logical conclusion.

Many queue to meet F.W.

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA's diplomatic isolation is crumbling as leaders from the West, the East and Africa queue to meet President F.W. de Klerk.

At Tynhuys yesterday Mr De Klerk met US Secretary of State Mr James Baker, President Said Barre of Somalia and Mauritanian Prime Minister Mr Anouar Juganuth.

And despite an ANC campaign to isolate Pretoria, it is understood that Mr De Klerk's trip to meet Mrs Margaret Thatcher in May is likely to be expanded to several European countries.

The government has moved swiftly to capitalise on the series of significant diplomatic contacts during the Namibian independence celebrations, including meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze and a string of African leaders.

The escalation of South Africa's diplomatic involvement will start with Pretoria playing an increasingly prominent role in attempts to resolve regional conflicts, beginning with the Angolan war.

It is understood that the war — and fresh ways to end it — formed a major focus of yesterday's talks between Mr Baker and Mr De Klerk. Mr Pik Botha and senior government ministers.

Mr Botha yesterday was cautious about describing the flurry of meetings of the past few days as a breakthrough.

Mr Govan Mbeki, speaking on behalf of the ANC-UDF delegation, said Mr Baker's visit to SA had not been helpful.



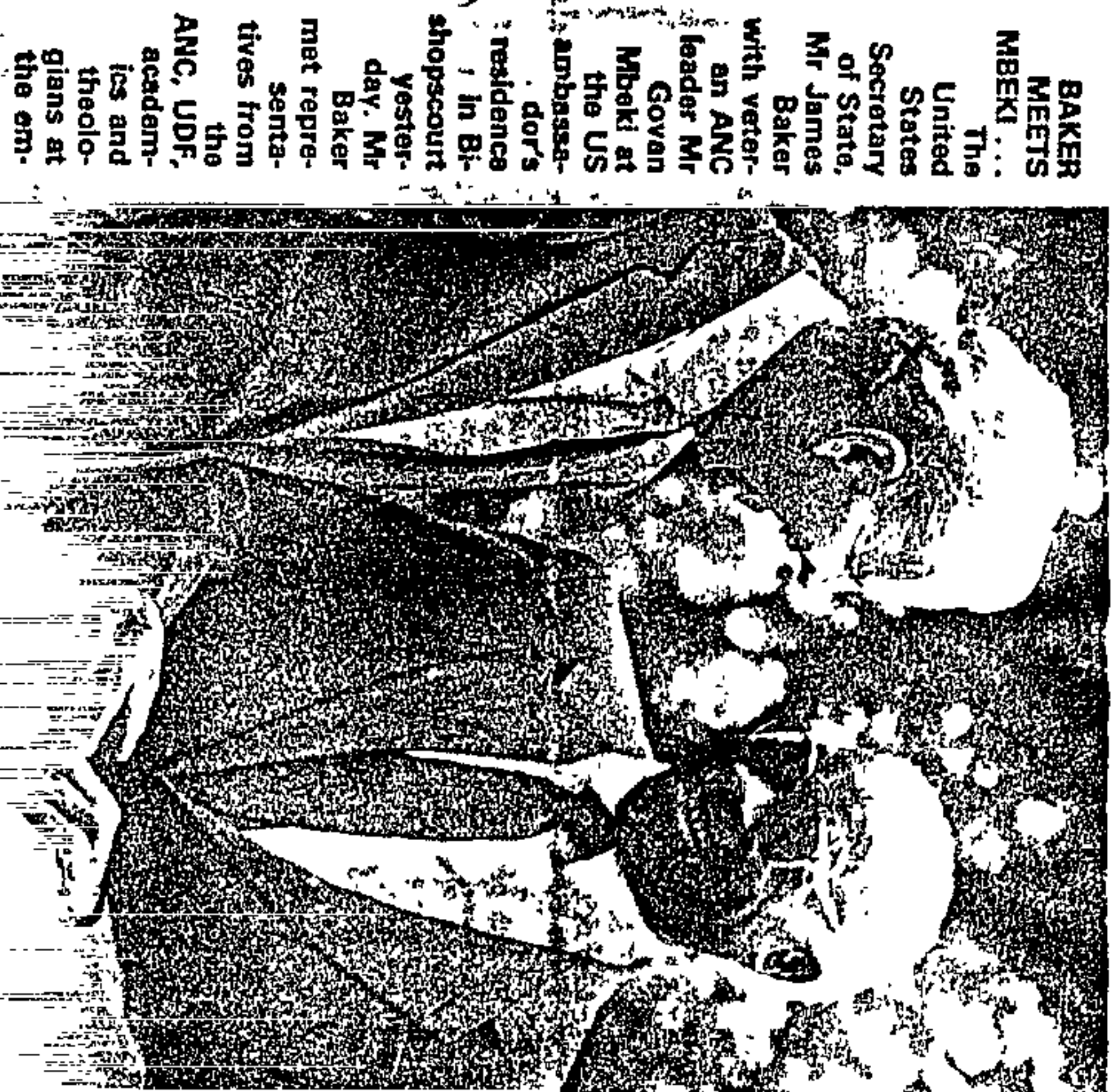
MORE TALKS...
President De Klerk's hectic schedule continued yesterday with his most important visitor of the day, US Secretary of State Mr James Baker. **REUTERS**

First 'external' ANC man here

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC national executive member Mr Jacob Zuma, who flew into South Africa on Wednesday, is set to join internal leaders of the organisation in preparatory talks with government officials in the lead-up to the April 11 meeting between the ANC and the government.

Mr Zuma is, as far as is known, the first "external" ANC executive member to enter the country since the ANC was unbanned seven weeks ago.

Another group of several senior leaders is



BAKER MEETS MBEKI...
The United States Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, with veteran ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki at the US ambassador's residence in Blomfontein yesterday. Mr Baker met representatives from the ANC, UDF, academics and theologians at the embassy.

BAKER MEETS MBEKI ...

The United States Secretary of State, Mr James Baker with veteran ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki at the US ambassador's residence in Bishopscourt yesterday. Mr Baker met representatives from the ANC, UDF, academics and theologians at the embassy.

Picture: ANNE LAING



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Mr Botha yesterday was cautious about describing the flurry of meetings of the past few days as a breakthrough.

Mr Govan Mbeki, speaking on behalf of the ANC-UDF delegation, said Mr Baker's visit to SA had not been helpful.

By "keeping away", Mr Baker and the US could have helped put international pressure on SA, Mr Mbeki said.

"They must not relax until such time as it is quite clear that the SA government has no way of going back."

Mr Baker responded that "many people" had argued that a visit by the US Secretary of State was "the appropriate course for us to follow because we should encourage a continuation of the types of steps the SA government has taken".

Prisoner release

"The issue — as I indicated to Mr Mbeki and his associates here — is not really one of reward but one of using whatever influence we might have to encourage the SA government to continue to move forward in the dismantling of apartheid and towards the establishment of a non-racial, multi-party democracy."

Mr Baker added that the issue at the moment was not one of "suspending or modifying or increasing sanctions" but rather of how the US could "encourage good faith negotiations by the SA government".

Following a lunch-hour meeting between Mr Baker and senior government ministers, Mr Pik Botha said calls by Mr Mbeki and Mr Nelson Mandela for South Africa's isolation were "really, with respect, a non-starter".

Mr Baker and British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd "were not the only ones trespassing in coming to SA".

He said Mr De Klerk could not manage the number of requests for discussions from leaders from all parts of the world in Windhoek this week.

After the Tuynhuys talks, which were described as "very constructive" by Mr De Klerk and "very interesting, candid and constructive" by Mr Baker, the US Foreign Secretary told journalists: "Mr De Klerk told me at the conclusion of our meeting that we (the government) are engaged here in SA in an irreversible process and we will follow it to its logical conclusion."

Mr Baker also noted that Mr Pik Botha had told him during lunch yesterday that "it is the desire of the SA government to lift the state of emergency and to release political prisoners".

When asked when these steps might be taken, Mr De Klerk said they would be discussed on April 11 in the meeting between his government and the ANC.

Asked whether he envisioned a South Africa in which all citizens would have an equal vote and in which a black could become president, Mr De Klerk responded: "I have just won an election asking for a mandate to attain exactly that and we are working towards that, yes."

"All South Africans will have a vote where that vote is of equal value, where we will have a situation of participation of all, by all levels of government, and we will also have a situation of proper protection of minority right built into the system. ... not minority domination but also not just simple majoritarianism."

Questioned about whether Mr Baker's visit would help him in achieving his goals and help achieve a new understanding between the two governments, Mr De Klerk said: "I would hope so, yes."

Today Mr Baker will meet Mr Walter Sisulu in Johannesburg before flying to Zaire.

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MRS Jenny Heydenrych of Welgemoed yesterday won R1 800 in the Syfrets/Cape Times Share Challenge competition.

Mrs Heydenrych has been doing the Share Challenge game since it began and this was her first win.

Asked what she would do with her windfall, Mrs Heydenrych said: "I have two children and it's the start of the school holidays, so we'll treat ourselves."

Syfrets Cape Times Share Challenge

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DAILY LISTING — Page 5
STOCK PRICES — Page 10

FW puts in a strong plea on southern Africa's need for aid

5/Day 23/3/90
WINDHOEK — President F W de Klerk yesterday joined a growing chorus of African leaders when he cautioned the industrialised world not to forget southern Africa's need for aid if the region were to be placed on the road to prosperity.

At his Press conference here before returning home, he said the whole southern African region was growing together.

During his discussions with African and European leaders it was made clear that SA was indispensable for the economic revival, development and growth of the region.

SA, with its technological expertise and developed infrastructure, had much to contribute to development in the region and had already extended a hand of friendship to its neighbours.

But, he said, SA's financial resources were limited and priority had to be given to development needs within the country.

De Klerk said there was a very close historical relationship between Namibia and SA and "the fact of independence does not mean all ties are

BILLY PADDOCK

cut".

It was foreseen that a number of bilateral agreements could flow from his second meeting with President Sam Nujoma.

In his talks with leaders, De Klerk said, he did not raise the sanctions issue or try to persuade them to lift sanctions because "we do not regard it as a pawn in the negotiations that lie ahead".

When sanctions were discussed, leaders were anxious to have them lifted when the conditions were right.

"I explained that we can live with sanctions, even though they are harmful," De Klerk said.

In all his discussions it was clear that high expectations had been raised about SA, even though there was a marked realism about the situation here.

De Klerk said he had laid the foundation for negotiations about a new constitution and "there was no longer any justification for further delay or obstruction of negotiations".

Going all the way

The National Party is positioning itself to play a major role in alliance politics in a future SA. The first step is likely to be proposals at provincial congresses later this year to open the party to all races.

Nat leaders have now accepted that the party will not control the "new SA." As Minister Gerrit Viljoen put it: "We must accept this, or we are bluffing ourselves and the people around us." (304A)

Two options are being seriously considered: opening the party to all races, which will require amendments to the provincial constitutions; and forming alliances with other parties (Labour, DP, Inkatha), possibly along the lines of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia.

Even if the second option is chosen, it is felt that the party should be open to all, so that it can establish credibility.

Cape Nat leader Dawie de Villiers concedes that if values and not race are the basis of a new deal, then the NP will have to seek partners who share the same values.

The party's new information chief Renier Schoeman says that, while discussions are confidential and speculation will not be confirmed or denied, it would be "illogical" for the NP not to be discussing issues such as alliances and inter-party affiliation.

"This would naturally include a discussion on the nature of NP membership. But I must point out that the NP has procedures that are extremely democratic by nature and in terms of which any changes will be considered."

The question of national symbols is also being debated in the NP. The relatively calm acceptance by Nats of the probability of *Die Stem* no longer being the national anthem, the flag changing and public holidays of special significance to Afrikaners disappearing, is seen as significant.

But it seems the language question is another issue. Gerrit Viljoen has said he perceives an uneasiness among Afrikaners over the future of their language and he believes that its status as an official language — along with others — cannot be negotiated away.

Chris Freimond

More high-level meetings

304A

SA is poised to come in from the cold

B/D am
23/3/90

CAPE TOWN — SA is set to capitalise on the virtual collapse of the campaign to isolate it internationally.

Starting by intensifying its involvement in efforts to resolve regional conflict, especially in Angola, SA is positioned to foster contacts made at the Namibian independence celebrations and to expand its involvement in African and world affairs.

The high-level meetings held by President F W de Klerk with African and world leaders in Windhoek are being seen by Foreign Affairs officials as a turning point in SA's international relations.

The diplomatic flurry focussing on De Klerk continued yesterday with US Secretary of State James Baker, Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth and Somali President Sayed Barre holding talks with the president at Tuynhuys.

While stopping short of describing the Windhoek meetings as a breakthrough, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday they constituted one of the most momentous occasions in his 13 years in the post. It was certainly the first time since World War Two that the presence of a head of an SA government had been sought out by delegations from throughout the world.

While stressing that SA could never be a mediator between the ruling MPLA and the Unita rebels in Angola, SA officials believe it could play an important facilitating role in bringing about peace talks.

In his talks with Baker, De Klerk is understood to have put forward suggestions on how both countries could assist in bringing about negotiations in Angola. Baker can be expected to raise these suggestions when he meets Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko later this week.

Speaking after meeting Baker, De Klerk said their talks had concentrated on prob-

MIKE ROBERTSON

lems preventing reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique, and on bilateral relations between the US and SA. He had also given his perspective of developments within SA.

Baker said De Klerk had told him SA was engaged in an irreversible process of change which would be followed to its logical conclusion. At a lunch with Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he had been assured it was government's desire to lift the state of emergency and release political prisoners.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who was present at the lunch, is understood to have briefed Baker on government's position regarding the freeing of political prisoners.

At an earlier media conference, Baker said he had not pressed for a timetable for the lifting of the emergency as it was not his responsibility.

The issue had been discussed and he had outlined the US view, which was that it hoped government would, at an appropriate time, lift the emergency.

Botha said he had made it clear government wanted to lift the emergency. "We don't want it. It's bad for our reputation," he said.

Baker added: "When Mr Botha (says) it is their desire to lift the state of emergency, we believe it."

Baker began his one-day visit to Cape Town by meeting a delegation of ANC and UDF leaders. After the talks, ANC executive member Govan Mbeki said Baker's presence in SA was not helpful.

"We are not happy with the fact that he has come here to consult the SA government. His keeping away is part of the

□ To Page 2

SA poised

B/D am
23/3/90

304A

□ From Page 1

pressure we call on the international community to impose on SA," Mbeki said.

Baker defended his visit, saying: "Many people have said this is an appropriate course for us to follow. We should encourage the continuation of the type of steps the SA government has begun to take."

He had made it clear to Mbeki and his delegation that "the issue is not one of rewarding (the SA government) but of using whatever influence we might have to encourage the SA government to continue moving towards dismantling apartheid and establishing a non-racial, multiparty democracy."

On sanctions, he said he had made it clear "the sanctions which the US has imposed on the SA government are written into US law. The issue is not one of suspending or modifying or, for that case,

increasing sanctions. The issue is how to encourage negotiations in good faith by the SA government."

□ Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Baker is to meet ANC executive member Walter Sisulu in Johannesburg today.
□ Sapa-AP reports from London that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has offered to hold talks with the UK government.

The British Foreign Office said yesterday Mandela made the proposal when he met Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd during an independence banquet in Windhoek on Wednesday night.

Mandela offered to meet Hurd for fuller talks yesterday, but Hurd had to return to Britain. No mention was made of a possible meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

ANC executive member Jacob Zuma set to meet govt

while in SA

ANC national executive member Jacob Zuma, who flew into SA on Wednesday, is set to join internal leaders of the organisation in confidential preparatory talks with SA government officials in the lead-up to the April 11 meeting between the ANC and government.

Zuma is, as far as is known, the first "external" ANC executive member to enter the country since the organisation was unbanned seven weeks ago.

Another group of several senior leaders is scheduled to arrive on Sunday. The main purpose of their visit will be to consult MDM leaders to ensure MDM views are

fully represented at the April 11 meeting.

The date for the meeting — which is to focus on obstacles to the start of proper negotiations — was announced a week ago by President F. W. de Klerk and the ANC.

ANC sources indicated the organisation was unhappy at the publicity given to Zuma's visit, which had been planned as a low-profile one. Business Day was unable to get access to him.

Zuma was reportedly accompanied by lawyer Penwell Maduna and security officer Gibson Macanda. The news of their arrival was leaked in Lusaka early yesterday morning to a news agency reporter.

Internal ANC leaders were not even prepared to confirm his arrival.

Zuma is said to be the organisation's intelligence chief and has been a senior coordinator of ANC activities inside SA.

A Constitutional Development Services Department spokesman commented yesterday that, for the purpose of arranging the April 11 meeting and the logistical planning it involved, it was necessary for ANC officials to meet government officials inside SA "from time to time".

He said it was important to both sides

that confidentiality be observed regarding these discussions.

Sources said it would not be incorrect to assume Zuma would participate in them.

ANC sources said the final definition of Zuma's responsibilities in SA would be determined by the internal leadership. It was unclear whether he was here on a temporary visit or had arrived to settle in SA.

Steve Tsiwete, Chris Hani, Aziz Pahad and Reg September are among those said to be arriving on Sunday.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that Zuma, born in Zululand in 1942, joined the ANC and the SA Congress of Trade Unions in

1959, while working as a labourer. When the ANC was banned he became part of the organisation's underground operations and later joined the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After he left Robben Island he worked at restructuring the ANC underground in Natal. He was forced into exile on December 5 1975.

He operated from Swaziland until 1976 then went to Mozambique until January 9 1987, when he was sent to Lusaka, by the ANC. Zuma was co-opted onto the ANC National Executive Committee in 1977.

stituency last year; and President's Council member James Selfe, a security expert.

Unconfirmed reports this week state that, while no government, military nor security spokesmen will accompany the group, some members have close contacts with the security establishment.

The role of Umkhonto in a post-apartheid society has been under discussion. In an interview with *Vrye Weekblad* Umkhonto commander Chris Hani said his organisation had played a major role in the struggle to establish the ANC locally. "We now have units inside SA which are able to train and organise people."

Hani says negotiations between SADF senior officers and Umkhonto should take place before a suspension of the armed struggle by his forces.

In the latest issue of *Insig*, columnist Willie Kuhn says the ANC's claim that Umkhonto should be responsible for the safety of its internal leadership could result in "an interesting unofficial situation in which two law enforcement organisations are established." He warns, however, this could lead to a further rightwing backlash.

Kuhn also says the conflict between security forces and the ANC strengthened the activities of so-called murder squads. Those underwriting two law enforcement organisa-

MILITARY FIM 23/3/90 (304A)

Early patrol

Democratic Party MPs, officials and security experts (including a former Chief of the Air Force) are to meet members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, in Lusaka next month. It is understood that the Idasa-sponsored group will leave for Zambia on April 4. Members will discuss the prospects for amalgamation of Umkhonto and the SA Defence Force in a post-apartheid society.

Idasa also sent an invitation to SADF Chief Jannie Geldenhuys but he declined. However, sources say Geldenhuys welcomes the meeting. A senior Foreign Affairs official tells the *FM* that Geldenhuys played a very conciliatory role during the Angola-SA peace talks before implementation of UN Resolution 435, which led to Namibian independence.

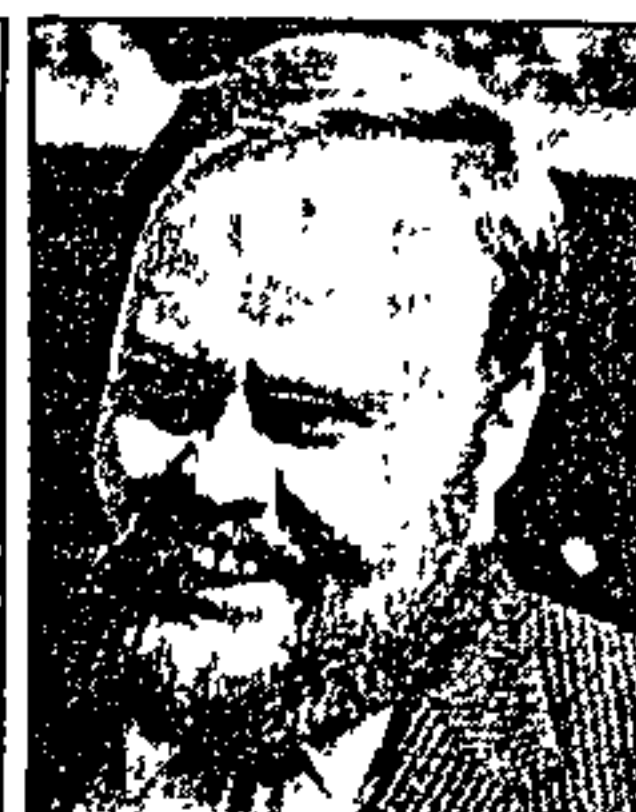
Meanwhile, National Party President's Council member Craig Williamson, a former security police spy, says there definitely will have to be talks between Umkhonto and the SADF. "But," he adds, "we don't need Idasa or the DP to organise it for us."

Williamson recently wrote an open letter to three ANC members — Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad and Ronnie Kasrils — whom he betrayed during his close association with the organisation when he was a spy. The letter pleaded with them to bury the bitterness of the 30-year conflict and work toward peaceful solutions.

The DP group will include party chairman Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point; Gen Bob Rogers, MP for Warmer and a former SAAF chief; Gen Wally Black, another retired SAAF officer who was unsuccessful for the DP in the South Coast con-



Hani



Williamson

tions should ensure these squads are disbanded, says Kuhn. Hani agrees: the alleged existence of murder squads in the security forces must be part of pre-ceasefire talks.

Hani also warns: "If the talks fail, and we find that government is not serious and returns to its old ways of violence against us, those (internal) units will be instructed to continue with the armed struggle."

However, Hani admits there have been positive changes in SA which require responsible statements from the ANC and himself. "We appeal for unity and reconciliation." ■

It's a minute to midnight in the politics singles-bar

304A

THE not-so-distant prospect of a Namibia-style election in South Africa is sending the country's political parties scurrying into bed with unexpected partners.

Inkatha has opened its doors to all races, the National Party is considering a "DTA option", the Labour Party are talking about disbanding and the Democratic Party is pondering a range of options between the African National Congress and the National Party.

Some say it's all a bit like being in a singles bar when it's getting late. When it dawns on you that you may not make it with the partner of your choice, you eventually decide to hook up with a fellow straggler. It sure beats going home alone.

The whites-only National Party is currently said to be toying with two options: opening its doors to all races and/or going for a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance option: forming electoral alliances with other parties and organisations.

One line of thought is to do both — open the doors to a trickle of "non-white" members and cast around for allies at the same time.

According to one NP source, the party was encouraged by the performance of the DTA in the Namibian elections and many are now seeing this as the route to follow.

Senior NP spokesman and Springs MP Piet Coetzer told the *Weekly Mail* that the alliance politics of the DTA was "one option people are talking about", but added "debate is too strong a word to describe the discussions taking place on this issue".

"The fact of the matter is that we obviously have a changed political situation and are moving towards a new constitution. So the guys are talking among themselves about the role of the party in the future, but it's a little premature to say if it will be alliance politics or an open party."

He said the emphasis in the NP was to "get the negotiation process going" and the party will then adapt to the demands the new situation produces.

Meanwhile Inkatha has formally decided to go non-racial and is currently discussing finding potential electoral allies.

Its youth leader, Musa Zondi, said the decision was made by Inkatha's central committee on February 17.

"We are expecting that a large number of whites will join us. During the time of the Indaba the pressure from whites to join was becoming quite unbearable."

Zondi, who is also an Inkatha central committee member, said they were expecting "many whites, Indians and coloureds to join".

He said it had been accepted that Inkatha "can't escape getting into alliances with other political organisations", but no final decisions had been taken on this matter.

Time's running late in the political singles bar and some curious matches are being hatched among the stragglers. GAVIN EVANS reports on the mating season among political parties

"We are expecting a significant political realignment with alliances of parties leading to new developments. We are therefore looking seriously at alliances and considering which groups could qualify."

Within the DP, an inner-party document has been circulated among members raising a number of possible options — ranging from linking up with the ANC to strengthening ties with the NP, with the option of a more vigorous move towards non-racialism also being discussed.

While there is agreement among all DP members of parliament on not joining the NP, and on playing a stronger extra-parliamentary role, important differences of emphasis exist.

MPs such as Peter Gastrow, Jan van Eck, Pierre Cronje and Wynand Malan are said to favour closer ties with the ANC.

The option of eventually joining the ANC is being informally discussed by some members.

Others, including Zach de Beer, Peter Soal, Colin Eglin and Tony Leon, favour retaining a strong liberal identity for the party, clearly distinct from both the ANC and the NP.

"I think we should sit tight and not move to one of the other camps," said Soal. "Our role is to keep alive the liberal values we've espoused."

Van Eck said that while there were different views within the DP, there was general agreement that the party should not disband.

"My own position is well-known. I believe we should ally ourselves with the democratic forces, including the ANC, instead of sitting in the middle or getting closer to the Nats."

He added, however, that the party had a distinct role in appealing to the white community "who may not be attracted to the style of the ANC".

Both Soal and Van Eck said the differences within the party had been exaggerated in the press.

"We certainly don't sit in caucus meetings discussing whether to join the NP or the ANC," said Soal.

Party leaders acknowledge however that many of their members had been won over by State President FW de

Klerk, and that they were now dealing with a smaller support base.

Many of those who are now back in the NP camp are believed to be former members or supporters of Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party, although Worrall himself, and his former key lieutenants, Jannie Momberg and David Gant, are said to favour closer links with the ANC.

According to Van Eck shifts in the NP direction always occur when significant reforms are made, but in the past these shifts have been shown to be temporary.

"People want to give FW credit, but this does not mean they will actually join the Nats," he said.

The Labour Party is currently discussing whether to "dissolve and become part of something bigger", according to its national public relations officer Peter Hendrickse.

"It is possible that we will arrive at a situation when it would no longer be necessary for us to continue."

Hendrikse, who is the Addo MP and son of LP leader Allan Hendrickse, said they were having "ongoing contact with other organisations", but declined to name them.

"Our leader has said the LP was formed in a period of political doldrums. One option now will be to allow members to affiliate to other organisations of their choice rather than the party itself doing so."

However several others in the Labour Party are believed to be holding out for the continued existence of their party — some fearing they will be forced to resign their seats and thereby lose their parliamentary salaries, privileges and pension.

Hendrickse said the party's future would be decided at its national congress in December.

While most of the reform-oriented parties are hedging their bets until the current period of political flux has settled a bit, it is clear that they will all be attempting to move beyond their current confines.

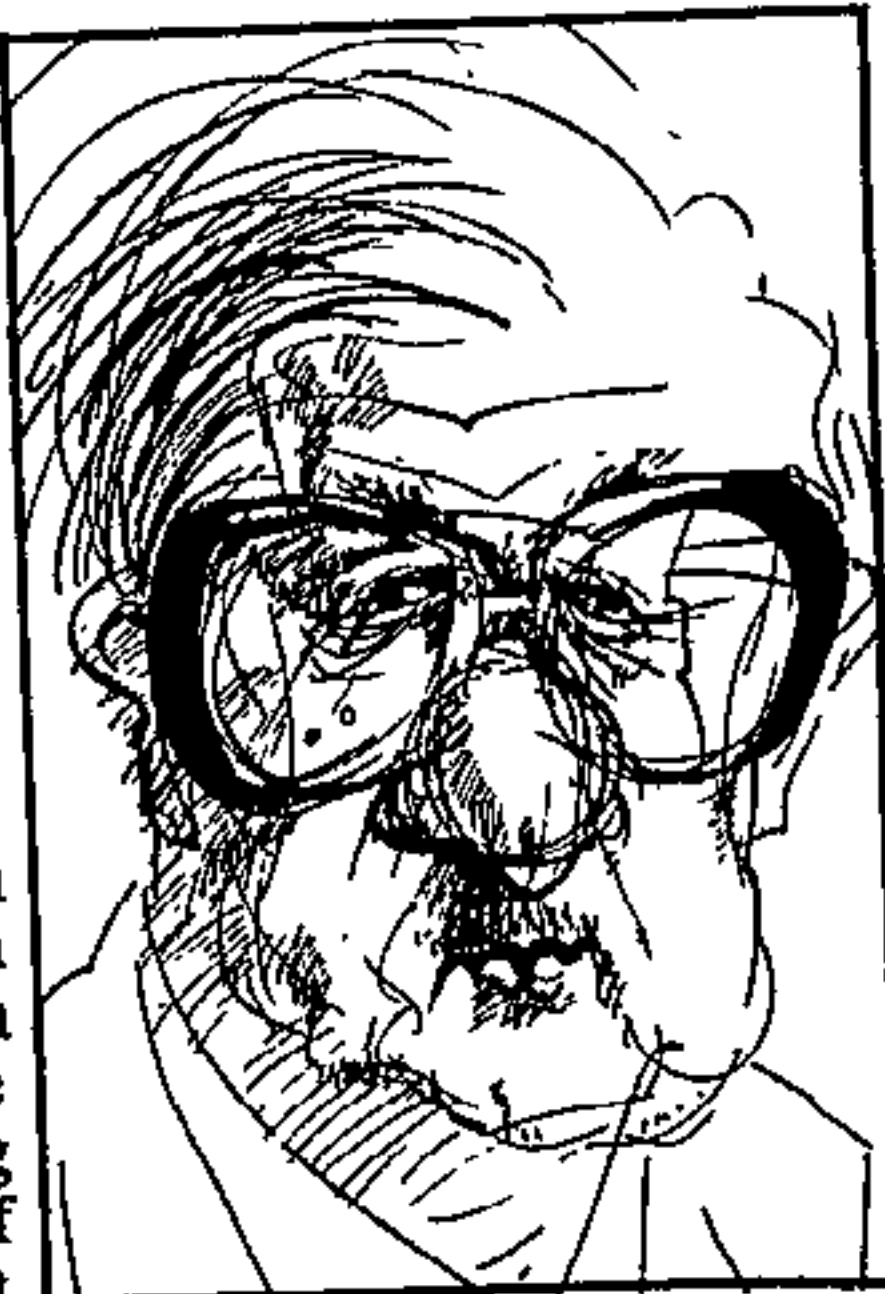
Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has acknowledged that the NP now accepts there will never be another all-white election and within the next decade it will no longer be the governing party.

As an all-white party it has a constrained future, but if it can broaden its racial horizons party strategists believe it has the potential to be a major factor into the next century.

But Viljoen is currently hedging his bets — at least on the record.

Questioned in parliament recently he said the NP's point of departure was that there should be separate voters' rolls for each "group", but acknowledged that his party was facing an "arduous challenge" in proposing the group concept.

Some NP sources say the group issue is one the party will be prepared to drop in the course of negotiations, and that their bottom line has shifted towards an emphasis on language, cultural and religious rights.



Gerrit Viljoen ... Hedging his bets

Blackened CP supporters open fire on boycotters

W/May 23/3 - 29/3/90

By CHRIS MABUYA
and PHILA NGQUMBA

CONSERVATIVE Party supporters disguised as blacks have shot demonstrators enforcing a consumer boycott, according to accusations made in Parliament.

Ray Radue, Democratic Party MP for King William's Town, told Parliament of an incident in which two CP supporters borrowed a Transkei-registered bakkie to break the boycott in the Border town of Komga.

In a bizarre variation of Cape Town's Trojan Horse incident, the blackened right-wingers drove to the Komga co-op, loaded a few empty boxes and returned towards the town's centre, pretending to violate the boycott.

When the bakkie was stoned "these self-appointed CP-supporting law-enforcers alighted with firearms and opened indirect fire," Radue said. Two youths are believed to have been

injured in the incident.

The Komga boycott has been under way since January. Last week, three members of the boycott's organisers, the Komga Residents' Association, were detained. Police at first said the three were being held in connection with criminal charges, but have since conceded they were detained under security legislation.

Other towns hit by consumer boycotts are Tarkastad, Jamestown and Elliot, near Queenstown.

In Stutterheim, white shops have been boycotted since November, forcing several to close. Since then, a number of activists have been detained, and tension is high.

This week, thousands of residents staged a peaceful march through

Stutterheim to the local police station to demand the release of seven pupils detained last week.

The marshalls, many of whom were school pupils, carried banners of the African National Congress, Mlungisi Residents' Association, and the Stutterheim Youth Congress.

Police kept a close watch on the marchers and razor wire sealed off their route from the rest of town.

At the police station a memorandum compiled by teachers and pupils of the Jongile Nomponde High School was read and handed to the station commander. The memorandum called for the immediate release of the seven pupils to enable them to continue with their studies.

In addition to the consumer boycott, political action in the Eastern Cape-Griqualand area has also included a wave of resignations by

community councils.

Councillors in Komga, Ginsberg, Indwe, Stutterheim and Elliot have all responded to residents' calls to resign, and this week residents of All-wal North called a mass meeting to demand the resignation of the Dukat-hole town council.

Similar meetings have also been held in Burgersdorp, Noupoot, Hanover, Steynsburg, Tarkastad, Jamestown and Colesberg. Only in Burgersdorp have councillors refused demands to resign.

In other towns councillors have asked for time to consider the demands, while at least two councils have held free braais in blatant attempts to buy residents' support.

In Colesberg and Noupoot residents have also told councillors to resign and join the residents' association. — Elnes and Veritas

number of are

Ironically, the NP and ANC have become dependent on

Crossing the divi

PATRICK LAURENCE

"THE Pope!" Stalin once exclaimed. "How many divisions has he got?" His exclamation, made 55 years ago in response to advice that he should be more generous towards Catholics, is apposite to South Africa today.

As South Africa enters the phase of pre-negotiation manoeuvres, the two main adversaries, the ruling National Party and the recently unbanned African National Congress, are counting their divisions and, equally important, trying to count those of the opposition.

The outcome of the negotiations, which start with "talks about talks" on April 11, depends as much on the relative strength of the two parties as on their negotiating skills and stamina.

Thus, any appraisal of the negotiating strategies of the two sides must start with the assumption that each will try to deploy as many divisions as possible at or near the negotiating table.

A key aspect of the NP's strategy is to avoid a situation where it and the ANC were the only interlocutors at the table, it wants to ensure that South Africa's black people were represented by a variety of organisations and forces.

Judging from statements made by President de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the man he has mandated as his chief negotiator, they want "moderate" or "responsible" — or, more cynically, "pliable" — black leaders to be present at the table.

These men include the Chief Ministers of the six black "self-governing homelands" — or bantustans, as they are pejoratively called — and delegates drawn from the ranks of the black township councillors.

It is pertinent to recall that in his watershed February 2 speech, Mr de Klerk pointedly thanked political leaders who had "always resisted violence", meaning those who had neither joined nor applauded "armed resistance" against apartheid and minority rule.

He specifically mentioned the Chief Ministers, singling out the Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi by name, and the "urban community leaders".

Since then, an apparently small but not insignificant news item appears to have past almost unnoticed: after meeting representatives of the National Forum last month, Dr Viljoen pronounced that he was satisfied that it had proved that it was representative enough to be present at the negotiating table.

The National Forum consists mainly if not entirely of black town councillors. Its sudden appearance last year received prominent coverage from the



FAST WORKER: The speed of F W de Klerk's moves since he took office last September has caught many of his opponents off balance.



ON GUARD: Nelson Mandela has to protect the radicalism of the PAC which has distanced

state-controlled SABC.

The driving force behind the National Forum seemed to be Mr John Mvuso, a tough-talking former ANC man who is perceived as a defector in some quarters, he was the first black man to be appointed to the Transvaal Provincial executive committee.

The De Klerk-Viljoen hope is that these "moderate" leaders will provide an ideological balance to the radicalism of the ANC. In that sense — to change the metaphor — they are potential "divisions" on Mr de Klerk's side.

The ANC's counter-strategy has been simple to put pressure on these men either to join the ANC or to destroy or discredit them. The pressure has taken the form of massive demonstrations on the ground, of continual agitation through pro ANC organisations against bantustans and bantustan policy.

Speaking of "bantustan leaders", Mr Aziz Pahad, an ANC executive member, sums up ANC strategy succinctly in an interview with The New African.

He anticipates that there will be only two camps at the negotiating table: the democratic camp (headed by the ANC) and the regime's camp. "We have to work towards ensuring that we pull them out of the enemy camp and into the democratic camp," he says.

The comments of Mr Titus Mafolo, of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front, about turmoil in Bophuthatswana apply to all the "homelands" where the Chief Ministers have not yet crossed to the "democratic camp". "The spirit of defiance must spread to all areas of Bop and must be such that (President Lucas) Mangope will not be able to stand against the tide," he says.

Linked to the ANC bid to deprive Mr de Klerk of his black auxiliaries is a simultaneous campaign to woo whites in order to narrow his support base. One thinks here of meetings organised by the ANC and its ideological ally, the UDF, under the slogan "A call to whites". One thinks, too, of their assurances that the ANC is committed to non-racialism.

On the ground, however, there are tensions or contradictions between the two policies.

Pressure on the bantustan leaders in the present volatile situation often ignites violence, the violence, in turn, frightens whites and drives them back into the "regime's camp", particularly when whites are killed or injured by frenzied black mobs.

To some extent there is little the ANC leadership can do about it. Events in the townships and peri-urban areas have acquired a momentum of their own. From Mr Mandela down, however, the ANC leaders try to minimise the violence by appealing for disciplined pressure and condemning violent action as counter-productive.

But while the ANC is striving to foment defeatism in, and encourage desertion from, Mr de Klerk's battalions, it has, of course, to consolidate its own support.

It is in that context that Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of the ANC's policy of nationalisation and armed struggle must be seen.

It does not follow that Mr Mandela's public commitment to these causes is prompted merely by tactical considerations. His affirmation is more than rhetorical. There is no evidence of contradiction between his public and private stands on these issues.

Tactical concerns are, however, real. The ANC, with Mr

Mandela as its most prominent spokesman, has to guard its left flank against the radicalism of the Pan Africanist Congress. The PAC has distanced itself from negotiations, sensing that they are a "trap" which Mr de Klerk, encouraged by Western leaders, is preparing to ensnare black leaders with.

If the PAC can persuade the people in the townships that the ANC is compromising their fun-

damental interests, that the ANC is sacrificing their hopes for equality in return for a share of power and privilege, it will gain popular support at the expense of its rival.

Thus the ANC dare not allow itself to be perceived as "soft", still less an organisation led by men with the contemptible ambitions and parochial vision of the petite bourgeoisie.

Linked to the ANC's determination to consolidate its own ranks is a related strategic objective to establish or re-establish a deeply-rooted legal ANC presence. It goes far beyond the task of setting up offices and requires money, energy and time.

Mr Mandela's appeals for in-

'De Klerk's main concern now is to try to persuade the white electorate to catch up with him. He has ventured way ahead of his party.'

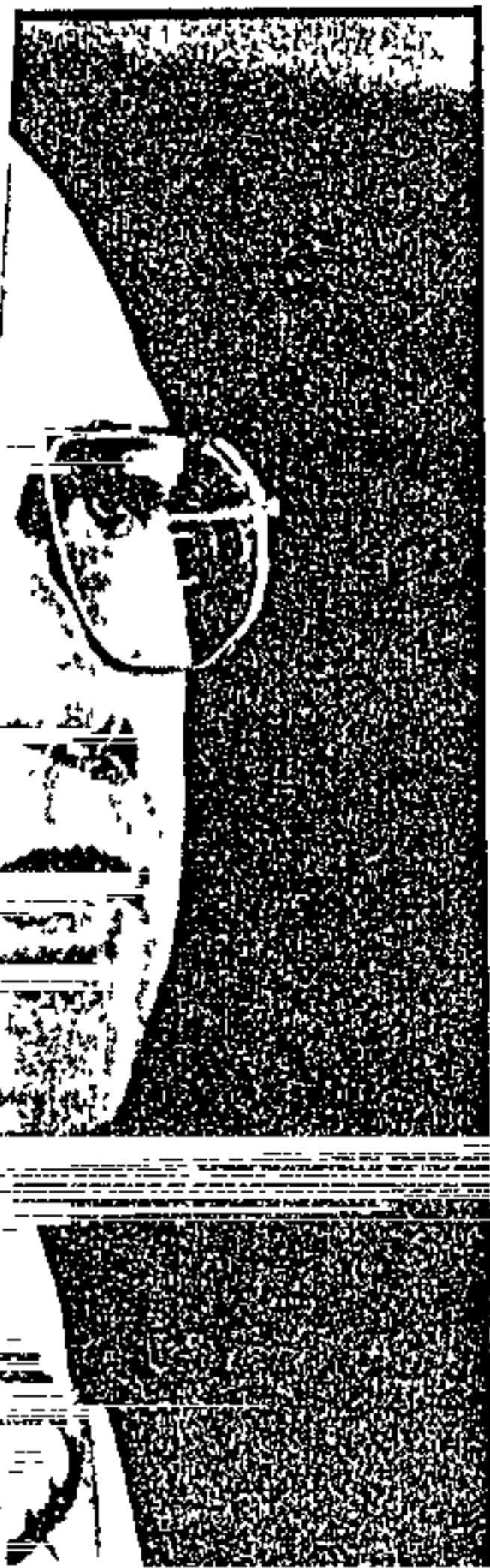
'South Africa's fate now depends on a De Klerk-Mandela pact. By 1990 South Africa have to choose of the two as President'

SPECTRUM

ANC have become dependent on one another

the divisions

1621 24/3/90 304A



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ON GUARD: Nelson Mandela has to protect the ANC's left flank against the radicalism of the PAC which has distanced itself from negotiations.

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Mr Mandela's appeals for in-

ternational aid not to cease now that Mr de Klerk has unbanned the ANC, flows from his realisation that to mobilise support in a disciplined, concerted manner is a mammoth task

Mr Raymond Suttner, a member of the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement leadership corps, puts it clearly in a paper prepared for discussion in ANC circles on the task ahead.

"When we speak of setting up ANC structures we mean organising the ANC as a living presence within the people

"We also mean locating the ANC as every level of the community

"Discipline does not mean ordering people around or meek obedience to se-

niors. It means we act together in such a way that the enemy can be dealt with as effectively, single-mindedly and powerfully as possible.

"A thousand blows mean nothing if they miss their target. Whatever blows we strike, from whatever sector, must reach their actual target."

To achieve that level of organisation requires time.

Mr de Klerk, however, does

not plan to give the ANC enough time to achieve that level of organisation, according to Mr Suttner's reckoning

As Mr Suttner sees it, the NP needs to move quickly its social base is crumbling as supporters defect to the Left and the Right; its imperative is to negotiate from a position of strength before its power is eroded too badly.

Mr Suttner's interpretation is consonant with the astonishing speed with which President de Klerk has moved since he took over last September. He has repeatedly wrong-footed his opponents

Significantly, when Mr de Klerk defended his February 2 decision to unban the ANC and initiate negotiations with black leaders, he did so by referring to Rhodesia, he argued that former Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr Ian Smith failed because he left it too late

The ANC's priority, Mr Suttner avers, is not to negotiate, but to set up branches and muster its supporters, metaphorically-speaking, into organised battalions. Like Mr de Klerk, the ANC - to extend Mr Suttner's argument - also wants to negotiate from strength

But, if Mr de Klerk needs to hurry the ANC into negotiations before it can mobilise fully, he cannot afford to move too quickly either

The point is well expressed in the latest issue of Africa Confidential.

"De Klerk's main concern now is to ... try by all possible means to persuade the white electorate to catch up with him. He has ventured way ahead of his party"

Timing is of great importance in the drama unfolding in South Africa. Mr de Klerk needs to move fast but not too fast; the ANC needs to slow him down sufficiently to give itself time to organise effectively at grassroots level without allowing the rival PAC an opportunity to steal a march on it.

Whatever happens he must have an agreement before the next general election in 1994. If he does not, he will have to face the white electorate as the man who tried to take the path to a negotiated settlement and failed. The consequences may be cataclysmic.

Mr Mandela seems to realise that. Hence his appeal to whites to support Mr de Klerk's policy initiatives.

Ironically, the NP and ANC, as the two parties of negotiation have become dependent on one another; the NP needs the ANC to help discipline the restless people of the townships, while the ANC needs the NP to persuade whites that negotiation is the only option to protracted and disastrous race war

As Africa Confidential puts it: "South Africa's fate now depends on a De Klerk-Mandela double act. By 1994, South Africa may have to choose one of the two as its President"

Wrong road to tourism

Greenpiece

JAMES CLARKE



THE TOURIST industry is set to boom in southern Africa. After all, we have so much. Our cities are relatively clean and safe, our roads are magnificent, our game viewing fantastic, the exchange rate attractive

But lately I have begun to wonder if we are ready for a boom. Try getting into Kruger Park for a start. Try getting into any reserve (Yet here we are about to devalue St Lucia.)

Or imagine this South Africa's top country inn - for the second year running - is almost impossible to find for the simple reason it is not allowed adequate road signs

Who says? The Provincial roads engineers? They're not paid to think about tourism, but they are in charge.

The inn is the Coach House at Agatha, in the hills above Tzaneen. Foreign visitors approach it mostly from the east because the Coach House has a tie-up with a bushveld game lodge

But the roads engineers will not allow the hotel to have a sign east of Tzaneen. Visitors are forced to drive into the town and find their way from there. I had the devil's own job myself

When I got there I heard another disturbing story auguring badly for tourism.

Embarrassed

Some Swiss travel agents were invited by the proprietor to a rather sumptuous picnic to be prepared by the hotel's chef at Shingwedzi.

The party entered the reserve early in the morning and the chef - a black man - followed later with the food

The person at the Kruger Park gate was loathe to let him through and embarrassed him deeply by demanding "Where's your master?" The man is a noted chef, trained in Paris.

I also experienced, when entering the park recently, a very sour face at reception

In this same region I recently searched, in vain, for the Hans Merensky Game Reserve. My map was woefully wrong, but the lack of road signs aggravated the situation.

Not far away is the Wood-bush Forest Reserve with South Africa's highest tree (an 82.4m eucalyptus which may also be the world's highest planted tree). There are no signs pointing to Woodbush

I was in Cape Town a month ago in a top ranking hotel (at R177 just for the bed) and found the bed had fleas in it, the main light did not work, there were no waiters to serve breakfast until 15 minutes had gone, there was lipstick on my cup

Until we shed our morose socialist republic style image we don't deserve visitors

Escape the habit

Slap in the face for Terre'Blanche

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has come up against women's power in a row about his part in a conference on Afrikaner unity.

Two national women's organisations withdrew from the conference in Pretoria yesterday after refusing to share a platform with the fiery rightwing activist.

Ironically, the organisers also had a rebuff from the rightwing Afrikaner-Volkswag (AV) movement, which refused to take part unless the discussions were based on an outright rejection of the government's reform policies — a condition the organisers would not meet.

The conference, involving about 20 Afrikaner organisations, was organised by the Rapportryers movement. The theme was "unity is strength".

W/15 ARGUS 24/3/90 304A
Mrs Mona Roets, chairwoman of Dames Aktueel, with about 70 branches, said her organisation was non-political and did not want to become involved in politics.

Mrs Roets scoffed at claims by a conference spokesman that the AWB leader would speak on "cultural matters" only.

"We know Mr Terre'Blanche's style. We know he does not represent a cultural organisation. He is out-and-out a political activist. The conference is offering him a platform. We can't go along with that."

Mrs Cynthia Bredenhann, chairwoman of Jong Dames Dinamiek, a national women's organisation with 145 branches and nearly 3 000 members, said: "We decided to withdraw because we regard him as a political figure and his AWB has always been active in politics. My organisation is non-political and when we were invited I was led to believe that only cultural bodies would take part."

Sowetan 23/3/90

304A



United States Secretary of State James Baker (right) and South African President FW de Klerk talk to reporters in Cape Town yesterday following the highest level meeting between the two countries in 12 years.

**West
meets
South**

NSC fails in 

Holding the centre

S/Times 25/3/90

(304A)

A FEW weeks ago I had the luck to visit the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. Quite by chance my visit coincided with an exhibition of post-modernist furniture.

Since I am ignorant of these things, my first reaction was one of bewilderment. I searched for words to describe the bright colours, the strange shapes, the crazy komik humour of the designs.

There were vases like exotic flowers, sofas that looked as though they would collapse when you sat on them and dressing tables decorated naively with light bulbs as if to announce to you in the morning: "You're not dressing for the office, but to go on stage. You're a star!"

It was wonderful, disturbing fun. Disturbing, that is, to anyone who had just been sitting in a Calvinist chair or sleeping in a Bauhaus bed. The exhibition was about playfulness, mad invention, the repartee of different periods and styles.

Delight

Gone was the rigorous subordination of detail to the single idea. Instead, different parts of the same piece of furniture were expected to say things to each other. They could be different and still be glued together, like some delightful family of eccentrics. This furniture was (to put it a little pompously) opposed to the 20th century.

It was against the logic of the single dominant idea, against the notion that to be rational you have to squeeze every contradiction out of the parts.

If anything could portray the sudden outburst of different voices in Europe, this could. If anything could show how old, tired and inflated the ruling ideas of left and right had become, this could. As usual, art had preceded politics by several decades.

The interesting thing, though, was that all these different pieces had a collective identity: that of difference. As I went into other halls, I realised how much I missed the sheer contradiction and witty backchat of this post-modern stuff.

I kept returning to look some more. I stopped trying to find words to describe what I was seeing. It was as though the furniture was a crowd of clever, interesting



Peter du Preez

professor of psychology at UCT, explains the need to develop and protect a New Centre of political thought

people having a good time. Their identity was a shared sense of fun and a delight in difference.

Coming back to South Africa, my elation persisted for a while. What I had seen at the Stedelijk was a release of fresh voices. What I found here was something like that, until it was marred by violence. There are many who don't like the fresh voices that are heard everywhere.

The Conservatives don't want to hear the new voices at all. The cultural desk of the ANC is not sure which voices it will be able to tolerate. The Censorship Board is trying to keep us from growing up.

The warlords of township and countryside definitely don't wish to hear anything from anyone. Like the hit squads, they believe that a difference of opinion is best settled by killing. Many people are trying to reimpose the old conformity or invent a new kind.

What should be defended? Let me try to describe the new centre which must be developed and protected by both the ANC and the Government against the attacks of Conservatives and warlords.

The new centre is a process, not a final answer. It is a conversation in which inventive voices can be heard and differences acknowledged. It is an attempt to establish the rules of the democratic game rather than an attempt to achieve a sham "liberation" in which one form of domination is replaced by another.

The new South African identity that must be protected is not the identity of conformists who crawl

on their belly to the State, but of free persons who are able to debate as equals.

It is not merely another standardised weapon in the struggle — like the Afrikaner identity of the National Party — but an identity which thrives on an exchange of views. Culture is the conversation of free people, not the regimented bleating of political sheep.

The new centre is the product of Mr F W de Klerk's initiatives and Mr Nelson Mandela's responses to those initiatives. Each has been careful to respect the other; each has been careful to acknowledge the other as a trustworthy and honest opponent. Negotiation can only occur between equals.

Mr Mandela has shown at various times that he understands that a mere change from white to black domination will not create the kind of South Africa worth living in.

Does the creation of the new centre mean that the ANC and the Government have identical interests? Does it mean that they should unite to form one party?

Loyal

Naturally, it means nothing of the sort. It simply means that they have a common interest in establishing and protecting a peaceful political process. It means that they should respond to each other's initiatives in the manner of "loyal opposition".

They are not loyal to each other, but to the people of South Africa, nurturing and protecting their differences against those who believe that the way to deal with opposition is murder. In the past, in many places, there has been much killing in an attempt to impose the identity of a single nationality or a single class on everyone. This kind of suppression is both immoral and disastrous.

Repressed differences, as we see in the Soviet Union today as well as in South Africa, always return with violence. We should become comfortable with differences, with the conversation of equals, with loyalty to each other's freedom.

The South African identity which must be nurtured is the right to be equal. That's what it's like to be liberated.

Apartheid chickens are busy laying lots of eggs

C/Press 25/3/90 304A

I SEE that the homeland chickens have come home to roost. Many find they have been blown up by their own bomb.

First victim was that old schoolmaster and conservative, President-for-life of the Ciskei, Lennox Sebe, who has done a Houdini following a successful coup in his homeland.

Knowing as I do that in some parts of the Cape truth is a luxury, it does not surprise me that no-one can remember exactly where old Sebe has vanished to.

But I know for a fact that the apartheid chickens have come home to lay their eggs from Zwelitsha to Mmabatho, as we will soon hear.

First, old Sebe tried very hard to hide behind a suspect constitution to protect his pals and rela-

tives from the due process of law.

Then the wheel turned full circle and he had to flee from the long arm of the law. Then, in rapid succession, while Bophuthatswana's Chief Lukas Mangope was telling the folk out in Mmabatho that he was theirs for keeps, they were demanding his head.

So he, too, has gone on an unscheduled holiday across unknown borders. Meanwhile, one of his sycophants, obviously left holding the fort - one Mothibe - was adamant that unless there was a law against it Bop would never go back to being part of South Africa.

Well and good until you remember that many of the homelands keep their begging bowls pointed in the direction of Pretoria whenever hunger - a

perennial occurrence - threatens.

Soldiers in these territories have long hankered to change their khaki uniforms for the civic gown, which gives them unmonitored access to State maphepha; to move from the parade ground to the political platform - in short to exchange their rifles for bank-guaranteed cheques.

So it is rather ironic that your Gen Holomisa, among others, is one of those who has expressed utter shock at the fact that their country has been living on borrowed or stolen maphepha for almost a decade, while guys like George Matanzima might well be living the life of Riley in Wellington Prison in the sure knowledge that they have a rand or two stashed away in some inscrutable

Swiss bank.

Now the laws of libel being what they are, and being an old hand at the game, I shall not reveal who told me this about a certain homeland. It seems the Minister of Transport there has hardly passed a driving test, while the Minister of Justice has a string of previous criminal convictions.

Meanwhile, up in the north, my old drinking buddy from our Turfloop days, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi of the Shangaans - who seemed happier as an academician as far as I am concerned - has a few problems over guys who have been slung into police cells without anybody bothering to give reasons.

Let's change the subject a bit. I see that the SAP band has made a



MUSIN'

With Obed Musi

record of popular songs, one of which is *Shosholozza*, known as the prison anthem.

Now judging from the things I've seen cops doing lately, like toyi-toying in the streets and viva-ing all over the place, it does not surprise me that guys like that stormy petrel, ex-Lt Gregory Rockman, and others have been given marching orders for doing what they had been preventing over the years - like striking and marching.

Multi-racial NP may be sign of the future

THIS week *Beeld* addressed the issue of opening the National Party to other races in an editorial.

It quotes Minister Dawie de Villiers as saying if values instead of colour became the basis of a new South Africa, the NP would have to be willing to seek allies among other political parties and groups with the same values.

It also quotes MP Renier Schoeman as saying it would be illogical if the NP did not discuss alliance politics and inter-party affiliation and relationships.

Beeld says there should be no lack of clarity about the heart of the debate: how must the NP reform internally to stay relevant in power politics?

The question is what impact a racially exclusive NP will have where a new South Africa demands shared values.

"Assume the negotiation process takes off. A black or brown man who supports a multi-party democracy, a free economy and minority guarantees would be a more natural ally of the NP than a white Marxist."

How must these powers get together? Forming alliances is one possibility, like the DTA pattern in Namibia.

The ANC is urgently mustering the maximum support for discussions on negotiation. If the NP postpones too long, it would eventually be all on its own.

There should be no doubt about forming alliances. And if the concept of shared values is worked through thoroughly, there could eventually be no objections to an open, big party which could express the ideals of many millions of people in South Africa, *Beeld* says.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya

CL Press 25/3/90

High point in talk process



Some have horrifying stories to tell about life in exile. Chris Hani had a close shave with death in 1981 during his seven-year stay in Lesotho when explosives were placed in his car.

Albie Sachs, who works in the ANC legal department, also had a close shave with death when his car was booby-trapped outside his home in Maputo. Sachs lost an arm and now walks with difficulty.

Other members of the ANC hierarchy were, however, not as lucky. Joe Gqabi, the first ANC representative in Harare and Dulcie September, ANC representative in Paris, were assassinated.

There are many other young men in ANC camps who will tell you about their brushes with death while fighting the enemy in the war zones.

It must have been a painful experience to see their comrades, with whom they fought against colonialists in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and later Namibia, return to their countries in victory.

I am confident it is not going to be too long before we too join the rest of Africa in celebrating our liberation. After all, we are the only ones left.

TS all systems go as the ANC prepares for an encounter with the NP government on April 11. This time, however, we are not going to witness cross-border raids by the SADF or a military invasion of Umkhonto we Sizwe, or for that matter bitter political point scoring between old foes over who was right or wrong.

The meeting will focus on "talks about talks" to pave the way for future negotiations.

There will be no battle cries or offensive words like "terrorists, bandits and running dogs of war". This will be a battle of wits.

Government boasts seasoned negotiators like Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and others, while the ANC is proud to have Thabo Mbeki.

We are all anxious about the outcome of this meeting. We are crossing our fingers in the hope there are no obstacles, because should this happen black organisations who earlier had reservations about talking to government will say: "You see, we told you so."

On the other hand, rightwing elements will say to whites: "You see, the NP has sold you out."

At this stage all seems well. President de Klerk's government has been do-

ing its homework. Their biggest coup was De Klerk's appearance at Namibia's independence on Wednesday.

Who would have dreamed a National Party leader would one day warmly greet the Palestine Liberation Organisation's Yasser Arafat? And what about De Klerk's talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and those African leaders who espouse communist ideology?

The ANC also seems geared up for talks. The first contingent of top ANC members led by Chris Hani, deputy leader of the ANC military wing, is expected to arrive in Johannesburg today.

Already in the country are ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and Penwell

Maduna of the ANC legal department in Lusaka. They arrived into the country on Wednesday.

The ANC, understandably, is playing its cards close to the chest and not revealing anything to the media. They know a wrong move on their part could throw the whole negotiation process into disarray.

However, certain names of those who will be arriving in South Africa today have been leaked.

The list of names shows the ANC is taking the whole matter seriously. They are not run-of-the-mill guys who left the country for nothing.

These are people who sacrificed cosy homes, good jobs, family life and education to venture into a world of the unknown.

S/Times 25/3/90

304A

MEET THE TBAVIS!



JACOB ZUMA



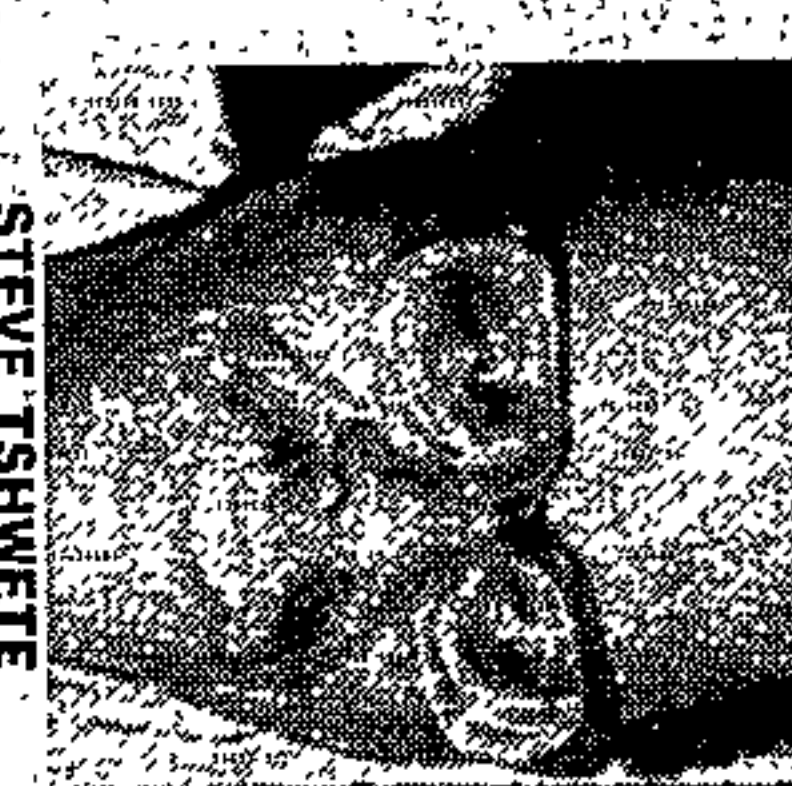
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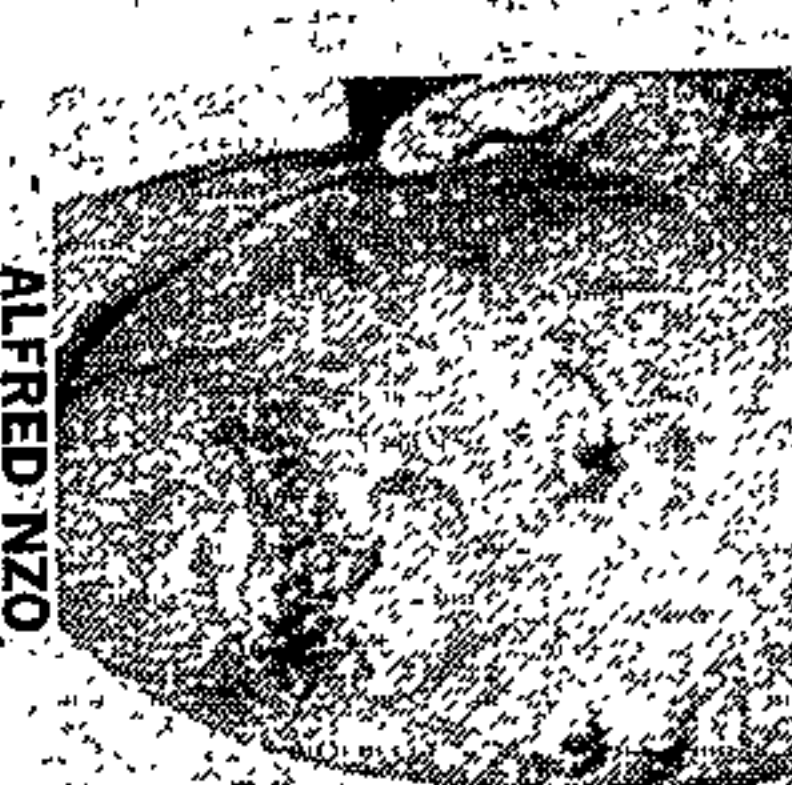
CHRIS HANI



THABO MBEKI



STEVE TSHWETE



ALFRED NZO



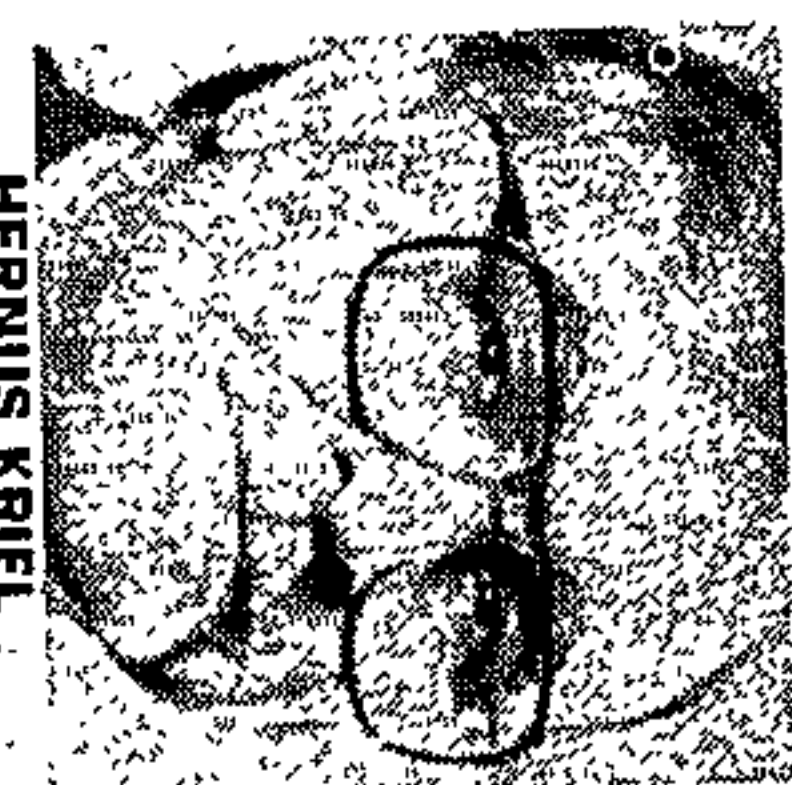
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F.W. DE KLERK



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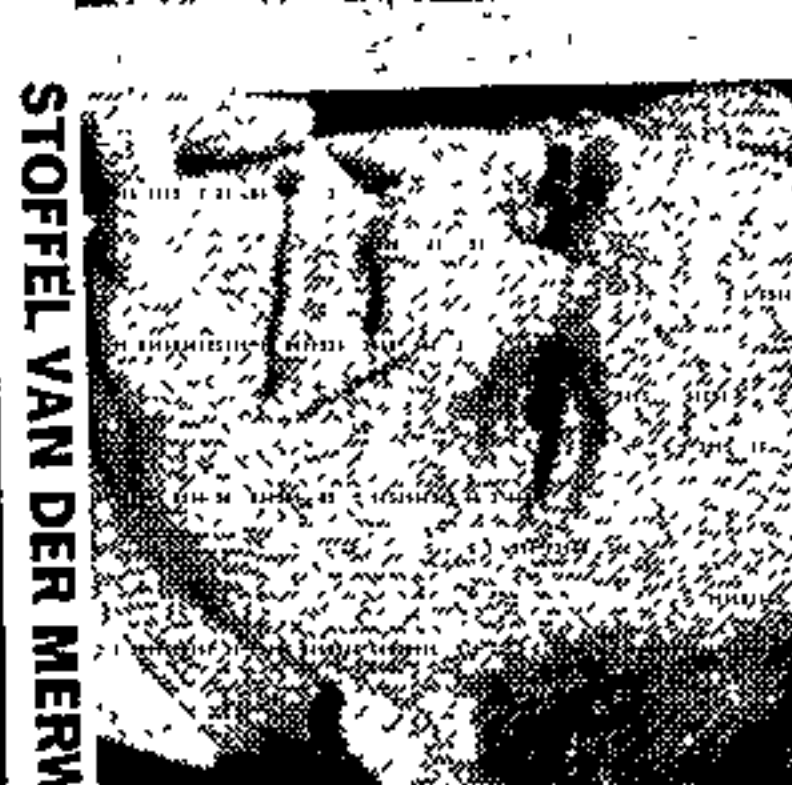
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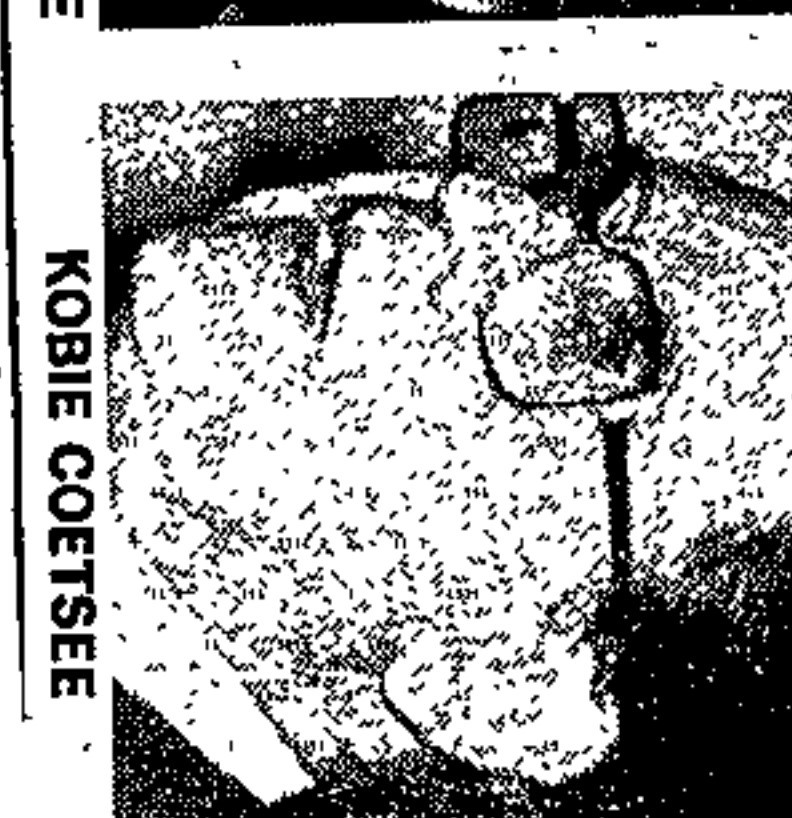
GERRIT VILJOEN



ROELF MEYER



STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE



KOBIE COETSEE

End of the polecat era



DETENTE . . . De Klerk meets American Secretary of State James Baker



RUSSIAN REVOLUTION . . . with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze



BEST OF BRITISH . . . talking to Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd

Lester Venter

STYVE 13/1/90

SOUTH AFRICANS who travel abroad know the humiliation of fearing foreign taxi drivers.

"Say, bud, that's a strange accent you got there. Where are you from?"

"Er . . . South Africa."

A grunt or stony silence is usually the best one can hope for after that. Many a white South African traveller has experienced worse at the hands of porters, counter clerks or cocktail guests.

That, mercifully, is rapidly becoming something of the past. The New South Africa — astonishing after all that has happened in it — was 50 days old yesterday.

Yet already it is irreversibly part of the new mood of burgeoning democratic hopes all over the world.

If a symbolic moment were needed to illustrate the new spirit, it was the lowering of the South African flag in Windhoek this week.

It was a moment richly infused with the sort of political paradox South Africans are going to have to learn to understand: the only honourable way of getting what one is entitled to is by giving to



others what is rightfully theirs. So when the South African flag sank, in a historically poignant moment, to make way for the flag of the Republic of Namibia, it opened the way for the single greatest display of international commendation South Africans have been accorded in living memories.

Emergence

In the day that followed, President F.W. de Klerk was called on or had contacts with 10 heads of state, including Organisation for African Unity chairman Mr Hosni Mubarak, and seven foreign ministers — among them Mr Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union.

In South Africa he had talks with US Secretary of State James Baker and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, as well as two

other African heads of state. South Africa's emergence from an era in which it was regarded the polecat of the world is as welcome as it was unexpected. It is fitting that our sanitisation should have taken place at Namibian independence.

Our part in making that event possible, which brought with it the ending of SA's involvement in the Angolan war, was the first act of statesmanship and internationalism in the making of the new SA.

The second in this three-act piece was when President De Klerk set the country on the road to democracy for all its people 50 days ago.

True, the climax of the drama will come in the vital third act — when the talked-about democracy has to be implemented — and only then will the symbolism of the present moment be translated into reality.

But the promise is great, the process irreversible.

And as South Africans gather more of the fruits of being welcomed back into the community of nations, so will their appetite for the benefits increase. Helping to smooth the way in

this turn-around is the style and personal manner of President De Klerk.

The absence in him of the strutting belligerence the world came to associate with the country's previous leaders had the simple, yet telling effect of making it easier for visitors to be seen in his company in Windhoek. In this and many other areas a reversal is under way in a historical process that began 40 years ago, when India first imposed sanctions on South Africa.

Privileged

The world looked on in helpless frustration as South Africans propelled themselves into domestic conflict, making the region a less peaceful place.

The only effective way for the world to express its repulsion was to cease to contribute to the well-being of the privileged class — and to use the withdrawal of co-operation and trade as the punishment.

In the last decade, particularly, that became the convention by which the world viewed and dealt with South Africa. Foreign affairs departments

and diplomats throughout the world are now busily preparing to take up new positions.

No-one wants to miss the boat. Among these, Australia's response will serve as a litmus test on the new international mood.

Because of their many similarities of geography and pioneering experience, there has always been a perceived affinity between the two countries — making the bitter opposition of its Labour government that much more painful.

More than Canberra's mineral sanctions (which hardly hurt), Australia can now afford a gesture that will be most readily received by a great number of ordinary South Africans — friendly sporting ties.

Australian diplomats are sharply conscious of this and are working on contingency plans. But the United States wields the biggest sanctions stick.

Already the most ardent proponents of this policy have called a moratorium on further measures and diplomatic investigations are under way on the contingency of President George Bush using his discretionary

powers to begin reversing existing sanctions.

In the offing is an official state visit to the United States by President De Klerk, probably in May. He will also see Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Britain has persisted in keeping its options open. Already there are subdued murmurs in Whitehall about South Africa re-joining the Commonwealth.

Apart from the great symbolism of re-acceptance that would be contained in such an act, the preferential trade tariffs the country would then enjoy with its economic partners would have remarkable financial impact.

Diplomatic

Waiting in the wings are a supporting cast of players who would welcome more open relations with South Africa — like West Germany, Japan and the emerging East Bloc nations.

Even strident opponents like Norway and Sweden would relish the opportunity to purge their trade acts of the irksome hypotheses they now contain.

But it is in Africa where the greatest promise lies. South

Africa already trades with all but a handful of African states. But this trade is restricted to a fraction of what it could be and is encumbered by subterfuge and double-speak.

Zimbabwe, for example, earns roughly half its foreign exchange in rands.

An open atmosphere in which the slumbering promise of the situation could be exploited would bring with it benefits that cannot be fully predicted.

That promise is at hand: South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs has budgeted to establish up to four diplomatic missions in Africa in the coming year.

At present there is only one north of the Limpopo, in Malawi. In the hinterland lies the greatest of all diplomatic prizes — joining the OAU — which will be more valued than membership of the Commonwealth.

The image of SA emerging as a powerhouse and southern gateway to Africa is so pregnant with promise for all on the continent that the sober-minded are afraid to dream of it.

But the next 50 days could just dispel a little more doubt.

Time to censor Nats!

ST Times 28/3/90

304A

No more jobs for boys

NO PROPER explanation has been given for the appointment of Louis Pienaar as South Africa's new chief censor. And there probably never will be.

Is there dissatisfaction about the more liberal direction in which present chief censor Kobus van Rooyen has steered the country during the past decade? Or did Pienaar need a job now that South West has become Namibia?

Were there pressures behind closed doors on the State President about the Van Rooyen stamp 'on censorship'?

Whatever result the Pienaar appointment will have on censorship, one thing is certain: even the Government does not yet seem to have realised what change it has wrought in South Africa.

February 2 is a watershed, the implications of which do not yet seem to have properly sunk in. That historic speech by Mr De Klerk has not only opened the way to a South Africa in which everybody will have the vote — and in which the government consequently will be black or almost entirely black — but in which the whole of public life will be directly affected. Consider the case of Pienaar:



Harald Pakendorf
warns of the danger of the Government continuing to appoint its loyal followers to sensitive positions in the New South Africa

National Party MP, ambassador to France, Administrator-General of SWA — a man in his mid-60s ready to retire. Does he need the job of chief censor to top up his pension? Or is he just such a wonderful man that the country cannot afford to lose him? Or does censorship need a Pienaar?

Whatever the reason, what we have here is the appointment of a true and loyal son of the NP to do a sensitive job. It is called looking after your own.

Foolish

That is something which is understandable even though it's not preferable.

Has the NP realised that what it is doing its successor will also do? Party loyalists of the next ruling party — which may or may not be the ANC — will also be looked after.

The next Pienars are going to be mostly black. Even those white ones now pushed into jobs cannot be certain they will keep them when the NP bows out — which it

will do in five years' time, according to Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Not only that. The state and its apparatus will be used to find jobs for blacks, much as the Afrikaner did immediately after 1948.

Hopefully, the next government will not be so foolish as to fire competent holders of public service or quasi-public service jobs.

But it is certain that in key top jobs a new government would like to see its own people in place sooner rather than later. It would undoubtedly favour those who are close to it in making senior appointments, and would also try to find as many jobs as possible in the lower ranks for its own people.

To put it bluntly, when the new government has a choice between a white and a black — both with similar qualifications — the black will get the job.

Some advice might be in order: if you are white and have a child looking for a job, try to steer him/her away from the public service. Their chances of promotion five years hence will be worse than today. Sound reactionary? Just an

exaggeration? No, it is neither. South Africa has not had a change of government since 1948 and thus does not know, or has forgotten, that change in parliament and in government does not end there. It brings in its train a whole series of changes.

It happened when D F Malan took over from Jan Smuts. It was then thought the difference between the UP and NP was enormous. The differences will be even bigger when the ANC, another black grouping or a coalition of political groupings takes over.

Trust

In as much as the NP felt it necessary to be able to put its own people in place, people it could trust with its programme, so will the next government.

There will be plenty of Pienars. One can argue and raise questions about whether it is just to do this. One can ask questions about the competence of a Pienaar or the need to find him a job.

But one has to accept that changes in government will directly affect all aspects of life within the new government's influence. Less so in settled countries where government changes are frequent. More so in countries where not only will the government change, but a whole new approach come about.

1.1e Scenario and gentlemen who will shape the new SA

IT'S the Robben Island Old Boys versus the Green Bench veterans.

From Lusaka, home of the African National Congress for the past quarter of a century, comes a heavyweight negotiating team.

Inside South Africa, it will be supplemented by some more weighty political players. A British-trained

By BRIAN VAN HEERDEN

economist, a former health inspector, a lawyer from a period when black faces at the side-bar were a rarity, a veteran bushfighter with a degree in Latin and a charismatic operator who never went to school.

Facing them across the table: a skilful lawyer with a black belt in negotiations, a former Greek professor, a political scientist and a

strong back-up of attorneys and advocates.

A combined experience of more than 30 years in establishment parliamentary politics on the one side; a century of service behind bars, doing hard labour or in exile on the other.

Next month's talks-about-talks in Cape Town will be the first face-to-face encounter between the Government and the ANC since Mr J G

Strijdom turned delegations away with empty hands when they wanted to present him with petitions in the Fifties.

Already inside South Africa is the ANC's advance team consisting of intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, legal adviser Mr Pennell Maduna and Mr Gibson Macunda of its security department.

They could hardly have chosen a better man for the job than 48-year-old Mr Zuma. Strongly built with a

booming laugh, he is one of the rising stars in the ANC hierarchy.

Born in Natal, he is the most senior Zulu on the ANC executive. He never went to school. His father died in World War 2 and his mother was a domestic servant whose meagre wages he had to supplement by doing odd jobs at a very early age.

ANC politics came to him naturally. By 1963 he was already active in the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe

when he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years on Robben Island. (3044)

He left the country soon after his release and joined the ANC in exile, where he quickly rose to the top — as representative in Mozambique, member of the influential political-military council and of late as chief of intelligence and security.

Mr Maduna is one of the ANC's foremost backroom men. Said to be "a brilliant lawyer" he has spent some

time in recent months drafting the ANC's response to the Law Commission's report on a Bill of Rights.

Today, three more senior ANC members will arrive. Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto, Mr Aziz Pahad, the ANC's London representative and Mr Reg September, 66, head of political education, a veteran trade unionist and a long-time confidante of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Hani, 47, is an enigmatic character. Until two months ago he was South Africa's most wanted man — the man responsible for the day-to-day planning of Umkhonto's military and sabotage activities.

Skilful

Three days before Christmas 1985, South African forces staged a massive cross-border raid into Lesotho. Their target, it later became known, was a house in Maseru where Mr Hani was suspected of staying. He escaped through the back door while the soldiers were coming in the front.

Nine other people were not so lucky. They were killed by gunfire.

Mr Pahad, one of two Indian members of the ANC executive, hails from Swartburg in the Western Transvaal where he was born into a very active political family. His brother, Essop, is also one of the senior ANC members in exile.

Said to be returning soon is Dr Pallo Jordan, head of information, publicity and research, and Mr Steve Tshwete, responsible for liaison with internal political organisations.

Interest

The rest of the team is expected on April 8 — three days before the Cape meeting is due to start. It will include secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, 64, a former Alexandra health inspector, chief diplo-

mat Mr Thabo Mbeki, 47, a University of Essex economics graduate, and possibly Umkhonto commander-in-chief Mr Joe Modise, a former Johannesburg truck driver.

President F W De Klerk will lead an equally experienced team to the negotiating table.

He is a well versed lawyer himself, having turned down an offer as professor of law at Potchefstroom to enter politics.

In Parliament, he made a name as a skilful negotiator at his best in one-on-one encounters.

Supporting him will be the highly regarded Dr Gerrit Viljoen, a former rector of the Rand Afrikaans University and at present the Government's constitutional negotiator-in-chief.

Experience

A former professor in Greek, Dr Viljoen may find a common interest with an unlikely candidate — the ANC's Mr Hani, who majored in Latin at Fort Hare University.

Four other government heavyweights are all qualified lawyers — Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr Pik Botha are advocates and Mr Hernus Kriel and Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer are attorneys.

Mr Botha brings with him a wealth of experience as South Africa's longest-serving Foreign Minister, which recently culminated in the successful conclusion of the lengthy negotiations over Namibian independence.

The last member of the Government's "seven wise men" is Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, a former political science professor at RAU.

Health, agriculture next on agenda

Open schools move erodes own affairs

CAPE TOWN — The partial opening of white schools to all races announced by government at the weekend is set to be followed by other moves that will signal the end of the present "own affairs" system.

Within the next few months, government is expected to announce the opening of teacher training colleges and hospitals to all races. The Land Acts are not expected to survive in their present form.

Government accepts that if it is to have any chance of securing some provision for "group rights" in negotiations, there will have to be a drastic change in allowing access to existing amenities. In essence this will mean the end of own affairs.

This division, introduced with the tricameral constitution, gives each race group separate control of such matters as education, health services, local government and agriculture as they affect that group.

Government accepts that in any new dispensation, the vast majority of residential areas and schools would have to be open to all races, but is seeking to secure some provision for white control of these areas.

It is unlikely it will insist that health remain classified an own affair. While it wishes to retain white authority over primary and secondary education, teacher training, like other tertiary institutions, will be open to all races.

With Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen investigating the scrapping of the Land Acts — an announcement can be expected later this year — the definition of agriculture as an own affair will have to be amended or dropped. Local government will increasingly become open with the speeded up establishment of free settlement areas.

MIKE ROBERTSON

White own affairs Education Minister Piet Claes announced two schemes under which white schools can be opened by next year. DP education spokesman Roger Burrows said the move was as significant as President F W de Klerk's watershed February 2 speech.

Claes's first option for opening schools was an expansion of the policy applied to Barnato Park in Johannesburg. This involves the "privatisation" of a school with the state supplying greater financial support than it now does to private schools.

The second option requires acceptance by up to 90% of the parent body for school admissions to be opened to all races.

Claes said the aim of so high a percentage was that there could be no question about the decision. Provision would be made for teachers and pupils who did not accord with the majority decision of their school.

If a school chose to be privatised, Claes said furniture and equipment would be sold to it at a reasonable price, but the school would be liable for maintenance. Salaries of teaching and administrative staff would be paid by the state.

The privatisation option is the one likely to be applied by government to schools in free settlement areas.

Government is investigating the possibility of declaring whole cities free settlement areas — starting with Cape Town. With senior Cabinet Ministers known to favour this option, is it possible that by next year all schools in the city could be opened.

The Cape Town City Council is also involved in delicate negotiations with gov-

To Page 2

P.T.O.

A dozen years ago I suggested brightly that every house in Soweto should be given, free and for nothing, to its occupant. Louis Rive, who was at the time gravely studying The Problem of Soweto, told me not to be silly.

Looking back, I can't but think that the government, Soweto, and Louis Rive's reputation would all be in better shape if the houses had been given to the tenants. Soweto might by now be dominated by a property-owning class of do-it-yourselfers, mortgaged to the ears to pay for improvements to their houses, and fighting to uphold the tone of the neighbourhood.

As it is, government has been trying desperately since then to sell those houses, at diminishing prices, but Soweto remains the bureaucratically controlled compound which it was built to be, its people querulous and aggrieved, which is the nature of tenants.

In those days, the word "privatisation" was not yet in vogue, but that was essentially what I had in mind. The motive was not primarily economic, but political: the less the government owned, the fewer bureaucrats there would be, and the less they would be able to control other people's lives. Control of property gives government the means to control its people, and make them serfs.

Besides, at that time Professor Sample Terreblanche, later to become a powerful commander of the SABC thought police, was telling young Nationalists that the way to solve the country's social problems was to tax the rich Jews and the English, and use their money to "uplift" black people. For reasons not obscure, I didn't like the idea then, and I don't like it now.

Since then, Maggie Thatcher has educated us all to the possibilities of privatisation. If the government can be persuaded to dispose not only of Iscor and Soweto, but of the control boards, and the Department of Development Aid, and Sats, and the Parks Board, and possibly even the

Reserve Bank, all of which are institutions intended to enable a minority to control the majority, we shall all be much better off.

That is why it alarms me when the ANC threatens to increase the reach of government by taking over those few remaining corners, like 44 Main Street where the Anglo American Corporation has its headquarters, where one can still shelter in a bureaucracy that survives only because it makes a profit.

The Nationalists pretended after 1948 that they wanted their immense powers, derived from public ownership of houses and airlines and railways and guns and police vans and offices and computers and telephone taps, for the good of their serfs. As Czechoslovakia's new poet-President Vaclav Havel, formerly a political prisoner, says, the depressing thing about centralised power is that it must be upheld by lies.

The ANC and its supporters, at least, are more honest: they accuse the Nationalists of trying to sell off the government property before the ANC gets its turn at the trough. They make no secret of their desire to get their hands on the country's resources, and the power that such control confers, so that they can

spread the goodies among themselves.

The Afrikaners, they are saying, used the power of government to make Verwoerdburg the richest community in the country, so why should black people not use the same power to make Soweto rich? Indeed, why not extend the power of government by nationalising the commanding heights of the economy, so that the money can be gathered faster — presumably from Afrikaners, Jews and English — and scattered to the waiting throngs?

Every revolutionary government mimics its predecessor. The Soviet Union copied the Czars in setting up their secret police, and Mozambique has been wondrously faithful in copying Portuguese colonial bureaucracy. But it will be a great pity if the first non-racial government of South Africa copies the abuse of power and the corruption of the apartheid era.

The problem is immune to rational discourse. Black people, like the Afrikaners before them, suffer from a terrible and legitimate sense of

deprivation. They believe, rightly, that they were robbed of their land

(as Kipling said, we had the Gatling gun and they had not) and then exploited in the development of this industrial society. They believe they have been assigned an inferior status which they fear may become permanent.

They demand reparations, and simple justice supports their claim. The question is how that claim is to be met. The ANC leaders still talk of nationalisation, but Thabo Mbeki has invited whites to suggest alternatives, if they can. Unhappily, most whites can think of nothing better than to recreate the follies of the British welfare state, now abandoned even by the Labour Party.

The better answer to Mbeki is to unleash the power of economic growth, which not only doubles everybody's wealth in a short time (10 years at 7% growth a year), but transforms the lives of individuals by opening thousands of new opportunities, and alters the relationships between classes in ways that undermine the power elite in semi-feudal societies like ours.

To achieve rapid growth it is necessary to privatise as much as possible so that the market, rather than

some dolt in Pretoria, can apportion resources: it is necessary to deregulate, so that clerks are not perpetually interfering with the work of creative geniuses like Sol Kerzner or Anton Rupert, and lower taxes in order to release capital for development.

These things are true, but it does no good to say so. The membership of every union is strutting impatiently across the shopfloor, saying in effect, "Mandela is free, where's my money?" The demand for economic justice, deeply emotional, is generating irrational responses that threaten the wealth-creating mechanisms of the successful capitalist state.

The situation calls for a grand gesture. It calls for a response that will assuage the sense of grievance, and remove the deep suspicion among black people that privatisation is a white man's trick to empty the harder before he hands it over.

That suspicion could be overcome, I believe, if President de Klerk were to make a public pledge to devote all proceeds of privatisation — every penny — to achieving economic justice. President Roosevelt, in the face of a great political crisis generated by poverty, promised a chicken in every pot. South Africa might promise a patch of soil for every family, or a school desk for every child, to be paid for from the systematic sale of government assets.

The new Raths fund to overcome "backlogs" is a start, but it has been gracelessly done (why not talk of economic justice instead of "upliftment", which is insufferably patronising, or "backlogs", which is disgusting?), and anyway the fund is hopelessly too small.

There is no way known to man to overcome poverty in this decade, and the more we load the system with wealth-sapping welfare bureaucracies, the longer it will take. What we need is a gesture of goodwill, both grand and convincing, the sort of thing that Louis Rive would think altogether silly.

This is a fearsome crisis ⁽³⁰⁴⁹⁾ let's do something silly

KEN OWEN

LETTERS

~~304A~~
304A
B/day 26/3/90

Economics centre to study SA's prospects

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — A Commonwealth-funded centre is to undertake a three-week fact-finding mission next month on SA's economy and prospects.

Centre for the Study of the SA Economy and International Finance Director Jonathan Leape, conducting the study, believes this will provide essential information to potential investors in, and lenders to, a post-apartheid SA.

Leape, a lecturer at the London School of Economics, said last week he had applied for a visa to visit SA, and hoped to start his trip on April 1.

The research, he said, would seek to document all aspects of the economy, including sanctions. It would look at economic prospects for a post-apartheid SA.

"The emphasis is very much on providing information and an analysis of the situation and not on drawing policy conclusions," Leape said.

He hoped to meet members of the parliamentary political parties, as well as non-parliamentary groups, including the MDM, the UDF and the ANC. He also planned to meet Finance and Reserve Bank officials, banking representatives, commerce and industry leaders, trade unionists and university officials.

The centre will bring out two types of report: an update of the SA situation published quarterly and reports on specific issues.

Leape will work full time on the project from July until the end of December next year. The Australian government has given £140 000 to fund the centre, at the London School of Economics.

B/Dam 26/3/90 ~~304~~ 304A

Namibia reconciliation a catalyst for a new SA

THE UN Special Representative for Namibia Martti Ahtisaari has hailed the country's independence process and constitution as an inspiration and an example which SA could adapt for its future negotiations.

In an interview with Business Day at the weekend, he said the spirit of reconciliation in the Namibian process made him confident that the country's independence could be a catalyst for the accelerated transformation of SA from apartheid to democracy.

Pragmatism

Namibia's leaders had displayed great wisdom in drafting a constitution that was an inspiration to the world: "This country came out with the most democratic constitution possible, an excellent document that should be studied very carefully and adapted in other countries, and especially in SA," Ahtisaari said.

The constitution created the condi-

BILLY PADDOCK

tions for economic and social development and the Namibians had demonstrated realism and pragmatism by taking note of the developments in Eastern Europe, which showed the necessity for democracy and civil liberties.

The process of drafting the constitution formed a solid foundation for the country because it made the leaders work closely together; first as Namibians and only secondly as representatives of political parties.

Once people "found each other" most of their suspicions fell away and they worked constructively together for the greater good of all, he said.

"I am optimistic about developments in SA and they can learn a great deal from the Namibian process. But it is very important that the atmosphere inside the country is changed," Ahtisaari said.

People and governments were very suspicious of the SA government and

believed its leaders could not be trusted with honouring their undertakings: "Their past record speaks more of destabilisation activities and that suspicion is close to paranoid."

Dismantle

However, SA's involvement in the Namibian process had helped the image of the country: "The Namibian operation is interestingly enough the first operation the South Africans could show that they could be trusted to keep their part of the bargain, and that is very important because it gives added credibility that SA in their own society may be moving in a serious fashion towards proper negotiations," he said.

The changed attitude to SA could be seen during the independence celebrations, but it was expected of SA to show more clearly that they had decided to dismantle apartheid.

"Obviously much more needs to be done to illustrate to the world that it is being dismantled, but I am confident the process has started," Ahtisaari said.

Scrapping Land Acts 'will not achieve much'

THE process of land reform in SA had to extend further than simply scrapping the Land Acts, Development Bank of SA CE Simon Brand said at the weekend.

Opening the Transvaal regional congress of the SA Chamber of Business, Brand said eliminating or changing laws which were preventing blacks owning property in most of the country would not achieve much.

Attention would also have to be given to "such institutional matters as the role of the Land Bank in supporting land purchases by new entrants, and the support of such a land reform programme through more equal access to agricul-

ALAN FINE

tural support services and facilities, such as research and extension services, rural roads and markets for inputs and products."

Brand used these proposals to back his appeal for a considered, unemotional debate on the future of the economy. (304A)

There was clear evidence of the failure of classical socialism and the nationalisation debate was sterile, Brand said.

Business and other establishment groups had to recognise there were real misgivings in the black community

about the degree of concentration of ownership and control in the economy.

Discussions about future economic policy would be usefully directed to ways in which the resources already at the command of the public sector could be used for correcting backlogs and disparities in the provision of services and facilities. 6/10/70 2613/90

In this process it would become clear that privatising activities which could be handled more effectively by the private sector would release resources which could be directed specifically at the reduction of disparities and backlogs, Brand said.

Shootings will be investigated - Vlok

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, commenting on the Sebokeng shootings, said today that he was not yet fully informed about the details. 27/3/90 Star

However, any incidents where police had used their firearms and people had been killed and injured would be thoroughly investigated as a matter of course. He repeated his call of yesterday for people to stop committing violence and to start talking to one another. — Political Correspondent.

304A (21) Star 27/3/90

'Racist' services to be scrutinised

Political Staff

The absence of "targets" for the removal of the remaining discrimination in social services was among various concerns expressed yesterday by Parliament's Joint Committee on Finance.

The committee's report, tabled yesterday after more than a week of hearing evidence on the Budget, says, however, that the Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination, Mr Wim de Villiers, was giving attention to the removal of discrimination in social services.

MPs will soon be pouring over Dr de Villiers's investigation into the health services and there is speculation he may make recommendations on the opening of State hospitals to all races.

Among other things the committee is concerned about are:

- That the policy of deregulation "is often in conflict" with many regulatory laws and as a result people who have been encouraged to participate in the informal sector have found themselves facing prosecution.
- The impact of the Budget on insurance companies since the extension of the exemptions from tax on dividends do not apply to them.
- That cognisance should be taken in the privatisation process of the impact on consumers and taxpayers and competitiveness in the economy.
- The unrest in the country and the shortage of manpower and equipment in the SA Police.
- The viability of the Moss gas project.

Among several recommendations are that more money should be spent combating Aids and that surcharges on goods imported for production purposes should be scrapped.

Schwarz takes bold step DP backs Budget to spur on reform

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has decided to vote for Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis's main Budget, in an unprecedented move to encourage the Government's steps to "bury economic apartheid".

DP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz, Yeoville — after strongly opposing National Party budgets for many years — surprised Parliament yesterday by announcing what he called "a unique course in this Parliament by an opposition party".

"Not only will we not oppose this Budget, we will vote for it," he said.

Mr Schwarz's announcement seemed to take even his own party by surprise and one MP said it would be hotly debated in caucus.

The move appears to have partly pre-empted the result of the current debate in the party about whether it should move towards the National Party or the ANC in the negotiation process. Pro-ANC MPs in the DP are likely to be upset.

DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer immediately backed Mr Schwarz and said his co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan were also behind him.

He said he knew of no dissent.

"We are not acting in the old tradition of Government and opposition. We are acting against the background of the momentous history that is unfolding in this country."

Parliamentary historians said it was the first time they could remember an opposition party supporting the main Budget.

It is understood that Mr du Plessis was delighted.

Dr de Beer said the step did not imply the DP was about to go into a political coalition with the NP.

Mr Schwarz said the Budget "does not kill economic apartheid but it starts the funeral procession".

Backing the Budget was "a unique step and it is intended to be symbolic and designed to encourage the Minister and his colleagues to follow a road of socio-economic reform which removes discrimination in the rendering of State services."

The Government's economic reform moves gave high priority to poverty, housing, education, training, basic health and job creation.

Mr Schwarz said it was important that economic reform should be initiated and benefits felt before a change took place in the power structure.

DP seeks vote of no confidence in leaders

(21/3/94) Municipal Reporter 304A

The Democratic Party will table a motion of no confidence in the Johannesburg City Council management committee at today's council meeting.

The DP caucus decided last night to petition the town clerk today to call a special meeting to discuss a motion of no confidence in the National Party-controlled committee.

The DP leader in the council, Mr Ian Davidson, said the party had had enough of the present city administration's mismanagement.

The Star's revelations of a spy network operating within the council had brought matters to a head.

Heated debate is expected at today's meeting as the DP will also call for the suspension of three senior officials involved in the city hall spy scandal: the director of public safety, Mr John Pearce; the town clerk, Mr Manie Venter; and the operations manager, Mr Frikkie Barnard.

Hungarian diplomat wants ties with SA

BIDAY 27/3/90 BILLY PADDOCK 304A

A LEADING Hungarian diplomat yesterday called for formal relations between SA and his country, in line with those Hungary had established with Israel and Korea.

Speaking at an international conference on Eastern Europe and the implications for southern Africa, foreign affairs deputy director-general Istvan Földesi, who is responsible for international economic relations, said it was highly desirable to have formal contacts set up between the countries to foster business and other ties.

He said as part of the new era in Eastern Europe the governments of those countries and especially Hungary would like to have further contacts outside the Eastern bloc.

Prejudice and stereotypes had to be put aside and with SA new terms should be used because of changes here as well. "It is internationally recognised that SA is on the right track now and I don't think Central Europe should withhold contact with SA," he said.

With reference to apartheid, Földesi said there were rules if a country wanted to join the international community.

He invited SA businessmen to visit Hungary and look at investment and trade possibilities.

They would see a new country but he cautioned them to expect a period of experimentation because the country had to undertake drastic restructuring of the economy and society after the legacy of "miserably failed policy of central planning".

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday told the conference the season of

□ To Page 2

Hungary

BIDAY 27/3/90
violence, apartheid, nationalisation and one-party states was over, as was the "season of posturing".

He said the events in Eastern Europe had a direct affect on southern Africa and would continue to do so. Equality had to be the guideline in all initiatives where agree-

ment and consent of the majority was essential to achieve success.

Botha said SA was well placed to join the flood of investors and businessmen pouring into Eastern Europe as it had a First and Third World economy and could offer both imports and exports.

● Pictures: Page 3

□ From Page 1

Wednesday, March 27, 1990

and Politics

DP pledges support for the budget

CAP- TMS 27/3/90
304A

Own Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz yesterday ditched years of parliamentary tradition by taking the unique step of pledging his party's support for the budget — the first time ever that an opposition party has done so.

While it appeared at first that Mr Schwarz had taken this step without consulting his party's caucus, he was immediately backed by DP parliamentary leader Mr Zach de Beer, who said: "We have done something that breaks the traditional mould because we think this budget is a signpost to a future which at very least comes close to what we have always fought for."

Mr Schwarz's move was welcomed by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis as an important example of how today's politics should be conducted.

Mr Schwarz said that while the budget was far from perfect, it had without doubt taken a new direction, particularly in regard to economic

priorities of expenditure.

It was a unique budget in that Mr Du Plessis had frankly admitted errors both in respect of political and economic policy, changed priorities to address socio-economic imbalances and in some way commenced to address structural problems in the country.

He said that the DP's stance on the matter was intended to be symbolic and designed to encourage Mr Du Plessis and his colleagues to follow a road of socio-economic reform which removed discrimination in the rendering of state services, gave equality of opportunity, and gave, in Mr Du Plessis' own words, high priority to the issues of poverty, housing, education, training, basic health and job creation.

Responding to Mr Schwarz's speech, Mr Du Plessis said: "Mr Schwarz was today faced by the reality that this budget embodied important features which he, along with other observers, had promoted for years. He did this in accordance with his own insights and also on behalf of his party as its chief spokesman on finance.

"I welcome it."

Right-wing believes in survival of 'the group'

From Graham Linscott

Argus Special Correspondent 27/3/70

TENS of thousands of right-wingers can be called out to march in protest through the streets of Pretoria. Prominent among the banners are the insignia of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and even the Nazi swastika.

The Conservative Party protested at the time that extremists were horning in on its act, but the impression remained of a general, aggressive militancy on the right.

According to one of South Africa's most prominent market research analysts, this perception is almost certainly wrong. The CP (which won almost one third of the white vote in 1989) has little sympathy for right-wing militancy and many of its members are sensitive to the injustices perpetrated against blacks.

Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, of the University of Cape Town, says research shows that only 19 percent of CP supporters are also supporters of the AWB, while they generally reject the AWB view that it is legitimate to seize power by force.

Writing in Monitor, journal of the Human Rights Trust, he says research shows CP supporters to be people who are unable to innovate in the face of rapid change and who attempt to cling to the past.

They tend to be poorer and less educated than supporters of the National Party and the Democratic Party. They are the white support base to which the NP once gave a sense of dignity and destiny, but now feel they have been abandoned.

Like all people they seek to protect their interests and chosen ways of life, but are trapped in the belief that they will be unable to do so in the face of racial integration.

To them survival means not the survival of the individual but the survival of the group.

Sensitivity

"Though many people find it difficult to think otherwise, it would be a mistake to think of the white right wing as wholly immoral," says Dr Hofmeyr.

"Certainly, as in most political movements, there is a militant element to the right. But at its best the white right combines a surprising sensitivity to the historical injustices perpetrated against blacks with a genuinely creative attempt to resolve the dilemma.

"Carel Boshoff, for example, admits both the moral il-

legitimacy of the current situation and its practical untenability. He therefore argues both that black majority rule for South Africa is inevitable and that it is just.

"However, he himself cannot see a place for his people in a non-racial state. He therefore advocates the creation of a 'Boerestaat', a separate and relatively modest nation-state for the Afrikaner people.

"And, contrary to what most would expect, he is not seeking the goldfields or the old Afrikaner republics. He is seeking an area which is relatively sparsely populated and which he hopes nobody else wants."

Dr Hofmeyr says it would be unwise not to try to understand the yearning of the white right to express itself through preservation of group identity.

"This is by no means to say that we need to accept the preservation of 'group rights' as an imperative. It is however to acknowledge that there are people for whom the survival of the group, by whatever means, constitutes the key to their personal sense of life's value.

"If this is not taken seriously, serious mistakes could be made as we attempt jointly to discover a just and democratic destiny which is inclusive of all South Africans."

(304A)

BANK CHIEF WANTS SA IN AFRICAN FOLD

Own Correspondent

LONDON — African Development Bank President Babacar Ndiaye said in Paris at the weekend that political change in SA "will be a highly important economic event" for the whole of Africa.

Ndiaye, interviewed by the International Herald Tribune, said that \$10bn a year was "wasted" in southern Africa on defence and the costs of war.

"Imagine, for a moment, that this \$10bn were employed in new investment.

"This by itself would be a highly important, dynamic element," he said. *B/D 27/3/90*

The Senegalese head of the ADB, based in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, said the re-integration of SA into the rest of Africa would be a key factor in upsetting gloomy growth projections for the continent.

"A South Africa integrated into a free trade zone could be a motor for development in the whole of southern Africa, continuing into the other regions.

"The owners of capital in South Africa, who for the most part are white Africans, will see that they will earn much more, their investments will be much more profitable and safer, in this perspective of peace than if they continue to invest in arming themselves," said Ndiaye. — Daily Telegraph.

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HERNANDO de Soto became briefly fashionable last year for his empirical inquiry into the informal sector in Peru. His book, *The Other Path*, described how millions of poor Peruvians had been shut out of the formal economy by a string of "mercantilist" regimes and had responded by developing a parallel, technically illegal, universe of social and economic structures to fulfil basic needs.

De Soto argued that while this universe was a tribute to human resourcefulness and ingenuity, it was also fundamentally inefficient. Its inhabitants could progress only so far before running up against formal sector walls. For example, the wealth they created could not be used to raise additional capital because the ownership of informal assets was not officially recognised. The trick was to knock down the barriers of mercantilism by granting title to those assets and establishing simple, non-redistributive law to give everyone, not just a chosen elite, a fair shot in the marketplace.

While *The Other Path* focused on Peru and, by implication, other Latin American nations, it had a powerful resonance for SA, a mercantilist state if ever there was one. It appeared to offer a relatively painless solution to at least some of SA's problems. Now that I am on the ground, I am less certain. Or rather, it occurs to me that to apply here De Soto's analysis needs to be expanded to cover political activity as well as the economic kind.

Just as Peruvian peasants have overcome state-imposed obstacles by building a remarkably comprehensive array of "illegal" homes, markets and transport systems, so here the voteless have developed what might be called "black market" political organisations to fulfil their desire for "liberation". Though now allowed to operate openly, such organisations formally remain outside official constitutional politics. As a result, they are profoundly ineffi-

The US constitution would keep a check on SA's warlords

SIMON BARBER

cient at serving their stated purpose, the empowerment of the "masses". Inefficiency here is not simply a matter of limited economic growth and opportunity. "Black market" politics, however well intentioned many of its players, leads inevitably to gangsterism because it operates beyond the consensual rules that regulate (if not always with complete success) the competition for power in any constitutional democracy.

Constitutions are required, said James Madison in the Federalist Paper Number 51, because men are not angels. His point is being amply demonstrated throughout this country's townships where political contests are being waged with unbelievable, self-perpetuating savagery. The killings and mutilations are only the cross on the grave. Beneath it, huge sections of the population are being intimidated into supporting one faction in particular, but others also. The vast majority have no redress, no protection for their views or aspirations, because they live outside the constitutional battlements. The killers, arm twistors and enforcers meanwhile operate with relative impunity. A handful may be arrested and convicted, but by and large the only restraint upon them is the basic fear that they may be paid

out in kind. This fear is reduced by the knowledge (or belief, at any rate) that they operate under the aegis of the great political gangs — gangs whose legitimacy rests less in genuine popular support than in the creeping acquiescence of the formal state and the smiling approbation of a world that holds rock concerts to fill the coffers of murderers.

Unless the political contest is formalised for all, and soon — unless, that is, all South Africans are quickly recognised as full and equal citizens and given the chance to express their views in a genuinely secret ballot — SA runs the real risk of becoming a Lebanon. Though I have argued differently in the past, all else suddenly strikes me as secondary.

In this context, the current debate over nationalisation is all but irrelevant. The idea that the government should sit down with what is has taken to be the main gang — or even with a broader cross-section of the informal political sector — to negotiate what kind of economic or social policies a "new" SA shall have is entirely misguided. These are for a democratically elected, constitution-

ally bound government to decide, not an indaba whose loudest voices will be unelected bullies, or "heroes" as Denis Beckett calls them.

Nor will incremental empowerment suffice. Politics is either formal or informal. Bringing in the informals to decide how a R3bn development fund should be spent or to help make industrial relations and education policy is nice, but it again puts the cart before the horse. The horse is a constitution that lets everyone have a say in how their country is governed, not just a few elites selected because they have convinced confused and guilt-ridden whines they are the only people with whom business may be transacted.

Even such issues as who constitutes a political prisoner cannot properly be dealt with in the absence of a democratically tested political framework — though the prisoner question will probably have to be settled in advance both as a matter of expedience and to obviate retroactive justice. Nonetheless, the absence of a framework makes the definition of crime a grotesquely relativist affair that may well end up condoning some of the gangs' most vicious excesses.

In addressing the economic injus-

tices of Peru, De Soto recommended the rapid application of simple, equal law in place of the numbing maze of rules and regulations successive mercantilist regimes handed down to distribute the resources of the state to their own political bases. Much the same applies to the drafting of a constitution for SA.

What is needed is not the devious race-weighted complexities hitherto (though evidently no longer) suggested by the NP, nor Leon Louw-style cantional arrangements that end up being about as intelligible as electronic wiring diagrams. The new mechanism must be so simple and transparent that it commands the trust and understanding of all. It must also be devised and put into practice before all else.

For my money, the American system — born of a revolution as profound as the one taking place here — is the best place to start. Many may object to what it produces — budget deficits, for example, or the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — but that is not the point.

The point, as anyone who has spent a day watching the House and Senate in action, is that the US arrangement provides a matrix of universally acceptable checks and balances by which all participants, whether or not they belong to the party in power, are forced to compromise on a daily basis while ever remaining responsible to their constituents. No interest is so large and powerful that it can dictate unconditionally to a minority viewpoint, nor so small that it can be entirely overwhelmed in the crush so long as it willing to search for creative accommodation and innovative coalition.

This is the kind of framework within which SA's future must be worked out if the country is not to descend into hell — a structure in which the gangs become genuine political parties answerable to the ballot box and are obliged to leave the AKs, pangas and petrol at the door. A mere parley of warlords will only prolong the agony of the disenfranchised, perhaps interminably.

LETTERS



A little boy waves an ANC flag at an anti-apartheid rally attended by about 9 000 people in London's Trafalgar Square on Sunday.
Picture: REUTER

EC top-level 'troika' in bid to promote dialogue in SA

LONDON — The way has been cleared with the SA government for a visit by a high-level "troika" of representatives from the EC.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Ireland said yesterday that Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins met President F W de Klerk in Windhoek on Thursday last week.

He said at the meeting, which was also attended by Foreign Minister Pk Botha, the SA government indicated what dates it found suitable for the visit.

With Ireland currently holding the EC presidency, Collins is chairman of the EC's Foreign Ministers Commission which, in February, decided to send a delegation to SA.

The troika, led by Collins, will include the foreign ministers or senior foreign office officials of France and

KIN BENTLEY

Italy. The visit was likely to take place between mid-April and mid-May.

This means it should occur during or soon after the first formal talks between the government and the ANC, scheduled to start on April 11.

The troika visit is aimed at promoting dialogue between government and the ANC and other organisations representing the black majority.

Sapa reports from Windhoek that the EC is to provide Namibia with R28m to support priority projects.

This was announced by the director-general of the Development Commission for the European Communities, Dr Dieter Fritsch, who led a delegation to Namibia's independence celebrations.

The aid would be in addition to that available for development assistance

once Namibia becomes a member of the Lome Convention.

About R14m would be for targeted budgetary support as the new government was inheriting a large deficit.

An amount of R8m had been pledged for health services in the north and would be channelled through the WHO.

An amount of R570 000 was for English-language training for 100 teachers at the Lusaka-based UN Institute for Namibia.

The commission had also provided R2m towards a development project at St Mary's Mission at Odibo in the far north. Another R3,2m was allocated for community and income-generating projects in Owanbo.

The EC had also pledged R200 000 to the Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research for urban planning and research.

Economic debate must focus on material deprivation of blacks SAIRR

A POLARISED socialism-versus-capitalism debate could distract attention from the urgent need to deal with black material deprivation, the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) says in its latest Social and Economic Update.

Any post-apartheid government will face enormous demands to match political with economic emancipation and the temptation to opt for symbolic quick-fix solutions like nationalisation will be great, the SAIRR report says.

CHARLENE SMITH

It says businessmen have pointed to socialism's failures in Eastern Europe. The trade unions, as represented by Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, have on the other hand pointed to "the failure of capitalism in SA. More than four-million are unemployed, five-million are homeless, millions live in abject poverty in rural areas. The health, social security and education systems are in a crisis.

There has been virtually no growth in the economy for the past 10 years".

The SAIRR urges that the debate be comprehensive, and not just a dialogue between business and trade unions.

"The jobless, the rural poor and the illiterate must be brought in as well. If they are not brought in from the outset we will see a new form of apartheid opening up between whites and urbanised, housed, unionised, educated

blacks on the one hand, and the illiterate, malnourished, unemployed urban and rural poor on the other," the Update suggests. 8/04 27/3/90

"Any new government in SA will need to be structured in such a way as to ensure that the black platteland and the jobless all over the country are in a position to see to it that their needs are looked after, and not only in the interests of the urban proletariat."

CP gearing up to launch mass-circulation Sunday paper

RR&UJ
27/3/90
304A

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party intends to launch a new mass-circulation Sunday newspaper to capitalise on the white backlash against President De Klerk's policies.

This could herald a vicious newspaper war against the pro-Nationalist Rapport Sunday paper especially in the Transvaal and Free State where the National Party is losing Afrikaans-speaking support to the CP, according to recent opinion polls.

The CP is now convinced it enjoys the majority of white Afrikaans-speaking support especially in the Transvaal and Free State where the new newspaper will initially be targeted although there are plans to extend circulation throughout the country later.

Mr Andries Beyers, general secretary of the CP, said that the party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, would make an announcement at the CP conference in Pretoria on April 6 in connection with the launch of a newspaper.

CP spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said: "The CP is very serious about starting a newspaper. We must get our message across. We must expose the fact that the National Party does not have mandate for what it is doing".

It was learnt that the CP is likely to finance the newspaper by selling shares in small denominations to its supporters.

The newspaper is likely to call itself a weekend newspaper as the concept of a Sunday paper is unpalatable to more religiously conservative CP members.

It will be an essentially Afrikaans-language newspaper with possibly an English supplement.

The existing CP mouthpiece, Patriot, which is published weekly on Thursdays, is likely to be discontinued to make way for the new publication.

The CP believes its main opposition — Rapport, the pro-Government Afrikaans-language Sunday newspaper — is particularly vulnerable as it has suffered declining circulation while its politics is also unpopular with its northern readership.

The CP intended to launch a daily newspaper some years ago but gave up the idea because of the cost.

Reports have also surfaced of a slight change of political direction in the Perskor-owned evening daily newspaper, Transvaler, towards a softer line on the CP.

The Perskor directors apparently narrowly defeated a proposal that Transvaler should become a CP-supporting newspaper in order to increase its circulation.

Govt willing to facilitate ANC visit

CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday that if necessary, legislation would be produced to provide indemnity for ANC negotiators who might still be liable for prosecution in SA.

He was responding to reports that return plans by a group of 19 senior ANC members headed by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani were cancelled because there was no certainty they would not be arrested.

The reports said that ANC chief of intelligence Jacob Zuma advised them not to do so.

A senior government spokesman was quoted as saying there was no temporary indemnity in terms of SA law and that the logical solution appeared to be the introduction of legislation by the Justice Department.

Government negotiators indicated recently in an interview with Business Day that they favoured the introduction of such legislation. Although it would take time for the legislation to pass through Parliament, administrative arrangements could in the meantime be made to allow the ANC negotiators to return.

The negotiators pointed out that a moratorium had taken place on prosecutions between the announcement of the scrapping of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts and their removal from the statute book.

Coetsee said in a statement last night: "All relevant issues are considered on an on-going basis. Should legislation be appropriate it will receive attention."

ALAN FINE reports that confusion over the non-arrival on Sunday of the ANC executive members grew

MIKE ROBERTSON

yesterday, with the organisation's Lusaka spokesman contradicting reports of fears for their security.

Tom Sebina described the reports, attributed to the National Reception Committee, as "absolute nonsense".

He said there had never been arrangements for the officials to arrive on Sunday.

He did not know where the media had received the list of proposed visitors from, as this, too, had not been finalised.

Sebina said a visit by senior officials would take place soon, and the ANC would announce details in advance.

● Comment: Page 8

Council row: DP ^{304A} plan to take control ^{B Day 27/3/90}

THE DP will launch a bid to take control of Johannesburg when, in today's council meeting, it proposes a motion of no confidence in the NP-controlled management committee.

Town clerk Manie Venter will then have three weeks to convene a special meeting at which the vote will be cast.

DP leader Ian Davidson said yesterday the council under the NP had "staggered from scandal to scandal" and it was time the NP went.

The DP was confident it would have the support of the four independent councillors. And in the light of the past week's spy scandal, sources said, it was unlikely CP councillors would support the NP.

Coalition

Davidson said with this support diverted from the NP, the DP had the power to overthrow the NP-led management committee. It could then replace it with a DP-led coalition which included independent councillors.

The DP will today also table an urgent motion seeking the suspension of Venter and public safety director John Pearce. Venter and Pearce are alleged to be key players in the spy scandal. Council sources said this motion was unlikely to succeed as the CP would vote against it.

The DP's terms of reference for a judicial commission of inquiry into the council's alleged spying activities will be included in the motion.

Yesterday morning senior council

EDYTH BULBRING

officials — among them Pearce and Venter — attended an urgent management committee meeting at which it was decided to request such an inquiry. It was also decided to ask the auditor-general to examine the security budget which financed the alleged activities.

At a meeting this morning the Transvaal provincial authorities are to consider the request by the committee.

Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) community development executive director Len Dekker said yesterday if the request was approved the TPA executive committee would appoint a chairman today.

Johannesburg management committee chairman Jan Burger said Venter would not be suspended, and reports on organisations could be made public as soon as the inquiry was over.

In a confidential report delivered to the committee yesterday, Venter said the brief of the information section of the council's security department was to gather information on economic and socio-political fronts.

In 1986 it was rationalised to consist of a section head and three handlers. Each handler concentrated on a special section and recruited informants. Venter said it had been decided by himself, former management committee member Danie van Zyl and Pearce to pay the informants.

304A

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, March 27 1990

3



Delivering the keynote address at the Eastern Europe conference in Johannesburg yesterday was Foreign Minister Pál Botha, left, and in his audience, Postabank, Budapest, MD Janos Albert and Hungarian Foreign Affairs deputy director-general István Földesi.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Inequality probe vital

Sowetan Correspondent

(304A)

THE SA Institute of Race Relations has warned that a polarised debate, contrasting socialism and capitalism, could detract attention from black material inequality.

The latest edition of the Institute's publication, *Social and Economic Update*, pointed out that any post-apartheid government will face enormous demands to match political with economic liberation.

The report said the debate on black material inequality should be comprehensive.

"The jobless, the rural poor, and the illiterate must be brought in as well. Sowetan 27/3/90

"If they are not, we will see a new form of apartheid opening up between whites and urbanised, housed, unionised, educated blacks on the one hand, and the illiterate, malnourished, unemployed urban and rural poor on the other," it said.

DP unveils new plan to force change in SA

CMT Timp 28/3/90 306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party yesterday announced an ambitious new plan to link like-minded democratic movements into a force for change in a new South Africa.

Discarding the last remnants of its discredited "turbocharge" strategy, the DP yesterday opted for a new concept to pilot the party into the era of negotiation politics — "convergence".

The party's action plan to broaden the "democratic culture" in SA was unveiled at a press conference in Parliament yesterday by party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Robin Carlisle, the head of the DP's strategy committee.

Dr Worrall said the DP, while trying to bring together democrats across the political spectrum, would remain a separate political party for the "conceivable future."

Mr Carlisle said the strategy committee had over the past four months also examined but, for the moment, rejected, a number of other options:

- The so-called "third force" option in which the DP would act as a core for building a powerful new alliance.
- The building of a bigger non-racial party.
- Joining the National Party.
- Joining the ANC/MDM/UDF.

These options had been found "not to be appropriate at the moment but

could become part of a convergence strategy later".

The ultimate goal of the DP was a South Africa that had reached a settlement between "vested interest and aspiration" in both the political and economic spheres, Dr Worrall said.

"The DP believes that such a settlement can only be reached by a political party untouched by the historic excesses of apartheid which taints the National Party."

To settle on a peaceful future for SA, the DP was putting forward its strategy of convergence.

"Convergence, in the political and economic arena, is that point to which all key actors will inevitably move, from different directions, in an attempt to reach a viable settlement."

He said the DP hoped to promote "convergence" by interacting with the full spectrum of political ideologies in SA society.

"A systematic convergence to these democratic values could lead to the formation of a political force larger than the DP."

"The DP will merge with such a political force if the party's values are upheld and its national congress authorises such a merger."

Mr Carlisle said the "major players" on the political scene — the ANC and the NP — had moved closer to the DP's fundamental values and policy position in recent months.

"Our strategy is to create more and more democrats in the middle."

tion Anne Bernstein yesterday presented to the media the first part of a report covering four years of research into segregated residential areas. Bernstein said the foundation would focus on securing the immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act as the legislation was unworkable and was hampering economic growth and development in cities.

36,2% in 1971 to 3,9% in 1989. This level was unacceptable in terms of economic progress, he said.

☐ The elimination of fiscal drag.
☐ Scrapping of taxation on dividend income in the hands of individuals or close corporations.

DP opts for 'convergence strategy' in the run-up to negotiations 3044

CAPE TOWN — The DP is to promote a new strategy of "convergence" in the run-up to negotiations on a new constitution for SA.

Announcing this at a Press conference yesterday, DP co-leader in charge of policy Denis Worrall said the DP foresaw one day under "very changed circumstances" the possibility of merging into a larger democratic force that subscribed to DP values.

He said the strategy had been formulated by a DP committee under the chairmanship of MP for Wynberg Robin Carlisle.

The committee had concluded that the ultimate goal of the DP was an SA that had reached a settlement between vested interest and aspirations in both the political and economic spheres.

"Convergence, in the political and economic arena, is that point to which all the key actors will inevitably move, from different directions, in an attempt to reach a viable settlement."

The committee had examined the options of joining the NP, joining the ANC/MDM, and the "third force option" of becoming a force for power by building alliances, but rejected them as not appropriate now.

They could, however, in one form or another, become part of future convergence strategy.

Worrall said the DP had a very important contribution to make on economic issues.

The DP had instituted a national policy advisory committee to co-ordinate the process of defining and propagating policies appropriate to the new SA.

It had also set up an executive to give speedy effect to the leadership's decisions.

The DP would organise public meetings around the country. — Sapa.

Black student numbers increasing

DP prepared for merger

304A

Gweta 28/3/90

THE Democratic Party is prepared to merge with "a larger political force", the party's strategy committee reported yesterday after a three-month investigation of possible strategies for the DP in the period leading up to negotiations.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall announced this yesterday but gave no indication of what the larger political force might be.

He stressed that the DP would only merge "if the party's values were upheld and its National Congress authorises such a merger."

With this decision the DP joins the widespread moves in politics to seek wider partnerships and alliances for the negotiation process.

Meanwhile it is understood the DP troika were due to meet President FW De Klerk yesterday.

Worrall announced the results of the strategy probe at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

He gave no indication of what the larger political force might be with which the DP might merge.

The question of whether the DP was more likely to move closer to a NP-led alliance or towards the ANC, was not answered.

He said that to settle on a peaceful future for South Africa the DP was now putting forward a strategy of "convergence."

Key actors

Convergence was the point towards which all key actors would inevitably move from different directions in an attempt to reach a viable settlement.

"The DP promotes convergence by interacting with the full spectrum of political ideologies in the South African society.

"The settlement the DP foresees takes the form of a genuine non-racial democracy which protects and promotes the dignity, liberty and interests of all citizens.

"A systematic convergence to these democratic values could lead to the formation of an apolitical force larger than the DP," he said.

Commission appointed to investigate Jo'burg council spy network

TRANSVAAL Administrator Danie Hough yesterday appointed a commission of inquiry into the alleged spying activities undertaken by the Johannesburg City Council security department.

And the DP's motion to suspend town clerk Manie Venter, public safety director John Pearce and security official Frikkie Barnard until the conclusion of the commission, was defeated after a stormy debate at a council meeting last night.

The commission's terms of reference allow it to investigate all aspects of the alleged irregularities, a statement from the

Administrator said yesterday.

The commission will be able to make findings and to recommend steps to prevent a recurrence.

Mr Justice Victor Hienstra will chair the commission and the other member will be W J van den Berg, a former city treasurer of Brakpan. The auditor-general will start to examine the finances of the municipality's security department today.

In proposing the suspension of Pearce, Venter and Barnard last night DP leader Ian Davidson said the council could not allow the three men to continue with their

EDYTH BULBRING

duties while the commission was investigating allegations involving them.

He also proposed the commission should investigate the full scope of the department's activities, the nature and extent of the information gathering and spying operations, and whether the management committee was informed of these activities.

In opposing the motion, NP councillor Cecil Long said eight DP councillors had approved the birth of the security depart-

ment with the function to liaise with National Intelligence Services and to co-operate with National Security Forces.

The formation of an independent security department, unanimously agreed to at a council meeting on October 26 1983, listed these roles under the monitoring and operational divisions of the department.

Other functions agreed to in 1983 were the assessment of security risks, the compilation of security plans, monitoring and forecasting security threats and the investigation of security breaches.

Davidson said while eight PFP members, who are now DP councillors, had agreed to the department's formation, and its stated role, there was a difference between that and a spy network.

He said the PFP supported the formation of the security department on the basis that its function would be the protection of council property and personnel.

All NP councillors, independent councillor Eddie Magid and two CP councillors voted against the motion and it was defeated by 24 to 20 votes.

3 Oct 1983

SA 'must learn lessons of East bloc'

CAPE TOWN — The pursuit of an economic ideology which had failed elsewhere would spell disaster for SA, Harry Oppenheimer warned at the biennial meeting of the SA Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) yesterday evening.

Speaking at his last council meeting after 10 years as chairman of the SAIIA, Oppenheimer said SA would do well to learn from the experiences of Eastern Europe and Africa and formulate economic policies which stimulated growth, attracted capital and best served the needs of its growing population.

Voicing the opinion of many SA businessmen, he said a regional environment of co-operation and peace, rather than ideological division and conflict, would best serve these ends. In the longer run, it would enable southern Africa to recapture capital investment and compete more effec-

tively in "the harsh conditions of this changing world".

Oppenheimer emphasised the economic co-operation and competition which had emerged as one of the most important global trends this century. But he warned weaker countries would lose ground in an increasingly competitive, albeit interdependent, world where powerful trading blocs competed with one another.

Attempts to gain public support for ideologies such as apartheid or communism were unlikely to succeed when the economic costs of isolation in an interdependent world were counted. SA could not afford to be isolated, he said.

Oppenheimer also focused on the

growing interdependence between southern African countries. He said the stage for SA's improved international relations had been set by the recent independence of Namibia and the withdrawal from Angola, both of which signalled an end to the government's reliance on military means to pursue its interests in the region.

This had been enhanced by the prospect of negotiations within SA and the outlook for closer regional co-operation was favourable now.

The challenge would now be to strengthen the newly invigorated policy of seeking multilateral diplomatic and economic co-operation. This policy offered the best hope of achieving a wide acceptance of the need to involve the SA economy in the development of the whole region.

Oppenheimer is to be succeeded as SAIIA national chairman by Standard Bank chairman Conrad Strauss.

LESLEY LAMBERT

Improved

Time not ripe - lawyers

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and blacks at this stage would imply compromise, the Black Lawyers' Association said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press

conference in Johannesburg, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, publicity secretary of BLA, said the association had resolved that negotiation was not yet an option until certain

objectives had been met.

The BLA had reaffirmed a commitment it shared with the oppressed section of this country to a society that was based on one-person one-vote in a unitary state - free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion or political beliefs.

"The fundamental question therefore is whether the transfer of economic and political powers and the redistribution of resources can be achieved through negotiations?"

FW to disclose group areas plan soon

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk said yesterday he would disclose details of government's plans concerning the Group Areas Act and continued enforced segregation of schools in his Budget vote in two weeks' time. *B/Dan 28/3/90*

De Klerk was responding in Parliament to Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) who asked him if government regarded the Group Areas Act and enforced segregation at schools as being elements of statutory apartheid. *304H*

In response to an earlier question from Andrew — on whether it was government's intention to remove the remains of statutory apartheid — De Klerk said apartheid was a purely political concept which neither appeared nor was defined anywhere in SA's legislation.

De Klerk said in his 17 years in Parliament he had never used the word apartheid

MIKE ROBERTSON

in a positive sense, nor had he ever defended the concept of apartheid.

If Andrew meant the removal of discrimination on the basis of race or colour, it was government's declared view that this was unacceptable and had to be eliminated.

"As this is a continuous process, of which certain aspects have important constitutional implications, and is subject to future negotiations, no specific date or time-scale can be attached to it. It is certainly the intention of government to move rapidly."

Government's point of departure in regard to group areas and separate schools was that the diversity of the SA population had to be taken into account and the rights of minorities effectively protected.

□ To Page 2

FW's plan

B/Dan 28/3/90
"Against this background government does not regard the concept of a community life as discriminatory in itself, provided it is not established or maintained at the expense of other communities, or to their disadvantage."

"The question of residential areas and schools is related to this. Government is in favour of steps which will bring about an own community life on a non-discriminatory basis. Methods of achieving this will form part of the constitutional negotiating process," he said.

304H □ From Page 1
□ The Urban Foundation announced yesterday it would focus its efforts on securing the immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act.

It released the first policy document from four years of research into the effects of residential segregation.

It said group areas legislation, apart from being unworkable, affected the private sector through its impact on the efficiency of firms, the well-being of their employees and taxation liabilities.

● See Pages 4 and 8

FW wants to know

Sowetan Correspondent

3049

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will hold talks with political leaders already participating in Government structures next week to discuss his meeting with the African National Congress.

He has invited the chief ministers of KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, the chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils of Parliament to Tuynhuys next Thursday.

De Klerk said he asked them to "join me in exploratory talks on the structur-

ing of the process of negotiations and related matters".

"The process of negotiation is a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate. The discussions acknowledge the position of these leaders in this process," he said.

These talks are taking place amidst general discussions in parliamentary circles that at sometime in the near future a major re-alignment of parties participating in government structures would take place.

De Klerk and members of his Cabinet are to meet the ANC on April 11.

Sowetan 29/3/90

F W set for visits to Thatcher, Europe and US

Str
20/3/90

Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk will visit Europe in May or June.

He announced in a statement issued late yesterday from Tuynhuys that he would visit a number of European countries.

"Particulars of the itinerary are not yet available," he said.

Government sources said his planned trip to Britain for talks with Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in May would probably dovetail with the European tour.

Portugal, West Germany, Italy, possibly France, and even Eastern European countries such as Hungary and Poland are being mentioned as possible ports of call.

It is understood arrangements for some of these visits were discussed when Mr de

Klerk attended the Namibian independence celebrations in Windhoek last week and met 19 leaders in a whirl of diplomatic activity.

A trip to the United States is also on the cards this year. It was pursued when US Secretary of State Mr James Baker saw him at Tuynhuys last Thursday.

But sources said Mr de Klerk would probably not continue directly from Europe to a meeting with President Bush. June or July are being tipped as suitable months for a visit to Washington DC.

President de Klerk also announced yesterday that he is to have talks with the Chief Ministers of the self-governing territories and the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils of Parliament on April 5 at Tuynhuys.

In a statement, he said he had invited these leaders, and their advisers, to join him in exploratory talks "on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters".

Several political leaders working within the existing government structures had already asked the Government to get constitutional negotiations off the ground or that exploratory talks should be initiated.

"For a considerable time we have been planning a more comprehensive meeting," said Mr de Klerk.

The process of negotiation was a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate.

● President de Klerk is to have talks with an ANC delegation at Tuynhuys on April 11.

DP could find allies in ANC, UDF — Malan

Pretoria Correspondent

The Democratic Party's future political allies could include the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.

Addressing a meeting in Pretoria last night, one of the DP's co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, said the party was closer to the ANC and the UDF than any other party.

He shared the platform with the DP's national chairman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, and the UDF's vice-chairman in Pretoria, Mr Moss Chikane.

Mr Malan said there would be a broader re-alignment in South African politics "in which the DP will move closer, maybe even merge or go up into another party, if that party projects the values we believe in".

"If we look at allies for the future, then the allies are within the space of the ANC, the UDF and the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement). There is no other organised political movement with a debate in the democratic spirit.

"If we look at the departure points of the DP, the ANC and the UDF in terms of the constitution and the nature of a future democracy, then we find we are closer to them than any other party," he said.

AMNESTY

Mr Malan told the 80-strong meeting the DP, the ANC and the UDF shared the concepts of a universal franchise and equality on a common voters roll but differed on how it should find expression.

Discussing the April 11 meeting between the Government and the ANC, Mr Malan said he hoped when it came to amnesty, it would be granted to members of death squads because, like members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, they believed in the justice of their case and were under orders. Political leaders involved with the squads, however, should leave politics.

Mr Malan said neither the ANC nor the Government was considering serious negotiations before 1991. He said attention should be given to urgent problems other than constitutional ones and proposed that problems such as education and housing should be addressed by area crisis committees.

Mr Malan was "upset but also hopeful" about remarks by the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrie Viljoen, reported in New York, on a bicameral parliament.

"If this is indeed the Government's approach, it is time that it is spelled out."

Mr Chikane said it was important to establish the reasons for the Government's reform initiatives.

He said talk of group rights did not signal a move away from apartheid.

Mr van der Merwe said President de Klerk was acting less repressively and had created an openness in politics. "But it would be a mistake to think Mr de Klerk has turned his back on apartheid."

Charting a risky course ahead with forecasts of violent storms

FW's cruel sea of politics

Leaders of South Africa's secret Afrikaner Broederbond like to remind themselves as they chart their way forward that there is no greater risk than the refusal to take risks.

President de Klerk and his lieutenant, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, both of whom are leading Broeders, have good reason to recite the shibboleth with the fervour of monks chanting a mantra.

Since February 2, when Mr de Klerk bravely took the momentous decision to unban the African National Congress and unconditionally free Mr Nelson Mandela, events have moved at dizzying speed, inducing an appropriate sense of vertigo.

Mr de Klerk, judging from speeches in which he consciously refers to his leadership responsibilities, is fully aware of the dangers of the situation.

"We dare not flinch from the tide of history," he says. "If we do not move forward, we are lost ... It would be fatal to lose courage and turn back in fear ..."

"I would far rather ride my surfboard on the wave of history to the safety of the beach than flounder about in one place while the sharks circle ever closer."

But, as Mr de Klerk knows only too well, any of the waves crashing around him may be the one that finally sends him sprawling into the perilous waters.

Of the various waves swirling around him, none is more dangerous than the rising level of violence in the black townships, violence which is already lapping around the edges of neighbouring white towns.

There were nearly 1 130 violent incidents last month, far more than for February 1989, 1988 or 1987, as Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok notes sombrely.

Mr Vlok appears to find some solace that the figure was higher in February 1986 and nearly as high in February 1985.

He concedes, however, that violence is on the rise and that security action alone is no longer sufficient

"We dare not flinch at the tides of history," President de Klerk has said, but the waves of violence are rising ever higher, and the sharks from both Left and Right are circling ever closer.
PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

to keep the situation under control.

What is needed is a political solution acceptable to the majority of South Africans, Mr Vlok reasons.

Events in Sebokeng on Monday, when police opened fire on massed columns of protesters intent on marching into Vereeniging, give dramatic import to his conclusion.

But if violence emphasises the need for a political settlement, it complicates the task of achieving it at the same time.

Thus, to cite an obvious example, the ANC sets the lifting of the state of emergency as a pre-condition for negotiations, but the continuing violence makes it difficult for Mr de Klerk to accede to its demand.

The ANC and its allies blame apartheid and police intransigence for the violence. The authorities counter by noting that the ANC's calls for an end to violence appear to have fallen on deaf ears.

A background paper on negotiations prepared by Dr Viljoen's Department of Constitutional Development pointedly refers to Mr Mandela's vain appeals to blacks to end "mindless violence".

Internecine war

It specifically recalls the reaction to his plea to blacks to end their internecine war in Natal and, instead, to throw their weapons into the sea.

It says: "The killing has actually intensified and has even spread to neighbouring territories."

The paper goes on to blame ANC "radicals" for the violence, accusing them of irresponsibly exciting "wild hopes" that the millennium is about to dawn and then leaving ANC "moderates", and presumably the authorities, to deal with the aroused expectations of millions of people.

The ANC campaign of maximising pressure in the pre-negotiation period is a factor in the amalgam of events leading to violence.

By encouraging, if not organising, mass marches in defiance of the law to bring about the collapse of apartheid-approved township councils and tribal governments, the ANC must know the risks of confrontation are high. The police are duty-bound to take action if the law is flouted.

Whether the confrontation ends in death and bloodshed (as in Sebokeng), or peacefully (as in Johannesburg a week earlier, where the police turned the marchers back without firing), depends in large measure on the good sense of the police commander and the marshalls.

It is small comfort to Mr de Klerk, however, to deduce that the ANC must bear some responsibility for the violence.

The white electorate is likely to blame him on two scores: for not taking firm enough action and for giving the ANC room to manoeuvre.

His problems with the white electorate are compounded tenfold when the violence overflows into white areas, as it did when Mr Elmey Corfe was killed by an enraged black mob on the Golden Highway near Sebokeng.

The extent to which violence in the township has spilt over to impinge on white consciousness is reflected in Mr Vlok's announcement that police patrols have been intensified to prevent attacks on motorists on no fewer than eight main highways, including the motorway linking Johannesburg and Pretoria.

As Mr de Klerk continues his tightrope walk — to use another metaphor favoured by his speech writers — several more problems are looming.

One is the high rate of resignations from the already overstretched police force.

More than 20 policemen are resigning daily, figures for January and February show. The main reason is low pay. But, as General Herman Stadler notes, long working hours and the high death toll in Natal are also factors.

At the same time, there is an incipient crisis of a different order in the police force: the emergence of dissident policemen.

The clearest evidence is last week's summary dismissal of 40 black and coloured policemen for taking part in a strike.

Popcru

The dismissed policemen are members of former Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's newly formed Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru).

Mr Rockman, who last year charged riot police with behaving like "wild dogs", is among the policemen fired by Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe.

Then, too, there is the formation of white vigilante organisations and the revitalisation of the neo-nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

As the violence increases and the police ranks thin, Mr de Klerk has two options: either he can encourage vigilantes to join the police reservists or he can deploy soldiers to reinforce the police. Neither step is likely to solve the problem.

The men most likely to volunteer as police reservists are right-wing zealots; their presence will almost certainly strengthen anti-reform elements in the police and their racial hatred may well aggravate the situation on the ground in the townships.

Deployment of soldiers will be counter to the ANC demand for troops to quit the townships and thus delay the start of negotiations.

Mr de Klerk is said to have a cool head; he needs it to complete his high wire political act.

Star 29/3/90

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De Klerk 'must visit Maritzburg war zone'

MARITZBURG — The heavy fighting in Maritzburg was an even worse disaster than the tornado damage in Welkom and it was time for President de Klerk to visit the area, Mr Pierre Cronje (DP Greytown) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the first reading debate on the Budget, he said the situation yesterday had worsened. Over a stretch of 10 km 10 000 to 12 000 impi had been assembled and were also operating from nearby kraals.

"The police are not able to control the situation and even tell the people to flee. Loss of life and property is probably worse today than yesterday."

OPEN ATTACK

It was important that Mr de Klerk visited the township because there was no place the people could turn to any more.

When he visited Maritzburg on Tuesday Mr Cronje observed between 5 000 and 6 000 impi from rural areas launching an open attack on the urban areas in the Edendale valley.

Fortunately the assault groups leading the attack used heavy calibre firearms from long range which alerted people in the townships and the police could get to the scene.

But it took some hours before the impi retreated since the police, who were totally outnumbered, did not resort to forceful means to disperse them.

Mr Cronje said many of the groups who tried to see Mr de Klerk on this matter were constantly being referred back to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, "who keeps on telling us that he is in control".

Security management should be as much part of the negotiation process as constitutional issues, he said.

People were totally misinformed on the situation in the area. In the past three years 1 907 people had been killed in the Natal midlands alone and there had been only six prosecutions.

"For about three years now I have been inviting the NP members of the Security Group and the previous two Deputy Ministers (of Law and Order) and Mr Vlok to come to Maritzburg incognito so they can get an unbiased opinion of the problems in and around Maritzburg."

Mr Errol Moorcroft (DP Albany) said that the violence in Natal should not be allowed to continue or expand.

He said Mr Cronje had given a "chilling description" of what was happening in the province.



Questions and answers

Only a few of the markers of 1989 exam scripts of black matric candidates did not have the required qualifications to do so, the Education Minister Dr Stofel van der Merwe said in the House of Assembly yesterday in written reply to a question from Mr Ken Andrew (DP Gardens).

These people were used because some appointed qualified markers did not turn up. The chief examiner was satisfied with their qualifications.

The cost of recent development of the Ben Schoeman Highway, which included the provision of road lighting, was R68 849 990, the Transport Minister Mr George Bartlett said in the House of Assembly yesterday in a written reply to a question from Mr Louis Stofberg (CP Solburg). — Sapa.

Let up on 'Superman's antics are going faults of South to drive us to the CP camp'

SA whites

When Wits students went on the rampage, Dr Zach de Beer deplored their behaviour, but said that he understood it in view of apartheid laws.

Now he excuses township violence because of years of oppression.

Who is doing the oppressing now? The violence is mostly blacks on blacks and not on the whites whom Dr de Beer and Archbishop Tutu regard as the oppressors. Tim Ngubane, speaking for the ANC at California State University, said: "We will make the death of a collaborator so grotesque that nobody will ever dare to co-operate with the authorities again."

Blacks might do well to realise that there is no one as hard on black as other blacks. There is plenty of evidence for this in the rest of Africa.

It's fashionable, and Democratic Party policy, endlessly to condemn the whites and excuse and appease the blacks.

It's time to let up on the faults of the whites and acknowledge all the good whites have done in a multiracial society where there are genetic, cultural and religious differences. To ignore these and try and force everyone into a common mould hasn't worked in the Soviet Union and it won't work here either.

As yet few blacks generate jobs. The whites have created millions of jobs, they pay more than 90 percent of the taxes from which hospitals, schools, roads, railroads and a terrific infrastructure have been built up, benefiting everyone.

They could have done more and many things could have been done differently, but if credit were given where credit is due, the South African Communist Party would not have had such an easy task in stirring up ANC anti-white feelings in South Africa. We could have worked towards reform from a completely different angle.

Gwen Barragwanath
Lydenburg

I have serious complaints about the editorial policy of our leading English newspapers.

Since the genre (Mr Nelson Mandela) has come out of the bottle, what has he revealed? A most disturbing and anachronistic view of the world — Rip van Winkle 30 years behind the times. His naivete in both politics and economics is astonishingly infantile. Busy touring the world like royalty with his consort, he makes requests and statements that in any other country would be regarded as nothing else but treason. He has sown fear and distrust in large and politically significant sections of the white people, as well as coloured and Indian groups.

Once again our young people are being urged to vote with their feet, and large companies are doing the same. The state of the financial rand tells us clearly how overseas investors feel.

And, of course, isn't it high time he stopped traipsing around the world and returned to our troubled and bloody townships where he could try to pacify some elements? Or is it possible that, as in Nalal, he would fail again and is afraid to reveal his "Emperor's Clothes".

Grovelling

Now the question is, "How long are our newspaper editors going to continue grovelling sycophantically at this political infant, who has revealed neither subtlety or any sense of diplomacy. His lack of statesmanship and ordinary political commonsense make him a child even compared to his colleague, Mr Walter Sisulu."

And is it not high time that our newspapers, with their skills at investigative reporting, should by now give us the real reasons for the ghastly events in the townships? Surely you have reporters with the necessary skills. Your readers are anxiously waiting for the truth.

So come on, our Editors, stop grovelling, put the messiah in his place and tell him clearly how the white electorate really feels and what they are saying nowadays. Tell it to him like it is.

I am an erstwhile DP supporter, but the antics of Superman will surely drive us all into the CP camp. Doesn't he know it or doesn't he care?

J Rowlands
Germiston



ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, at the University of the North this week, where Mr Mandela called for a return to school. In a letter today, one leader feels that the policy of leading English newspapers in South Africa towards Mr Mandela is not "telling it like it is."

Burning questions on toll roads

In five years' time taxpayers will almost certainly be debilitated by the proposed east-west Hendrik Schoeman Toll Road now being planned through Johannesburg's mining belt.

Tolling on this proposed road exploits the historical shortage of highway access serving black residential areas. Rich residents of Sandton can travel toll free in all directions. Poor Sowetians will have to pay extra for similar access.

Do those who are investing their shareholders' money in the Hendrik Schoeman Highway really believe this iniquitous situation will be allowed to continue in a new South Africa? Do they really believe they will be fully compensated when this highway is justifiably nationalised?

Sowetians should also ask questions. Why are there no northbound ramps where the Soweto highway intersects with the Western Bypass? Why has Commando Road never been improved between Soweto and the Main Reef Road? Why does the Main Reef Road not interchange with the Western Bypass? Is it to force Sowetians to use the toll road?

Conrad Berge
Bergton

Letters to the editor must be sent to P O Box 61682, Marshalltown 2107, or faxed to 836-8398. Preference will be given to letters which include the writer's name for publication.

Let's solve problems without any violence

On March 9 1990, a pastor friend of mine was killed in Kaitleng. Rev Alfred Samuel Mbambo was a peace-loving man. On the night that he was killed he was trying to be a peacemaker between two opposing groups. As he was trying to bring calm to an already volatile situation, someone struck him on his head, causing his eventual death.

I write this letter with sadness in my heart. Already so many have died in unrest.

My question is, "Can't the problems of South Africa be solved without violence?"

I believe that they can. As a Christian, I believe that love and understanding are the answers that we need if we are to have peace in South Africa. We must respect each other.

Should we allow skin colour or tribal identification to cause division among ourselves? My response is "No."

Part of the sadness I feel concerning all the deaths that have been reported is that it seems that for some people, life is seen

Let's not slip back again

Now is the time for the Government to proceed with the dismantling of apartheid — which has supposedly been dead for years (as Mr Piet Koornhof said).

The good sign that Bantustans desire to be reunited with South Africa should be acted upon. Unity is strength — the South African motto must once again be made a reality — saving wasted millions. If Mr Mandela is hedging about negotiation, let South Africa carry on to demonstrate that we can return to a healthy, fair state.

Africans — ANC, PAC and others — must realise that they cannot solve anything by taking white wealth and redistributing it — the northern countries tried that and there is nothing in their

Marx built ideology on false foundation

On reading historian Paul Johnson's book "Intellectuals" recently, I was particularly struck by the chapter on Karl Marx entitled "Karl Marx: Howling Gigantic Curses".

The publishing of the book preceded by approximately a year, with almost uncanny precision, the burgeoning movement away from communism which is sweeping Eastern Europe.

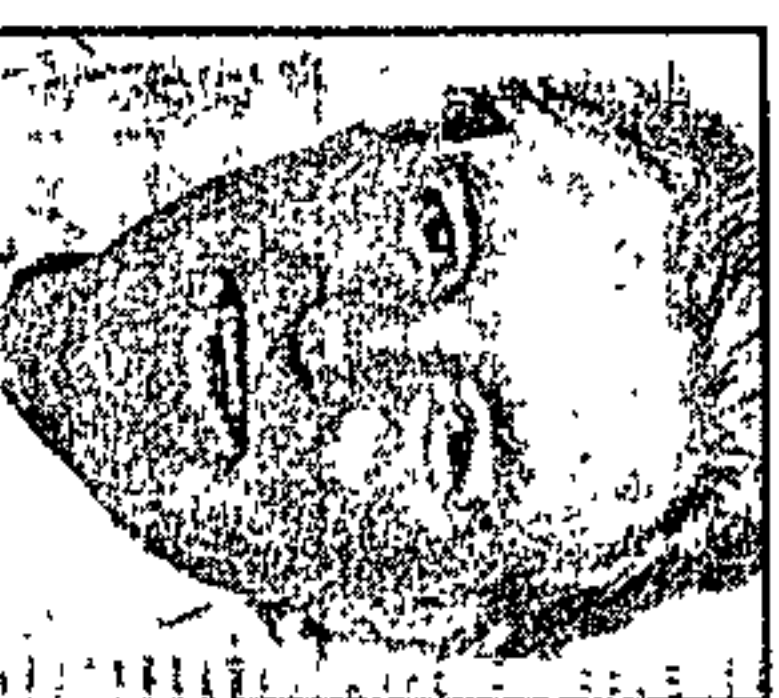
Karl Marx appears to have been a person with big ideas and ideals, but minimal integrity. As far as is known Marx never set foot in a mill, factory, mine or other industrial workplace.

He seemed to have in mind a blueprint for the ideal state and then set about gathering facts to support his theories. He did not check on the validity of these facts and, where they did not fit with his theories, he simply tailored them to do so. He based his "scientific" examination of working conditions under capitalism in the mid-1860s on a single work, Friedrich Engels's "Conditions of the Working Class in England", published 20 years before.

Engels in turn was not too concerned about accuracy. In one instance he quoted a paper on sanitation in Edinburgh without letting his readers know that it was written in 1818. Engels was only born in 1820.

Paul Johnson states that the actual content of Marx's philosophy can be related to four aspects of his character, namely, his taste for violence, his appetite for power, his inability to handle money, and, above all, his tendency to exploit those around him.

Also, that from start to finish, not just "Capital" but all his



Historian Paul Johnson exposes true content of Marx's philosophy.

work reflects a disregard for truth which at times amounts to contempt. What I personally found to be the most abhorrent and hypocritical facet of Marx's dealings with the proletariat was the fact that he kept an unpaid servant, Helen Demuth (handed down to him by his mother-in-law). He not only exploited her labour but also exploited her sexually.

When she fell pregnant and in due course gave birth to his child he adamantly refused to acknowledge the child and even compounded this cowardly rejection by persuading his co-author on "Capital", Engels, to claim paternity.

Engels seems to have been completely dominated by Marx. In addition to shouldering the burden of paternity he also shouldered the burden of contributing to the upkeep of the Marx household for a period of 15 years. As communism seems to be built on a foundation of falsehood it is hardly surprising that it has now become a crumbling edifice.

Edenvalle
(Mrs) D Kaplan

FW's Europe tour likely to be extended 304A

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk confirmed yesterday he would accompany Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on a visit to a number of European countries in May or June this year.

A statement issued by his office said further particulars of his itinerary were not yet available.

It is already known that De Klerk's itinerary will include a visit to the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and that he has accepted an invitation from the Portuguese government to visit Lisbon.

Senior government sources have indicated that De Klerk is after tangible results, and not interested in the publicity of

surpassing foreign visits by his predecessor.

Recent contact with the East bloc countries, both through visits by Botha and talks held during Namibian independence celebrations, are not likely to result in any visits to Eastern European countries.

It is also unlikely that a visit to the US, in response to an invitation by President George Bush, will precede or be tagged onto the end of the European visit. Such a visit is likely rather to be a separate trip later in the year.

From contacts made in Namibia and from responses to De Klerk's initiatives

□ To Page 2

FW's tour 304A (259)

this year it appears that an extended tour is likely to follow the visits to Britain and Portugal. Contacts with the Italian cabinet, particularly at trade and industry level, point to a Rome stopover.

Business considerations also earmark Switzerland and Germany as important, while diplomatic developments that have thawed the long-hostile French may open the door to Paris.

It can be accepted that De Klerk's mission abroad will be two-pronged in its objective. Firstly he is expected to take a political message to SA's traditional allies and economic partners spelling out his reform direction. Linked to this he will prob-

ably present a case for a slackening of the economic punishment SA has suffered. Observers feel that there will be concerted efforts, at the very least, to ward off any market erosion by the switch to the open European market.

The economic facet of bilateral relations with the host countries can realistically be presented as pivotal in the reform process in SA. Already there are signs that countries other than Britain and Portugal are prepared to rethink the sanctions issue.

De Klerk is unlikely to resist using the opportunity to hammer the wedge in Europe home in the interest of his envisaged new SA. — Sapa.

□ From Page 1

Day 24/3/90

Homeland leaders in run-up to talks

~~121~~ MIKE ROBERTSON

304A

CAPE TOWN — The first formal talks on a new constitution are to start on April 5 when President F W de Klerk meets non-independent homeland leaders to discuss the structuring of negotiations.

De Klerk announced yesterday that the six homeland leaders and the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in Parliament would join him in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters.

The talks are to take place just six days before the first meeting between government and the ANC.

De Klerk said several leaders working within existing structures had requested government to get negotiations off the ground or at least to initiate exploratory talks.

"This has resulted in me inviting the chief ministers of the self-governing territories and the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils of Parliament and their advisers to join me in exploratory talks on the structuring of the process of negotiation and related matters.

"The process of negotiation is a wide-ranging one in which all interested parties should participate. The discussions next Thursday acknowledge the position of these leaders in this process."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said recently that deciding exactly who should sit at the negotiating table would be a difficult process. But De Klerk has now reiterated his determination that those who have participated in government structures should not be left in the cold. They were assured of a place at the negotiating table.

Those attending the meeting will be Ministers' Council chairmen Kobie Coetsee (House of Assembly), Allan Hendrickse (House of Representatives) and J N Reddy (House of Delegates).

The chief ministers of KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, Lebowa and KaNgwane will be representing the non-independent homelands.

gives hope for

B/Dam 29/3/90 304A

DP opposed to privatisation of Eskom, others

CAPE TOWN — The DP was opposed to the privatisation of Eskom, the railways and harbours components of Transnet and the Posts and Telecommunications department, chief finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

Schwarz was outlining the party's policy on privatisation as a first step in the unveiling of a re-worked economic policy document, further details of which are to be released within the next few weeks.

He said the DP believed the State's share of the economy was too high and there were clearly productive activities that should be in the hands of the private sector.

However, it was concerned that state monopolies might be converted into private monopolies.

"The privatisation of such entities as Eskom should not proceed at this time, and except for certain sections of Sats (now Transnet), which if privatised will enter a competitive environment, the remainder should be held back. These include the railways and the harbours. The same principles should be applied to Post and Telecommunications," he said.

Schwarz said there was little doubt that recent tariff hikes by railways and SAA had occurred because they were being prepared to become taxpayers and being made ready for privatisation.

If Eskom was to become a taxpayer this would necessitate sharp price increases.

At a time when there were thousands

MIKE ROBERTSON

of new black consumers of electricity it was not an attractive proposition to force Eskom to raise tariffs simply in order that it could pay tax.

Schwarz said the DP had sharp differences with government on how the proceeds of privatisation should be distributed.

"Those who oppose privatisation and seek nationalisation could more readily be persuaded to change their view if the proceeds of privatisation were used to establish much needed and socially desirable capital projects which would help to redress the social inequalities."

President F W de Klerk's recent commitment of R1bn of privatisation proceeds to the "Jan Steyn fund" was a step in the right direction.

But a recent suggestion, made by government at a sitting of the Public Accounts Committee, that privatisation proceeds be used to meet deficits in pension funds of activities to be privatised was not acceptable.

Schwarz said the DP also believed it was necessary to show bona fides towards a negotiating process and not to use existing political power to impose economic objectives, such as privatisation, which were the subject of dispute.

If this was done the chances of political power being used in future to reverse decisions and to impose systems which minorities might find unacceptable would be increased.

"It would be better to seek to convince others of the validity of a system which will create new wealth and so remove imbalances."

Schwarz said the DP saw a role for itself in this process.

DP-led coalition takes shape

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DP-led coalition takes shape

EDYTH BULBRING (304A)

A DP-LED coalition management committee for the Johannesburg City Council is taking shape as heavy lobbying and inter-party negotiations continue behind the scenes. 8/Jan 29/3/90

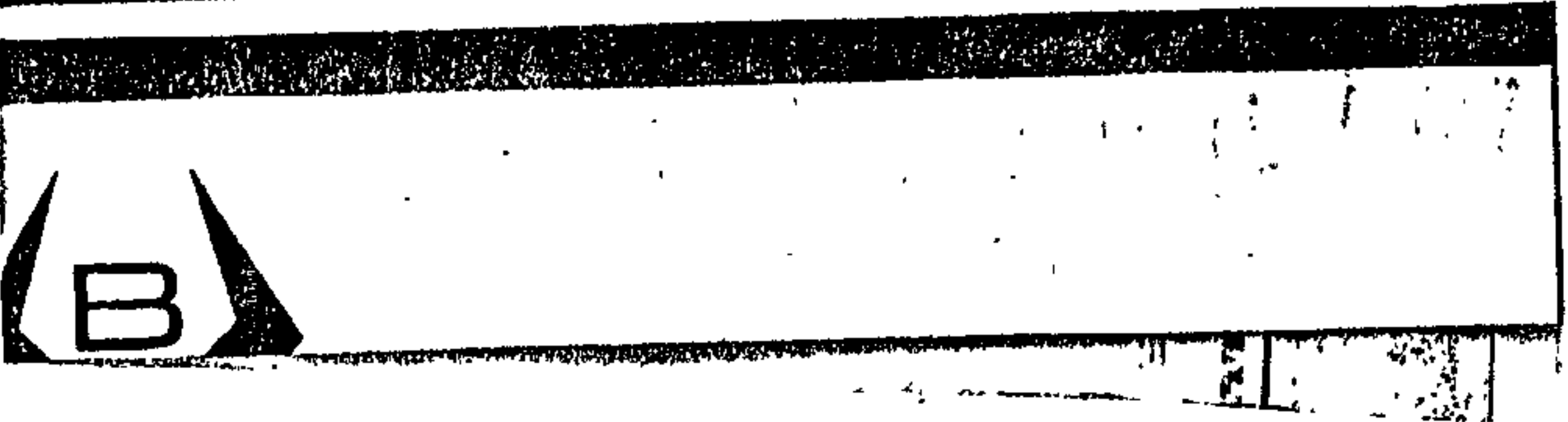
A motion of no confidence in the NP manco was handed to mayor Willie Janse van Rensburg at the council's monthly meeting on Tuesday, giving town clerk Manie Venter three weeks to call a special meeting where the vote will be cast. There is little doubt in council circles that the DP motion will be successful.

The DP is confident of support for the motion from independent councillors Harold Rudolph, David Neppe, Howard Bloomberg and Mike Levin.

The four CP members will probably support the motion, giving the DP 28 votes guaranteeing its success, sources said.

A new manco will have to be elected the same day. The DP's list for the six manco positions is likely to include present manco member and independent councillor Eddie Magid, whose town planning expertise is recognised by the DP.

DP leader Ian Davidson will also have to include former NP councillor Howard Bloomberg in his team. This was one of the conditions of Bloomberg's defection last month to become an independent councillor.



More thaw

304A

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's surprise visit to Hungary in January has paid off. It's expected that consular and trade links will be established within three weeks.

A highly placed diplomatic source says high-level talks have been conducted since Botha's visit. A Foreign Affairs spokesman adds that, in the light of the sensitivity of the matter, the department has decided not to comment at this stage.

A leading Hungarian diplomat called here on Monday for formal relations between the two countries. Hungarian Foreign Affairs deputy director general Istvan Foldesi (guest speaker at an international conference on eastern Europe) says his country wants further contacts with others outside the East Bloc. He has invited SA businessmen to visit Hungary.

Foldesi says prejudice and stereotypes have to be put aside.

The setting up of formal links was delayed because of Sunday's Hungarian elections. "Everything had been in place," says the Foreign Affairs source, "but was put on ice at that stage. We are happy to say that the talks have restarted."

The FM has learnt that, because of expected political pressure, it was decided not to give the proposed mission full ambassadorial status but its heads will be treated as top envoys.

It has been announced that former SABC director general Riaan Eksteen will arrange a fact-finding mission for businessmen to visit Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Eksteen, a confidant of Botha, recently returned from those countries. He conducted more than 60 meetings and has been able to establish contacts with possible partners for SA businessmen.

Formal links between SA and Hungary will be a breakthrough — an important official diplomatic reward for President FW de Klerk's bold moves this year. The way will also be open for more official ties with eastern Europe. ■

B/Day 30/3/90

~~132~~

304A

DP takes pro-consumer line on privatisation

THE Democratic Party (DP) has changed its policy on privatisation — placing greater emphasis on consumer protection — because of the intense debate on the issue since ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela was released.

And there was a need for consultation about privatisation/nationalisation as part of the political negotiating process, stressed DP chief finance spokesman Harry Schwarz yesterday.

"No major decisions on privatisation should be taken without consultation," he said, adding that the benefits of privatisation needed to be marketed. However, there were certain para-statal — such as Fokor — which could be sold off without delay.

Schwarz said the change in DP policy had also been necessitated by the way in which government had made

LINDA ENSOR

use of the privatisation proceeds. It was not sufficient to merely allocate R1bn of the proceeds to socio-economic projects as State President F W De Klerk had done. This was only a gesture. The whole amount, Schwarz said, should be used in this way.

Schwarz said the function of public utilities such as Eskom and the commuter service division of Sats was to offer services at reasonable tariffs and privatisation should not undermine this function in any way. He did not believe Sats's commuter services could be run at a profit without being subsidised.

And, he said, the consumer and taxpayer should not have to bear the cost of Sats's major pension fund deficit.

Pig's head shocks Kramer

Staff Reporter

"Shocking, disgusting and sickening" were the words used today by the only Jewish town councillor in Boksburg, Mr Issy Kramer, to describe the discovery of a pig's head on his seat at a council meeting last night.

Minutes before the council meeting began, the head, wrapped in a Star of David flag, was found on Mr Kramer's seat.

In the ensuing chaos, the leader of the National Party in the council, Mr Chris Smith, called for the meeting's adjournment to tonight and said the police should be called immediately.

A still shaken Mr Kramer told The Star today: "We were still talking on the council chamber floor when we were told to take our seats, since the meeting was about to begin. I sit between (Mr) Smith and councillor Dawn

Jacobs. "Dawn, who pulled my chair out so that I could sit down, was the first to see the pig's head. Smith then shouted: 'Don't touch it. Don't touch it; call the police'.

"I was shocked and I felt very sick afterwards. It is only a mentally sick person who could do what was done. It shows that there is a small group of people in this country which is unable to face reality and the inevitability of political change."

Mr Kramer, a lawyer and independent councillor, said the incident could have been triggered by the Pretoria Supreme Court's decision yesterday to overturn the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council's reintroduction of petty apartheid in November 1988.

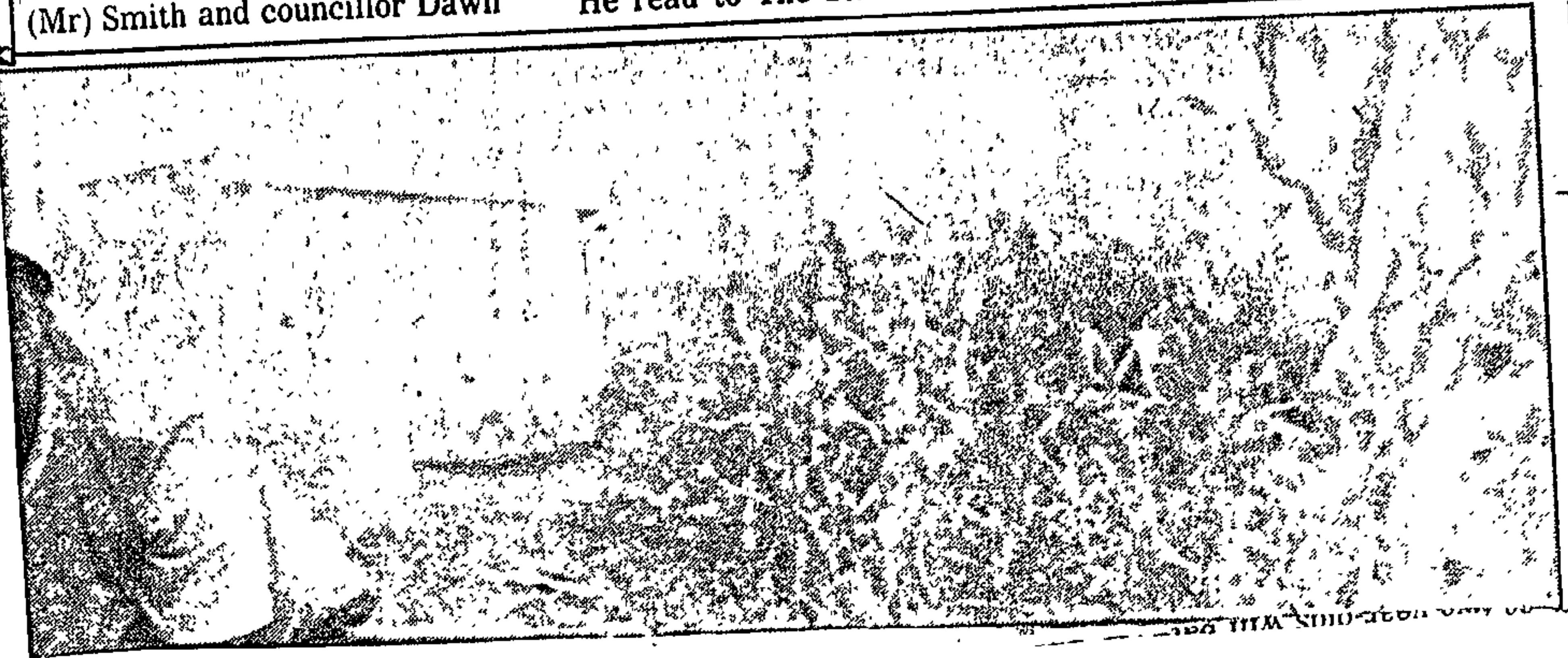
He read to The Star an anti-

Semitic document distributed before the meeting by children and Mrs Trudie van der Merwe, wife of CP councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe. Mr van der Merwe later confessed that he had drawn up the anti-Semitic document, according to Mr Kramer.

The document contained extracts from a speech made in the House of Assembly by Mr Eric Louw in 1937, saying South Africa already had a large Jewish population.

"We owe it to the future generations of South Africa to tackle this problem now before it is too late," the document quoted Mr Louw as having said.

NP leader Mr Smith today condemned last night's incident, and said he hoped the police would soon prosecute whoever was responsible for it.



Nats announce team for ANC talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government yesterday named a nine-man delegation of Ministers to represent it at historic pre-negotiation talks with the African National Congress in Cape Town on April 11.

A surprise inclusion is Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok — not part of the Government's usual negotiating team.

He has undoubtedly been included because the April 11 talks will focus on security issues: the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen stressed yesterday that the meeting was not the start of negotiations. It would deal purely with trying to clear away the "perceived obstacles" to negotiations: the state of emergency and the release of prisoners. These could be finalised on April 11 or at further meetings.

After that, there would be two phases to negotiations proper — a first phase to determine how the negotiation process should be structured and who should take part, and a second phase to negotiate a new constitution.

The Government's full negotiating team, under President de

Klerk's leadership, is Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha; Dr Viljoen; Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers; Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee; Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis; Mr Vlok; Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe; and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.

The ANC has yet to announce its delegation, although it is expected to be headed by Mr Nelson Mandela and to include both internal and external leaders.

At a press briefing yesterday Dr Viljoen would not be drawn on reports that the Government intended introducing legislation to grant immunity from arrest to members of the ANC's delegation for April 11.

Put to the test

He made it clear that:

- The new constitution which was negotiated would be put to the test of the white electorate.
- Only those who committed themselves to peaceful solutions would be able to take part in negotiations.
- Although only the ANC and the Government were taking part in the April 11 talks, the negotiations would include other organisations.

Star 30/3/90

NP loses another city councillor

By Louise Burgers, Municipal Reporter. 304 A

Deep divisions within the Johannesburg National Party has resulted in the resignation of yet another of its city councillors, giving the Democratic Party the edge in the fight for control of the city.

Mrs Desiree Simpson, councillor for Joubert Park, will go it alone as an independent, joining Mr Howard Bloomberg and Mr Mike Levin who left the NP three weeks ago.

The DP tabled a motion of no-confidence in the management committee this week following The Star's revelations of a spy scandal involving council staff.

The motion will be debated and voted on at a special council meeting in the next two weeks.

Mrs Simpson said: "The Johannesburg City Council is in my view spending too much time on matters of a political nature instead of issues

directly affecting the lives of the residents.

"It is my express view that the city should be administered on non-party lines, and I will not form an alliance with any group which would restrict or influence my freedom to vote as I may deem fit."

The Star also learnt that Mr Hein Kruger, NP chief whip in the city council, resigned his position because of tension over certain decisions made by more conservative members of the party.

Mr Kruger, who remains in the NP, is known to favour an open city.

The NP are now down to 21 seats to the DP's 20. The next few weeks will see frantic behind-the-scenes negotiations as both parties lobby the six independents and four CP members. Twenty-four votes are needed to carry the motion of no-confidence in the 51-seat council.

Govt won't go to talks table without a plan

3048

THE government was not going to the negotiating table without a definite constitutional plan of its own, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

At a Press conference he said the two-tier Natal-KwaZulu Indaba model was not what the government had in mind and said reports that he had told the *New York Times* so had not set his reference into context.

He had merely referred to the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba proposals by way of illustration as an example of a two-chamber parliament which would provide checks and balances to

ensure minority protection.

He had been asked what the government meant by minority protection and he had then referred to the Indaba model as an example.

"But it is one of many examples under consideration and not a specific model which the government envisages.

"The relevance of the Indaba model is the positive aspect of its recognition of group protection, but there are two aspects of it which are unacceptable."

The first was that it sought to protect only cultural rights and not political rights which the

government regarded as important.

"Secondly, the Indaba model assures membership of minority groups but no meaningful participation in decision making processes."

An acceptable model would have to meet both these criticisms, Viljoen said.

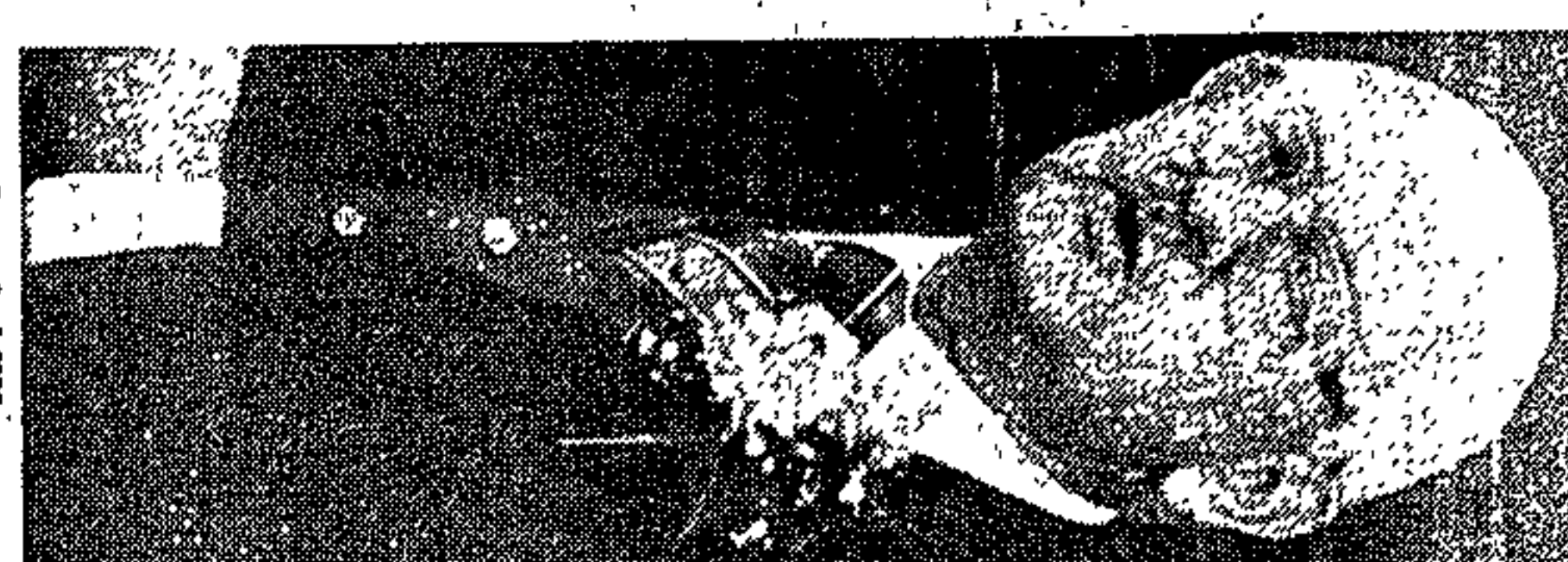
"The government will come to the negotiating table with definite proposals. An open agenda does not mean we

are coming without any ideas."

The final nature of its proposals had not yet been finalised but it was happy it had obtained a mandate for the broadest measure of negotiation freedom from its electorate in the last election.

This would allow for post-negotiation approval in an election or referendum should the result deviate substantially from National Party policy.

Gerrit Viljoen



NP questioned over 'show of might'

CP against inviting terrorists for talks

The Conservative Party wished to express its most serious objection to the Government inviting terrorists to the negotiation table in such a way that they would have a say over the future of all, including CP and NP supporters, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the first reading debate on the Budget, he asked whether it was a "show of might" by the NP in letting loose terrorists over South Africa, and inviting someone like Mr Chris Hani — head of the ANC's armed wing — who was responsible for the deaths of many South Africans, to the negotiation table.

The armed struggle

Dr Treurnicht said the Government realised it had made a mistake in unbanning the ANC and releasing Mr Nelson Mandela.

They had released Mr Mandela unconditionally, when their prior attitude had been that he should first forswear violence. In his first speech after his release, Mr Mandela had recommitted himself to the armed struggle and to nationalisation.

Dr Treurnicht said there were two main constitutional options in the world: The global approach, which aimed at one world government eventually; and one amounting to the orderly existence alongside each other of nations with the recognition of their sovereignty.

There was an upsurge of the nationalism of nations in the world at present.

The real Rip van Winkles in South African politics were the Democratic Party.

If even in a uniraical country like Belgium the Flemish did not want to be subjected by the French and the Germans, it was more so the case in South Africa.

An upsurge of nationalism was taking place in the country which was not only confined to Afrikaners, but included English-speakers.

Dr Treurnicht said the Government should re-examine its proposed Bill of Rights in terms of which communities would be penalised if they wanted to put their communities first.

One of the elements of the proposed "New South Africa" was power-sharing, but the CP had differed with the NP on this since 1982.

An equal vote

Power could not be shared, because if it was, one lost control, Dr Treurnicht said.

"Either you govern, or you are governed. We as a nation don't want to be governed by any other nation or nations, and we also don't want to govern over others."

Dr Treurnicht said NP members were saying they were not proposing domination, but how could they say this when the State President, Mr de Klerk, had said blacks would have an equal vote in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk had said at the same time there would be protection for minorities, but this was impossible unless blacks were discriminated against. — Sapa.

Probe into new constitutional model begins

Star 30/3/90 Pretoria Correspondent

The South African Law Commission has begun its investigation into possible constitutional models for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The investigations follow a brief by President de Klerk, which he announced during his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 2.

The brief includes:

- The identification of basic matters and institutions to be provided for in a future constitution, with a view to protection of human rights;
- The identification of the main types of democratic constitutions to be considered;
- An analysis of the different ways of protecting

citizens' individual rights and rights of "collective units, associations, minorities and nations" in each constitutional model; and

- A discussion of the possible methods by which a future constitution can be safeguarded.

The commission has invited written suggestions before May 31. Any person or body that wishes to make oral representations is requested to submit a brief resume of the proposal, with a request to be heard, in writing before May 31. Representations should be addressed to the Secretary, South African Law Commission, Private Bag X668, Pretoria, 0001. The investigation will be completed by December 31.

Star 30/3/90
CP man acquitted
on election charges

(304A)
A Boksburg Conservative Party town councillor, Mr T J Ferreira, was acquitted in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of failing to furnish the names and addresses of the compiler and distributor of his election posters in the municipal elections in October 1988.

The magistrate, Mr Bill Myburgh, said the State had failed to prove its case against Mr Ferreira beyond reasonable doubt. Mr Ferreira, chief whip of the CP caucus in the town council, had pleaded not guilty.
— East Rand Bureau.

Govt 'flexible' on returning exiles

B/Dam
30/3/90

ANC's top brass set for first SA talks

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON
and ALAN FINE

THE ANC would appoint a top-level team for the "talks about talks" scheduled for April 11, to match the high-powered government team just announced, an ANC official said yesterday.

Likely negotiators are deputy president Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Umkonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and SACP boss Joe Slovo.

The ANC official also said a delay in getting passports, and not security considerations, had delayed the planned arrival by an advance guard of ANC leaders in SA last Sunday.

Meanwhile, government sources yesterday elaborated on government's attitude to issues on the agenda of the historic meeting, likely to take place on a farm "in or near Cape Town".

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday announced that government's nine-man team would be headed by President F W de Klerk. The others are himself, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC source, a national executive committee member, said the ANC had been waiting for the government announcement before naming its own team.

Since government had chosen senior Ministers, the ANC was likely to send senior leadership.

He said details and plans for the visit of the six-man advance team — to confer with the internal leadership and allies inside SA — would be announced soon.

He scotched persistent reports that their non-arrival last Sunday had been because of fears about security or about not being granted immunity from prosecution.

He said the group's application for uniform UN passports had been submitted late, and the passports had not been ready in time for Sunday's flight. All the passports now were and the team would arrive "any day now". Unfortunately, he said, today's flight had been fully booked.

One government source said yesterday any suggestion that there were problems regarding immunity was "nonsense".

Another government source said government wanted to talk to as many ANC leaders as possible, and was willing to be extremely flexible on the questions of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Government was, however, hoping the ANC would not demand immediate amnesty for people such as alleged bomber Hein Grosskopf and convicted Magoo's Bar bomber Robert MacBride. These were politically sensitive individuals, not key members of any ANC negotiating team,

□ To Page 2

ANC line-up

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30/3/90

and would necessitate bringing people such as Barend Strydom into the equation — something government wished to avoid.

Government believed the question of a general amnesty should be addressed as part of a negotiated settlement, but in the meantime, specific deals could be reached.

The source said government was less sympathetic to the ANC's demand for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency. It was likely to ask the ANC for co-operation in reducing the levels of violence, which could eventually lead to the lifting of the emergency.

In announcing the government team for

the April 11 talks, Viljoen stressed these were "not a commencement of negotiations. That is a further stage." Negotiations would be a two-step process. It would first decide on how a negotiating conference should be structured and then on the functioning of such a body.

Viljoen stressed government's view that leaders participating in the talks had to commit themselves clearly to the peaceful road of a negotiated solution, which implied the abandonment of violence. It also firmly believed negotiations were not a one-to-one process, but open to political parties with proven substantial support.

□ From Page 1

Indaba 'not the only plan' FW to head nine-man team to talk to ANC

THE government was not going to the negotiating table without a definite constitutional plan of its own, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

He told a Cape Town press conference that the two-tier Natal-KwaZulu Indaba model was not what the government had in mind and reports that he had told the New York Times so were out of context.

He had merely referred to the Indaba proposals as an example of a two-chamber parliament which would provide checks and balances to ensure minority protection.

"But it is one of many examples under consideration and not a specific model which the government envisages.

"The relevance of the Indaba model is the positive aspect of its recognition of group protection but there are two aspects of it which are unacceptable."

Firstly it sought to protect only cultural rights and not political rights which the government regarded as important.

"Secondly the Indaba model assures membership of minority groups but no meaningful participation in decision-making processes."

An acceptable model would have to meet both these criteria, Dr Viljoen said.

"The government will come to the negotiating table with definite proposals. An open agenda does not mean we are coming without any ideas." — Sapa

Cape Times 30/3/90 Political Staff (10) (30KA)

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will head a nine-man team to sit down on April 11 for the first round of talks with the ANC on obstacles in the way of negotiations.

The names of the government negotiating team were announced yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

In addition to Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen the team comprises Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok; Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs; Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis; Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee; Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid; Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

FW's team at the negotiating table

By MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent

IN just over a week President FW de Klerk and his negotiating team confront a top level ANC delegation formally across the table for the first time.

The ANC has yet to finalise who, beyond deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, will rank in the delegation.

The government team was announced yesterday. They are:

PRESIDENT de KLERK, 54, a Potchefstroom University graduate and a lawyer by training.



Born in Krugersdorp, he entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Vereeniging. Six years later he was in the Cabinet and the portfolios he has held then are Posts and Telecommunications and Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmental Planning, Mineral and Energy Affairs, Internal Affairs.

He was elected Transvaal leader of the National Party in 1982 and National leader early last year.

MR PIK BOTHA, 56, Foreign Minister, also a Potchefstroom law graduate, joined the diplomatic service in 1953 and rose through the ranks, travelling extensively. He was admitted to the Bar in 1970 and, in the same year, became MP for Wonderboom.

Mr Botha was appointed ambassador to the United Nations in 1974 and the United States in 1975 and became Foreign Minister in 1977. He is deputy chairman of the National Party in the Transvaal.

DR GERRIT VILJOEN, 64, Minister of Constitutional Development, studied law and classical languages at Pretoria University, and studied further at Cambridge, Leyden and the Sorbonne.

He was Administrator General of South West Africa from 1979 to 1980. His Cabinet portfolios have been National Education, Cooperation, Development and Education and Education and Aid.

He is the government's chief negotiator as Minister for Constitutional Development.

DR DAWIE de VILLIERS, 50, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Undertakings, a philosophy and theology graduate of Stellenbosch and the Rand Afrikaans University.

A former Springbok rugby player, Dr de Villiers entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Johannesburg West. He was then appointed ambassador to London in 1979. He was made Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism in 1980.

He is the Cape leader of the National Party.

MR KOBIE COETSEE, 59, Minister of Justice, a Dux medalist, studied law at the University of the Free State. He was admitted to the Bar in 1972.

He entered politics in 1968 as MP for Bloemfontein West.

Ten years later he became Deputy Minister of Defence and National Security and two years later, in 1980, was appointed Minister of Justice.

MR BAREND du PLESSIS, 50, Finance Minister a Potchefstroom B.Sc graduate, taught mathematics before joining IBM's banking and finance division in 1968.

He was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information in 1982, and Minister of Education and Training in 1983. He has been Minister of Finance since 1984.

MR ADRIAAN VLOK, 53, Minister of Law and Order was born in Sutherland and educated at Keimoes High School. He moved to the Transvaal, joined the Department of Justice and took up part-time legal studies.

He entered local politics in Verwoerdburg in 1972 and became MP in 1974.

He was made Deputy Minister of Defence in 1984 and Deputy Minister of Law and Order a year later. He has held his present post since 1986.

DR STOFFEL van der MERWE, 51, Minister of Education and Training and Development Aid, is a political science graduate of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Unisa and Stellenbosch.

He became MP for Helderkruijn in 1981. His past Cabinet portfolios are Information, Information and Constitutional Planning and Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry.

He is chairman of the National Party's federal information committee.

MR ROELF MEYER, 43, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development was born in Port Elizabeth, but studied law at the University of the Free State.

He was elected MP for Johannesburg West in 1979. In 1986, he was made Deputy Minister of Law and Order. He moved to the Department of Constitutional Development in 1988.

FW, MPs meet over violence

sowetan
30/3/90

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has intervened in the ongoing Natal violence and yesterday met five Democratic Party MPs in the province to discuss ways of ending the killing.

More than 3 400 people have lost their lives since the beginning of 1987, according to unrest monitors in Durban and Maritzburg.

In the light of a fresh outbreak of fighting around Maritzburg this week, Mr Pierre Cronje, DP MP for Greytown, yesterday asked De Klerk for a meeting.

Cronje, Mr Kobus Jordaan, Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Mike Tarr and Mr Roger Burrows met the President for an hour yesterday evening.

It was a frank discussion, and left the MPs feeling a lot more hopeful that ways would be found to curb the violence.



FW DE KLERK

The DP has been very critical recently about the role of the police. De Klerk was by himself at the meeting.

In a statement afterwards, the

MPs said they had discussed the renewed resurgence of violence.

"In-depth discussions were held about immediate needs as well as ways and means of addressing the problems in the medium and longer terms through a comprehensive programme of action.

Attention

"The State President indicated that serious attention was being given to the situation by both himself and his Cabinet."

The MPs are to meet another Cabinet Minister today "to discuss the immediate needs in the afflicted areas".

"We impressed upon him the urgent need for the deployment of more men on the ground to assist in providing basic security."

Gastrow said afterwards it was

clear that De Klerk was concerned about the violence. "We impressed on him that immediate steps were necessary to deal with the thousands of refugees in and around Pietermaritzburg."

The PAC has been invited by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to help resolve the bitter internecine strife in Natal, PAC internal general-secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said on SABC TV last night.

"The PAC is particularly deeply hurt and disturbed over the violence in Natal and feels it is well placed to play a mediating role because it was not party to the strife.

"It has been informed that Dr Buthelezi has sent an invitation ... to help resolve the problems of Natal," Alexander was quoted as saying.

He added political differences had to be resolved through constructive criticism and maturity.

Talks over FW's fund

JAN Steyn, the administrator of the Government's R3 billion fund for black upliftment, yesterday responded to reported remarks by a leading civic leader who described the fund as "insultingly too little".

304A

Steyn said he had had in-depth discussions with several leaders of various black political movements and would have further discussions with them in the weeks ahead.

Sowetan 30/3/90

He was replying to a statement by Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, who was quoted in South African newspapers as saying in Washington black civic organisations would not touch the R3 billion trust fund created by President FW de Klerk "because it is insultingly too little". - Sapa.

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SA violence in perception

B/D 30/3/90

ALAN FINE

"criminal elements" often exploiting the already volatile situation.

"Obviously the escalation in violence is being caused by individuals, including, probably, supporters of organisations like the ANC and UDF. But I wouldn't say these organisations themselves are deliberately behind this escalation," Stadler says.

He accepts leaders have damaged their political reputations in opposing violence. "We have heard Mandela call on his supporters to throw their weapons into the sea. Now some young militants see him in the same category as (Inkatha chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi."

What of the ANC's attitude to the armed struggle? There is more to it than meets the eye, he hints.

"We know Mandela and the ANC have called for escalation of the armed struggle. The question is: are they serious, or is it just rhetoric?" He says the ANC has admitted it is

(logistically) unable to escalate its armed struggle. He also recognises the ANC is "in a difficult position. If they renounce the armed struggle they will lose support internally".

UDF assistant general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa — like Sisulu — argues that there exist tensions between the Cabinet and elements of the police.

"There is a disjuncture between what (President) F W de Klerk and his ministers have been saying, and what people are experiencing at the hands of police in the townships.

"De Klerk has created the impression among ordinary people that free political activity would now be allowed, hence the sudden increase in essentially non-violent marches." But referring to events this week at

Sebokeng and to other incidents, Valli says that "police belligerence towards township residents is the same as any time since 1976. This has led to massacres, and spin-offs like looting, which no one planned."

Valli believes De Klerk accepts mass mobilisation cannot and should not be countered by the repressive measures used in the mid-1980s. His conclusion: "The SAP is not supportive of De Klerk's reformist stance."

Vlok's spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet defended the police: "It is easy to blame them, but that does not explain fighting where police are not present." It is a lie, he adds, to suggest the police as a whole do not support De Klerk's initiatives.

He points proudly to efforts by the police in places like Welkom and the eastern Cape, to discuss with cross-sections of communities the causes of violence.

In many cases, he says, even left-

wingers have suggested the police are too thin on the ground.

He, too, will not blame ANC/UDF leadership. He blames "cranks" who have taken advantage of mass mobilisation, and "mob violence by youths who still believe in liberation before education".

Valli contends the mass mobilisation of recent weeks has not been co-ordinated nationally. It is a case of local leaders taking advantage of the new situation to convey grievances to the authorities.

"In each case, leaders of communities have arranged marches to deliver memorandums to the authorities. The issues raised are local ones, which shows the protests are not part of a centrally co-ordinated campaign," he says.

How does the UDF plan to deal with the growing violence? It certainly does not plan to call a halt to mass mobilisation: "It is not our task to tell people not to protest. We will defend their right to protest."

But, he affirms, the UDF does have a role to play: "It is our task to see that protest occurs in a disciplined way."

LETTERS

WHEN both ANC leader Walter Sisulu and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok are able to say with equanimity that township violence will not harm the negotiating process, they overturn conventional wisdom and demonstrate how the nature of conflict in SA has changed. Government, and the ANC and its allies, still have different perceptions of the root causes of the violence which has engulfed many parts of the country in the past five weeks. Each blames it on the other side, but not on the leadership: whether they attribute the violence to policemen or to militant youth, they see it as the work of undisciplined, out-of-control elements acting without the authority of the leaders.

Gen Herman Stadler, in rising to security police chief before becoming head of police public relations, devoted years of his life to fighting the ANC.

He argues the escalation of violence is caused by a variety of factors such as socio-economic deprivation, "freedom euphoria", polarisation between black consciousness and charterist youth, with

Crisis? Jewish leaders aren't worrying yet

W/Mail 30/3-4/4/90

THE embraces of Yasser Arafat, the burning of the Star of David, pigs' heads in synagogues ... these are some of the spectres which have been haunting South Africa's Jewish community.

For some it appeared there was an onslaught from both right and left, and many in the Jewish community expressed fears that anti-Semitism was increasing.

Public meetings were called, the Jewish Defence League was wheeled in and in some circles there was talk of emigration.

But today, seven weeks after the "crisis" broke, Jewish leaders are virtually unanimous that the problem has been overstated, and that there is little to fear.

"The simple point," says Democratic Party MP Harry Schwarz, "is that the future of the Jewish community is not different from the future of anybody else in the country."

"If there's a future for everybody in a future South Africa then there's also a future for the Jewish community."

An Israeli embassy representative said this week that there was "definitely no sign of any increase in emigration to Israel over the last two months."

"In fact, over the last year or so the numbers have dropped, and are now not more than 200 annually."

The latest wave of concern was set off by the raising of swastikas and the burning of the Israeli flag at a right-wing rally early last month. The fear of a rise in anti-Semitism was exacerbated by a pig's head hung in a disused Johannesburg synagogue later in the month.

Jewish community leaders noted however, that these were isolated incidents of right-wing extremism, which should not be exaggerated.

"I don't believe that right-wing anti-Semitism is rising," said Zionist Federation chairman Solly Sachs.

"It has its ups and downs but we haven't seen much since those incidents last month. Some people believe it's just the work of a few individuals."

Transvaal Jewish Board of Deputies chairman Hans Saenger said that while the statements from right-wing leaders distancing themselves from anti-Semitism were welcome, "sometimes I suspect they protest too loudly".

National Board chairman Gerald Leissner said that while there had been an increase in anti-Semitism at right-wing meetings, he believed this was primarily the work of a "lunatic fringe".

"I do not believe that anti-Semitism is the highest priority in these people's lives."

Fears of a different kind were expressed when the *Citizen* ran a front-page photograph of Nelson Mandela embracing Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat, and quoted Mandela saying it was "too bad" if this gesture alienated the Jewish community.

There were rumblings in the Jewish community after Yasser Arafat embraced Nelson Mandela and after right-wingers burned the Star of David. But Jewish leaders are less worried and say the problem has been overplayed

By GAVIN EVANS

And this weekend pictures of a smiling Arafat shaking hands with State President FW de Klerk were run in several newspapers.

Most Jewish leaders have been quick to point out the distinction between anti-Semitism on the far right and the African National Congress's identification with the Palestinian struggle.

"If Nelson Mandela had made his remarks as part of a prepared speech I would have been concerned, but instead it was an off-the-cuff remark which I don't think one should get emotional about," said Leissner.

"What was unfortunate was that the picture was run on the front page of the *Citizen*. You must remember that Man-

"All he said was that there was a similarity between the colonial-type situation in South Africa and that on the West Bank. I think we in the Jewish community need to be aware that sympathy for the Palestinians is not necessarily anti-Semitism."

Schwarz, who also serves on the board, said Mandela's statement should be seen as no more than an "unfortunate choice of words".

"First we have to understand that liberation organisations all over the world have links because of what they have in common."

"Second, and more important, my own impression from meeting Nelson Mandela is that he is not anti-Semitic, and I don't believe that anti-Semitism is part of the platform of the ANC."

However, some saw the issue in a different light.

Sachs said he believed the PLO had tried over the years "to get close to the ANC and use it for their own political purposes".

He said he was concerned that Mandela was "misinformed" about the Israeli situation.

"He hasn't realised the true situation — that Arafat is a terrorist with blood on his hands."

"It is incorrect to compare Israel and South Africa. Israel is a non-racial society with 700 000 Arab-Israelis who can vote and do whatever anybody else in the country can do."

The Jewish leaders said they were in the process of organising a meeting with Mandela to discuss their concerns.

On Saturday a group of Jewish leaders held a meeting organised by the Jews for Social Justice with United Democratic Front national publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota in Johannesburg.

Saenger described the exchange as "extremely amiable".

"I found him a very well informed individual and the exchange of views was very pleasant."

He stressed his opposition to any forms of anti-Semitism and showed a positive attitude to the Jewish community. However, he felt that the Jews should negotiate with the PLO, which we do not agree with."

Lekota said the meeting was "very frank and very successful".

"They were willing to listen carefully and in the end I found an incredible level of understanding for our positions. I was inspired by their reiteration of the commitment of the Jewish people to work for justice in South Africa."

Lekota stressed that he knew of no anti-Semitism in the UDF and ANC, and pointed to the presence of people like Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Dennis Goldberg and Raymond Suttner in prominent leadership positions.

"One must not equate criticisms of aspects of a belief such as Zionism with anti-Semitism," he said.

And over the past year several cordial meetings have been held between Jewish leaders and the ANC and UDF.



Anti-semitic slogan in Pretoria during a march of AWB supporters last month ... 'we're not their first concern'

dela also hugged and kissed Helen Suzman."

Leissner said that it had to be accepted that Jews in South Africa had a "dual loyalty".

"They are good South Africans but at the same time they are very loyal to Israel, and therefore anything that may create complications for Israel creates difficulties for many South African Jews."

Some Jewish leaders stressed that a distinction had to be drawn between anti-Semitism and support for the PLO.

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris said he believed the Mandela-Arafat embrace was not something the Jewish community should get "over-excited about".

"I think we must remember that there's a close relation between freedom movements around the world, including the PLO. Arafat wants to keep in with everyone, including De Klerk, and I suppose there's no reason why he shouldn't try."

Jews for Social Justice leader and Board of Deputies member Franz Auerbach said he felt there had been an over-reaction to Mandela's statement on the Palestinian issue.

De Klerk 'shocked' at anti-Semitism

CPA TmS 3/3/90 Political Staff

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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday that he was "shocked" by the anti-Semitic incidents in Boksburg this week.

Answering a question at the Cape Town Press Club, he said the government was committed to religious freedom in South Africa.

He wanted to share his shock with the Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, who said during the budget debate yesterday morning that Jews should not be used as a political football in South Africa.

He wanted to protest against the placing of a pig's head on a chair of Mr Issy Kramer, a member of Boksburg Town Council. "Issy Kramer does not deserve that insult, nor do his people deserve the insult."

Mr Schwarz also said a Conservative Party Boksburg councillor, Mr Koos van der Merwe, had admitted distributing an anti-Semitic pamphlet in the town.

"I expect the CP to reject Mr Van der Merwe, to expel him." — Sapa

DP gets ^{304K} more votes, ^{31/3/90} fewer MPs'

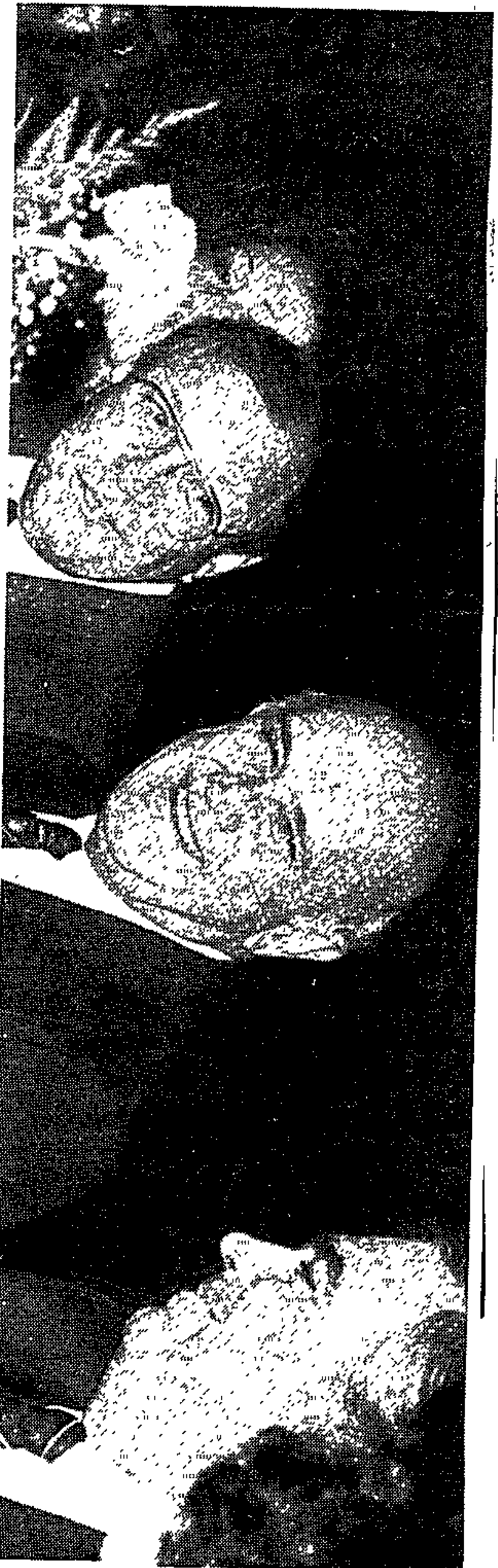
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party polled twice as much as the ruling parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates—yet it has the smallest representation in the House of Assembly, the party's chief whip, Mr David Dalling, said yesterday.

The Labour Party polled 171 000 votes in last year's election, giving it 69 MPs, while the DP polled 431 000 votes, which gave it 34 MPs.

"This obvious lack of legitimacy in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives is not so much a lack of credibility in the members themselves as it is in the system under which they operate," Mr Dalling said during the budget debate.

He wished President F W de Klerk well in the NP's efforts to remove the existing stumbling blocks to constitutional progress, but, he said, what worried him was that Mr De Klerk's team, minus Mr Chris Heunis, was the same team as produced the constitutional disaster called the tricameral system.



LUNCHING ... President F W de Klerk, flanked by Sunday Times sports journalist Mr Ted Partridge and the managing director of BP SA, Mr Graham Barr, at a Cape Town Press Club lunch where he was the guest speaker yesterday.

Reform schedule is breathtaking

CAP TIPS 31/3/90
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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday told the Cape Town Press Club that his timetable for change was "fairly breathtaking".

The process of "dynamic change" the government had started was "irreversible", but he emphasised that there was "no question" of a takeover by the ANC "or anyone else".

In one of the most detailed expositions to date on the government's stand on the process of change and negotiation, Mr De Klerk also made it clear that no leaders with a proved constituency would be

left out of talks to decide the country's future.

Asked after his address about a time scale for government plans for change, Mr De Klerk said: "My timetable would be fairly breathtaking. We will try to get the process on its way and completed as soon as humanly possible."

"We are in a hurry but the government cannot unilaterally determine the tempo."

Mr De Klerk said "a number of people" were "making noises" about talks but did not really want to negotiate.

Some of the "potential negotiators" did not appear to be

ready to commit themselves wholeheartedly to the process of negotiation and reform.

"Other circumstances, such as the outbreaks of violence in the country, also have a dramatic detrimental effect on attitudes to reform."

Mr De Klerk said the current leadership situation was difficult to read.

Much positioning and power struggles were going on. Various leadership figures and movements were vying for support.

The government's task was to see that this process took place in a "fairly controllable"

manner and not through violence.

"I am not saying that I represent all whites and I don't think any black leader can claim that he represents (all) the blacks of SA."

Turning to future constitutional models for SA, Mr De Klerk said his government was not striving for the model adopted in Namibia.

Those who currently held political rights (whites) were not planning to apologetically disappear from the stage of history. "On the contrary, there waits for them a key role in the new dispensation."

De-Stalinising

VERWOERD Star 31/3/90 304A ~~408~~
Government does about-turn as education system

THE de-Stalinisation of the late South African Premier, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, is in progress as the National Party desperately tries to purge his and the party's archaic policies — seen as the root cause of the country's disastrous education system, which continues to lurch from one crisis to the next.

In the past two months the Government has announced dramatic plans to normalise education, to obtain eventual parity in spending on black and white education and to hold top-level discussions on whether there should, after all, be one single education department.

There are also plans afoot to hold a Cabinet meeting to discuss an ANC and National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) document on the grievances and demands of teachers, students and parents.

And in a major effort this week to solve the continuing black schools crisis the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the Government was prepared to review its entire structure in order to consult with the black community and educators.

These recent moves would have forced the mastermind of apartheid to turn in his grave.

Dr Verwoerd, obsessed with white supremacist education policies, presented his grand design 37 years ago to ensure the survival of apartheid at any cost.

Appointed Minister of Native Affairs in 1950, Dr Verwoerd based his views on one of the most controversial education documents yet produced in this country — The Eislen Report on Native Education, released in 1951 as the result of a Government-appointed commission headed by Dr WWM Eislen.

Introducing the Bantu Education Act (No 47 of 1953) Dr Verwoerd said: "Up till now the (Native) has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and partially misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European, but still did not allow him to graze there."

"I will reform (education) so that natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them ... racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives."

"They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of a frustrated people who have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled."

Justifying the downgrading of Bantu education, Dr Verwoerd asked: "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practice?"

He said: "There is no place for the African in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour, it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community."

Dr Verwoerd later told a newspaper reporter: "I do not have the nagging doubt of ever wondering whether perhaps I am wrong." But he did not live long enough to see the disastrous results of his and the National Party's beliefs.

The South African premier was assassinated on September 6 1966, by parliamentary messenger Demitrios Tsafendas — who was later declared insane and unfit to plead to the murder.

The implementation of the Bantu Education Act in 1954 led to student boycotts

PAT DEVEREAUX

resulting in more than 7 000 students being removed from the register and more than 116 teachers being dismissed.

Further Verwoerdian repression in the 1950s and 1960s and the bannings of political organisations and mass detentions as well as the jailing of black leaders tried to ensure that resistance to apartheid was crushed.

In 1958 a separate Department of Bantu Education was created with its own Minister — this was the forerunner of what is at present the Department of Education and Training — which planned to educate black students to accept a certain status in life.

But 1976 saw the brewing discontent over the education system come to a head with the students' outright rebellion against Bantu Education. And slogans such as "Liberation before education" rang out in the townships nationwide.

Since the student uprising 14 years ago, black education has been in turmoil with regular boycotts and protests. Little has been done to actually identify problems or find viable solutions — although the Gov-

'I do not have the nagging doubt of ever wondering whether perhaps I am wrong.' — Dr Verwoerd after introducing the Bantu Education Act (No 47 of 1953).

ernment has been aware of the need to address the crisis.

The first indication of this was the 1981 De Lange report on education which emphasised the waste of human resources in a racially segregated education system.

The NECC estimates that there are 14 million blacks of school-going age.

Of these about 7,3 million are at school while the remaining 6,7 million have either dropped out or have never attended a school at all.

Last year about R650 was budgeted for each black pupil, compared with more than R3 000 on each white child — the 1989/90 Budget allocated R11,89 billion to education, including tertiary institutions.

In September last year it was reported that out of every 100 black pupils starting school in the early 1970s, an average of 14 reached Std 10 level.

At a Black Sash conference in Grahamstown earlier this month, it was reported that more than a million black children of school-going age have not attended school — because schooling is not compulsory.

Added to this was the fact that in 1987 almost half a million out of 5,6 million primary pupils dropped out.

The report said it was an indictment on the Government that 196 white schools were closed last year while thousands of pupils in the townships were not able to be accommodated in school.

A nationwide survey of urban and rural black adults last year indicated that:

● Only 7 percent had completed matric or post-matric studies.

● There were 29 percent who had no formal education.

But the 1986 State of Emergency detentions of thousands of students and the 1988 bannings of bodies such as the NECC once more thwarted attempts to address the education disaster.

The result of these archaic policies and refusal to address the problems has resulted in shocking education figures.

According to the survey done by an education research group, the Third Alternative, there are two prevailing lines of thought on schools.

The first says education should be left in the Government's hands and it is up to it to upgrade inferior black schooling. The second opinion is that the entire education system should be dismantled and a new system be instituted after "liberation".

The survey showed minimal support for the system of racially segregated schools.

Last year's appalling black matric results — a 42 percent pass rate among 196 000 candidates — led to a call by parents, teachers and pupils for the Government to overhaul the education system.

Suddenly, however, in this climate of "glasnost" and political negotiation, the Government has begun to sit up and take notice of the education crisis.

In a recent move to improve facilities, the Government announced that it would spend R355 million on black schooling. In response NECC general-secretary Mr Ihron van Rensburg said that the Government would have to triple its annual education budget to at least R30 billion to "equalise" black and white education.

Both the Government and ANC leader Mr Nelson Man-

dela have made widescale appeals to boycotting students to "go back to school" and have held meetings with teachers and education bodies to try to resolve protests.

The Government is also seen to be making "watershed reform moves". Last week it gave the go-ahead for white State schools to accept black schoolchildren next year.

Already this week 20 white schools in all four provinces asked to be allowed to admit children of all races, and could do so from January 1.

But most surprising has been Cabinet Ministers' comments on the education crisis, which indicate a definite "about-turn" in their education policies.

Deputy Education and Training Minister Mr Piet Marais said this month he was committed to eventual parity in spending on black and white education and to a better black teacher-pupil ratio.

In a recent interview, Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the problems of black education were the problems of the whole of South Africa, adding that the question was really whether the country wanted a single education department.

He said Verwoerd's policy was part of history and hence part of the problem of black education, but added that since then policies had changed totally. He said it was confusing to pretend that policies of the present Government were in any way remotely related to the "unhappy" period of Dr Verwoerd.

Verwoerd

em lurches from one crisis to next



1966 GENERAL ELECTION: Dr Verwoerd, then Prime Minister and leader of the National Party during an election which many felt had only one issue — the survival of the white man and his civilisation. In a survey at the time, 74 percent of the white voters studied rated race as the most pressing problem facing the country. In the period immediately preceding the election, influenced by the Rhodesian question and the Johannesburg Station blast, the white electorate moved to the right. After the election, Dr Verwoerd had the largest majority yet seen in the Lower House, and the freedom to implement to the fullest his policies of racial separation.

SA. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1990

APRIL

ANC talks table

3048

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent 11/4/90
S/Times

fears

ANC LEADERS are said to be anxious to test their standing as representatives of the country's main black political organisation before negotiations for a new constitution get under way.

Western diplomats say the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has raised this possibility in discussions with foreign governments.

The ANC fears the Government may "pack" the negotiating line-up with black moderate groups whose opinion, it will insist, must be heard in talks about creating a new social and political order.

The ANC also has qualms about black radical elements slipping beyond the reach of its influence, as has been seen in much of the violence now sweeping black communities.

Some internal ANC leaders have admitted privately that they are poorly placed to control some radical black forces.

Clear

In behind-the-scenes discussions, the Government has indicated that it is not averse, in principle, to the ANC's idea.

As early as last year, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made it clear the Government would like to deal with groups representing a clear division of black opinion — and raised the possibility of pre-negotiation black elections.

The ANC, however, is unwilling to accept ethnically based elections.

Concern about who'll be there

Some diplomats close to both sides preparing for the forthcoming pre-negotiation meeting believe this will be discussed at the talks.

The questions of who will be at the negotiating table eventually — and the degree to which opinions will be weighed — is of critical importance to both sides.

Once the practical pre-conditions for talks have been met — such as the state of emergency, the release of prisoners and commitments to peace — the actual make-up of the table will be the core issue of "talks about talks".

President F W de Klerk is pointedly meeting homeland leaders and other nominally moderate figures on Thursday. Yesterday, the ANC announced the postponement of its talks — originally scheduled for April 11.

ANC CALLS WITHIN FW

304A C/News 1/4/90

CARNAGE IN THE VALLEY OF DEATH



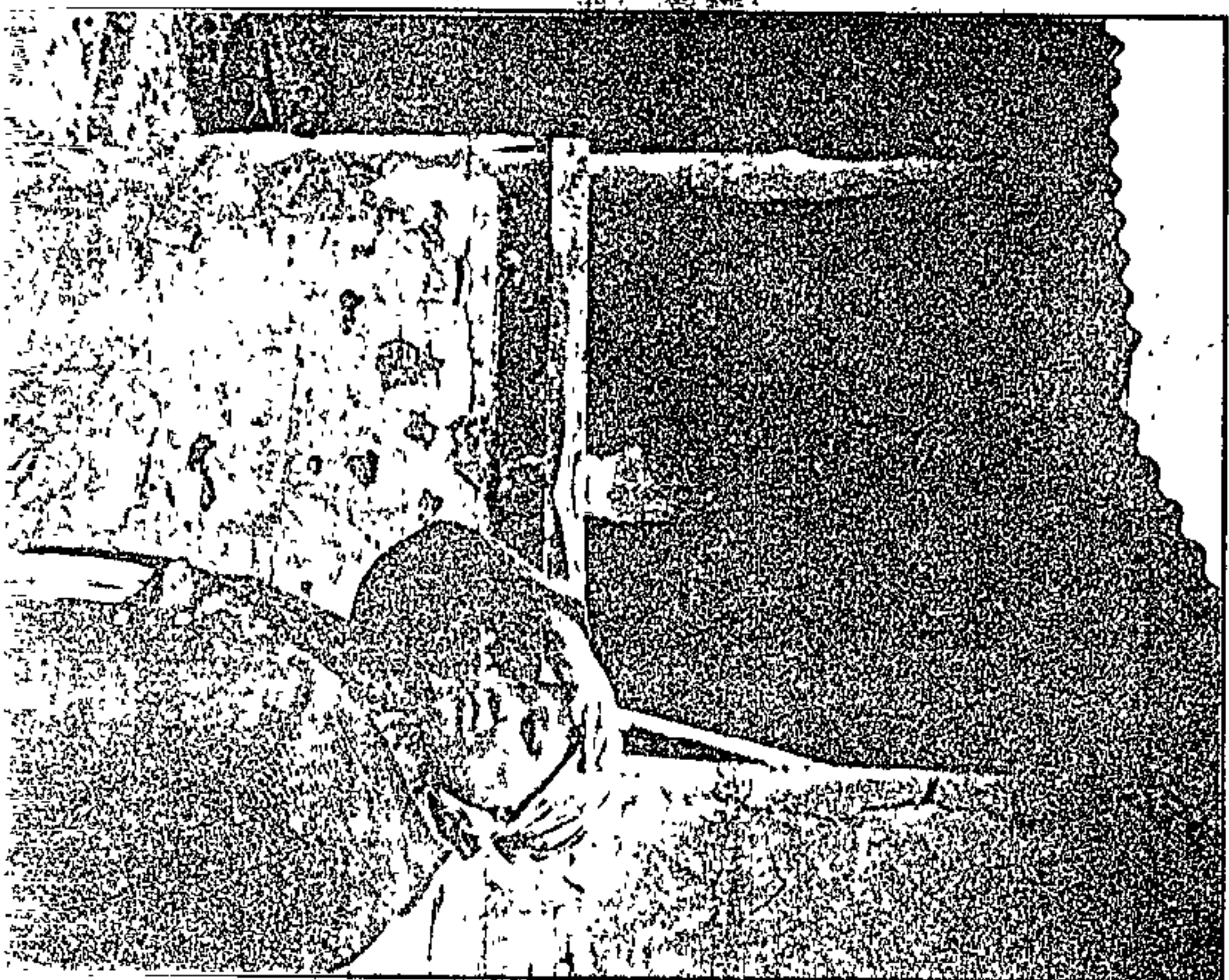
Clouds of smoke rise from Edendale's Valley of Death near Maritzburg, as houses blaze in the intensified fighting.

ANC sends peace party

to quell Natal violence

By SBU MANGADI

But Buthelezi yesterday criticised the move saying the real issue was that



Crucial meeting shelved to protest against cop killings

CP correspondents and Sapa

THE ANC has suspended talks with the South African government scheduled for April 11 in protest against police shootings in Sebokeng on Monday.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Bisho in the Ciskei a climate conducive to negotiations was made impossible by continuing State violence, vigilantes and hit squads, the state of emergency and the imprisonment of political prisoners.

Taking a hard line, he said the government would have to meet the demands of the Harare Declaration and end State violence against peaceful protests before talks could take place.

State President FW de Klerk said he was an advocate of peace in Namibia, but was the State President an advocate of peace in South Africa?

He called for an intensification of international pressure on South Africa and a continuation of the armed struggle.

The decision to suspend talks had been taken by the Lusaka-based National Executive Committee (NEC) in consultation with the internal interim leadership.

The announcement follows strong condemnation on Friday by the NEC of "unprovoked killing and maiming of peaceful demonstrators" by police in Sebokeng this week.

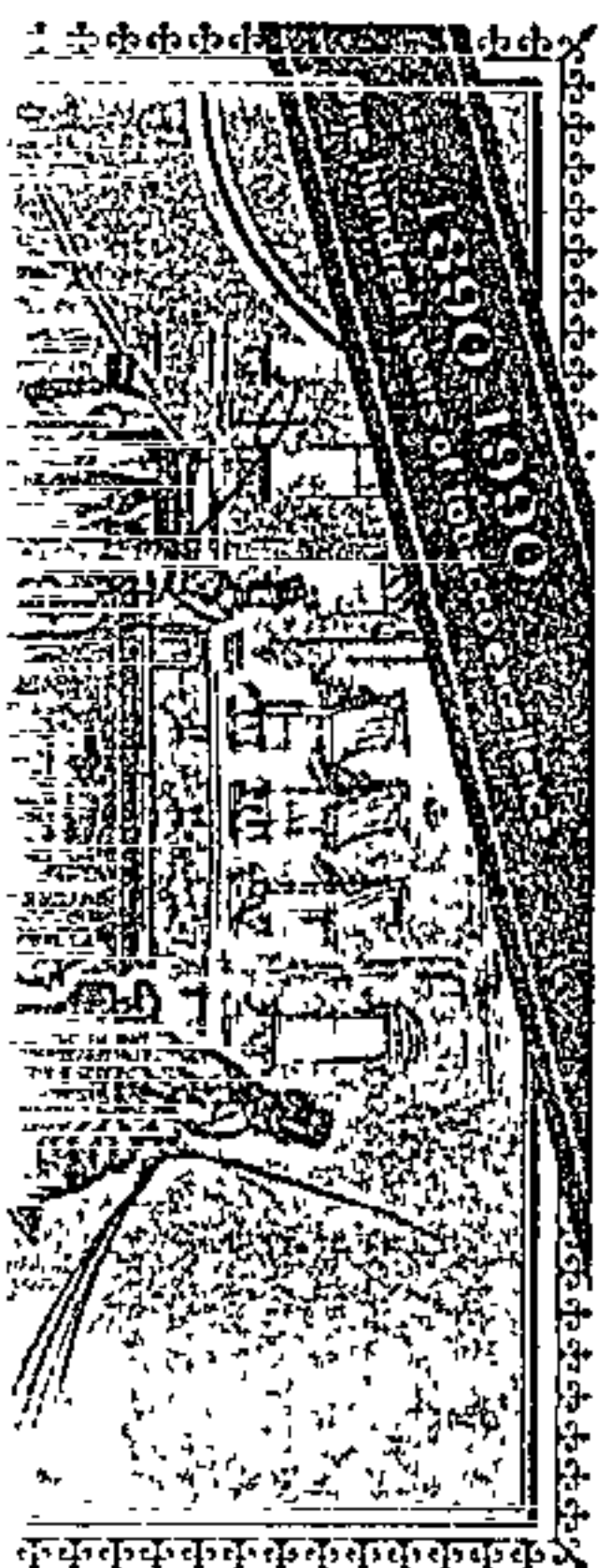
State President FW de Klerk said at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday he had been advised by Mandela himself that the talks were shelved. He had not yet seen the full ANC state-

WE FIND SEBE'S SA HIDEOUT



LEADER'S SLAM

See Page 14



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State President FW de Klerk said at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday he had been advised by Mandela himself that the talks were shelved. He had not yet seen the full ANC statement and would reply fully to it in Parliament tomorrow.

He said he was waiting for a detailed report on the shootings in Sebokeng. The loss of life was regrettable. It could be accepted there might be reasons for criticising these actions but he could not agree it had to stand in the way of talks that could contribute to the prevention of incidents like these.

The government was concerned about ANC violence and planned to address the issue during the April 11 talks. Government intended to ask the ANC for an unequivocal commitment to a peaceful process.

De Klerk said his door would stay open and Mandela would be welcome to discuss the issue with him.

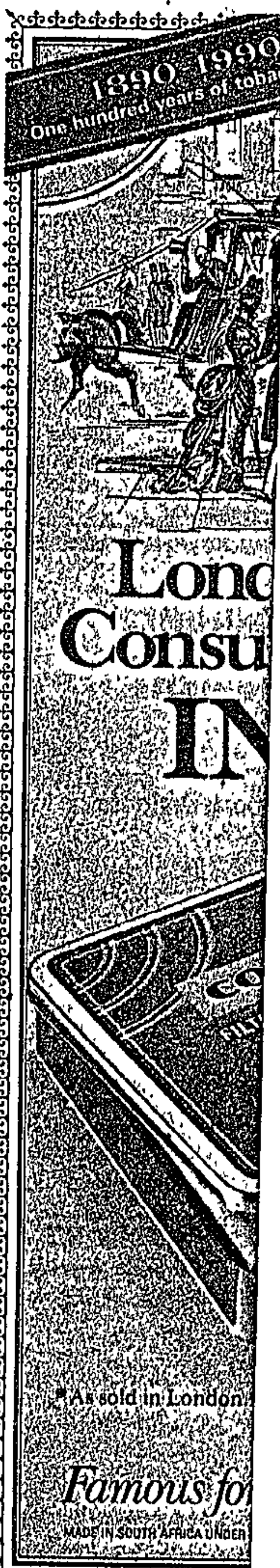
The country's future would be determined by negotiations and not through the barrel of a gun. Those who clung to the armed struggle made a big mistake, De Klerk said.

The PAC said yesterday it was "cautiously happy" the talks had been cancelled.

Co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said it was his heartfelt hope the ANC would think again about its decision to call off negotiations with the State President, and that it would do so quickly.

■ To Page 2

1890-1990
One hundred years of tobacco



Long
Consumer
IN

Famous for
MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER

P.T.O.

ANC suspends talks with FW after Sebokeng deaths

■ From Page 1

"While the shooting at Sebokeng was a deplorable episode, it can be no excuse for breaking off talks, as could any other of the acts of violence that have been perpetrated all over the country," De Beer said.

In a statement yesterday the British Foreign Office in London expressed disappointment at the suspension of the talks.

In its statement on Friday the ANC said: "On March 26, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre of 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Sebokeng, engaged in a peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of the more than 13 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"Coming in the wake of the shooting in Gazankulu, Thabong, Bophuthatswana and other parts of our country, these most recent killings establish a pattern of police brutality and increased bloodletting and death."

The ANC condemned these "massacres" in the strongest terms and demanded an "immediate end to this crime".

The statement said the system of apartheid lay at the root of all political violence in South Africa.

"The terrorism of the police and army is encouraged and protected by the state of emergency and existing repressive legislation."

It called on all supporters to continue the mass struggle for:

- A democratic South Africa;
- The creation of an atmosphere of free political activity;
- An end to the bantustan system, township councils and other unrepresentative institutions;
- A living wage;
- Reasonable rents, decent housing and improved living conditions; and
- Against all other manifestations of apartheid.

This week the government announced the names of a nine-man team that would have negotiat-

ed with the ANC on April 11 under FW de Klerk.

The others are ministers Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, Barend du Plessis, Adriaan Vlok, Stoffel van der Merwe and Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer.

Making the announcement, Viljoen said he expected the ANC would soon announce its own list of negotiators.

■ De Klerk is to address Parliament on the issue of violence in the country tomorrow.

He made this announcement during a speech to the Cape Town Press Club this week where he said the government would be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law and order if certain elements on the left and right continued their present course of violence and lawlessness.

He said there was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of South Africa.

FW wants commitment to peace

1/4/90 (3049)

NEXT week's discussions with leaders of the self-governing territories and majority parties in Parliament should play an important exploratory role in establishing a basis for constitutional negotiations, said President Fw de Klerk this week.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said the talks to be held with the ANC on April 11 (now postponed) were also important, but would focus on different issues.

"We will be looking for a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions, while constructively addressing practical issues such as the return of exiles and questions regarding so-called political prisoners."

He said in the process of reform perceptions were created that the existing order should vanish overnight and be replaced by one or other utopia.

"This is not how things work and I have a duty to spell it out loudly and clearly," he said.

The uncertainty which went hand-in-hand with rapid change often led to incorrect conclusions and

emotional interpretations. Some media reports after Nelson Mandela's release had given the impression it was a clear-cut matter that the ANC was on the point of taking over the government and that it would automatically enforce its socialist policy on the country.

Businessmen at home and overseas suddenly became concerned over their investments and State officials over their pensions and prospects.

Parents became unnecessarily worried about the future education of their children.

Thugs gained the incorrect impression that their misdeeds would remain unpunished as long as they were committed in

the name of the so-called "struggle".

"There is not the least talk of an ANC takeover or a takeover by anyone else," said De Klerk. "All that has happened is that a fair process which must lead to negotiation, has been put into operation."

"Parallel to this, the legal government of South Africa remains firmly in control and will govern the country in accordance with the laws which are still valid."

Only with the concurrence of voters would a new dispensation be introduced.

"The initiative is in our hands and we have the ability to ensure that the process of negotiation and change will take place peacefully and in an orderly manner. Meanwhile, normal good government will continue."

All South Africans knew deep in their hearts that the present state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. A new dispensation had to come.

The National Party was prepared to share political, cultural and economic freedoms in a just manner, but was not pre-

pared to destroy existing rights or to allow them to be destroyed.

"Anyone who believes that we will accept a dispensation in which the quality of existing freedoms and rights is negatively affected, is making a mistake."

Those who presently enjoyed full political rights had no intention of disappearing from the stage of history. On the contrary, they had a key role in any new dispensation.

"We will not throw overboard the freedom and values that have been built up over three-and-a-half centuries."

"At the same time it is our serious intention to ensure full democratic rights for all. Fair participation in government at all levels, by all South Africans, is the goal."

All South Africans had to be involved in determining the future of the country.

The idea that the negotiating process would involve only two parties was a complete misconception. All leaders with proven and substantial support would be welcome at the negotiating table. — Sapa.

There were few reported incidents of violence, apart from the shooting of Patrick Kombayi, National Organising Secretary of the opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement (Zum), and a candidate in Gweru.

The official version is that he was shot during "inter-party clashes" after he shot at and set fire to vice-president Simon Muzenda's vehicle.

Zum says Kombayi was unarmed when he was gunned down in the street near a Gweru hotel and was shot several times in the stomach, once in the groin and once in the leg.

In a hospital interview, Kombayi said he was shot by government intelligent agents.

He was said to be under police guard at Bulawayo Central Hospital, awaiting orthopaedic surgery. A police spokesman refused to say if Kombayi was under arrest.

A spate of Zum defections to Zanu (PF) just before voting started has left the movement contesting 101 seats.

Zum is muttering about it all being an orchestrated campaign, but there is no way the party would have gained a majority of seats even if all their MPs did stand. However, the defections will certainly reduce Zum's chances of being a sizeable minority.

Despite corruption scandals, unemployment reckoned by some economists at 35 percent in the urban areas and erosion of the Zimbabwe dollar, Mugabe has effective control of the media, and is too well entrenched to be dislodged.

Sapa reports that opposition Zum leader Edgar Tekere said about 38 Zum members had been arrested and jailed in the midlands town of Gweru, where nine other Zum members have disappeared.

Tekere has been quoted as describing the elections as a meaningless event. He said if the Zanu (PF) government was returned to power, it would not last 12 months.

He did not elaborate, but vehemently denied that he was plotting a coup.

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith said on Wednesday Zimbabwe's general election was neither free nor fair because of intimidation by Mugabe's governing party.



De Klerk ... addressing practical issues.

FW threatens to crack down on the violence

C/Press 1/4/98 304A

THE government would use the full weight of its power to restore law and order if certain elements on the left and right continued on a course of violence and lawlessness, State President FW de Klerk said on Friday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he warned that chaotic protest politics did a lot of harm and could endanger the process of peaceful reform.

He said there was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of South Africa.

"I urge every leader to use his influence to bring an end to the violence and intimidation."

If good order was threatened, the government would not hesitate to act strongly.

De Klerk said he intended to address Parliament tomorrow on this matter.

Referring to protest politics, De Klerk said large masses of people proclaiming extreme positions in the streets promoted violence.

"Demonstrators openly espousing violence or preaching class and racial hatred are playing with fire."

"What we need is peace and understanding. We need reasoned debate and cool deliberation, for which there is no

substitute."

De Klerk said the economy, on which we all depend, could not be built and strengthened by strikes, boycotts and sanctions.

"Black education cannot be promoted by teacher and student stayaways.

Our medical services cannot be improved by protest marches and demonstrations."

He added that if protests and demonstrations became a way of life, they stopped progress based on orderly and disciplined hard work — and resulted ultimately in unemployment.

Unbridled protest politics provided no solutions to South Africa's problems. He therefore urged everybody across the entire political spectrum to put the divisive era of protest politics behind them and join the government in serious negotiations about the future of the country.

"I say to those who spend so much energy and productive time on protest: You have made your point that you are unhappy about the status quo. We accept that. We are not antipathetic with it either."

"Join us in doing something constructive about it. The time for building a new South Africa is now." — Sapa.

Now for the politics of co-operation

THE most remarkable thing about this momentous time in history is also the most intangible: the world has simply changed its mood.

And for South Africans, estranged from the community of nations for more than three decades, it is no less than thrilling to find themselves part of this new attitude.

The events are well known. On the world stage dictators have been deposed, the Wall has fallen, communism is strangling itself and the Iron Curtain has parted. In sum, the Cold War has plain thawed away.

Here, South Africa's rulers decided to chuck apartheid into the dustbin, free Mandela, legitimise the ANC, and invited it home to help plan a new society.

This week South Africans got an insight into what, in practice, all this is amounting to.

Parliamentary opposition in the form of the Democratic Party ditched a tradition as long as memory and supported the Government's national Budget.

The ANC's unofficial ambassador and arch Government critic, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, called on the liberation movement to renounce the armed struggle.

In sum, the politics of confrontation has begun turning itself into the politics of co-operation.

South Africans are turning from an era where they saw themselves in stark terms of black and white, right and wrong, for and against —



Lester Venter

says that the Democratic Party's break with tradition in not opposing the Budget has introduced a new style of politics

to an era of more authentic democratic flux.

True, it is not yet time to go shopping for political wedding bands. Conflict is the stuff of democracies, and so much more so for democracies in the making.

Yet the rightful place for that conflict is debating chambers, public forums and negotiating tables. Argument is the tool and a society cherished and upheld by its citizens is the purpose.

South Africa has taken its biggest steps this century towards that ideal.

Violence

True, there is one glaring exception in the violence that has followed these steps and is currently tearing apart so many black communities.

At this stage the Government is not allowing the violence to put it off its course, and is sensibly reading it as an inevitable and transitory phase in the "pressure release" effect of reform. Further, the Government is reading it as mainly endemic to the communities affected, without the revolutionary, anti-Government focus of previous upheavals of the same sort.

In the mainstream of political developments, however, the Democratic Party staked a place in the process with the strategy it announced this week and called "convergence".

The word is cumbersome and so is the concept. Through it the party aims to focus light and understanding on the intellectual beacons of democracy and urge, push and beckon all parties to meet at them.

But if it refines its political actions to clear, brave and concrete stances as it did on the Budget, the DP should perform a valuable service to present history and help make the

journey into the future an easier and quicker one.

Explaining his stand, Mr Harry Schwarz, the DP's finance spokesman, said the Budget represented a change of direction in its view of the sort of economy the SA of the future would need.

If the Government did something that he could imagine himself doing in the same circumstances, Mr Schwarz said, he had "no moral or logical reason for opposing it".

This is a politically courageous break from the ideological rigidities of the past and illustrates in practice Mr Schwarz's point that, in as much as a situation new to all the country's political participants is developing, issues and events will arise that go beyond established party lines.

It is well to remember, too, that the Government is not alone in the political process. It has decided to strike out in new directions. And when it does, South Africans will be looking for reasonable interpretations of the Government's actions.

Doing this will, once again, fall outside the conventional party political priority of vote-gathering. But the Government is taking just that risk — indeed it started paying the price in last year's election — and the ANC will be faced with the same challenge in the give-and-take of negotiations.

Boundaries

In the end the DP will serve itself well by placing country before party.

This emergent dynamic in the politics of co-operation illustrated by the DP and manifested to a lesser but equally significant degree by Archbishop Tutu brings with it another element without which the new society cannot be made.

It is the ditching of the "all-or-nothing" approach.

The old order of SA politics with its harsh divisions made this approach not only inevitable, but convenient. Just as the US can no longer dismiss the Soviet Union as "the evil empire", so can no South African party any longer simply write others out of its ideological terrain.

The boundaries round the moral camps of the past have fallen. It is no longer possible to draw a line round the Government and dismiss it as the apostle of apartheid and an instrument of racial privilege.

By the same measure the DP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other parties and figures can no longer simply define themselves as being anti-apartheid — and, by extension, against the Government.

Daunting

The ANC can no longer count on the world's support merely because it is standing on what has up to now been universally accepted as the moral high ground.

This week in Washington, some of the ANC's most ardent Capitol Hill supporters let it be known the organisation would have to lay down its arms if it wanted to retain that support.

The issue now facing all the parties in the process is as clear and simple as it must be daunting to them: to justify their role in the re-making of SA they have got to have something actual to contribute.

What's more, they need to be seen to be doing it.

The Government has read those signals and has started making its contribution. So has the DP, and so have Archbishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi.

The Conservative Party, by offering nothing but the broken dreams of the past, is not doing so — and it probably won't either. So the speed at which the past is receding is the speed at which the CP is authoring its own irrelevancy.

When, if ever, the historic first formal meeting between the ANC and the Government takes place, the ANC will have its first major opportunity to start showing what it can contribute.

South Africans will not be alone in watching to see what it is. Washington, Whitehall and Moscow will be watching, too.

INSIDE most white South Africans there is a schizophrenic just waiting to emerge.

A rare mixture of fear about the future that should best remain unspoken and collective guilt about wrongs that have been committed by generations past.

Now, a young (former expatriate) Afrikaner, Rian Malan, has written a book that captures this roller-coaster of emotions that inhabits most of his tribe.

My Traitor's Heart (subtitle: *A South African Exile Returns to Face his Country, his Tribe and his Conscience*) has already caused a storm in American book circles and, when it is published here this month, it is sure to create its fair quota of local controversy.

For Malan's book is not the usual litany of accusations and *mea culpa's* that have been churned up by the publishing industry about South Africa in recent years. It does not automatically bleat — like the sheep from Animal Farm — "White man bad. Black man good."

Feelings

My Traitor's Heart will generate its fair share of criticism because it is not a comfortable book that leaves one with a sense of that "thank-God-that-I-am-not-as-bad-as-those-bloody-Afrikaners" feeling.

Malan has dared to re-examine his own beliefs. And it led him to make a complete U-turn on a number of views that he has held as self-evident for a number of years as a reporter on South African and American newspapers.

In Johannesburg for a few days this week — he intends returning for good next month — he spoke frankly about the days and nights of soul-searching that led to him pouring his feelings and his doubts into the book.

For Malan initially set out to write a completely differ-

RETURN OF THE U-TURN AFRIKANER

DRIES VAN HEERDEN talks to author and former activist RIAN MALAN, whose book on South Africa has sparked a storm in the United States

ent book. "I was commissioned by a publisher to do the trendy book on South Africa. You know, the one where a detribalised Afrikaner examines his roots and comes to the conclusion that everything went horribly wrong."

But his research into the history of the Malan family, whose ancestry can be traced back to the first French Huguenots to land at the Cape, led him on a completely different path than he had foreseen.

"I sat there in the United States and realised ... no, kak man, I am not on the side of all these other people. I've had enough of this moral recitation from trendy activists who want to be on the so-called 'right side' of events in South Africa."

For Malan the book has

been a catharsis. The first sentence of the book reflects this better than anything else. "I'm burned out and starving to death, so I'm just going to lay this all upon you and trust that you are a visionary reader, because the grand design, such as it is, is going to be hard for you to see."

Escape

His political views started off on the extreme left of the political spectrum. An activist from school-going age, he joined a South African newspaper and gradually drifted into leftist politics. Eventually he skipped the country to escape national service.

It was while working on the staff of various activist publications on the American West Coast that he saw the

horror images of the 1985 disturbances on his TV screen ... and suddenly realised that he had to come home.

"South Africa holds the souls of its sons and daughters in an almost inescapable grasp," he writes. "History cast all of us in a strange and gripping drama, but I had deserted the stage. I had no idea what my role was, and felt I would never be whole unless I found out."

My Traitor's Heart is the result of what Malan now calls his "thought adventure. My expedition of consciousness."

Chain-smoking American brands of cigarettes — "the local stuff irritates my throat" — it is almost as if Malan has not yet finished that journey. His honesty is evident.

"I could not get myself to

write the standard book — what do the Boere say and what are the ANC's views — and, yes, one of them is right and the other wrong. That would have been completely *skynhetig* (hypocritical).

"My look at South Africa led me to question all those leftist verities that I have accepted for so long without criticism. And I realised 'damn it, we've all been hoaxed'."

The road back from Damascus was not an easy one. It exacted an emotionally and physically draining toll on Malan. He has only recently recovered from a stress-induced skin disease which caused his beard to stop growing.

And he takes his reader with him on this emotional Big Dipper. It is not an easy or comforting book. It is one that kicks you in the guts on the very first page and continues to rain an untold number of blows till the last.

Violent

It is also a violent book. In fact, Malan is at his best when he describes in an almost dispassionate manner the inhumanities South Africans of all hues can inflict on their fellow men.

● Masabata Lote, the Soweto beauty queen who spent five years on Robben Island for her political views but was hacked to pieces with pangas by rival anti-apartheid activists.

● Augie de Koker, the drunken racist who beats a black man who called a friend a "f---n boer" to a pulp, while his friends and family look on approvingly.

● Neil Alcock, the white liberal who dedicated his life to the development of black communities in kwazulu and was brutally and deliberately killed in the crossfire during a faction fight.

Malan spares little detail. In fact, he almost taunts his readers with his minute description of events. "Are you sick and confused my friend? I'll make you sick yet. I'll hold you down and pound these images into your brain



RIAN MALAN ... explores the madness in his country, his tribe and himself

... and I'll keep on pounding until they poison you the way they poisoned me."

My Traitor's Heart is going to sit uncomfortably in the crabs of many South African liberals because it dares to stray from conventional wisdoms.

Now, Malan is returning to South Africa — "Do you think I am insane?" — and he has difficulty hiding his excitement.

"Nothing I have done in America can be as interesting as what is happening here. Every day in Johannes-

burg is more exciting than six months anywhere else. I spent four hours drinking beer at the Market Theatre and had better conversations than I've had for years in Los Angeles."

And will he write another book? "Yes, but I am not sure whether it will be on South Africa. I have suffered too much in writing this one."

"Perhaps a skip-skiet-and-donder on illegal ivory trade in Namibia or Zimbabwe. Or something on the ecological birth of species."

Impression that Rian Malan's journey in search of himself and his roots has not yet come to an end. There is more inside South Africa that he needs to lay bare.

"We had yet to come to terms with Africa, and doing so was not going to be easy," he writes. "I mean, how do you come to terms with something you don't really understand?"

● My Traitor's Heart is distributed by Random House and will be available in local bookstores till the end of the month.

THE worst nightmare of most ordinary South Africans has come true. Clouds of smoke billowing from burnt-out cars hang over townships. Bodies are lying in the streets — killed by anarchistic rioters or shot by nervous policemen who feared for their lives amid mob violence.

Right-wing whites organise themselves into vigilante gangs and roam the streets in search of black passers-by on whom they can vent their anger and frustration.

Blacks retaliate by stoning the first car they see. Organised marches intended to express legitimate grievances degenerate into orgies of wanton violence and looting.

Terse official statements document the incidents almost matter of factly: 20 dead in one night in the Katlehong taxi war; nine killed and 180 injured on March 12 near Witbank; seven more near Potchefstroom three days later; at least 23 in violent clashes this week. Burnings, shootings, panga attacks, petrol bombs, shotguns, rubber bullets, tear gas ...

It reminds one of 1985 when the townships were ruled — in the infamous words of Mrs Winnie Mandela — by the power of matchboxes and tyres. Eventually the Government was forced to send the troops in to enforce a state of emergency with strong-arm tactics.

ANC leaders deliver ringing speeches calling for peace and calm. They are politely listened to, then flatly ignored. Politicians and senior policemen criss-cross the country administering sticking plaster at the scenes of violence.

Questions

In the minds of ordinary whites the questions pile up:

- Who controls the masses — indeed can they be controlled?
- Why the violence now, at a time when the first real prospect of blacks attaining full political rights is nearing reality?
- Is this what the New South Africa is all about?
- Shouldn't whites take their own measures to protect families and property?

● Are we plummeting into another Beirut where warlords establish their own fiefdoms and dispense with anyone who dares to threaten their turf?

What should be noted is that both the Government and its main protagonist — the ANC — have vested interests in ending the spiral of violence. In fact, it is highly likely that the first meeting between the two parties on April 11 will reflect mutual concern about deteriorating security.

I have little doubt that the ANC leadership in Lusaka has genuinely opted for a negotiated solution to South Africa's political problems. In a recent interview, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani — supposedly the most militant hardliner in the ANC — told me frankly:

"We have always said the armed struggle is but a strategy to force

Violence can only lead to anarchy



Dries van Heerden

asks if the ANC has control of the mobs

the Government to the negotiating table. Now that this is about to happen we will pursue that road to the very end."

Which raises the next question — the question that everybody is almost afraid to whisper. Can it be that the ANC does not have control over the masses in the townships?

Mr Mandela calls for knives and pangas to be thrown into the sea. His followers proceed to plunge them into the backs of their opponents. Mr Sisulu asks children to return to schools. They proceed to rampage through the streets.

Does the ANC have control? Perhaps the answer is both yes and no.

No, because the ANC itself has never claimed to represent the whole of the black community.

Symbolic

In fact when the debate on the armed struggle raged inside the movement one of the strongest arguments in favour of a cessation of hostilities was the main problem — that there were "too many bombs exploding which are not ours". From rival political organisations, from the warlords of the black gangs and from agents provocateurs.

But in spite of the present fluidity in black politics the ANC still remains the most potent organisational and symbolic force.

Its official views on the teeming violence has been exemplary. Senior leaders took great personal and political risks by coming out strongly against the mindless violence practised in certain areas. Only last month UDF leader, "Terror" Lekota went public in supporting action by the authorities to ensure marches took place in an orderly and peaceful manner.

My impression is that there is even a serious rethink going on at present in ANC circles about the wisdom of the state of emergency.

Mr De Klerk's political moves have also shown his integrity in this regard. For the Government the emergency is no longer an instrument to ensure political domination. More and more people are coming to realise it may still be in place purely for law and order purposes.

President De Klerk's dilemma is that he is saddled with a legacy from his predecessor in which millions earmarked for security were wasted on sinister projects, spying on political opponents and engaging in the sort of murky activities that are now being revealed before the Harms Commission.

At the same time the ordinary policemen on the beat, who should be investigating ordinary criminal activity, were overlooked as far as salary and perks were concerned — so much so they are now leaving the force at a rate of almost 20 a week.

Small wonder there is a lack of respect for law and order in most black communities. Crimes like burglaries, rape and assault are reported but seldom investigated because of a lack of manpower.

Solution

And even when a dossier is opened and a policeman is assigned to the case, it rarely reaches the courts because the offices of the attorney-generals are similarly grossly understaffed.

After suffering one or two of these experiences one can hardly blame a citizen for seeking redress in less conventional ways when next he is aggrieved.

What will hopefully emerge from the Government's meeting with the ANC is an agreement on ground rules to combat lawlessness and violence.

The police should be given the necessary power in terms of authority, manpower and equipment to enforce law and order. And if present legislation is not enough, perhaps the state of emergency should be extended.

If present manpower is not adequate, alternative measures should be investigated — if need be returning members of Umkhonto from exile could be deployed in the townships to combat crime.

Criminals, looters and perpetrators of violence should be arrested, charged and brought before open courts. Allegations of police excesses should be investigated thoroughly and, where it can be proved that individuals have overstepped their authority, they should be punished.

But, in the final instance, a new political order that enjoys legitimacy among the vast majority of the population should be negotiated without delay. Security force action can at most be a temporary measure to solve ad hoc problems.

The root causes remain political and can only be removed when all South Africans enjoy equal political rights.

Dismay as Mandela calls FW to say: 'It's off'

By LESTER VENTER, BILL KRIGE, DRIES VAN HEERDEN and RYAN CRESSWELL



NELSON MANDELA
Facing flak

HOPES for talks to start the peace process in South Africa were dashed in a dramatic telephone call from Mr Nelson Mandela to President De Klerk at Tuynhuys. *S.T.*

Hours earlier, the ANC had also called off another peace initiative — a joint rally with Inkatha as a symbolic gesture to halt the slaughter in Natal. The ANC moves have caused widespread dismay. Last night Western diplomats were already indicating that Mr Mandela could expect strong international criticism. *14/4/90*

A senior envoy said the excuse given by the ANC — the Sebokeng shootings — was "transparent".

The real reason for scuppering the talks, he said, was tension and disagreement in the ANC's leadership ranks.

However, President De Klerk — though clearly crestfallen — remained conciliatory yesterday.

The door to negotiations remained open, he told Mr Mandela on the telephone after the ANC leader had phoned to pull his organisation out of the historic talks that were scheduled for April 11. *1/4/90*

Mr Mandela gave as his reason the police shootings of protesters in Sebokeng on Monday.

His fateful call came as a total surprise to Tuynhuys — which had already been given a list of the ANC delegates. *(304A)*

Willing

Mr De Klerk told a National Party youth rally in Naboomspruit yesterday that he did not agree with the ANC's reasons for putting off the talks — even if there was "room for criticism" of the police action.

The whole point of the April 11 talks would have been to end violence and events such as those in Sebokeng.

The President said he would give a full account in Parliament tomorrow of "interactions" between the Government and the ANC "that would have led to the discussions".

"It is sufficient to say at this stage that the Government has been willing and able at all times to address the issues that confront this country," he added.

He repeated a warning that the Government would soon use "the full weight of the State" if violence — from both the left and the right — did not abate.

Mr Mandela said yesterday that the talks had been suspended indefinitely because of the "massacre" at Sebokeng.

In a hard-line speech to a crowd of 60 000, shoehorned into the stadium at Bisho, capital of Ciskei, he said it was premature to suspend the armed struggle.

The only way the Government could be "an advocate





TROUBLED: Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi after touring the war zone. Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

Mandela calls it off

□ From Page 1

of peace" was to fulfil the demands made by the ANC in the Harare Declaration.

Furthermore, peace was impossible while there was "violence against our campaigns of peaceful protest".

Declaring that "we stand at the threshold of liberation", Mr Mandela said he believed President De Klerk was sincere about negotiations, but "this should not lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid".

He said: "I must now tell you that yesterday I spoke to President De Klerk and told him that the national executive of the ANC had instructed me to tell him that the meeting on April 11 has been suspended in protest against the killing of our people in Sebokeng."

"I told him that if the Government talks about negotiation on the one hand, and these massacres occur on the other, that we can never accept."

"There is no free political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic formations."

Mr Mandela made no reference to the cancellation of the planned peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but said the ANC supported

wholeheartedly a campaign against violence in the strife-torn province.

Yesterday Government sources said the sudden cancellation of the April 11 meeting was "totally unexpected" and "in complete contrast with everything that has been discussed with ANC representatives".

On Friday the arrangements for the meeting had reached such an advanced stage that the ANC had already communicated names of its 11-man negotiating team to Tuynhuys.

Historic

Sunday Times 1/4/90

Sources said the sudden cancellation was an indication of tension within ANC ranks about the composition of the delegation and provided confirmation of suspicions that the movement was not yet ready to commit itself to negotiations.

The Sunday Times has learnt the names of the men who were chosen to face Mr De Klerk and his nine-man team across the table in the historic encounter.

An most important feature of the ANC team was the extent to which it was dominated by internal leaders of the "Rivonia generation" — Mr Mandela, former secretary-

general Mr Walter Sisulu and another septuagenarian, Mr Govan Mbeki. They filled the top three spots in order of precedence.

Mr Alfred Nzo, until a month ago the most senior ANC leader in the absence of the movement's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, occupied the fourth spot.

The team contained only five members of the ANC's external wing — Mr Nzo, the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, SA Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, the chief of staff of the military wing, Mr Chris Hani and the chief legal adviser, Mr Pennuel Maduna.

The remaining members were to have been Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the president of the UDF, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, its chairman, and another Rivonia trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

The delegation would have been supported by a "technical team" consisting of a number of Lusaka-based members of the National Executive.

Sources said that talks with an ANC advance team, led by its chief of security, Mr Jacob Zuma, reached a stage where final arrangements had been fully agreed upon.

The talks would have centred on "obstacles to negoti-

ations" including the state of emergency, the position of ANC members still in jail, conditions for the return of ANC exiles and the movement's continued commitment to the armed struggle.

The ANC is likely to face a flood of international anger for stalling the talks.

A senior Western diplomat said the organisation would face strong international pressure to fall back into line.

He predicted that not even the ANC's backers in Moscow and elsewhere in Eastern Europe would support its move.

Diplomats did not, however, believe the ANC meant the talks to be called off permanently.

Co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said it was his heartfelt hope that the ANC would think again.

Setbacks

"While the shooting at Sebokeng was a deplorable episode, it can be no excuse for breaking off talks."

Mr Wynand Malan, another DP leader, said: "Although setbacks were to be expected, the reason advanced by the ANC does not warrant the cancellation."

After a flying visit to battle-weary Maritzburg yesterday, the president of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi, blamed the ANC for wrecking the joint peace rally that was scheduled for tomorrow.

He and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok were flown over the stricken areas around the Natal capital in a police helicopter.

Afterwards they met for in-depth discussions about the violence that has turned the Natal Midlands into a killing field.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been prepared to meet Mr Mandela at the joint rally at Taylor's Halt.

"They wrecked it, I did not," he said.

An ANC spokesman said on Friday that the rally was called off "because the atmosphere was not yet ideal".

Mr Vlok said although police were understaffed, they were doing everything possible to control the situation.

More security in the Maritzburg area was now "a very high priority".

He also called on opposing communities in Natal to stop the violence and "have a change of heart".

White men support FW and ET

304/1 Political Staff

NEARLY half of white men think President F W de Klerk is doing a good job, but only a third of Afrikaans-speakers agreed.

A nationwide opinion poll, released yesterday found that 47% of white men thought Mr De Klerk was going a good job, but only 32% of Afrikaans-speakers supported this.

Surprisingly, and by a narrow margin, the men opted for the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, as their second choice.

Mr Terre'Blanche was supported by 5% as the first choice as leader, 13% as their second choice and 5% as their third choice.

Mr De Klerk was chosen by 41% as their first choice, while 27% opted for the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the former Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, received 5%.

The opinion survey was conducted door-to-door in the major urban areas in two weeks of March.

The survey questionnaire did not list other members of the cabinet.

De Klerk wows the women

Political Staff

BLACK women have shown stronger support in a nationwide opinion poll for President F W de Klerk than black men.

The poll shows that 86% of black women thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job, as opposed to 85% of the men, and 24% opted for him as the first choice as leader of South Africa, compared with 16% of the men.

Both gave overwhelming support for the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, as their choice for leader — 65% of the women and 67% of the men.

In both surveys, Mr De Klerk gained considerably more support as the leader of South Africa than all other leaders, apart from Mr Mandela.

Both put the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, third at 4%, the ANC secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, at fourth with 2%, followed by the PAC leader, Mr Seph Mothopeng, and the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, the women gave stronger support than the men to Mr De Klerk as their second choice — 23% putting him above Mr Tambo, while the men put him third.



Welcoming freed PAC member Mark Shinnars (left) on Friday were Joe Khoza and PAC president, Zeph Mothopeng. Shinnars was released from Diepkloof prison after serving 11 years of his 12-year sentence.

Bid to put talks back on track

Plea on peace moves

Sowetan 2/4/90

304A

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu is to seek a meeting with both the African National Congress and the Government in a bid to bring the aborted talks between the two parties back on track.

In Alexandra township, ANC stalwart Mr Elias Motsoaledi said the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was ready and prepared to resume its armed struggle if a political settlement was not reached with the Government.

Sowetan Reporters and SAPA

Commenting on the ANC's withdrawal from the April 11 talks with the Government, Tutu said he "would love to see the talks back on track".

He was speaking to reporters soon after addressing a prayer service at St Lawrence's Church, in Small Farms, near Johannesburg, yesterday.

In a short statement issued on Saturday, Tutu said he planned to join other church leaders in seeking urgent consultations with the Government and ANC.

"I do not believe it would be helpful to comment at this stage," he said.

The ANC announced at the weekend it was

withdrawing from the talks in protest against the shooting of 17 people during a demonstration in Sebokeng last Monday.

The organisation said, however, its national executive committee would convene a special sitting to review the situation within five days.

Criticism

State President FW de Klerk said criticism of police action such as that at Sebokeng on Monday should not have led to the withdrawal of the ANC from the talks.

Speaking at the Transvaal youth congress of the National Party near Naboomspruit, De Klerk said he had been informed late on Friday afternoon by ANC deputy president

Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC was withdrawing from the talks.

The shooting at Sebokeng had been cited as the main reason.

De Klerk said the reasons given amounted to criticism of police action. He did not wish to comment on the merits of the incident until he had studied the complete report.

He added that if, for argument's sake, the criticism had been justified, this still should not have stood in the path of the meeting.

He pointed out that such meetings could help prevent similar incidents occurring in the future.

The Democratic Party said the shootings in

● To page 2

Sowetan 2/4/90

Appeal

● From page 1

304A

Sebokeng did not warrant suspension of the meeting.

DP co-leader Mr. Wynand Malan said it was a very early setback for the process of negotiations.

"Although setbacks were to be expected and were still expected, the reason advanced as the shooting at Sebokeng does not warrant the cancellation of the April 11 meeting.

"This can be dealt with by the appointment of a judicial commission to which both the Government and the ANC could appoint a member.

"The DP appeals to both the Government and the ANC to do everything within their power to get the process started," Malan concluded.

'No bowing to ANC hardliners'

FW to launch crackdown on violence

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will announce a countrywide crackdown on violence when he addresses Parliament today.

Despite the ANC having given the Sebokeng shootings as the reason for cancelling the historic April 11 "talks about talks", De Klerk and his Cabinet believe violence, especially in Natal, the Vaal triangle and Welkom, must now be stopped.

Although government spokesmen have been loath to comment on the actions contemplated, De Klerk can be expected to announce that troops will be sent in to restore order. With organisations like the Black Sash having recently called on government to send in the troops to combat violence, De Klerk and his Cabinet are confident this step will not attract the same international outcry as in the past.

Government spokesmen were yesterday bitterly disappointed that the ANC had called off the planned April 11 meeting, but said they believed this reflected tensions within the organisation.

A senior official said there was a large body of opinion within the ANC that was opposed to negotiations at this stage. These people, he believed, were using the Sebokeng shootings as an excuse to override those in the ANC who favoured talks. The official said Nelson Mandela's hardline speech at Bisho at the weekend, in which he said it was premature to suspend the armed struggle, was a further indication

MIKE ROBERTSON

that hardliners in the ANC were becoming dominant.

Commenting, in a speech at an NP youth rally in Naboomspruit at the weekend, on the cancellation of the talks, De Klerk said that even if there was room for criticism of police action at Sebokeng, this was not a sufficient reason for cancelling the talks. The whole point of the April 11 talks was to put an end to violence and incidents such as the Sebokeng one.

In his speech to Parliament, De Klerk is expected to give details of contacts between government and the ANC in the run-up to the planned talks. He is also expected to give a further indication of government's preparedness to be flexible on issues such as the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Despite the suspension — and indefinite postponement — of the April 11 talks, government spokesmen said they believed there was no alternative but to maintain contact with the ANC in the hope of securing another meeting date. In this they were looking to the international community to pressurise the ANC into reversing its decision on the postponement.

Arrangements for the April 11 talks had reached such a stage that the ANC had already indicated to government who its delegates would be.

□ To Page 2

2

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, April 2 1990

Crackdown

The first hint of the impending crackdown by government came on Friday when De Klerk told the Cape Town Press Club he would be announcing in Parliament today, steps to combat violence.

At a weekend meeting with KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok promised more policemen would be sent into Natal.

De Klerk is expected to announce that in addition to extra policing, large troop deployments will be moved into trouble spots there and elsewhere in the country. In Natal, government is expected to set aside protected areas for the temporary housing of refugees.

Government believes the fabric of the present violence throughout the country is different from that in 1985 and 1986. Where then it believed violence was directed at overthrowing the state, it believes now that the violence results from rivalry between black political groupings. It also believes that playing a major part in fomenting violence is an anarchic youth element that cannot be controlled by any of the major black political groupings.

De Klerk said on Friday government was determined to ensure that the process of negotiation and change took place in an

orderly and peaceful manner. "The future of this country will not be decided through the barrel of a gun, the waving of arms or stamping of feet. It will be decided around a conference table."

Unbridled protest politics, De Klerk said, could spell serious dangers for the process of reform. "Large masses of people proclaiming extreme positions in our streets promote polarisation and violence. What we need is reconciliation and goodwill."

Government, De Klerk said, was not approaching negotiations from a position of weakness. It had not waited until the balance of power had turned against it before deciding on a course of peaceful negotiations. "The initiative is in our hands and we have the capability to ensure that the process of negotiation and change is peaceful and orderly," he said.

There was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of SA. "If certain elements on the left and on the right continue their present course of violence and lawlessness, the government will be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law and order in an unprejudiced manner."

● See Page 10

□ From Page 1

PRESIDENT de Klerk and the homeland leaders — Chief Buthelezi among them — were to embark this week on talks about next week's talks with the ANC which were to deal with the obstacles to talks about talks. Silly as it sounds, that's precisely where matters stood when the ANC balked.

The ANC's suspension of preliminary talks on April 11 was done on the flimsiest pretext: the Sebokeng shootings that claimed 14 lives (among the hundreds killed since February 2) on Monday. On Friday, the ANC was still willing to name its delegates; on Saturday it was back to armed struggle.

Time will disclose what happened between Friday and Saturday, but it smells of power struggle, as does the earlier cancellation of a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi at a rally to try to stop the slaughter in the war between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal.

Whether the ANC is uncertain of its strategy, or of its leadership, or of its own power base, it is plainly not yet ready for constructive negotiations, and it seems to be retreating again into the destructive clichés of "armed struggle" and mass mobilisation. It is letting slip the dogs of war.

Nelson Mandela himself is shrinking in stature by the day. His appeals for peace have been vain, his freedom of action has been circumscribed by the younger generation of leaders around him, and his own political stance has been vacillating and tentative. One day he wants to talk, the next day he wants to fight; one day he calls for peace, the next day for "armed struggle".

One line of reasonable speculation is that the Black Consciousness organisations (including the PAC), the militant unionists, and the township youngsters have found his commitment to peace far too tame; the ANC may fear being outflanked on its left, and made irrelevant, as it was in the Soweto rising of 1976. Therefore it is

Mandela shrinks, and the bliss of a new dawn begins to fade

KEN OWEN

making a show of ferocity.

Or it may simply be that Mandela is finding it more difficult than he expected to regain leadership, and is now trying to bolster his status with the organisation with cheap appeals to violent emotions. It may simply be that the ANC is no longer, in any meaningful sense, an organisation.

Whatever the reason, it has left President de Klerk holding the moral and political high ground, the first Nationalist leader to do so since 1948. Indeed, the State President has done more in two months to secure our future as South Africans than his party did in the preceding decades.

Obviously, there's a long way to go. The government, perhaps with an eye towards the elections due by 1994, has wanted to move fast, and wrap up an agreement with the black leaders within two or three years. Now it appears that the ANC is ready neither for negotiations nor for power. The complexities of dealing with confused and uncertain black leaders are daunting.

Besides, the communal violence, though not unexpected in communities whose political aspirations have been suppressed for decades, has been deeply distressing, and on a

scale to test everybody's courage.

Many whites, including former liberals and Progs, and even some of the more intense "liberation groupies" have taken fright. Black South members turn to the army for help.

When events move with such speed, and create such turbulence, it is easy to overlook the gains that have been made. In fact, the progress of the past two months has exceeded every liberal's wildest dreams. The country has been turned from a course of certain disaster — President de Klerk's "80 Years' War" — and set on a new course that offers hope.

Apartheid, utterly failed, is being discarded; ahead lies the task, immense and exciting, of creating a new society. Shirley Williams, the motherly British politician who visited South Africa in January, seemed to smell change in the air even before President de Klerk's epochal speech on February 2, and she captured the excitement of creating a new, free, democratic society by quoting William Wordsworth's famous lines about the French Revolution:

"Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven."

While the slaughter continues in the townships, and while rival *jumpis* turn Natal into a killing field, and while Nelson Mandela risks destruction for the sake of his own power, bliss is perhaps not an easy word to use. But at least the long, dreary nightmare of apartheid has come to an end: the evasion of reality, the lies, the parrot-incantation of untruths, the petty viciousness, the indifference to suffering, the cruelty, the selfishness — the insanity.

It has been a psychotic time in our national life, so grotesque that small episodes linger in the mind more tenaciously than the memory of Sharpeville, or the shock of the Sophiatown removals, or the assassination of the principal author of all that evil, Hendrik Verwoerd.

In about 1957 or 1958 I asked the chairman of a group areas board how the Indian traders of Pretoria were expected to make a living if they were moved out of town to Laudium. He replied: "The time is past when Indians could dominate the retail trade." And in that reply I caught a glimpse of the truth: that apartheid

was a cynical camouflage for greed and envy.

A few months ago I trekked to Pretoria to plead for a visa for the son of a friend to visit his mother. The answer, concealed behind some evasive verbiage, was "No". The reason was an anonymous report, presumably compiled by the sort of malevolent degenerates who created the CCB, that had lain in the files for nearly a decade.

Two small acts of oppression, 33 years apart, and the same foul taste. Bliss it is indeed to imagine that the ANC will come soon to the negotiating table, and that those malevolent spies, those indifferent bureaucrats, that whole machinery of victimisation and malice, will be swept aside.

I am not among those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss, even if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; President de Klerk, in a remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook.

By deciding to negotiate while he is still in a position of great strength, he has given white South Africans an opportunity to help shape an African future for ourselves and our children.

Apity that Nelson Mandela, a lesser man than he seemed in prison, has chosen instead to test white South Africa's strength by "armed struggle". Given the disparity of forces, it is a battle he cannot win in his lifetime, and he is likely to find instead that violence forecloses all options. As Natal demonstrates, it is easier to start a war than to stop.

Wordsworth, seduced by the bliss of revolutionary dawn just 200 years ago, was soon afterwards disillusioned by the reign of terror. Nelson Mandela, if he listens carefully to the pleas for soldiers — white soldiers — to return to the townships to protect the people, may hear in that plea the ominous footbeats of history. Madame Defarge still knits patiently at the foot of the guillotine.

Govt seeks new date for ANC talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday that he had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting with the organisation to clear up obstacles to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that he would meet Mr Nelson Mandela on Thursday.

He said he did not regard the reasons given by the ANC — the Sebokeng shootings — as sufficient for cancelling the original meeting.

He disclosed that after agreement had been reached to schedule the meeting between the government and the ANC for April 11, a steering committee consisting of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

The steering committee, he said, had finalised most of the details for the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself.

He believed the ANC's problems about the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the steering committee.

Mr De Klerk said adherence to violence and the joining of peaceful negotiations were mutually exclusive. He believed this lay at the root of the ANC's problems with fully committing itself to negotiations.

"You cannot send and threaten to send armed men into the country, send mobs rampaging into the streets, pursue intimidation and at the same time negotiate peacefully. This dichotomy lies at the root of the ANC's hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiating process."

Sapa reports meanwhile that the ANC's decision to suspend the talks has been welcomed by the Azanian People's Organisation.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, on Sunday, Azapo, however, said that suspension was not sufficient and called on the ANC to withdraw totally from negotiations with the government.

Azapo said in the resolution that the ANC decision was a vindication of its own long-held position that the white government had not changed sufficiently for blacks to hope to get freedom through such exercises as negotiations.

"We call on the ANC to seek unity with organisations of the oppressed instead of unity with enemies of black people," the resolution stated.

It further said the "ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance" should "stop pretending that the alliance is the only spokesperson of the majority of Azanians and call on its so-called young lions to stop attacking members of other black organisations".

The congress, attended by more than 2 000 people from the area, was characterised by singing of freedom songs. It was also characterised by tension generated by the ripping apart of two T-shirts belonging to members of the Azanian Students' Movement by alleged ANC supporters.

Azapo general secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe told the meeting the Azapo leadership had met Mr Mandela last week to discuss the ongoing inter-organisational violence.

MARITZBURG. — Thursday's meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela was arranged over a phone call from the inquiries desk at Louis Botha Airport.

Within minutes of arriving in Durban yesterday Mr Mandela fumbled for change as he phoned the Minister of Constitutional Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

With journalists hanging over his shoulder, Mr Mandela arranged to meet President De Klerk on Thursday at 4pm.

In a short but amiable conversation, both Dr Viljoen and Mr Mandela agreed to three advisers each.

In another bridge towards peace, Mr Mandela told about 2 500 people crushed into the Edendale Lay Centre, outside Maritzburg, that Inkatha was not to be regarded as an enemy. — Sapa

Dr T Sowetan 3/4/90 a real bee ³⁰⁴⁸ poser

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was lightheartedly called to order yesterday over his sound effects when he compared CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to a buzzing bee.

Mr du Plessis began his reply to the Budget debate by criticising Treurnicht's absence from the Chamber, saying CP members had repeatedly commented on the absence of Cabinet members during the debate.

Describing Treurnicht's speech in the debate, he said the CP leader had found it fit to zoom in last week like a bee to sit on a flower.

Difficult

"And then he found it fitting to leave the Chamber right after he bzz'd his bzz," he said.

"Order," said the Speaker. "The Minister is making it a bit difficult for Hansard." - Sapa.

THIS is written on the stoep at Onze Rust, the family home of the Steyns near Bloemfontein. Beyond their garden, thickly shaded by plane trees, elms and willows, the veld stretches empty to the horizon. It's a good place to reset the compass after the ruckus and angst of Johannesburg.

President Marthinus Theunis Steyn of the Free State built the farm in the 1890s and moved here permanently after the SA War.

His grandson, Mr Justice Marthinus Theunis Steyn, former administrator-general of Namibia and now of the Appellate Division, is my host. His elder son, Marthinus Theunis Steyn, an attorney in Cape Town, is taking an afternoon rest nearby. The younger son, Colin Frazer Steyn, was married here on Saturday.

Afrikanerdom dwells in the land of the long view

B/Dun 3/4/90

(South)

SIMON BARBER

whether the veld is sweet or sour and the relative nutrition and hardness of grasses (the judge takes the eminently sensible view that the indigenous varieties will always be the best since they are the products of their environment). History will take care of the rest.



□ MR JUSTICE M T STEYN

What it brings will be survived, adapted to and fought to the end if absolutely necessary.

Some may find in this a fatalism unsuited to a period that needs more direct citizen participation and rather less reliance on distant authorities to do what is right. There is something to that argument. I found it telling that the dominee at Saturday's wedding should conduct the entire sacrament from a pulpit several metres above the congregation and the couple.

A more questioning people might have avoided the circumstances that obliged Colin to join his ancestors in putting his life on the line in battle. His turn came at Cuvetel during Operation Askari in a war that might have been unnecessary had De Wet's opposition to the occupation of Namibia been heeded.

Nonetheless, for all its surface subsmissiveness to hierarchy and the powers that be, this is not a world where nervous men surreptitiously lay aside Irish passports for themselves and their families.

There is permanence here. There are ancestors in the soil. Time and

vicesitude have endowed a sense of proportion and with it neither excessive optimism nor undue alarm. Mood swings are for the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Here, Afrikanerdom's ultimate survival is a confident given, whatever crises intervene.

This is the land of the long view, both figuratively and practically. Mr Justice Steyn, a literate man of great charm and warmth, is interested less in such issues of the moment as nationalisation than in the cycles of his people's history.

He observes that Afrikanerdom has always had its moments of greatest crisis at the end of centuries — the arrival in the Cape of Governor Simon van der Stel at the end of the 17th, the British takeover 100 years later, the SA War in 1899 and now, in the closing decade of the present era, perhaps the most challenging test of all.

Interestingly, the judge seems less concerned with how that test is passed than where its failure might place President F W de Klerk in Afrikaner memory by the time the next centennial crisis rolls round, as inevitably it will.

Now you may disagree with Steyn's slightly mechanistic view of history — he is, I believe, an avid

reader of Arnold Toynbee — but what cannot be gainsaid is his quiet certainty that the Afrikaner will still be the Afrikaner by the time the 22nd century rolls round.

The reason, it seems to me here on the stoep, is not the tribe's much-bruited rigidity but, to the contrary, its extraordinary capacity to adapt to its surroundings.

Of that this simple garden with its exotic trees brought in over the generations to provide a shelter that the veld did not afford is testimony as ample as this country's extraordinary economic resilience in the face of international sanctions.

Onze Rust, not the farm but the psychic location, is what the ANC and its rivals are ultimately up against. They should visit it.

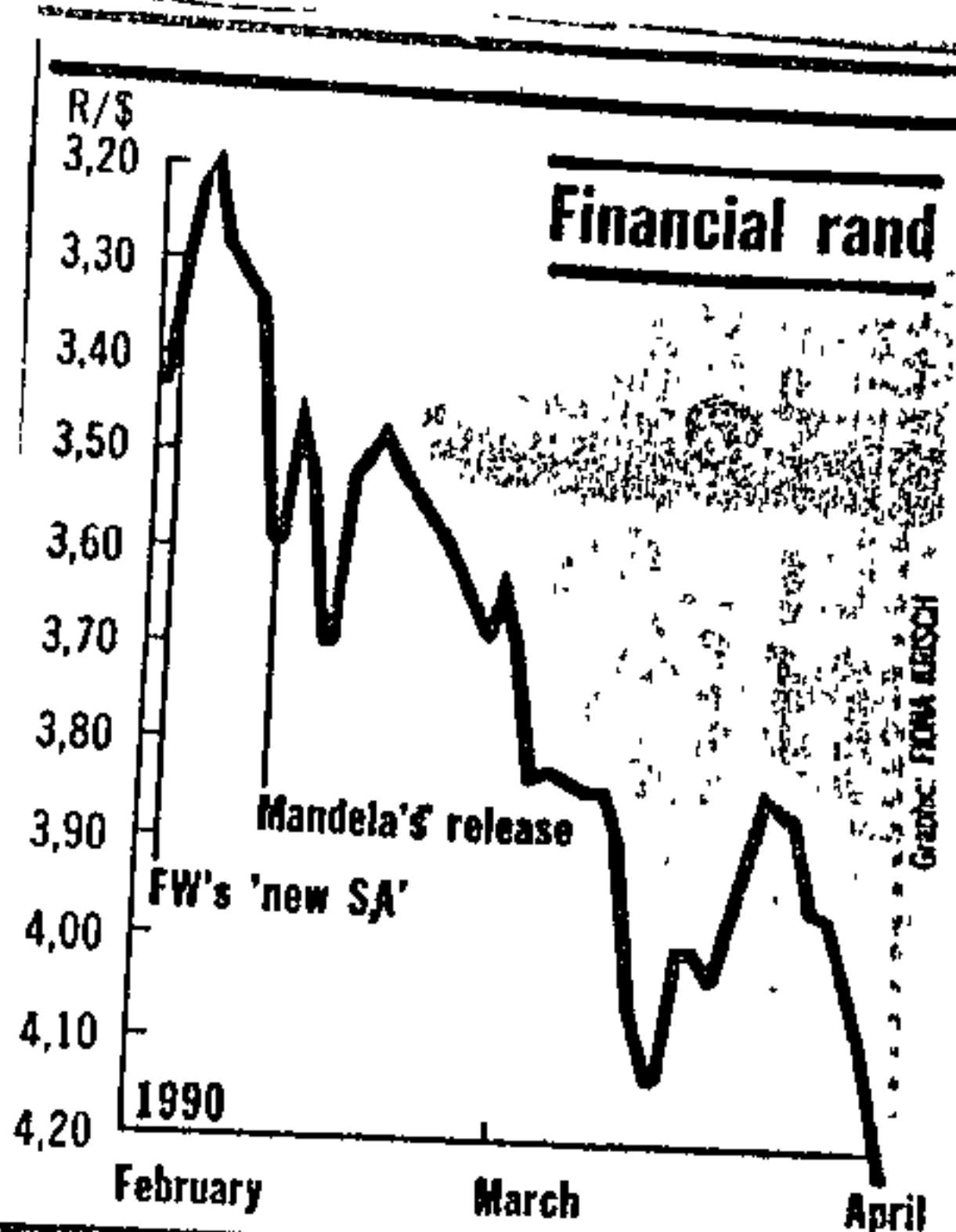
It is not a grand place, no sprawling mansion whose ostentatious cow-ers behind elaborate electronic guard systems. Its inhabitants, their roots deep in the past, have no inordinate fear of the future. They demand no special privilege other than the acceptance that they and theirs belong and will do so always. They are perfectly willing to admit their mistakes.

In this, we may now be witnessing the most extraordinary adaptation the Afrikaner has made to his environment. He has decided to try and live with it as it is, and not as he once dreamed of making it.

Which may prove a little hard for his antagonists to swallow. They relied upon his intransigence to enhance their own designs to remake the country.

An opponent who asks so little in return for relinquishing his monopoly on power is almost too easy. How, if you are the ANC or its "formations", can you mobilise against an enemy that suddenly turns out to be so reasonable that he is willing to treat all your demands as negotiable? The answer, sadly, is that you turn on your own people, using fear of yourself rather than hatred of the oppressor as your principal canvassing tool.

□ Barber, Business Day's Washington correspondent, is visiting SA.



Finrand slumps as foreigners lose faith

(3041) GRETA STEYN

FOREIGN investor confidence in SA has collapsed since ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's release from prison — signalled by the financial rand's slump of 26% from its peak just before Mandela's release.

The investment unit topped at \$0,32 amid euphoria after President FW de Klerk's watershed opening of Parliament speech, but a sharp about-turn began after Mandela's release nine days later. The ANC's nationalisation policies and continued commitment to the armed struggle triggered the financial rand's tumble.

Political violence and the ANC's decision to pull out of talks with government battered the financial rand yesterday, pushing the currency 3,4% lower from Friday to end the day at R4,23 to the dollar.

A foreign investor now pays about \$0,2364 to buy one financial rand — a discount of about 37% to the commercial rand. The discount, a measure of foreign investor confidence in SA, has widened by leaps and bounds from about 20% before Mandela's release.

The investment currency opened at about \$0,2435 (R4,10 to the dollar) yesterday and was "an immediate sell". Small volumes are being sold, but buying demand from Europe has dried up in the wake of political uncertainty and the thin market is

□ To Page 2

Finrand

B/D 31/04/90

causing exaggerated price movements. However, one dealer said the investment unit was "a buy" at a discount of 38% and predicted that its downside from here was limited — provided there was no major foreign sell-off of SA gilts. The gilts market reacted moderately to negative political sentiment and a low gold price yesterday, with yields on the bellwether Eskom

(3041)

□ From Page 1

Loan E168 closing eight points higher at 15,69%.

Gold's weakness combined with a strong dollar to depress the commercial rand. The Reserve Bank has been offering dollars to the market to moderate the rand's descent. The currency closed at a mid-rate of R2,6548 yesterday from Friday's R2,6513.

1 troops deployed countrywide

FW unveils plan to stamp out violence

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday deployed large numbers of troops and police countrywide and instructed them to use their full might to stamp out violence.

Addressing a specially convened joint sitting of Parliament, De Klerk unveiled a four-pronged plan to restore law and order in SA's townships and homelands, and special measures to bring an end to violence in conflict-ridden Natal.

De Klerk said SADF troops would be deployed over a wide area to support police in putting an end to unrest.

The intended security force action would result in a large increase in detentions. But, he stressed, this was not intended to be a goal in itself. The main priority was still to negotiate a new dispensation.

De Klerk said the countrywide security clampdown would include:

- A greater presence of security forces, more roadblocks and the patrolling of roads and areas with vehicles and aircraft.
- A police reserve air arm had been set up to compliment forces on the ground;
- A crackdown against crime and intimidation and an increase in detentions.

The President said the killings and destruction of property in Natal had reached a shocking point. Investigations had revealed diverse reasons for this conflict.

Finding a solution would be lengthy and costly. As such government planned to implement a more embracing plan of action than elsewhere in the country. This included:

- Immediate implementation of a security

MIKE ROBERTSON

ity plan devised by all the concerned parties and the immediate deployment of sufficient SADF troops;

- Increased policing;
- Arrangements for extra courts;
- A special plan, to be co-ordinated by Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, to provide socio-economic support for people affected by the violence.

De Klerk said the independent homelands had been singled out by radicals and government had instituted an urgent inquiry into their security needs. It had already taken steps to stabilise the security situation in these areas.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that shots were heard yesterday as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his visiting ANC delegation moved along Mpetele Road, which divides Imbali's Inkatha and UDF sections.

Across the road, in Imbali Stage 2, a group of men stood watching as chanting youths followed the ANC procession.

"See. They are Inkatha," a bystander said, pointing them out.

Moments later three shots were heard. It was not clear who fired them. Nobody appeared to be injured.

Police said in Pretoria no shots had been fired at Mandela. Police units had stayed with the Mandela entourage throughout its journey across Edendale valley.

Mandela later told about 2 500 people crushed into the Edendale Lay Centre the

□ To Page 2

2

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, April 3 1990

FW unveils plan

ANC was fighting apartheid, not Inkatha. "Inkatha must know we are keen to make peace. One day I hope to have the opportunity to speak directly to them to assure them that we are freedom fighters."

Earlier in Durban, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the level of violence would have to subside before Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet on the same platform.

WILSON ZWANE reports Buthelezi told top churchmen yesterday they were wasting their time talking peace in Natal with him.

In a strongly worded memorandum to a high-powered church delegation, Buthelezi said they should be talking to the ANC — which wished to intensify the armed struggle — if they really wanted to stop the bloodbath in the region.

The delegation included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Archbishop Themba Ntongana, Bishop Michael Nuttall, Bishop Manas Buthelezi and SA Council of Churches (SACC) secretary-general Frank Chikane.

"On no occasion have I ever exhorted Inkatha to violence. Why this hideous mis-

□ From Page 1

representation of Inkatha as the perpetrator of violence?" Buthelezi said.

He also accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the Mandela-Buthelezi peace rally scheduled for today and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with De Klerk.

Buthelezi accused the SACC of joining a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people were dying.

Sapa reports that in a joint statement issued afterwards, the church leaders said they had requested the meeting as the first in a series with leaders on violence in the Maritzburg area. Meetings had also been requested with De Klerk and Mandela.

Sapa reports that another 11 weekend deaths in Maritzburg's neighbouring townships brought the official toll to 53 since Tuesday last week.

□ Sapa also reports the British government has announced an immediate grant of R100 000 to provide assistance to victims of war-torn Natal.

British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick said in Cape Town this was an immediate response and further British assistance would follow.

Govt moves to allow 'wanted' ANC men into SA for talks

364H
MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday announced new incentives for organisations such as the ANC to enter negotiations.

He said government had decided to table legislation providing temporary indemnity from prosecution and civil action to people involved in negotiations. Such indemnity would apply only to brief visits.

At a later stage, further legislation would empower him to provide permanent indemnity to people or groups who could be found guilty of common law or statutory offences.

De Klerk said as soon as it had been decided to grant permanent indemnity to unsentenced individuals a basis would be found for freeing those already sentenced for security-related crimes.

"It is our desire finally to close the old books and start on a clean page. Those who on the one hand still persist with such worn-out rhetoric as... 'the armed struggle continues' and other clichés, and on the other hand those who insist on continued domination, must realise we are deadly se-

rious about building the new SA without brutality and without unrest."

He had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting between the organisation and government, following the cancellation of the planned April 11 talks by the ANC.

De Klerk said after agreement had been reached for the ANC-government meeting a steering committee of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

"This committee had finalised details for

the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself. The ANC's problems relating to the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the committee, he said. 810241 3/4/90

Sapa reports Mandela arrived in Durban yesterday to tour unrest areas and, within minutes of arriving, telephoned Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen from the airport inquiries desk. During a short but amiable exchange, they arranged a meeting between De Klerk and Mandela on Thursday at 4pm.

● Comment: Page 14

Blackmail, CP tells Nats

Pretoria Correspondent

The Conservative Party has accused the Government of using "blackmailing tactics" to force through the proposed toll road on the N18 between Pretoria and Brits.

In a statement yesterday, two party MPs, Mr Joseph Chirole (Pretoria West) and Mr Andrew Gerber (Brits), called on the Government to provide money to complete the partially constructed road.

"We note with concern the Government's blackmailing tactics of saying that the construc-

tion would take years if the road is not tolled," the statement said. *Star 3/4/90*

The proposed toll tariff of R7,20 for people driving in and out of the city each day was unacceptable, it added, especially since whites were already over-taxed.

Black minibus taxis would not use the toll road, forcing whites to use it for safety reasons.

"Plans to toll the route mean whites will have to pay again for the unplanned and unconsidered results of the National Party's policies," the statement ended.

'Apartheid was a dreadful mistake'

TORONTO — ^{3/21/90} Apartheid was a dreadful mistake that "blighted our land and its people", South Africa's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said in Toronto yesterday. ^{304A}

Addressing the Canadian Club, Mr Wessels conceded that the South African government should have spoken to political groups like the African National Congress much earlier.

"Our eyes, with the benefit of hindsight, must now be focused on the future," said Mr Wessels, who is only the third South African to address this club.

Mr Wessels said he represented a generation that desired achieving real justice, casting off the apartheid albatross.

"What is required is a truly just and free society, structured and governed for the benefit of all our citizens," he said.

Mr Wessels said the clocks could not be turned back and no amount of wishful thinking by reactionary elements among whites would hold back this change.

Talking about a new constitution, Mr Wessels said it would have to have the support of all citizens.

Star
3/4/90

Status of Afrikaans in schools 'in balance'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The status of Afrikaans in black schools is "on a knife edge" and there should be a change in the way it is taught, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) study has found.

And it says the way Afrikaans is taught in future will have a major impact on the way the language is regarded by the black community.

This is the essence of a special project by the HSRC commissioned by the Department of Education and Training.

Details of the project findings and recommendations are still confidential, but a reference to it in the department's annual report, now tabled in Parliament, says HSRC researchers conclude that while, in general, black people view Afrikaans positively, the status of the language is "on the knife edge".

The department's report says the HSRC findings and recommendations are of "cardinal" importance for the future of Afrikaans at schools. They are being studied and could be implemented.

The report notes: "Future action by the department regarding the teaching of Afrikaans will have a marked influence on the extent to which a change in the position of Afrikaans among the largest population group in SA will be manifested."

It was true that the Budget indicated a new direction, but it had to be emphasised that this new direction was not without risk, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to the Budget debate he said proper management of this risk had to be done with the support of political parties who also wanted a process of peaceful transition.

Support for the Budget reflected one's political desires.

The management of wealth was as important today as ownership of wealth, and in many cases gave even more power than ownership.

It was essential that the productive capacity of the economy be not only maintained, but expanded. "With this Budget we have succeeded in taking some steps towards appropriately restructuring the economy."

Longer-term economic strategies should be not only sustainable but equitable. It was only with an equitable economic system that one could have an equitable political system.

In design and in response the Budget had brought forward very important issues, including the promotion of equal opportunity by investment in human capital. This aspect must have come as a nasty surprise to the CP, which had excelled in identifying itself as part of the problem rather than as part of the solution.

Socialism

No response to the Budget reflected the changing attitude in the country more clearly than that of the DP and its chief spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz. He wanted to give a very special word of thanks to Mr Schwarz and the DP, which had departed from years of tradition by supporting this Budget.

The Government appreciated the fact that the DP had taken a longer-term view of the interests of SA at a time which called on each South African to give of his best in the search for solutions.

Mr du Plessis said it was a misconception that apartheid was equivalent to capitalism. The opposite was true: Apartheid was equivalent to socialism.

Apartheid implied not only a centrally controlled economy, but a centrally controlled country. Apartheid dictated where one could live, work and vote.

He noted that the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, had said one could not ask for disinvestment and jobs at the same time.

This was a lesson that could be taken to heart by people not yet in Parliament.

Mr du Plessis also paid tribute to the media for their coverage of the Budget, which he said had been comprehensive and had given meaningful guidance to the public. — Sapa.

Barend reproved for befuddling Hansard

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was lightheartedly called to order yesterday over his sound effects when he compared CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to a buzzing bee.

Mr du Plessis began his reply to the Budget debate by criticising Dr Treurnicht's absence from the Chamber, saying CP members had repeatedly commented on the absence of Cabinet members during the debate.

Describing Dr Treurnicht's speech in the debate, he said the CP leader had found it fit to zoom in last week like a bee to sit on a flower.

"And then he found it fitting to leave the Chamber right after he bzz'd his bzz," he said.

"Order," said the Speaker. "The Minister is making it a bit difficult for Hansard." — Sapa.

No guarantees, says Du Plessis

86 3/4/90

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PARLIAMENT

Cabinet begins crucial 'fynbos indaba' at secret venue

FW acts to stem violence

SK 3/4/90

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By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

In the wake of President de Klerk's announcement of tough security measures to deal with spiralling violence, the Cabinet today retired into the Boland for another two-day indaba.

The meeting — at a secret venue — was planned some time ago to resolve crucial policy matters before the start of negotiations.

Now the agenda is almost certain also to include the amnesty question and Thursday's scheduled meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The measures announced by the State President include troop reinforcements, greater police presence and a possible increase in detentions.

He also announced that the Government would release as much money as possible to address the socio-economic problems underlying Natal unrest, and unveiled far-reaching plans to grant indemnity to people who had committed ordinary crimes in pursuit of political goals.

It is felt that these plans will go a long way towards meeting one of the main demands of the ANC that political prisoners be freed.

Speaking to a joint sitting of Parliament, Mr de Klerk said there was a real danger that the violence in the country could reach the levels of 1985/1986.

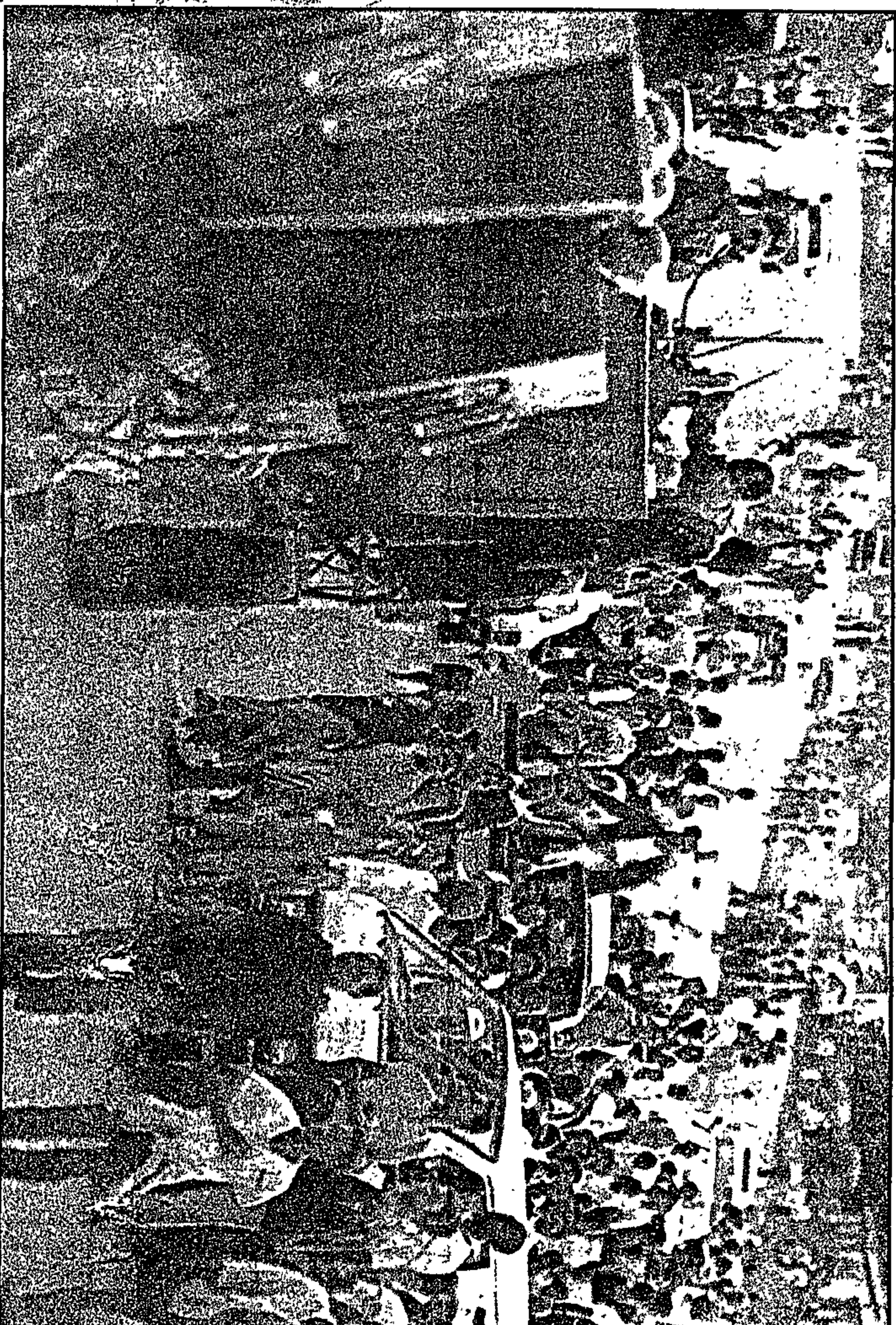
But he added that the Government's efforts to implement its constitutional and economic reform plans had produced positive signs, and a "spirit of hope prevails".

There had been sufficient indications to justify the Government's more relaxed security policy.

From September 1989 to February 1990 the violence had decreased.

Emergency justified

But there were still efforts by radi-



Armoured vehicles move into Edendale township yesterday as President de Klerk announced that the army would be deployed in an attempt to end the violence and faction fighting between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters. © Picture by Associated Press.

Indemnity could ease negotiation obstacles

ANC slated for cancelling



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But he added that the Government's efforts to implement its constitutional and economic reform plans had produced positive signs, and a "spirit of hope prevails".

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Emergency justified

From September 1989 to February 1990 the violence had decreased.

But there were still efforts by radicals to put up obstacles in the security terrain and to strive to destabilise the country. Today, said President de Klerk, the situation unfortunately still justified the state of emergency, and now was the time to implement the Government's promise "to deal with the unrest, violence and terrorism with a firm hand".

The police, supported by the SADF, had received orders to act firmly and purposefully to contain violence.

"These decisions can lead to an increase in the number of people detained," warned Mr de Klerk.

"It will also mean that the SADF will act on a reasonably broad front in reasonably large numbers."

Mr de Klerk also announced specific measures to deal with the Natal violence, because special circumstances had developed. Solutions, however, could not be found overnight.

He identified a number of causes of the present high level of unrest:

- There were clearly factions which had a vested interest in the continued isolation of South Africa. It would be disastrous for them if South Africa broke out of the cycle of isolation and violence. They "lived" on the anti-South Africa campaign and had an interest in preventing peaceful solutions.
- Others were trying to force a level of ungovernability and mass resistance with an eye to seizing power.
- In Natal, especially, there were strong indications of a power struggle between political and ethnic groups, aggravated by generations-old family and tribal vendettas.

● See Page 3.

Armoured vehicles move into Edendale township yesterday as President de Klerk announced that the army would be deployed in an attempt to end the violence and faction fighting between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters. ● Picture by Associated Press.

Indemnity could ease negotiation obstacles

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a bold pre-emptive move, President de Klerk has announced far-reaching measures to indemnify people who have committed ordinary crimes in pursuit of political aims.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that the move would promote constitutional reform. It was the Government's "desire finally to close the old books and start on a clean page".

He said that legislation would shortly be presented which would grant temporary indemnity from prosecution to people coming into the country to take part in discussions with the Government about obstacles to negotiation.

This was clearly aimed at ANC exiles intending to attend talks such as the postponed April 11 meeting.

The legislation would also empower him to grant permanent indemnity to persons or categories of persons who were guilty of common crime "in the process of conflict and pursuit of duty".

The move has been seen as a major step towards general amnesty, going a long way towards meeting one of the ANC's main conditions for negotiation — the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

It has been hailed as a strategic

Senior Government sources confirmed that the aim was to remove one of the obstacles to negotiation even before it came up for discussion.

The temporary indemnity would apply immediately while the permanent indemnity would only apply when the legislation had been passed.

Mr de Klerk said that as soon as the Government had decided to grant permanent indemnity to unsentenced individuals, a basis would have to be found for dealing with people already sentenced for security-related crimes.

Government sources said that these people would be dealt with under existing legislation dealing with remission of sentences.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee would table the new legislation shortly.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the DP welcomed the indemnity moves.

Conservative Party law and order spokesman Mr Moolman Meintz said it was "completely unacceptable that the persons responsible for giving the orders which led to gruesome crimes — such as the Pretoria bomb — will now be indemnified from prosecution".

ANC slated for cancelling meeting date

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has slammed the ANC for cancelling the scheduled April 11 talks and has disclosed that it turned down earlier dates for a meeting.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament that the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle lay at the root of its hesitancy about entering negotiations. However, he confirmed that he would be meeting ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela this week.

According to Mr Mandela, the meeting will take place on Thursday.

Mr de Klerk said he had instructed top officials to keep in contact with the ANC.

He reiterated that his door remained open. He hoped the ANC would find it possible to join those already talking.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday, Mr de Klerk said it was "difficult to understand why an organisation saying it is interested in peace refuses to come and talk about that very issue".

"We say that their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations. We wanted to discuss that."



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BRIEFING

How the Nats have slowly lost support in Joburg

Since the death of the former chairman of the management committee, Mr Danne van Zyl, in April last year, the Nationalist Party in the Johannesburg City Council has been on a downhill course.

The Democratic Party on the other hand has gained strength, gaining two seats — from 18 to 20 — and is set to take over the reins of the city.

The Nats returned from the October municipal elections triumphant, with 26 seats in the 51-seat council, the first time they had managed to achieve an outright majority.

After 18 months they are down to 21 seats and barely clinging to power. The Democratic Party has 20 seats, the Conservative Party four and the rest are independent.

Mr Dave Versier defected to the Democratic Party last May and the NP lost to the DP the Linden ward left vacant by Mr van Zyl's death. In the last month, Mr

Mike Levin, Mr Howard Bloomberg and Mrs Desiree Simpson resigned from the party to sit as independents.

After recent setbacks, the NP could find itself on the opposition benches with a DP-independent coalition in power.

The Star's revelations of a spy network operating within the council prompted the DP to introduce the motion of no-confidence in the management committee, citing gross mismanagement.

The DP motion will be debated next Monday, two days before the Hemstra Commission of Inquiry into the spy ring starts hearing evidence.

A DP-independent coalition was mooted three weeks ago as the NP appeared to be losing control of the city.

A few hours after the resignation of Mr Bloomberg and Mr Levin from the NP, the NP suffered another blow at the inauguration of the deputy mayor when they lost the seat of deputy mayor to the DP.

Mr Jan Burger was nominated for the

The NP in the Johannesburg City Council is faced with a motion of no-confidence next week. In 18 months, the party's overall majority of 26 seats in the 51-seat council has dropped to 21 seats. **LOUISE BURGERS, The Star's Municipal Reporter, looks at the dramatic shift in power in the city.**

position, but lost to the DP's Mr Elliot Kreitzmer by one vote. His nomination was said to be a move by the pro-reform Nats to have Mrs Marieta Marx take over the chairmanship when Mr Burger was tied up with his duties as deputy mayor.

Allegations of interference from National Party cabinet members, tension between the more "verligte" pro-reform Nats and the older more conservative, long-serving members and "bad apples" in the caucus have been cited as reasons for the disunity in the party.

After Mr van Zyl's funeral, Johannesburg was plunged into a leadership crisis and a contest between deputy chairman Mr Jan Burger and newcomer Mrs Marx.

Mr Jan Burger's win was seen as a victory for the NP "old guard" in the council.

But this was not the end of the tension within the NP. A few weeks later, a shock split surfaced in the NP caucus when Mrs Marx was ousted by Mr Ernie Fabel, fellow management committee member.

After a three-hour caucus meeting, which included tearful outbursts and heated exchanges, Mr Fabel resigned and Mrs Marx was reinstated.

Then resentment of interference in council affairs by parliamentary Nationalist leaders in Johannesburg, Mr Pk Botha and Mr Roel Meyer, began to surface. Mrs Marx's "hotline" to parliament was given as the reason for many disputes

within the party and eventually led to the resignation of Mr Bloomberg and Mr Levin.

In the last six months of 1989 the halcyon days of the civic centre became likened to a monthly soap opera with counter claims of fraud and violence.

In the many stormy council meetings, insults flew, councillors staged walkouts and there was even a punch-up.

The crucial Johannesburg budget tabled in June last year, scraped through at 26 votes to 25.

The then leader of the DP in the city council, Mr Tony Leon, said that if a secret ballot had been allowed, the voting pattern might have been different. Indications were that some of the disillusioned NP councillors may have voted against the budget.

Chaos ensued in the following months as the management committee came under fire for its foreign VIP programme and lack of reform progress. It faced a barrage

of questions from the opposition on its foreign guest programme and questions on the security department.

The council budgeted almost R1 million for its foreign visitors programme. The DP questioned the credibility of certain guests and why the ratepayer should foot the bill for jaunts around the country.

It was at the end of June last year when the DP's chief whip, Mr Paul Asherson, tabled questions regarding staff activities and purchases in Mr John Pearce's Department of Public Safety.

The DP forced the June council meeting to an abrupt halt when they walked out because the NP withdrew an item on Pageview and free settlement areas.

Allegations of a split within the NP over an application to declare Pageview a free settlement area surfaced. The disagreement was believed to reach up to Cabinet level. Mr Burger admitted then that the decision to withdraw the item had nothing to do with the council.

Cape Times 4/4/90 (304A)

Parliament and Politics

Cabinet meets at secret Boland venue

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK and his cabinet yesterday began a two-day working session "somewhere in the Boland" to discuss the political situation in South Africa and to develop strategies.

This is the third "bos-beraad" (bush deliberation) Mr De Klerk has held with his cabinet since he became President in September last year.

A spokesman for his office said yesterday another similar session had already been scheduled later in the year.

He added that the date for this week's session had been set in January "as part of the normal process" and had not been timed because of recent political developments.

He was not able to say where this week's discussions, which will end today, were being held other than to say that they were "somewhere in the Boland".

Clearly, however, the cancellation of the meeting with the ANC on April 11, Mr De Klerk's discussions with both the ANC vice-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the leaders of the six non-independent homelands tomorrow, and the government strategies on negotiation will be assessed by the cabinet.

The overall security situation is also likely to be discussed.



FW de Klerk

FW 'loses significant support'

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk appears to have lost significant support among lower-income whites, particularly Afrikaans-speaking people in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, since his February 2 speech.

This has emerged in two recent opinion surveys among white men in the major urban areas.

They show that before his February 2 speech, when he opened Parliament, 37% of white men with incomes of less than R2 000 a month did not think he was doing a good job, but this shot up to 51% in a survey conducted in the two weeks from February 28.

In the first survey, conducted in the two weeks from January 17, a small majority of those earning less than R2 000 a month — 42% — thought he was doing a good job, but a month later only 33% still thought so.

This trend was reflected in the next income category, those earning between R2 000 and R3 500 a month.

These findings could have significant political implications for the government because the average income of whites is R2 500 a month.

Overall, the support for Mr De Klerk has not changed substantially and in both surveys 47% thought he was doing a good job.

FW, Mandela will try to revive talks

TOS WENTZEL on
the Presidency

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ATTEMPTS to revive the talks between the government and the African National Congress will be made at a meeting between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow.

Both sides have indicated they are keen for the talks to take place at some stage.

ANC sources said today that they saw what had happened as a delay rather than a serious setback.

Mr De Klerk has stated that he does not agree with the ANC that police action at Sebokeng should stand in the way of the talks. He said such matters could be dealt with at negotiations. He told parliament his door remained open.

The immediate reason for the talks is the ANC's decision to cancel the proposed April 11 talks because of what the ANC has described as the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenceless black demonstrators, especially at Sebokeng. Mr Mandela has declined to speculate on tomorrow's meeting.

"We hope to have a Press conference afterwards," he said.

Free man

He will be accompanied by United Democratic Front office-bearer Mr Popo Molefe, ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, the highest ranking exiled member of the movement in the country, and senior ANC member Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

The meeting, with Mr Mandela visiting Tuynhuys for the first time as a free man, is, however, bound to develop into an evaluation of how the first exploratory talks to prepare for real negotiations can take place.

While welcoming some of the steps the government has taken to deal with the unrest, Mr Mandela has criticised the fact that black organisations have not been consulted.

He has been particularly critical of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, saying he was unco-operative and had no sympathy for black aspirations.

Mr Vlok was not available for comment as he was attending a two-day "retreat" of the Cabinet somewhere in the Boland.

A police spokesman said, however, that Mr Mandela had made some unfortunate remarks as Mr Vlok had visited unrest areas in Natal, the Transvaal and the Free State and had in some areas consulted representatives of black organisations.

The team told the council officials the application was defective for sev- spoken to."

SA business must help find answers — Parsons

Staff Reporter *ARGUS 4/4/90*
SOUTH AFRICAN business has been challenged to contribute to finding solutions for a new South Africa.

The director-general of the South African Chamber of Business, Mr Raymond Parsons, yesterday sent a message to company bosses saying that the search for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems could not be left to the politicians alone.

"Business also has a necessary role to play at all levels and in helping to shape the debate."

Mr Parsons was speaking at the annual meeting of the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

He said the chamber had drawn top businessmen and economists into the launch of a special task force to examine the whole issue of nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth — the hottest topics in current controversies.

"What is important in a new constitution from the business viewpoint is the focus it gives to people's rights and responsibilities in economic affairs.

"The concepts of private property, right of contract and personal culpability are all relevant to the constitutional debate.

"In the field of public institutions there would be a need to concentrate on people's political rights — such as collective services and taxes — at all levels of government.

"There is a big gap between politics and economics — a gap which still needs to be bridged.

"There is a need to look at what legitimate concerns lie behind the pre-occupations of the ANC and other black groups with nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth," he said.

"There are historical injustices to be addressed and social backlogs to be rectified.

"Nationalisation is simply not acceptable to the bulk of South African businessmen.

"It will only destroy South Africa's ability to attract overseas capital in the future."

Mr Parsons said it would be important to realise that it was apartheid and not capitalism which was on trial in South Africa.

HOW to strengthen the family and, at the same time, weaken patriarchy — nowhere in the world has this been fully achieved. Yet this is the daunting task facing us in South Africa.

Apartheid has penetrated so violently and intrusively into the intimate lives of the majority of the people that only the complete elimination of apartheid laws and practices can permit anything approaching a normal family life to emerge.

At the same time, the eradication of apartheid requires not simply the rewriting of laws but the repairing of millions of damaged families.

'Affirmative action is needed'

We can and have to theorise about the issues, but we may never forget that each one of us in his or her daily behaviour is involved.

Nowhere are there more contradictions — courageous freedom fighters who are tyrants at home; people who respond actively to the needs of the masses and yet deny that those with whom they share their most intimate activities have needs; freedom fighters by day and fascists by night and conversely people who are capable of great tenderness in the family who are torturers by day.

Democracy is the key to change this.

'Every home should be guaranteed safe water'

It is precisely because family life is so intimate and all-involving that the people themselves must be directly involved in the processes of its transformation.

Happiness can never be imposed or decreed; it has to be fought for and won by those who aspire to it.

In determining the place of the family in a new South African constitution, the people must be involved at every stage.

Our starting point must be the actual lives that people lead and the general context of democratic transformation taking place in our country.

Overcoming apartheid means, among other things, retrieving the family from the depths of its trauma.

At the same time apartheid has been particularly devastating to the rights of women. Dismantling apartheid therefore requires special attention to undoing the many laws and practices that seek to keep women subordinated.

To restore the family in such a way as to constitutionalise male tyranny — whether benevolent or brutal — would be deeply undemocratic.

Repairing millions of damaged families

South 4/10/1990

The conditions for the pursuit of happiness in its most personal form lie in the family. In a draft discussion paper which examines the constitutional position of the family in a democratic South Africa, ALBIE SACHS examines how family life can be strengthened and male dominance weakened. This is an edited version of the paper:

The damage done to the family in South Africa occurred not simply as a marginal or indirect consequence of industrialisation but as a result of deliberate policy and calculation.

This can be traced to the Dutch slave-owning settlement at the Cape where there was explicit negation of the family rights of slaves.

Colonial authorities attacked the household and disrupted its self-sufficiency by uprooting the people and detaching them from the land.

African families were split. Menfolk were compelled to work for whites while the women produced new generations of labour in the reserves.

The splitting of families became deliberate policy, enforced by law.

The restoration of African family life therefore has little to do with family law and much to do with the general structure of apartheid law.

'There is no such thing as a typical South African family'

Employment practices must be revised, wages paid on a different basis, compounds replaced by family homes and rural areas rehabilitated so that they again become self-sufficient.

Greater access to the land becomes vital.

It is crucial that the people be involved in this process.

Affirmative action is needed.

Today we have homelessness on an enormous scale. The lack of housing prevents any possibilities of a decent and stable family life, and is a massive reminder of social inequality.



Albie Sachs

Every home should be guaranteed safe water and, at a later stage, clean piped water and electricity and gas.

The true hewers of wood and drawers of water are the millions of women who lose hours every day on survival tasks that should be shouldered by society as a whole.

African people have been denied their traditional family-based support systems and, at the same time, excluded from the mainstream of state-based social benefits.

Social security, tax and income maintenance laws were based on the claim that the African family subsisted in the reserves.

In a post-apartheid South Africa, many questions connected to apartheid can be faced on their own merits.

One which has special importance for the quality of family life is that of fertility.

Today, any government-sponsored family-planning programme is seen by many as a device to keep the black population as low as possible.

The fact is there are many unwanted pregnancies that could have been avoided by access to birth-control.

'Many unwanted pregnancies could have been avoided'

Similarly, hospitals are filled with patients haemorrhaging after clandestine abortions.

These are sensitive questions. What is required is honest dialogue on the topic. The issues have to be brought out into the open and discussed calmly and with objectivity.

It is vital that the law and social practice tolerate a variety of opinions, where no-one will be forced or prevented from doing what he or she chooses.

Other areas crying out for attention are infertility, sex education, health care for mother and child, and creches, kindergartens and schooling.

The struggle for a new family law is part and parcel of the struggle for a new family and for a new nation.

There is no such thing as a typical South African family — let alone an ideal one. The varied origins of the people who make up our country are reflected in the multiplicity of marriage rites.

'The provision of legal aid is important'

At present, the law does not give equal recognition to the different kinds of marriage.

The problem is how the law and the constitution would regard this variety.

The registered marriages are non-racial but not all that democratic; the traditional are popular but not non-

racial, and millions are living in units that the law does not recognise as families.

The only way to resolve these problems is to discuss them with those they affect. The issues are not merely symbolic or cultural. They affect pensions, rights of succession, custody and property.

They touch on status and income of traditional leaders. In some cases, they deal with the concept a community has of itself.

In principle, it should not be difficult to have a single system of basic rights and duties attaching to all marriages — whether civil, church or traditional.

This system would be recognised and applied by the courts, while permitting the establishment of conciliation machinery outside or alongside the court system which could give more weight to traditional or religious norms.

The new constitution could, however, reject any attempt to create a single marriage law for South Africa and opt for one of the many variants of legal pluralism.

'Courageous freedom fighters ... are tyrants at home'

The most radical such solution would be for family law to be determined by the personal law of each couple.

A less radical version would be to have a single state system of justice responsible for the administration of family law — but to permit judges to apply principles and rules of the marriage system most relevant.

It is possible to have certain general principles which the courts would apply.

There has been a general move in most parts of the world to prohibit child marriages, encourage monogamy, insist that marriage be entered into voluntarily, defend the principle of shared parental responsibilities and rights in relation to children, accept equal rights and duties between spouses, and acknowledge (if a marriage breaks down) that the family home should be as little disturbed as possible and that property acquired during the marriage should be shared equitably, irrespective of who paid for it.

If a unitary administration of family law is adopted, judicial structures will have to be transformed to make them more representative of the people.

Specific attention will have to be given to the creation of a system of family courts with a South African flavour.

'The splitting of families became deliberate policy, enforced by law'

Within a framework for common constitutional and legislative norms, they could have a considerable degree of flexibility in the way they functioned.

The provision of legal aid is important especially to women whose financial position is often weaker.

Ultimately, the effectiveness of the law will depend on many extra-legal factors: the degree of general public consciousness, the vigilance of women's organisations, the scrutiny of the press, and the way the judiciary succeeds in implanting itself in the community while maintaining its independence.

(Albie Sachs is the ANC's Bill of Rights expert and a former Cape Town advocate.)



The lack of housing prevents a decent family life.

Wednesday April 4 1990

De Klerk, Cabinet hatch strategies

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk and the Cabinet began a two-day working session "somewhere in the Boland" yesterday to discuss SA's political situation and to develop strategies.

It is the third *hosberaad* (hush deliberation) De Klerk has held with his Cabinet since taking office last September.

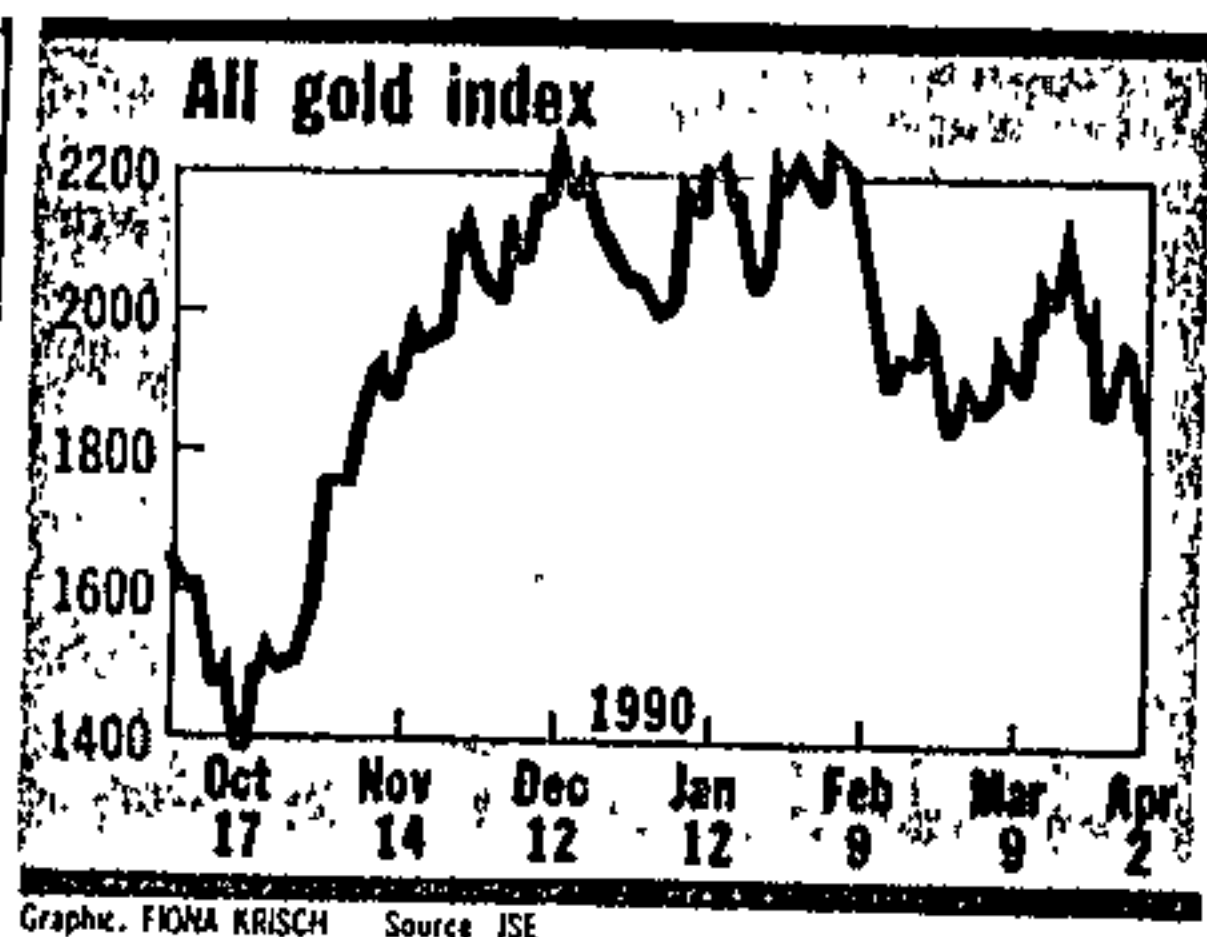
A spokesman for his office said yesterday another similar session had been scheduled for later in the year.

The date for this week's session had been set in January "as part of the normal process" and had not been timed because of recent political developments.

He was not able to say where this week's discussions, which will end today, were being held other than to say that they were "somewhere in the Boland".

The cancellation of the meeting with the ANC on April 11 and De Klerk's discussions with both ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and leaders of the six non-independent homelands tomorrow will be assessed.

Strategies on negotiation will also receive attention, as will security.



DIAGONAL Street was mauled yesterday by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President F W de Klerk.

News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6,6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a ripple of nervousness on the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the \$370 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's \$369 after trading in a narrow band in featureless conditions.

The JSE overall index plummeted almost 4%, or 129 points, to 3 128 as a sharp 4,2% weakening in the finrand investment unit failed to stem the downward tide with share prices substantially lower in dollar terms.

"Markets are driven by sentiment and yesterday we had not just one but a combination of three negative factors," a dealer said.

Analysts said the nosedive in political sentiment on the external front was reflected in the sharp downtrend of the finrand while, internally, sentiment could be mea-

Move on talks hits trading

MERVYN HARRIS

sured by the Krugerrand's premium of almost 21% on the rand gold price.

The Krugerrand closed R3 lower at R1 187. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R983 was high in historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The 5,2% (103 point) plunge in the JSE all gold index to 1 857 was seen as a belated reaction to last week's slump in the price of the metal to five-month lows.

Dealers said gold shares were now at more realistic levels, after showing remarkable resilience last week when share prices recovered almost all of their initial losses by the weekend in the hope that the metal would at least recoup part of its \$25 loss.

More depressing was the way leading industrial shares wilted under the weight of the negative factors with the index shedding 3,2%, or 96 points, to 2 880.

Dealers said the only positive factor to emerge was the lack of heavy selling after London instigated the initial downturn. There was only selective offloading of shares by local institutions which also nibbled at some stocks on their way down.

Advice for Sakekamer

Business Day Reporter

THE Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Sakekamer, as part of its educational task, had to support the new SA with "enthusiasm" and contribute towards non-racialism in the city and elsewhere, outgoing chairman Hennie Louw said at the organisation's AGM last night. 20

A lack of understanding of recent political changes, where they were taking SA and who the other players were, could place the Afrikaner at a disadvantage when it came to establishing his interests along with those of others. 3041)

Louw said the Sakekamer had to help prepare the community for the coming changes and facilitate formal and informal contacts between all people.

Although the organisation welcomed English-language businesses as members, more needed to be done to disprove the notion that it was exclusive and strove to avoid political and other "sensitive" issues, he added.

THE search for a peaceful solution to SA's problems cannot be left to the politicians. Business also has a necessary role to play at all levels and is helping to shape the debate.

There are two aspects in which business has a critical stake: the shape of any new constitution and the economic values and principles it will embody, and the kind of economic system that will emerge from the political bargaining process.

What is important in a new constitution from the business viewpoint is the focus it gives to people's rights and responsibilities in economic affairs. The concepts of private property, right of contract and personal capability are all relevant to the constitutional debate.

In the field of public institutions there would be a need to concentrate on people's political rights — such as collective services and taxes — at all levels of government.

Ihus the future of SA business will require the highest degree of sensitivity to the constitutional framework within which it will eventually function. These are key matters to which business will have to give attention. The substantial work already done by the former FCI and Assocon bodies will now have to be brought up to date by the new SA Chamber of Business (Sacob).

More immediate is the debate on what kind of economic system should result from the eventual political negotiations. There is a big gap between politics and economics which still needs to be bridged.

A task force within Sacob is examining the issues involved in the current discussion about nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth. This group is drawn from top businessmen and economists within Sacob and its research and consultations will help formulate the Sacob view. I do not wish to pre-empt the out-

Business must be heard in the search for political solutions.

RAYMOND PARSONS

come of their deliberations, but it is not difficult to visualise the parameters within which they will conduct their study. In their search for the appropriate answers I suspect the task force is likely to bear the following factors in mind:

□ There is a need to look at what legitimate concerns lie behind the preoccupations of the ANC and other black groups with nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

There are historical injustices to be addressed and social backlogs to be rectified. The question will be whether the methods — within the framework of the market economy — can be evolved to solve these problems. The recent Budget, through its allocation of R3bn to black socio-economic development, is a major first step in that direction. We must not underestimate the powerful emotional feelings that underpin these needs. Business will have to see what more it can do and what it can contribute to the debate. □ There is a need to maintain an economic system in SA which will ensure economic growth, create jobs

and ultimately raise standards of living for all. Such an economic system will have to be private enterprise-orientated.

We must avoid dubious paths which will lead not to wealth-creation but to a destructive loss of the opportunities which would otherwise exist. We must avoid opting for measures or policies which do no more than threaten the wealth-creating mechanisms of the market economy.

Nationalisation is simply not acceptable to the bulk of SA businessmen. It will also destroy SA's ability to attract overseas capital in the future. Nationalisation is not an effective instrument for making new resources available to the underprivileged — whether or not compensation is paid to the nationalised sectors.

□ It will be necessary to examine the economic experience of Eastern Europe and Africa and evaluate their relevance for SA. The disen-

chantment with collectivism elsewhere will have to be put under the microscope. It will be especially important to study economic collapse in those comparable countries where apartheid did not exist.

□ It will be important to realise that it is apartheid, not capitalism, which is on trial in SA. What blacks have experienced as "the rules of the game" is the antithesis of a free enterprise economy.

It will be essential to clarify the debate on this level. But that does not mean that business should not be prepared to look at ways and means in which the performance of the market economy in SA can be improved or restructured. Markets facilitate restructuring if they are allowed to do so.

We need to broaden and deepen black participation in the economy. Hopefully it will be possible to shift the debate off the ideological level on to a more empirical level.

Business must be prepared to deal with the nationalisation arguments as robustly and critically as they

previously dealt with interventionist government policies.

□ Although there are serious imbalances to be addressed, this does not change certain economic realities. Nor does it mean that all injustices can be corrected overnight.

Expectations must remain realistic. SA needs to survive and grow in a competitive global economy.

□ We are often told that change is inevitable and irrepressible and that we have to get on the side of the forces of change. There is merit in these propositions. The restructuring of the system of education and training is one high priority, but we must not lose sight of a crucial distinction.

Business has a vital stake in the nature of that change, and in the success of those who support peaceful change and market economy principles. We must not attempt to appease these anti-private enterprise radicals who are only driven by ideology and will not be charmed out of their hostility to us by professions of our goodwill.

□ A coherent public policy must address with equal insight the requirements of stability and of change.

Unless a framework of law and order can be preserved, business cannot thrive. Private fixed investment needs the assurance of long-run stability. It is bound up with the question of business confidence. If stability is not maintained, the process of change is jeopardised.

SA has entered an era of great hope — but also of great uncertainty. Businessmen have a vital stake in the outcome of the conflicting forces at work. It remains important that political leaders manage the process of change in ways that retain the confidence of the main players, including the business community.

Parsons is director general of the SA Chamber of Business. This is an excerpt from his address to the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry last night.

ANC criticises Vlok, seeks impartiality

Police the 'major obstacle to talks'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The role of the police is emerging as a major obstacle to talks between the Government and the African National Congress.

ANC sources said that when Mr Nelson Mandela, meets President de Klerk tomorrow, he will seek assurances that police will act impartially in the unrest.

The sources expressed confidence that the two leaders could resolve the problem which led to the ANC calling off the April 11 exploratory talks with the Government.

Yesterday Mr Mandela attacked Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok for failing to consult fully with blacks over the handling of the violence, especially in Natal.

Calling for the removal of the "head of the SAP", he said Mr Vlok was unco-operative and had "no sympathy whatsoever for black aspirations".

He also accused Mr Vlok of openly associating himself with one of the parties in the Natal conflict — Inkatha.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok said today that Mr Mandela's remarks were "unfortunate at this time". Mr Vlok had recently tried to consult a wide spectrum of people over the violence.

He had the whole spectrum of political organisations, from the ANC to the AWB, in Welkom to discuss the Free State violence and in Port Elizabeth spoke to the MDM and the PAC.

Referring to his meeting on Saturday with KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, the spokesman said Mr Vlok



A soldier kitted out for unrest duties in Umhlanga with R4 rifle, riot helmet and gasmask.

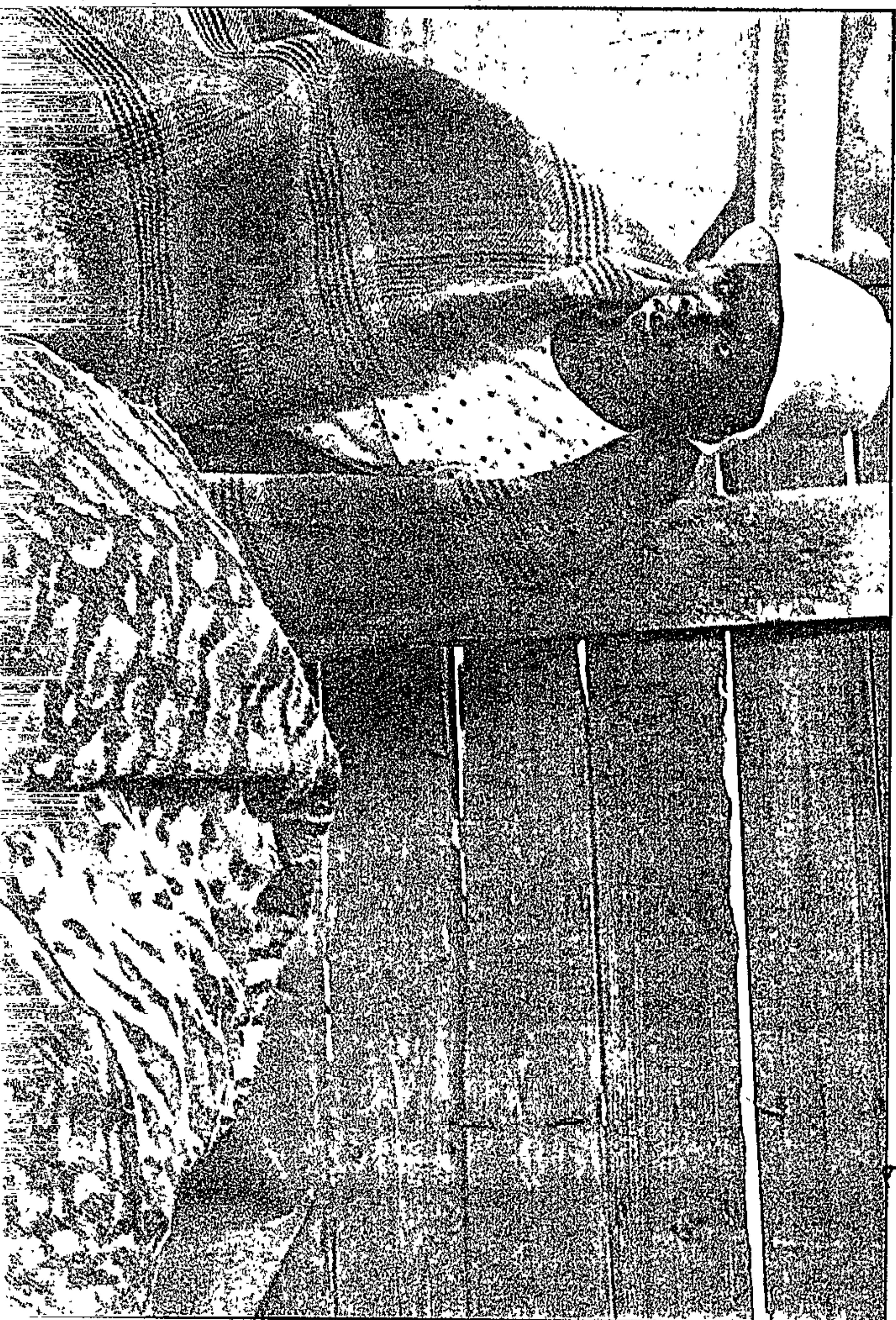
Imbal

after 1

44/40

MARITZBURG - in Imbali on the following the visit by ANC president Unofficial report found yesterday Imbali

The Democratic group's estimate of violence has risen Police said today, reported, bringing Last night, Imbali shooting, random the DP's monitor



fortunate at this time. Mr. Vlok, who recently tried to consult a wide spectrum of people over the violence.

He had the whole spectrum of political organisations, from the ANC to the AWB, in Welkom to discuss the free State violence and in Port Elizabeth spoke to the MDM and the PAC.

Referring to his meeting on Saturday with KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, the spokesman said Mr Vlok told him in his capacity as KwaZulu Member of Police and not in his political capacity.

He said that if anyone had proof of impartiality by police they should report this to the SAP or Mr Vlok.

Checks and balances

The police were obliged to use Zulu policemen in Natal because of the language problem but tried to mix them with SADF troops and white policemen to provide checks and balances against partiality, he said.

The ANC's stated reason for postponing the April 11 talks was the police handling of a mass protest in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle 10 days ago when several blacks were killed by police shotguns. This reason has been widely dismissed as an excuse for the fact that ANC is not ready for talks.

However ANC sources insist that this was the real reason and that they could not take their constituency into negotiations without some assurance that police would act fairly.

They also claimed they were concerned that rogue right-wing police elements might endanger ANC exiles returning to South Africa for the talks.

It is understood that police gave President de Klerk a full report on the Sebokeng incident on Friday night which he is still studying.

Chief Buthezi said last night that Mr Mandela should "rise above politicking about life and death."

Reacting to a television broadcast on Dr Mandela's statements about the cancellation of the meeting that should have been held on Monday between the ANC and Inkatha, he said: "It is tragic that blame is being apportioned and excuses are being made while Dr Dikwa Mji, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Harry Gwala advised Dr Mandela not to go to Maritzburg to hold a joint meeting with me.

"When people are dying and people are being maimed, black leaders should have the courage of their convictions to go to the trouble-spots, and to mediate between the warring factions. I am prepared to do so tonight, tomorrow, the next day or any day."



Edendale mother Flomema Mkhize (23) sits beside a sinking bundled blanket. Inside is the body of her child who drowned last Wednesday, when Inkatha imps chased residents into the river for refusing to join their ranks.

Protest threat at World Doubles tournament

By Dave Beattie

The Transvaal anti-tour committee of the National Sports Congress has planned protest action at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg, where the World Doubles Tennis Challenge is scheduled to start tonight.

While the SA Tennis Union is concerned at the latest development, it is taking no special security measures at the stadium.

"For years now we have had tight security" said SATU tournament director Mr Keith Brebnor.

The NSC have also demanded that South African players be suspended from the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) and warned the SA Tennis Union to uphold the sports moratorium or be

excluded from planned unity talks.

In Melbourne today, Tennis Australia president Geoff Pollard said he had tried to dissuade the three Australians, Wally Masur, John Fitzgerald and Darren Cahill from playing in South Africa.

"We're disappointed they are going but all players are free agents able to play where they want as individuals and there is nothing we can do to stop them."

Pressure mounted on the three in the form of a letter sent by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Gareth Evans through the Australian embassy in Pretoria.

The contents of the letter may well be the key to the Australians' participation in the tournament. See Back Page.

Children electrocuted in bath

East Rand Bureau

Two little blonde-haired brothers were electrocuted in the bath when they accidentally pulled a hairdryer into the water in their parents' Alberton flat on Monday.

According to a post-mortem, the deaths of the two children, Nico Martinus Joubert (12 months) and his brother, Petrus Johannes Joubert (3), of Phylria Gardens, were consistent with electrocution.

Their mother, Mrs S Joubert, apparently left the bathroom for a moment to see to two other children.

Watchman shot dead in shop robbery

Crime Reporter

A security guard was shot dead and three people were wounded — one a passer-by — when robbers armed with a machinegun opened fire during a R20 000 supermarket robbery in Virginia in the Free State yesterday, police said.

Northern Free State police spokesman Major Johann Fouche said two men with a hand machine carbine stormed into the Four-in-One Supermarket at 7.15 pm and opened fire into the roof.

Manager Mr Manuel de Ponte grabbed the cash register and hurled it at one of the gunmen. He opened fire on Mr de Ponte, hitting him three times in the chest.

A second employee, Mr Jack Putsilus, also entered the store. The robbers opened fire on him too and he was hit in the chest.

A security guard came running into the store and was gunned down. He died instantly, said Major Fouche.

The gunmen also shot and wounded Mrs Julia Gemane (26), Mr de Ponte and Mr Putsilus are both in a serious condition.

In Sasolburg yesterday, three gunmen grabbed R34 000 in a 9.05 am hold-up at Nedbank.

25 sparkling

winning you sparkling

25 YEARS
1965 - 1990

Umlazi by-election *Can-Tails 304A*
5/4/90

A BY-ELECTION would be held on June 6 in the Umlazi electoral division following the appointment of Mr Con Botha as Administrator of Natal from April 1, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, announced yesterday.

CP's volk rally

Sowetan 5/4/90
THE Conservative Party is awaiting a Government response to a request by its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht for use of the Voortrekker Monument for a rally of the "volk" on May 26.

"We believe we will get permission," the party's secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said yesterday.

"It would be most unwise for the Government to refuse." He said Treurnicht had personally approached the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, for permission to use the facilities.

The CP hopes the rally will serve as a spectacular climax to months of public meetings throughout the country in protest against President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the African National Congress and the S A Communist Party.



TREURNICHT

Peace on the edge as FW meets Mandela

w/mail 5/4 - 11/4/90

3041

By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-LEVEL four-man African National Congress delegation meets with State President FW de Klerk today.

Nelson Mandela will be joined by the movement's intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, internal publicity head Ahmed Kathrada and internal leadership corps member Popo Molefe in the discussion which will help determine the fate of the initial negotiation process in South Africa.

At a Johannesburg press conference yesterday in which he strongly attacked Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok, Mandela said that the ice-breaking talks were initiated by De Klerk, but declined to reveal their purpose.

According to United Democratic Front sources the issue of the police role in the Sebokeng massacre and in other township protests will be the main item on the agenda, and the ANC will seek assurances from De Klerk that the police be restrained in suppressing legitimate protest.

Mandela said that De Klerk was mistaken if he was saying that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss peace.

"We are not going there to negotiate. We are going there to secure the removal of all obstacles to negotiations."

Buthelezi also in Cape Town today

w/mail 5/4 - 11/4/90
INKATHA President Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be in Cape Town today, as will African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who will be meeting State President FW de Klerk — but there are no known plans for them to meet in the city, reports CARMEL RICKARD.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela said this week they were committed to the private discussions so badly needed to help bring peace in Natal, but there is still no indication when these talks will be held.

A source close to the ANC leadership said yesterday "it was possible"

●To PAGE 6

●To PAGE 2

ELA

PAGES 4 and 5

Buthelezi also in Cape Town today

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90
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●To PAGE 2

PAGES 4 and 5

Buthelezi also to meet FW

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90
From PAGE 1
that Buthelezi and Mandela would "bump into each other in Cape Town". However, there were no plans he was aware of, for any talks in the city at this time.

Mandela will be in Cape Town for the informal discussions with State President FW de Klerk which replace the "talks about talks" called off by the ANC last week.

Buthelezi is also to participate in talks with De Klerk along with other leaders of non-independent homelands, as part of de Klerk's negotiation process.

Since a joint rally scheduled for Monday of this week was called off, both Mandela and Buthelezi have reiterated their willingness to meet for private talks.

Two other attempts to get peace efforts going were made in Pietermaritzburg yesterday.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, fresh from discussions with both sides — a lengthy "pastoral visit" to Buthelezi as well as talks with Mandela — met with local church leaders before leaving on a lengthy tour of the worst stricken areas.

He said he had no doubt that both Mandela and Buthelezi were committed to peace but it had to be remembered both were members of organisations and he added: "It will not do for the leaders to be too out of step with their followers."

Tutu said the church wanted to "bring about a meeting of minds" and to facilitate talks. Referring to the midlands conflict, he said: "We are desperately anxious about the loss of life and the loss of property here."

A second peace effort yesterday was headed by Imbali community leader Albert Hlope. He invited a number of people to discussions in the City Hall. The meeting, however, was inconclusive as some key invited representatives did not arrive.

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/90

304A

All the rules have changed, bar one: We're still alone

IT is testimony to the efficacy of the wall around South Africa that every hair-crack which appears in it is said to herald the end of the country's diplomatic isolation. But the current international interest in Pretoria is not — to use the jargon of the strategic planner — a trend-break in the nearly four decades of seclusion which the country has faced.

Still there is no doubt that President FW de Klerk's busy schedule in Windhoek, and his impending trip to Europe, suggest that international opinion is viewing developments in South Africa in a new — almost suggestive — light.

But to hope that these will open both the floodgates for foreign investment and many diplomatic missions is to misunderstand contemporary international society and the centrality of apartheid in African affairs.

The ending of the Cold War and the resulting changes in almost every East European capital has altered the assumptions which underpinned international politics: totally new rules of the road have been written.

No longer does the comfortable assumption hold whereby my friend's friend is unquestionably my own. As a result several political movements with long standing links to the Soviets, like the African National Congress, find themselves drifting on insecure diplomatic water.

This has created hard ground for those who presently rule South Africa. P. W. Botha's January visit to Hungary, for example, seems to have secured not only trade ties but has elicited the promise of diplomatic relations. The intensity of this particular link remains, however, an isolated case.

As it is presently structured, it is unlikely that South Africa will be able to make wider diplomatic gains in Eastern Europe or elsewhere, for that matter.

Interestingly the Soviets recently fingered the decades-old dilemma on ties with South Africa with their statement that the development of bilateral relations between Moscow and Pretoria was contingent on ending apartheid. Decoded: create a government within which the ANC plays a central role.

Nonetheless De Klerk's moves towards re-orienting South African society have not gone unappreciated, as the invitation to visit the White House im-

Diplomacy is a heady cocktail, and South Africans are already euphoric at the prospect of a speedy end to our international isolation. But the truth is that our pariah position has not changed, and acceptability will lie through cities closer home than Washington or Budapest or Tokyo.

argues **PETER VALE**

Professor Vale is director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape

plies. Here a distinctive, though not unrelated, set of circumstances are at work.

The mood of our times is towards deepening global accord. In this ambience, leaders who are willing to take

togethers were no more than photo-opportunities.

Making the point more forcibly: the meetings, especially with African leaders, in Windhoek, and those which followed in Cape Town, were driven more by joy at Namibia's final decolonisation than by the anticipation that the orange, white and blue will ever fly over the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa.

So where is the key which will unlock South Africa's present isolation?

Until and unless the government accepts the centrality of Africa's role in the quest for a political resolution in South Africa, the country will remain in quarantine.

This is endorsed by the ANC's approach to the negotiation process, the Harare Declaration, which has embedded the OAU as an integral partner in

the mechanism which will not only deliver the country from apartheid but reintegrate it into the international community.

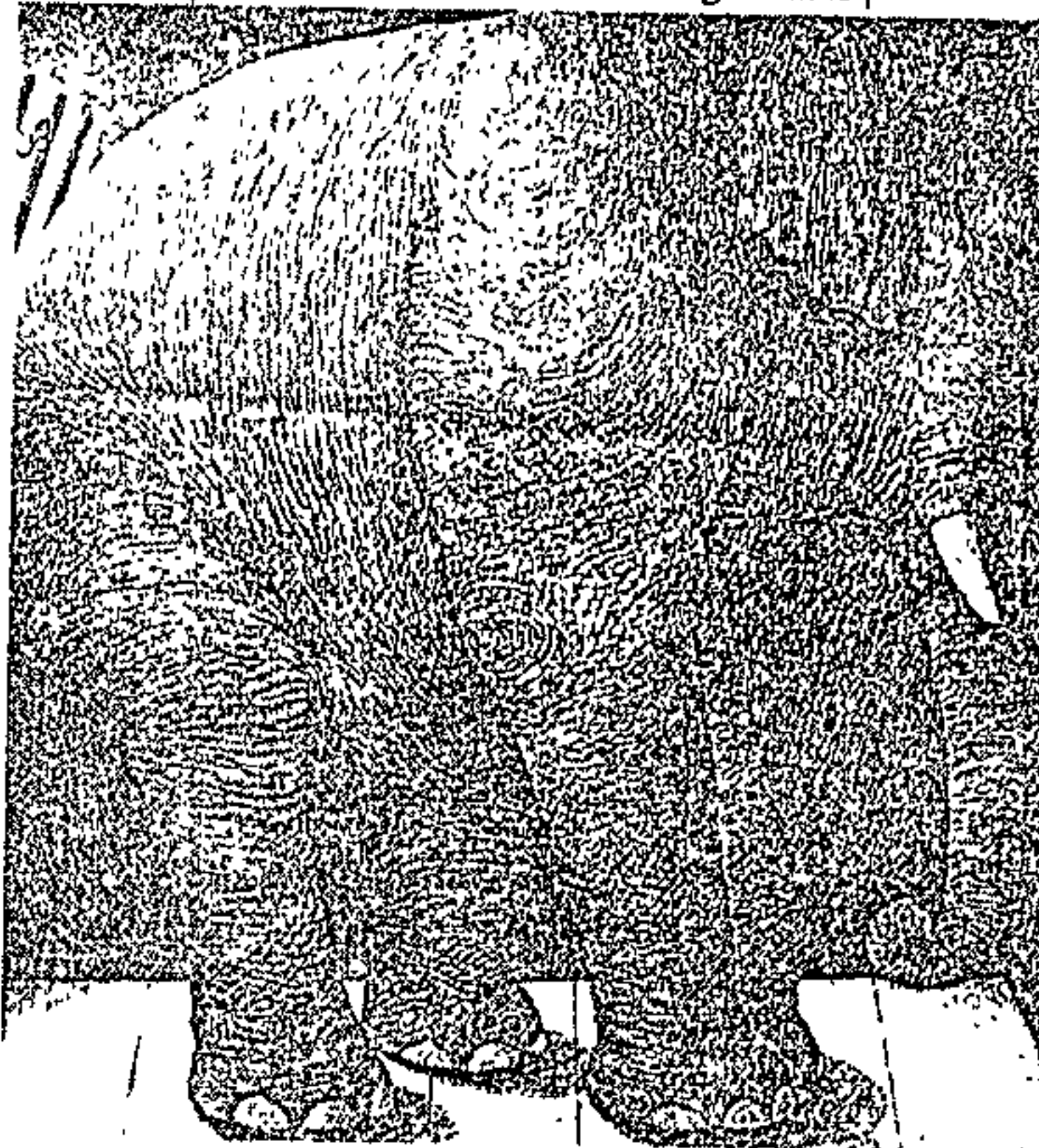
In this a principle of African international relations has once again been notarised: apartheid — and its elimination — are the particular responsibility of this continent.

It is true that South Africa is able to make breakthroughs on the continent but the record shows these links are costly and unstable. They have, nonetheless, periodically complicated the efforts to isolate the country, causing tension in African ranks.

Anticipating this, the Harare Declaration locks all African states into a continent-wide diplomatic process. Pretoria's periodic faculty to dislodge states from supporting the common African stand on the ending of apartheid has been forestalled.

All other countries — including Japan, which is keen to upgrade its formal ties — will hold off until the Harare process reaches a point which, right now, still seems a long way off and which cannot be determined by Pretoria alone.

Diplomacy is a heady cocktail, as those who control De Klerk's diary are discovering. But the iron law of South Africa's position in the world has not changed: the route to unfettered international acceptability lies through cities closer to home than Budapest and Tokyo.



South Africa ... Still trying to squeeze itself into an isolated space which is becoming increasingly much too tight a fit for it.

risks are viewed as important players. The now over-used, often misdirected, analogy between Gorbachev and De Klerk has more than a little relevance in this particular instance.

It is against this background that the events were played out in Windhoek a fortnight ago. It would have been curious — to say the least — if the international community, after imploring South Africa for more than 40 years to jettison Africa's last colony, had not congratulated the man who finally brought it about. To read more into it is to mistake tokenism for reality: many of the get-

Peace on edge as FW meets Mandela

Mail 5/4-11/4/90

He said the prospect for resuming the talks-about-talks with the government, postponed by the ANC last Sunday, would depend on the outcome of today's discussions.

The fact that he had accepted De Klerk's invitation for talks today refuted the perception that the movement was backing out of the negotiations process, Mandela said.

"It shows we are keen to find a solution, but we are not going to allow

364A
●From PAGE 1

the government to preach peace on the one hand and conduct a war against us on the other."

He stressed that the ANC was still strongly in favour of speaking to the government.

"We would not work so hard over three years to secure a meeting between the ANC and the government if we were going to turn round (for) flimsy reasons and refuse to see the government. We would like the government to create the conditions which would allow us to start discussions."

Mandela said the "mowing down of between six and 14 unarmed and defenceless blacks involved in a legal form of protest" in Sebokeng was a situation which the ANC could not accept and was a valid reason for suspending the April 11 talks.

"People who feel that this was not sufficient reason for suspending discussions have not yet grasped the intensity of feeling among blacks."

Mandela again issued a scathing attack on Adriaan Vlok, calling for his removal from office.

Referring to the Natal war he said he believed no progress could be made "while you have a minister who is totally uncooperative and who is hostile to black aspirations in the country".

He said the ANC welcomed the measures announced by the State President to deal with the conflict in Natal, but did not believe they would succeed unless "acknowledged black leaders" were involved, at least in the areas affected.

Mandela added that the ANC did not consider the police "a proper agency for bringing about peace".

He said Pietermaritzburg residents preferred the army to be used to quell the violence.

The ANC deputy president refuted charges that his movement was in disarray, pointing to the success of mass rallies around the country.

"How can an organisation that is in disarray have such a massive following," he asked.

REPUBLIEK
VAN
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PRETORIA, 5 APRIL 1990

No. 12415

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 71, 1990

VOLKSRAADTUSSENVERKIESING.— KIESAFDELING UMLAZI

(1) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 110 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), verklaar ek hierby dat 'n vakature ontstaan het in die verteenwoordiging van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling Umlazi.

(2) Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 33 van die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No. 45 van 1979), bepaal ek hierby ingevolge die bepalinge van artikels 34 en 110 van genoemde Wet—

(i) Maandag, 30 April 1990, as die dag waarop 'n nominasiehof ten opsigte van die kiesafdeling Umlazi sitting sal hou om nominasies van verkiesingskandidate te ontvang vir die verkiesing van 'n lid van die Volksraad vir daardie kiesafdeling;

(ii) Woensdag, 6 Junie 1990, as die dag waarop, indien 'n stemming in die bedoelde kiesafdeling nodig word om die redes vermeld in artikel 41 van die genoemde Wet, die stemming ten opsigte van die verkiesing van die lid van die Volksraad in die kiesafdeling hierbo gemeld, gehou sal word, welke stemming ooreenkomstig artikel 94 van genoemde Wet op daardie dag om 07:00 sal begin en om 21:00 sal sluit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Tweede dag van April Eenduisend Negehoonderd-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

E. LOUW,
Minister van die Kabinet.

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 71, 1990

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY-ELECTION.— ELECTORAL DIVISION OF UMLAZI

(1) Under the powers vested in me by section 110 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby declare that a vacancy has occurred in the representation of the House of Assembly in the Electoral Division of Umlazi.

(2) Under the powers vested in me by section 33 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act No. 45 of 1979), I hereby determine, in terms of the provisions of sections 34 and 110 of the said Act—

(i) that Monday, 30 April 1990, shall be the day on which a nomination court will sit in respect of the Electoral Division of Umlazi, to receive nominations of candidates for election as a member of the House of Assembly for that electoral division;

(ii) Wednesday, 6 June 1990, as the day on which, if a poll becomes necessary in the said electoral division for the reasons mentioned in section 41 of the said Act, the poll in respect of the election of the member of the House of Assembly in the electoral division mentioned above shall be taken, which poll in accordance with section 94 of the said Act will commence at 07:00 and will close at 21:00 on that day.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Second day of April, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

E. LOUW,
Minister of the Cabinet.

HAVING learnt hard and valuable lessons in the Namibia negotiations, government is not panicking at the deteriorating security situation or at the ANC's decision to call off the talks which were to have been held next week.

It is, after all, only 55 days since President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, who met today, saw each other last. Given this short period of time, the pessimism that now abounds at the lack of visible progress in negotiations, especially since the ANC's decision to postpone the April 11 talks, is premature.

What has been overlooked in all the expressions of dismay following the cancelling of the talks is that government and the ANC, who until this year had had little or no contact, have in a matter of months established a structure through which they are in regular contact.

De Klerk told Parliament on Monday that a steering committee consisting of senior government officials, external and internal ANC members had not only been set up, but that he had instructed government officials on the committee to keep in touch with the ANC.

The importance of such a committee should not be underestimated; its establishment signifies the start of a process similar to that followed by the Angolans, Cubans and South Africans in hammering out the Namibian settlement.

As Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden points out, more was achieved in that process by small delegations meeting behind closed doors and identifying at first points of agreement, then differences and finally negotiating compromises, than in any highly publicised meeting. This process is now underway in the quest for a new SA.

What has been remarkable in listening and talking to De Klerk and his senior Ministers in recent months has been the total lack of panic in the higher echelons of government as the security situation deteriorated and Mandela and the ANC drifted

Negotiations: the position that government is in...

MIKE ROBERTSON in Cape Town

between remarkable reasonableness and a mulish adherence to positions adopted in a previous era.

Even when he decided that the security situation necessitated further intervention, De Klerk coupled his announcement of the deployment of troops with a conciliatory gesture — outlining plans to grant immediate temporary amnesty for negotiators to be followed by permanent measures at a future date.

His message is clear — government is prepared to be more than reasonable in removing obstacles to negotiations. But, at the same time, he will not allow good government — which includes the maintenance of law and order — to be jeopardised.

What is also apparent is that government has learned important lessons in negotiations over Angola/Namibia and is applying this experience in negotiating an internal settlement.

The first of these, and here the ANC has much to learn, is that when problems occur the talking has to continue — boycotts, withdrawals and suspensions do not provide answers. De Klerk stressed this when he said on Monday: "All leaders simply have to find a way to start talking and keep on talking in an effort to find one another in a

common purpose for the peaceful creation of a new SA."

Unlike his predecessor who got bogged down in security actions when the going got tough, De Klerk insists that only reform can bring success.

Mandela said in Natal this week that the decision to send troops into townships could backfire because black leaders, presumably including himself, had not been consulted.

If he raises this point today, De Klerk's response, as it was to the ANC's raising of the the Sebokeng shootings as a reason for cancelling the April 11 meeting, will be that "a forum exists in the steering committee; use it and in so doing, you allow us an opportunity to consult you".

There is certainly a degree of frustration on the part of government at the failure to achieve visible progress in negotiations. But Ministers and officials also point out that when someone like Mandela welcomes a decision to send troops into townships, remarkable progress is being made.

Both Constitutional Development

ing able to lead it.

This, it contends, is the real reason why the ANC leadership is dragging its heels on entering negotiations.

De Klerk put it bluntly in his speech on Monday when he said: "Adherence to violence and the joining of peaceful negotiations are mutually exclusive... this dichotomy lies at the root of the ANC's hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiating process."

Government negotiators do not, however, expect the ANC to take such a final step as calling for a suspension or end of the armed struggle until the organisation has had more time to establish itself on a grassroots level.

But they hope that in the workings of the steering committee, meetings such as the one today between De Klerk and Mandela and in talks about talks, which they still expect to happen soon, a degree of understanding of the other's position can be built up to a point where it will be possible for this to happen.

In the meantime, both by meetings such as that today with homeland leaders before the Mandela talks, and through a crackdown on violence, government will make it clear to the ANC that it will not allow it to destroy or force out other contending black political organisations.

De Klerk told his Cabinet at its final meeting before February 2 that they were in for a rough ride and that above all cool heads were called for. In recent weeks he has stressed the same in meetings with businessmen and in public speeches.

He believes he holds the moral high ground and, judging from the international reaction to his crackdown and the disappointment expressed from diverse quarters at the ANC's decision to cancel the talks, his belief is justified.

De Klerk is a skilful politician and has shown by his actions that he is serious about negotiations. He intends to maintain the high ground, and the longer he is successful in doing so, the greater the pressure on the ANC will become to take the final plunge into negotiations.

...and what position the ANC will adopt

B/D our 514/90

304/4

CONTRARY to initial media speculation, it appears the ANC's explanation for the postponement of the April 11 meeting between itself and government was a genuine one, not simply a pretext for masking a split in the organisation.

The ANC announced at the weekend it was taking the step in reaction to the police shootings at Sebokeng in which at least 14 people died.

What the decision shows is that the organisation, like many others, is the prisoner of a tactical tradition which has developed in SA over the last 20 or so years. The tradition is a simple one — whenever a crisis arises, disengage.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe this week explained more clearly than did the ANC the rationale behind the move.

Firstly, he said, there was a great deal of anger on the ground at the Se-

bokeng shootings, and other recent incidents of police intervention in perceived legitimate protest.

The failure of President F W de Klerk to respond to the shootings by promising action against what are seen as "rogue" policemen only served to exacerbate these feelings.

So the ANC hopes the move will serve two purposes.

Firstly, explains Molefe, "we and the ANC are primarily accountable to our own constituency. When the ANC meets government, it has to ensure it has its constituency fully behind it. If it went ahead with the April 11 meeting it would have appeared to be ignoring its own people's wishes."

Secondly, the move was also designed as a form of pressure against government.

"We hope this protest measure brings government to its senses, and

ALAN FINE

makes it recognise the need to deal with undisciplined elements in the police which are trying to pull the entire country, F W de Klerk included, to the right," he says.

This explanation, with strenuous denials from a number of Lusaka-based ANC leaders of any split over negotiations, seems to add up.

As for the fact that the decision appears to contradict the statement by Walter Sisulu earlier last week that the township violence should not affect the talks, one can only assume that — having spent black SA's "boycott" period in prison — he was slow to recognise the consequences of the shootings.

It has become clearer that police behaviour is genuinely becoming a danger to the negotiation process.

ANC national executive committee member James Stuart possibly gave a hint of the sort of issues Nelson Mandela will be discussing with De Klerk today, when he expanded on the ANC's problems with the police.

"We would like De Klerk to curb the use of weapons by police. The march in London at the weekend was far more rowdy and violent than most local marches, and no one was killed by police there," he said.

This is not an unreasonable point. But the very fact of Mandela's meeting with De Klerk shows that disengagement is no longer (if it ever was) the appropriate response to a crisis. It also calls into question the viability of the ANC's stated desire, in terms of the Harare Declaration, to

negotiate a "ceasefire" with Pretoria.

After all, it hardly makes sense to threaten to refuse to discuss a ceasefire until, effectively, a ceasefire is already in place. This is no different to the NP's pre-De Klerk era when it refused to talk to the ANC until the ANC had renounced violence.

There is no reason to disbelieve the ANC's explanation that the depth of township feelings about police shootings made postponement of the talks necessary.

But it does mean that the boycott tradition has left the ANC with a "constituency problem".

If the organisation's leadership has recognised that the 1990s have introduced a new era in SA politics, it is time for it to start educating its rank and file that the automatic reaction to a crisis should not necessarily be disengagement.

LETTERS

voting. This system ensures the seats

FW, Mandela face to face

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are set to meet late today in a bid to reschedule a date for talks to remove obstacles to negotiations.

De Klerk's office would not issue any details yesterday but Mandela said in Johannesburg that it was scheduled for 6pm.

Meanwhile, there was uncertainty as to which of the homeland leaders, scheduled to meet De Klerk earlier in the day to discuss the structuring of negotiations, would actually attend the meeting.

It is expected Mandela will get short shrift from De Klerk if he reiterates his earlier call for the removal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Government spokesmen concede that on the ground some policemen's conduct

MIKE ROBERTSON

might be questionable, but reject accusations that the force in general is undermining negotiations. (304A) (4A)

Police spokesman Herman Stadler said yesterday that individual policemen had taken sides in the Natal fighting and they would be dealt with.

But police did not believe this problem was widespread, he said.

□ ALAN FINE reports that Mandela said yesterday the ANC had worked harder than any other organisation for a meeting between itself and government, and it would not allow any flimsy reason to prevent it arriving at that goal.

● See Pages 3 and 8

Partition may be negotiable — Slabbert

By Shirley Woodgate

Professor Carel Boshoff's partition plan vided it was "sacrificial partition, not greedy partition".

The director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa), Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said this in an address to the Wits Business School Association yesterday.

Stressing that increased volatility from the Right was inevitable under the present circumstances, he said it was crucially important to differentiate between the "weirdos, the bushveld rambblers and the genuine white homelander".

Outlining recent developments, Dr Slabbert said white minority domination had never before been negotiated away by those in power, and never before had democracy been negotiated by the people involved.

This process had not occurred in Namibia or Zimbabwe where the major parties had never negotiated with each other, the actual process being largely left to outsiders: "Lord Soames in Zimbabwe and (to laughter) Lord Pienaar in Namibia."

It was therefore inevitable under present circumstances a sense of confusion was to be accepted while all parties from the PAC to the CP experienced a period of readjustment.

Lauding President de Klerk, whom he described as "infinitely more intelligent" than his predecessor, Dr Slabbert said he had given his MPs a sense of personal liberation and had made it easier to be an Afrikaner walking through customs and immigration check points in other countries.

He said Mr de Klerk's concept of normalisation of political structures and the creation of circumstances for all legitimate people to play their part together had caught everyone by surprise.

"Not least the ANC which did not expect him to seize the Harare Declaration and act on it," he said.

To expect a 71-year-old (Mr Mandela) to come back and give answers, or the ANC to react instantly, was unrealistic, he said.

Blacks and whites in alleged township attack

Star 5/4/90 Own Correspondent (304A) ~~45/10~~

DURBAN — Troops were last night patrolling Mpumulanga near Hammarsdale after reports of an attack on residents and a school by a group of white and black men earlier in the day, according to Democratic Party regional director, Mr Roy Ainslie, who visited the area.

Mr Ainslie said last night he had gone into the area to monitor the situation after receiving reports from several sources on the DP's "unrest hot line" of the attack, in which it was alleged two teachers and a pupil were shot dead.

He hoped to take affidavits in support of the reports today.

While in the township yesterday evening he witnessed a petrol bomb attack on a truckload of furniture. The truck was gutted.

Mr Ainslie saw several SADF vehicles as well as a strong force of troops in the area.

He spoke to several people in the township who told him of the attack, which they said took place in the township's Unit 4.

They said the group of men, both blacks and whites, carried out the attack from a red Isuzu minibus and a kwaZulu bus. Several residents were injured.

The group then allegedly went to the Chief Luthyayi High School where they opened fire with automatic weapons on teachers and pupils.

Two teachers and a pupil were reported to have been killed.

Mr Ainslie said he had sent urgent faxes both to the Minister of Law and Order and the South African Police asking them to investigate the reports.

Star 5/4/90 (304A)

Umlazi by-election to be big test for FW's reforms

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — One of the first public tests of President de Klerk's reform moves will be on June 6 in the Umlazi by-election.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, announced the date in a statement yesterday.

The seat became vacant this week when Mr Con Botha was appointed Administrator of Natal.

Mr Louw said nomination day would be April 30.

"The proclamation by the State President shall appear in the Government Gazette on April 5. The voters roll which closed on March 30 will be used for the purpose of this election," he said.

A four-way fight is expected.

Mr Piet Matthee of the National Party and Mr Francis

Hitchcock of the Conservative Party have already started campaigning.

Durban city councillor Mr Dave McNaught is also expected to contest the seat.

The Democratic Party has said it will fight the seat, but has no candidate yet.

Umlazi will be the first test at the polls of President de Klerk's steps to normalise politics in South Africa.

The CP will put up a fierce campaign against NP attempts to convince voters that unbanning the ANC, SACP and PAC, and opening negotiations for a new constitution, are in their long-term interests.

The DP will have to convince voters of the differences between it and the new-look NP.

Mr Botha won the Umlazi seat in September with a 2 835 majority.

Pik denies hit squad involvement

SA 5/4/90
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Former superspy Mr Craig Williamson today denied he had charged the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, with having a hand in murder squad operations outside South Africa.

And a spokesman for Mr Botha rejected the contents of a British television programme last night, containing death squad charges against him.

The Channel 4 show, "Dispatches", also contained accusations against the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Williamson, a President's Councillor, said today that his emphasis during the interview, videotaped in Johannesburg some weeks ago, was on authorised cross-border operations.

"I strongly made the point that our cross-border actions were authorised, that, in international law, they were legal because of the right to pre-emptive strike, the right to hot pursuit and the right to retaliation."

He said he was then asked who would have authorised such actions. He replied the State Security Council. The next question was whether Mr Botha would have known. He responded "Yes".

"It's a matter of semantics. If they want to call cross-border operations 'murder squad operations', then that's their terminology. I was speaking of officially authorised cross-border ops."

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Minister specifically denied the programme's allegation, made by ANC infiltrator Mr Martin Dolincek, that Mr Botha had blood on his hands, and had been a co-creator of death squads.

Mr Vlok was not available for comment early today. A spokesman for Mr Malan reportedly said the Minister had nothing more to add to his statement to Parliament.

● See Page 5.

checked for bugs

charge of the jailer. He found guilty, received from the ambassador's office in Venda. The ousted president of Venda, Chief Frank Ravele, is under house arrest in the homeland for several months. He said the ANC, UDF, PAC, SACP and other political parties were welcome to talk to him but warned they would not be allowed to demonstrate or forcibly propagate their goals in the homeland. No intimidation would be allowed, he said.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday that the government planned to give "whatever assistance it could" to Venda "to ensure we don't have a repetition of what happened in the Ciskei". Political Correspondent and Sapa

De Klerk talks

6/4/90
CML - 7/4/90
3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FULL-SCALE talks between the government and the ANC are back on track and a date and venue for the next round of talks will be announced soon, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Announcing the breakthrough after a "very frank" meeting at Tynhuys with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk said agreement had been reached on details for a meeting on obstacles to negotiations.

The crunch discussions, which lasted for more than three hours, produced agreement that a meeting "with exactly the same aims" as the cancelled April 11 talks that were called off, should go ahead soon.

Mr De Klerk said the details of the fresh round of talks between the government would be revealed simultaneously in South Africa and Lusaka soon.

Addressing a press conference at the Tynhuys ballroom, Mr De Klerk also said:

● The government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into last week's Sebokeng shootings, which prompted the ANC to call off the planned April 11 talks. This would be discussed by the cabinet at its next meeting. In addition, legislation had been introduced enabling inquests in such cases to be

carried out under judges.

● "Very fruitful" channels of communication had been opened and established by last night's meeting which would hopefully avoid misunderstanding on both sides in future.

● He had expressed his "disappointment" that Mr Mandela had intervened in government's plans to hold meetings yesterday with the leaders on non-independent homelands and senior firearmers politicians.

● He believed agreement had been reached that violence in South Africa had to come to an end in order to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk noted that the ANC's commitment to armed struggle had also been examined and that "this matter will be discussed at the meeting that has now been planned".

Another major focus of last night's talks had been "the fairly widespread violence throughout South Africa" and the behaviour of the police in dealing with this.

Mr De Klerk said he "very frankly" expressed his view that it was "absolutely necessary" that an atmosphere be established in the country that was conducive towards negotiation and stability.

He said he had told Mr Mandela that the security forces would not act to the advantage of a particular party and that "if there is an exception to this then it is a wrong exception".

Asked if Mr Mandela agreed with this standpoint, Mr De Klerk responded: "I do not want to speak on his behalf but my impression is that the frank exchange of

AFTER THE TALKS ... President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet the press after their talks in Tynhuys yesterday.

views contributed towards understanding in this regard.

Mr De Klerk was assisted at the talks by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok.

The ANC/UDF team attending the talks were Mr Mandela, ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada, UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and the newly appointed ANC head in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel.

Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC's intelligence chief, did not attend the talks as expected.

Mr Mandela addressed a separate press conference in Cape Town late last night after the meeting.

At an earlier press conference Mr De Klerk yesterday effectively accused the ANC of trying to sabotage yesterday's Tynhuys talks with homeland leaders which were eventually attended by only two of the six non-independent homeland leaders.

When the talks eventually did get under way, discussion was largely restricted to the topic of "violence and intimidation" rather than the originally planned agenda of establishing a basis for future constitutional negotiations.

Those attending the talks with the government were KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Qwa-Qwa leader Mr Kenneth Mopeli and the chairmen of the ministers' councils in the tricameral Parliament.

A stern-faced Mr De Klerk told reporters yesterday that he would "most definitely" raise the issue of ANC interference in future talks with the organisation "because I have not tried to interfere in any of his (Mr Nelson Mandela's) discussions in any way whatsoever". He added that he did not believe that the ANC's involvement was "conducive to negotiations".

Mr De Klerk said there was definitely a strategy by radicals to polarise South African politics and not to allow proved leaders "to sit down and present their views".

Many leaders throughout the country were faced with the problems of intimidation, disruption and violent attacks in a bid to undermine their stability, authority and credibility.

Chief Buthelezi also issued a statement saying he had not come to negotiate as a homeland leader, but as the leader of Inkatha, which he said was the largest membership-based black organisation in South Africa.

All the pre-conditions which had kept him from negotiating with successive National Party governments, such as the release of Mr Mandela, had been met and he was now ready to negotiate, he said.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said Mr Mandela had asked him to stay away from the meeting in sympathy with those who had decided not to attend.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would attend the meeting but would ask the President to adjourn it until such time as the obstacles preventing those absent from attending, had been addressed.

Obstacles on road to peace

For quite some time I have debated with an astute Israeli analyst of divided societies the political prospects of our respective countries.

Invariably, he would end the discussion with the words: "Whatever you may say, the fact is that Israel's prospects for peace are much better than those of South Africa."

I eagerly awaited his response to the dramatic developments in recent months. In Israel the peace process, aimed at establishing an autonomous Palestinian entity on the West Bank and in Gaza, has ground to a halt after the collapse of the Shamir government.

In South Africa, by contrast, State President F W de Klerk has stunned the world by freeing up the political process, and declaring himself and his party willing to enter into serious negotiations with all organisations committed to a peaceful solution. Would my friend in the light of these developments be prepared to change his assessment?

Early this week I received a letter from him.

"The South African moves are certainly courageous, promising and overdue," he conceded, but then continued: "There is some justification for the envy some Israelis may feel. The indecisiveness and the eventual fall of the Israeli government have driven many compromising Israelis to despair and anger. Yet since the agenda in South Africa is how to make an undesirable and difficult marriage work while in Israel it is how to conduct a happy divorce through ceding the West Bank, Israel's future seems to me much brighter despite the temporary setbacks."

So who has the best chance — South Africa or Israel?

Three factors can be isolated as decisive in determining the chances of a settlement in a communal conflict. They are the role of external powers, the ability of the sides to come to an ideological re-definition of the conflict and the capacity of the antagonists to absorb unwelcome compromises.

As far as the external factor is concerned, it looks at a first glance as if the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is much more amenable to resolution than the South African one.

After all, Israel is for 15 percent of its GNP dependent on American and other foreign aid, and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation relies strongly on the goodwill and

HERMANN GILIOME, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, analyses the factors that are seen as decisive in determining the chances of a settlement in communal conflicts such as exist in South Africa and Israel.

Professor Hermann Giliomee ... foreign intervention or meddling can lead to unhealthy externalisation of a political conflict.



good offices of various Arab states.

Why can't the US, along with Egypt, Jordan and Syria, not simply force the Israelis and Palestinians respectively to reach a settlement?

The point is that the internationalisation of a conflict, as has happened in the Middle East, can be very detrimental to its resolution.

Egypt, Syria and the US all want a different kind of settlement and have the ability to wreck the peace process. In the case of the US there is a further complicating factor in the enormously powerful Jewish lobby which severely constrains the Bush administration in putting pressure on Israel.

It is now clear that foreign intervention or meddling leads to a most unhealthy externalisation of the conflict. Instead of negotiating with each other on the basis of the internal power balance, the Palestinians and Israelis plead their respective cases to foreign powers and beg them to intervene on their behalf.

Hope

In a profound study of Northern Ireland, Mr Frank Wright aptly commented that successful settlements only occur where the prospects for external intervention are so remote "that no one except a few maniacs hope for such external support to cancel the power of their internal opponents".

In South Africa the Government is prepared to talk to the ANC exactly because it concluded that it will get no further significant sup-

port from a foreign power, not even the Soviet Union.

It is the ANC which is now painfully learning that foreign pressure has been aimed at getting the parties to the negotiating table, not to force the Government to capitulate.

US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Hank Cohen has remarked: "We will criticise the first party to move away from negotiations." The ANC is now on its own and has to secure whatever its own internal strength can achieve.

For a communal settlement it is also necessary for the main antagonists to come to ideological terms with each other. In Israel there is no willingness at all among both Israelis and Palestinians to grow together into one people.

The only solution is partition, but at least half the Israeli electorate rejects giving up the West Bank because it considers Judea and Samaria as sacred land.

Not only the conservative Likud bloc but also many moderates refuse to forego the exclusivity of the Jewish moral and historical claim to Eretz Israel.

And then there is, of course, the two decades of remorseless PLO terrorism which makes it excruciatingly difficult for Israel to accept the bone fides of Arafat and the PLO in controlling an independent state right next to Israel.

In South Africa by contrast, major strides have been made in ideological re-definition. Both NP and ANC are now committed to an inclusive South African nation. Both

realise that blacks and whites cannot live without each other. The only disagreement — and it is a major one — is whether political power is to be shared or to be monopolised by the majority.

Despite this obstacle, South Africa's chances for peace seem to be marginally better than Israel's on this score.

Finally, there is the question of whether the major contenders have political organisations which could enable leaders to make compromises and sell them to their followers.

In Israel, leaders are hamstrung by a political system in which the major two party blocs paralyse each other and the minor parties have disproportionate influence. All this works against leaders taking major risks.

In South Africa, by contrast, the NP leadership has considerable leeway, as is evident from the fact that President de Klerk could decide on unbanning the ANC without first consulting the caucus.

Transform

The major question in both the South African and Israeli cases is whether the main liberation organisation can transform itself into a negotiating partner which is prepared to compromise on its ultimate objectives in order to make short-term gains. Put differently, it is whether it is prepared to forego seizure of power and settle for incremental gains.

Neither the PLO nor the ANC appears ready for this. Neither seems to have erected any significant political and instrumental structures that could deal with constitutional as distinct from liberation politics.

What black South Africa does have, and what the Palestinians do not, is a vibrant civil society composed of the press, the arts, the churches and, above all, trade unions.

The internal black leaders may initially be more recalcitrant than those in exile, but ultimately a pact concluded with them has a better chance to stick (and be of at least a semi-democratic nature) than one concluded with an authoritarian liberation organisation such as the PLO or the ANC by itself.

These will be my arguments when I reply to my Israeli friend, but I doubt he will be persuaded.

87-61490

Rescind land transfer, urges UDF

3047

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

The United Democratic Front yesterday called on President de Klerk to rescind a recent transfer of land to Bophuthatswana.

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said this week's transfer of land in the Rustenburg, Marico and Vryburg areas was disturbing as it included the transfer of control of the Derdepoort border post between South Africa and Botswana to Bophuthatswana.

He described this as an attempt to force Botswana to recognise Bophuthatswana as a sovereign state.

According to the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, South African citizens may still travel through the post, but aliens will have to report to the SA Embassy in Mmabatho or the SA border post, Willow Park, at Zeerust to gain entry.

Mr Molefe said the land move — and the apparent "urgency" requiring its proclamation in an extraordinary Government Gazette last Sunday — could have been "in order to dangle a carrot" to those bantustan leaders eager to be incorporated into South Africa to "maintain the system".

The move "raises doubts that the National Party is not yet prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid and create a unified South Africa," he said.

NEWS

Dolincnek bore old grudge against Pik

Political Staff

Former security agent Mr Martin Dolincnek was implicating Foreign Minister Pik Botha in hit squad operations because of an old grudge, Government sources said yesterday.

"This is obviously his way of trying to get the Minister," one official said. He noted that Mr Dolincnek, a former security policeman, was involved in the November 1981 attempt of a group of South African-based mercenaries trying to overthrow the Seychelles government.

It is understood that Mr Dolincnek was fully aware that Mr Botha was in favour at the time of prosecuting him for his part in the Seychelles affair.

A source said Mr Dolincnek also knew that Mr Botha came close to being fired from the Cabinet because of his strong disapproval of the coup attempt.

Like Libya

3044

When Mr Botha was telephoned by a colleague very early one morning with news of the foiled coup, he apparently commented: "So now we are becoming like Libya."

The next morning, at a pre-Cabinet meeting, President Botha, who had heard of Mr Pik Botha's words, tore a strip off him.

Sources said President Botha called his Foreign Minister "a softy" and chided him in front of other Ministers for "not showing team spirit".

When the Foreign Minister said he would not attend the Cabinet meeting afterwards — he could no longer serve because he felt the dressing down had broken the collegiate atmosphere — Mr P W Botha asked him why he could not take a disciplining like a man.

Officials, aware of the row, said it was the sec-

ond closest the Foreign Minister had come to being fired, the other time was when he made a remark about a black man being able to become president of the country.

"Pik Botha's attitude was that Dolincnek should be made an example of, that he should go to court," a source said. "He wanted him properly prosecuted."

Mr Dolincnek's accusation on British television on Wednesday night that Mr Botha had "blood on his hands" was thus a payback for old grudges.

On accusations that Mr Botha was involved in cross-border operations, it is also known that he had a confrontation with former President Botha when documents were found at Gorongosa in Mozambique pointing to South Africa supplying Renamo with arms.

Harmed

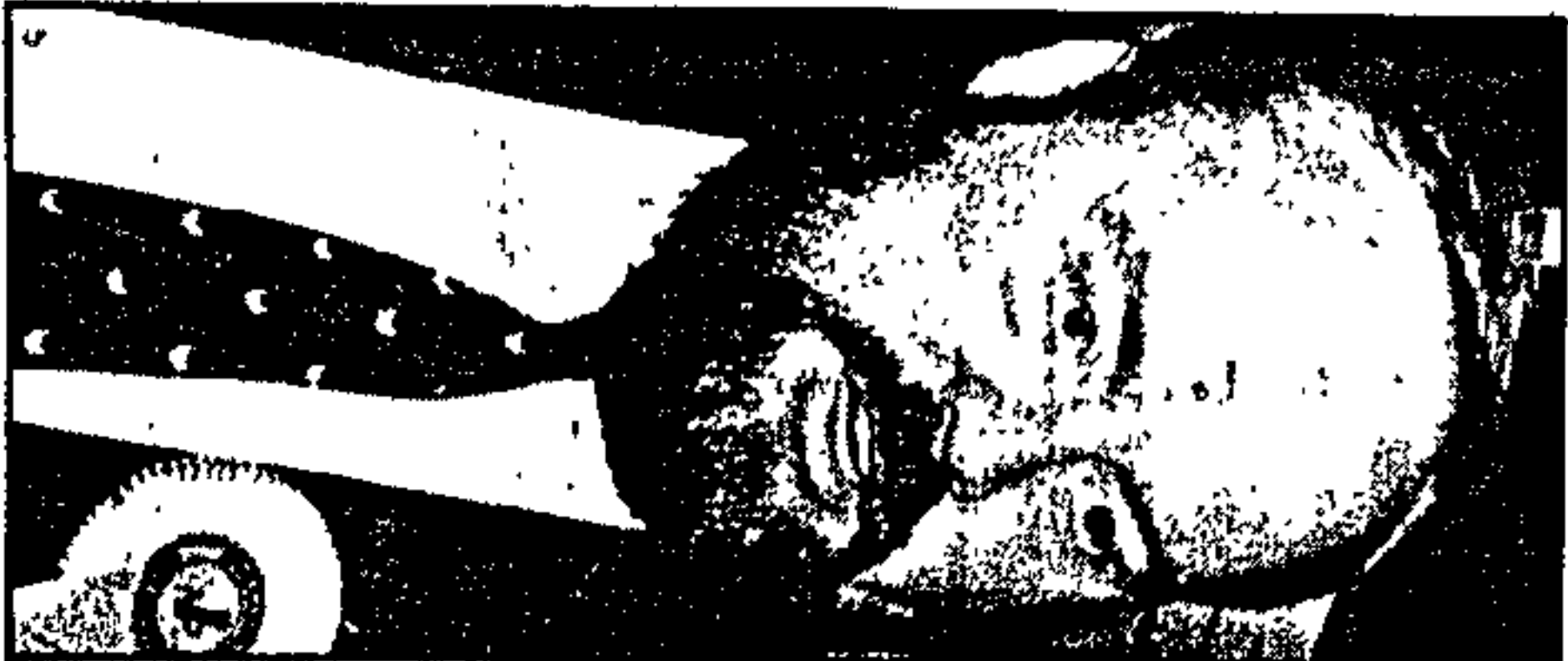
When the Foreign Minister insisted that it be investigated, he was again rapped in another memorable clash by President Botha.

Fiercely denying that the Foreign Minister had approved or knew of cross-border operations, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said he had been at the forefront of all attempts to curb any operations which harmed South Africa's international relations.

In June last year, for instance, Mr Botha is believed to have issued a directive to personnel at his foreign missions, including officials not in his department.

The "code of conduct", as it was known, followed incidents in which non-Foreign Affairs agents were involved in diplomatic incidents.

In that order to missions, Mr Botha expressly forbade other officials from offering the "need to know" principle to withhold information about their activities from the head of the diplomatic station.



President's Council member and former spy, Craig Williamson

Williamson denies saying Botha knew of squads

Political Staff

Former superspy Mr Craig Williamson yesterday denied saying that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, knew of specific operations by South African "death squads".

"My words have been deliberately taken out of context and it is ridiculous to single out Mr Botha for attack over this," he told The Star.

Mr Williamson, now a member of the President's Council, was responding to reports that he had said Mr Botha was informed of specific operations.

He was quoted on a British TV Channel 4 programme on Wednesday night, in which former National Intelligence Service operative Mr Martin Dolincnek — now an ANC member — said Mr Botha had blood on his hands and was part of the process that led to the creation of death squads.

Mr Williamson said yesterday: "The principle of external operations against enemies of South Africa is approved by the Cabinet, many other people and even opposition parties in Parliament. But I must add that when it comes to specific operations, Mr Botha need not necessarily have known about them. This is a security principle."

"I was speaking within the framework that SA has a legal right under international law to hot pursuit and retaliation," said Mr Williamson, a former major in the Security Police.

The Star's London Bureau reports that an interview with Mr Williamson by reporter Nicholas Claxton in the Channel 4 programme, "Dis-

patches", was shown immediately after dramatic film of ANC official Mr Albie Sachs' car being blown up in Maputo.

The verbatim text is:

Williamson: "It is going to be silly to argue that all the ANC people of this world who have ever started their cars and then been blown into the hereafter would have nothing to do with the South African security forces. I mean, nobody is going to believe you. But it is a fact that there has been a war and they have been blowing us up and killing them. And obviously some of the actions are admitted and some of them are not admitted."

Claxton: "But, er, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for example, being a member of the State Security Council, would know about, would be aware of these external operations?"

Williamson: "Yes."

In Cape Town, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Minister specifically denied the allegation that Mr Botha had blood on his hands and had been a co-creator of death squads.

Mr Dolincnek had told the programme that a triumvirate of Ministers — Mr Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok — would have been part of the decision-making process that led to the creation of death squads.

Mr Dolincnek said Mr Botha, in spite of his denials, had blood on his hands.

6/14/90
30KHA

Date and venue agreed on - announcement is expected soon

ANC, Govt talks 'back on track'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Talks between the ANC and the Government to clear the way for negotiations are "back on course" after a successful three-hour meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk last night.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela announced at separate press conferences that the date and venue for the meeting had been agreed on and would be announced "fairly soon", simultaneously by the Government in Cape Town and by the ANC national executive committee in Lusaka.

It is understood the meeting will not take place before the end of next week. A steering committee will finalise practical details in the meantime.

Mr de Klerk also said the Government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into the police shooting of protesters at Sebokeng. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Mr Mandela - who seemed to regard the inquiry as a fait accompli - welcomed the decision but said it was a pity the inquiry would be conducted by a white judge.

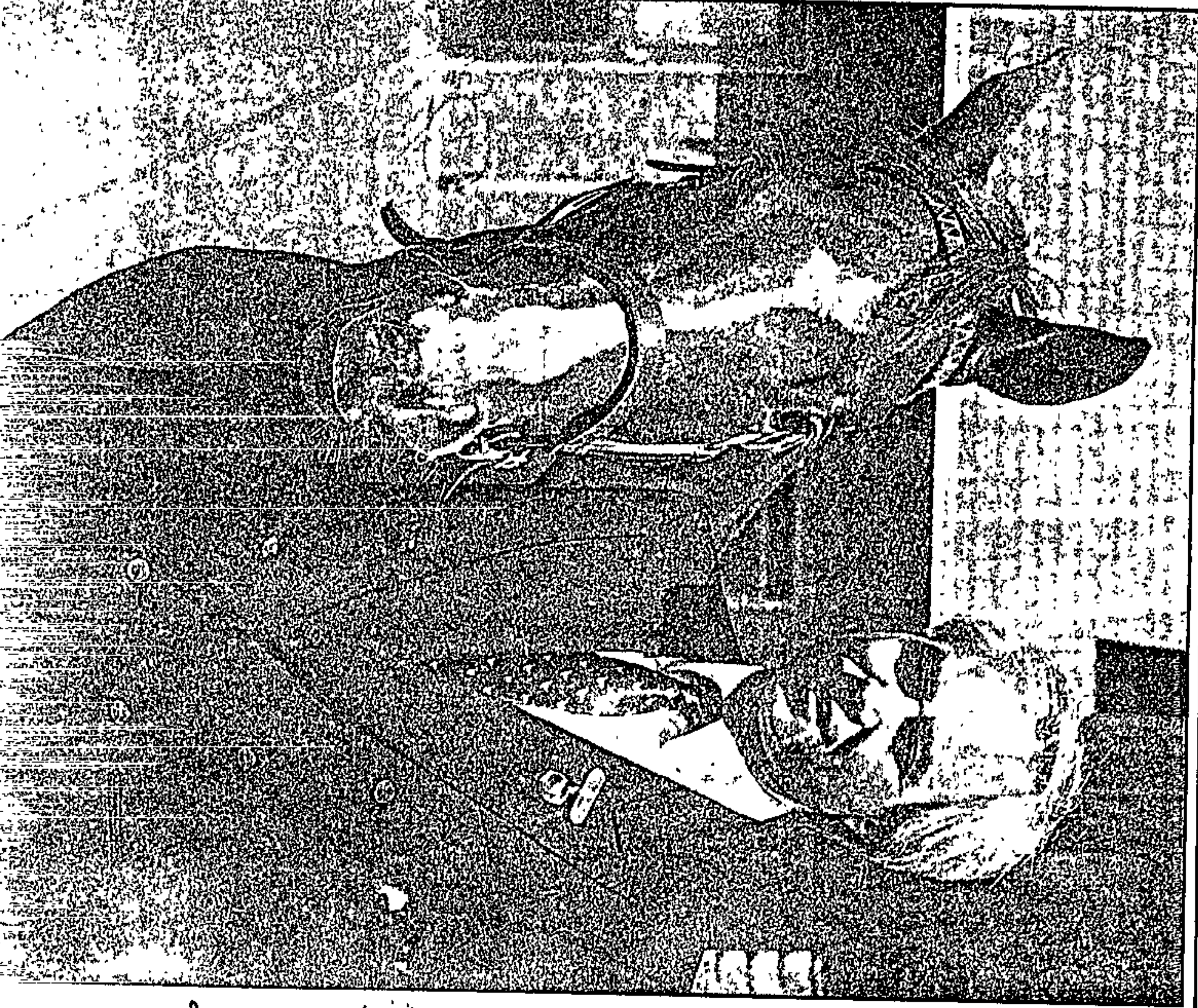
Mr Mandela said the meeting had been "pleasant, cordial and constructive" and that concessions had been made on both sides.

The date and venue for the meeting would be announced after the ANC national executive committee had been briefed.

Mr de Klerk said he had assured Mr Mandela that he had already given instructions for an in-depth investigation of the Sebokeng shooting.

Go ahead

The judicial inquiry appears to be



Venda coup: FW gives assurance

Staff Reporters

The lawlessness of the recent coup in Ciskei would not be repeated in Venda, President de Klerk said last night.

He told a press conference only hours after yesterday's bloodless coup in Venda that the South African Government would give the small homeland in the northern Transvaal whatever assistance was needed to protect lives and property and maintain law and order.

The resignation of Venda President Mr Frank Ravele and his Cabinet was announced on Radio Tlohoayandou shortly after 3pm by Deputy Venda Defence Force chief Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana (48), who said he would be taking over leadership of the country.

No reasons were given for the president's resignation, and his fate is not known.

Colonel Ramushwana said the former Cabinet's "maladministration and incompetence of statecraft had forced him to take over".

He declared a state of emergency and said there would be no work until Monday.

Shortly after his radio address, thousands of chanting people filled Tlo-

hoayandou's streets, dancing and singing their way to the government buildings where Colonel Ramushwana later spoke to a crowd of about 20 000.

Standing on top of a military vehicle, he said: "Today, you, the people of Venda, have witnessed the rebirth of Venda ..."

"Ravele's regime has ended, and I have dismissed the chief of the VDF, Brigadier P G Steenkamp."

"On Monday we will form a council for national unity, with me as chairman."

Colonel Ramushwana cautioned the crowd against being emotional and damaging property.

He said a press conference would be held at the government buildings at noon today.

First indications of dramatic new developments in the territory came on Tuesday when Lieutenant-General T R Mthandazi, the Venda Commissioner of Police, who was known to be fiercely loyal to President Ravele, announced his resignation.

President Ravele's government had been under constant pressure since January amid widespread boycotts, work stoppages and unrest.

There had been allegations of cor-

● To Page 3.

COME AND SEE SOUTH AFRICA'S
TOP SELLING AUTOMATIC
POOL CLEANER IN ACTION

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Abstract

ANC, Government talks 'back on track'

● From Page 13 of 14

From Page 13 of 14. The ANC's involvement in future meetings of the homeland leaders who failed to attend yesterday's meeting.

Mr de Klerk said some of the homeland leaders had not stayed away through choice. Some were under tremendous pressure and had been the prey of violent attacks.

"It is clear that there was ANC involvement and pressure was brought to bear in some way or another."

Judging by the joint statement the meeting never really got down to discussing negotiations — supposed to be the main

item on the agenda. Instead it discussed "the grave situation which had arisen as a result of the escalating cycle of violence and intimidation".

Mr Hendrickse said he had attended the meeting only to ask for it to be adjourned until the obstacle presenting the four homeland leaders from attending had been addressed.

This was the police shooting at Sebokeng — the same obstacle which the ANC had put forward for cancelling the planned April 11 meeting with the Government.

He announced that on Saturday he would be leading a delegation for discussions with Azapo and Nactu.

In a joint statement after the earlier meeting with homeland leaders and Ministers' Councils, Mr de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mopeli said that efforts should be made to secure the in-

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GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC

Time of reckoning

President FW de Klerk has once again, in the face of tremendous provocation, held out the hand of peace and appealed to black leaders — in particular the ANC's Nelson Mandela — to join him at the negotiating table.

While all present in parliament on Monday expected De Klerk to wield the big stick, he surprised even his supporters when he announced steps to indemnify former en-



Mandela



De Klerk

emies of the State.

At the same time, De Klerk announced the implementation with immediate effect of a co-ordinated security plan, devised by all the parties concerned in strife-torn Natal. The announcement could be seen as a first major step to combined action between the SA security community, Inkatha — and even the ANC — against future unrest and halting the bloodbath.

A clean page

De Klerk's speech concentrated on two target areas. To those (supporters and opponents alike) who still doubted his reform initiatives, he stated clearly: it is our desire to close the old books and to start on a clean page. However, to those who persisted with acts of violence or who still persist with worn-out rhetoric, as for example, phrases like "the armed struggle continues," and, on the other hand, those who persist on continued domination must realise that he is deadly serious about building a new SA, De Klerk said.

Let there be no doubt that government is intent not to accept violence and chaos, De Klerk went on. The lives and property of all South Africans must be safeguarded and negotiations can only succeed in a climate of law and order.

There can be no gainsaying that the recent appeal by the Black Sash to government to send troops into the unrest areas in Natal could not have come at a better time for De Klerk.

De Klerk stressed that his government had embarked on a deliberate programme of re-

moving impediments perceived to have stood in the way of full participation in the political process by all those seeking peaceful solutions.

After the ANC National Executive Committee's announcement that they intended to meet with him, a number of meetings between government officials and representatives of the National Committee took place to finalise arrangements for the now cancelled April 11 meeting.

It was difficult to understand why an organisation, saying it was interested in peace, refused to come and talk about those very issues, De Klerk said. Relevant problems which stood in the way could have been addressed by the steering committee; but this was not done.

Open door

His government was willing to discuss the adherence of the ANC to the armed struggle, which is seen by government as a stumbling block. De Klerk's government was also willing to discuss the issues of political prisoners and the return of exiles — which,

in turn, are perceived by the ANC to be stumbling blocks.

De Klerk, however, has not given up on the ANC. He announced that he would meet Mandela this week: "My door remains open. I hope the ANC will find it possible soon to join those already talking."

Indemnity for ANC exiles has always been a major stumbling block in negotiations. To remove it, De Klerk announced that temporary indemnity against prosecution or civil proceedings will be granted for those who might be outside the country and who may be delegated to take part in discussions with government. Such indemnity will only apply to brief visits and discussions, De Klerk added.

However, envisaged legislation will empower De Klerk to grant indemnity on a permanent basis to persons who could have been guilty of some or other common law or statutory offence.

With this announcement, and the prospect that temporary indemnity will soon come into effect, De Klerk has again placed the ball in Mandela's court. A negative reply or reaction from the ANC leader will strengthen the belief that major dissent within the ranks of the organisation led to the proposed talks with De Klerk being cancelled, rather than principled differences with government, as suggested. In short, the time had come for Mandela to deliver.

The indemnity announcement has also opened the door for De Klerk to waive any convictions which may be forthcoming as a result of the Harms Commission which is now hearing evidence about hit squads.

Politically, De Klerk made a good speech. Unlike his predecessor, he showed himself as a conciliator, always with an open door. To black and white fears of continuing carnage in unrest areas, he promised the full action of the State to restore peace but without the usual *kragdadigheid* which marked P W Botha's speeches.

To those who, in places like Welkom, have shown a readiness to take the law into their own hands, he issued a warning to lay off.

It was a remarkably even-handed speech, by any standards.

Eddie Botha

TALKING STILL

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela is expected to announce a new date for the postponed April 11 talks about talks between government and the ANC at a press conference this week.

A well-placed ANC source added the talks had not been cancelled. "It has taken a long process to get rank-and-file supporters to identify with our negotiating position, as set out in the Harare Declaration." He added: "However, we must be sensitive to those who ask how we go to the negotiating table when our people are being shot. We have moved on from the politics of ungovernability."

The postponement was essentially, the source said, a signal to government about police violence being unacceptable.

Mandela was to meet President FW de Klerk on Wednesday, as the FM went to press, and it was thought likely he would make a statement then.

Scuppering Mandela's joint rally with Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was different. The reason, it now seems, is that Buthelezi "unilaterally" announced the date and venue. That was unacceptable. A private meeting between the two is being looked at.

NATAL VIOLENCE F/M 6/4/90

Looking for leaders

The past week's fighting in Maritzburg, the worst this battle-scarred region has yet seen, clearly shows one thing: national leaders have little control over their organisations.

As bloody, well-organised battles between

Finding the way back

■ F W's reform initiative is bearing fruit, in trade and diplomatic terms



Diplomatic and foreign trade relations have improved substantially over the past few months — at last. This is the first time since the process of excluding SA began in the Fifties that

there has been a roll back.

Not only have important heads of State and foreign ministers had talks with President F W de Klerk — there are others who have sought him out in the country itself. Trade delegations have been moving to and fro, new trade commission offices have been opened and the social ostracism of SA diplomats and trade representatives has been substantially reduced.

SA exports are re-appearing in increasing quantities on the shelves of our traditional trading partners; more direct trade is now taking place without the intermediation of expensive middlemen; and new markets have been opened up for relatively cheap and high-quality consumer products in central Europe, the Far East and Africa.

We have already reported in recent months on the improved attitude of foreign financiers towards SA enterprises that require loans and facilities from abroad. And there is good reason to believe that in the months ahead there will once again be public offerings of the bonds of SA undertakings in the appropriate foreign markets.

According to Trade Minister Kent Durr, the thaw has been particularly noticeable in the EC. "Even our personnel who had been excluded from the social circuit in Brussels are now being invited back again," he told the FM.

Last week, Durr met his Italian counterpart, who indicated during their talks that not only should discussions with SA be encouraged; but he undertook to bring a crafts exhibition here and invited Durr to visit Italy officially.

During a November visit abroad, Durr himself was received by the European Commissioners and the general-secretary of the EEC — the first time they have ever received a minister from this country. New trade commissions have been opened recently in South America, central Africa and Europe.

But not only is SA aiming to regain traditional markets, it is breaking new ground else-

where. "We have established our presence in central (that is, eastern) Europe and some of those countries are establishing their presence here. My department has taken trade delegations — including high-powered SA businessmen — during the past few months to central Europe and mainland China. In turn, there have been trade delegations here over the last four months from central and eastern Europe and central America."

Local banks have been involved in establishing credit lines and developing appropriate financial instruments. Countertrade arrangements have been made, though Durr regards them as a second-best deal.

He sees Africa as an important potential market and recently opened a trade commission office in Zaire, from where a trade delegation has visited SA. "There is a constant flow of people from Africa to our country and we have taken teams of industrialists into Africa," he says. While the African dimension remains small, it is important at the margin: 32% of high added-value exports go into Africa. And his department has recently established an Africa desk to deal with the specific requirements of trade on this continent.

In very few of these meetings and visits have sanctions been an issue, or, indeed, even discussed. "We have not been seeking to parade what we are doing. For we are often dealing with frail democracies and we understand that they lack confidence in general and need to develop a confidence in us as well."

Durr explains that these new and more direct contacts are shortening lines of communications, enabling trade to take place without the involvement of agents. This is particularly important because some commodities and manufactured goods were be-

ing handled by as many as three agents, each of whom added 20% to 30% to the price. It is also easier for businessmen who meet face to face to identify and exploit mutual trading opportunities.

What the "frail democracies" want from this country are high-quality consumer products such as wine, fruit and wool. "SA, too, is a world leader in quality and we are transferring this knowledge. We have intermediate technology (midtech) which is appropriate to the development levels in these countries. In fact, much of our technology is especially appropriate to their requirements. We have also invited them to work alongside our Small Business Development Corp, in which there has been a lot of interest," he says.

Durr believes that in the improved political and diplomatic climate, his department has played a considerable role in expanding SA trade and the attainment of our present substantial trade surplus by providing leadership, building up an export culture and concentrating on becoming a service ministry for business.

The extent of the thaw, however, is much wider than trade relations. The efforts of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his officials are bearing substantial diplomatic fruits after years of hard and patient struggle — verging sometimes on the hopeless.

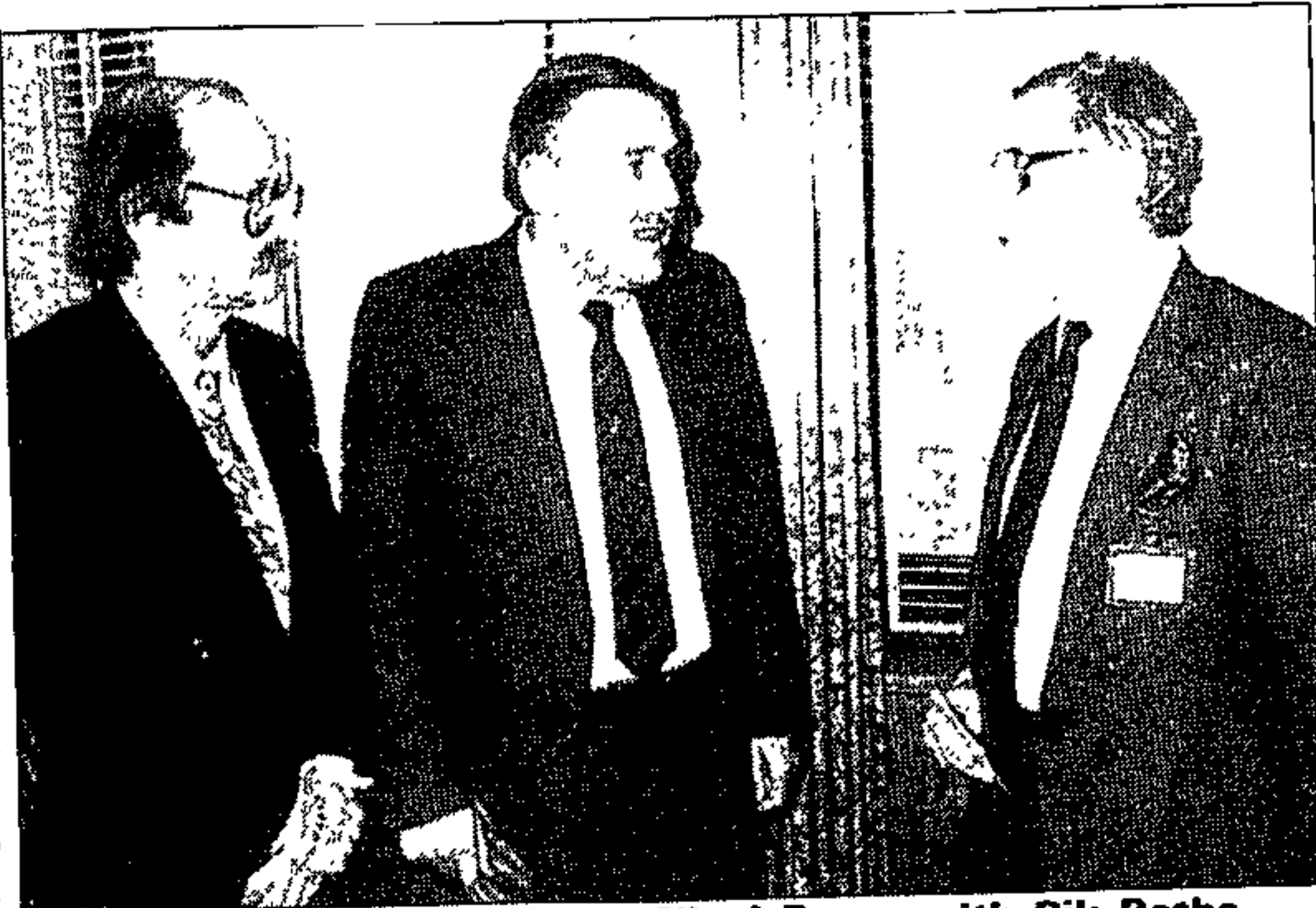
Speaking frankly in his Cape Town office this week, Botha said that at last he had a product that was saleable. The present thaw was the highlight of his 37 years in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The prospects of Hungary opening a trade mission here are good, he says. While in that country in January, he met opposition leaders Miklos Szabo of the Free Democrats and Geza Zaszonszky of the Democratic Forum. Both approved of his visit.

In Argentina, SA's representation had been upgraded after a scaling down virtually to a caretaker position. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wessels has attended the inauguration of both new presidents of Chile and Brazil.

Botha himself describes his recent meeting with US Secretary of State James Baker as the best he has had with any Secretary of State. There has been communication with Canada's Foreign Secretary Joe Clark — which suggests improved relations with that country, too.

The visit of the European



FM's Eddie Botha (L) and Nigel Bruce with Pik Botha

THE ANC

F/M 6/4/90

The mandate that never was

Unbanned for two months, and the ANC stands revealed as a threadbare outfit, intellectually 30 years out of date and incapable of exercising discipline over "the masses" in whose name it rhetorically acts. Its latest absurdity — suspending talks with government on the ending of violence *because* of the continuation of violence — reflects not decisiveness, but impotence.

It is difficult not to believe that President F W de Klerk's reforms have outpaced the ANC — that it is plagued by disunity and rivalries, and its actual support on the ground is limited. It is certainly far less monolithic in appearance than in the days of its banning, as Nelson Mandela was a far more substantial figure in Victor Verster Prison.

Part of the ANC's problem lies in a misreading of contemporary history: in the Sixties it was possible for a liberation movement, led by one or another charismatic leader, to assume confidently that it would be swept into office by the tide of decolonisation. There was no need for such paraphernalia as a detailed economic programme, nor for any particular social planning beyond the moment of triumph. The enemy was clearly and boldly defined and was there to be overthrown.

The enemy of the ANC was apartheid. So it still is — but

De Klerk has made it clear that it is his enemy too, and the real debate, therefore, revolves on what comes afterwards and how to get there. Unquestionably, there are elements in the police who shoot first and ask questions later; but no one seriously believes that the Nationalists are indistinguishable from the police.

The process of negotiating entailed a *quid pro quo*: government accepted that while there would be no overt relinquishing of the "armed struggle," at least not yet, the ANC would not (even if it could) prosecute an armed uprising. In turn, the ANC until this week appeared to accept that elements of the security forces were beyond the control of Pretoria but that a number of things were being done to curb that power. A low-level "ceasefire" still prevails.

The steps which were initiated this week to end the nationwide violence, particularly in Natal, were necessary and at one stage it looked as if the ANC was prepared to co-operate in at least unofficial structures to halt mindless destruction of property, murder and factionalism. Perhaps, once it has sorted out its priorities as a legitimate political party which will one day have to face the judgment of an electorate, it will still do so. There is a reservoir of peaceful-minded people who would welcome this. ■

ZIMBABWE

Stand and deliver

F/M 6/4/90

In the 10 years that Zimbabwe has been independent, its economy has, after a brief flush financed from aid, done nothing but decline, while unemployment and the birthrate have soared. There have been only three instances of new fixed foreign capital investment.

President Robert Mugabe's saving grace was that his country has remained able to feed itself and export some food. Now even that appears to be in danger. After a 54% poll in his favour, he has decided to establish a Marxist one-party State and despoil the productive white farmers who are keeping the country solvent, feeding it and helping provide an illusion of stability.

It is no surprise that he has been unable to deliver and has become increasingly authoritarian as a result. What foreign investor is likely to invest in a country whose government openly declares that it will turn Marxist — which implies widespread nationalisation — as soon as it can afford to do so and once it is free from the conditions of independence? What an invitation to stand and be robbed!

Zimbabwe is going the way of Mozambique — reprisals against those who voted against Mugabe and policies which will further depress the country's poor economic performance. The entire nation is going to suffer.

There is no shortage of land in Zimbabwe; but it is badly farmed by those who were settled on tribal and other land.

And the shortage of foreign exchange, which is a consequence of the economic folly of Mugabe's own government, has made it difficult to provide the means of transporting what is produced to the appropriate markets.

Western democratic values are fast disappearing. The courts are subject to the whim of the politburo. Freedom of the press is an illusion. Freedom of speech, long suspect, is now about to be removed by the gauleiters who conduct the post-election reprisals.

Far from learning from the experience of central Europe, Mugabe is taking the Rumanian route. He has nothing to offer but shortages of the means of sustaining life, rising unemployment and increasing repression. Despite what he believes to be an election triumph, his government will increasingly become less stable.

He is condemning his country to the degrading poverty of central Africa. No doubt he will ultimately blame it on apartheid here, the weather and a Western conspiracy to reduce commodity prices. Somewhere we have heard all that before.

The *FM* predicted more than 10 years ago that he would ultimately bring disaster to his country. He is not far off that goal. He has turned his back on his friends in the West without any longer having any Eastern comrades upon whom to sponge. God save Zimbabwe. ■



Kent Durr and Pik Botha ... more positive signs than most can remember

troika here on a fact-finding mission between March 10 and 12 meant that they would have reported back to the 12 nations before he and De Klerk go to Europe. "I wanted them to come before we went and I prefer the Europeans to tell us what remains for us to do. Then at least we get a chance to iron things out before we see the European heads of State," he says.

Relationships with Britain — where Margaret Thatcher moved quickly to remove the new investment and cultural sanctions — and with West Germany remain good. And in the US, the actions of the Wolpe Committee will make it difficult for America to increase sanctions. A resumption of trade, however, would require legislative approval.

Our relationship with Japan, soured by the US release of Japanese-SA trade figures, is improving, especially after a meeting with a group of Japanese, which included an ex-foreign minister. The FM believes there are grounds for reasonable expectation that the status of the Japanese consul-general here will in the foreseeable future be increased to ambassadorial level.

The Swedes, too, have indicated to both De Klerk and Botha a softening of attitude, though the Swedish foreign minister believes it will take time to change the popular Swedish view on SA, which is conventionally hostile.

Botha says the situation in Angola remains fluid. Certain suggestions had been made to Eduardo dos Santos. "The Americans and we take the same stand on the issue ... It is both our wish that the parties should conclude a ceasefire agreement," he says.

In Mozambique, perceptions of SA are improving. "We have taken steps to convince President Chissano that we are not supplying Renamo with arms. The rapport between us and Chissano is really very good." Zimbabwe's President Mugabe remains the odd man out.

Botha has no doubt about what is the most important reason for this changing attitude towards SA. "The effect of what happened in eastern Europe is so far-reaching for us that I do not think our people fully understand the implications. Imagine where we would have been 18 months ago if we had to

negotiate with the ANC-PAC on a basis of the then policies of socialism, Marxism and one-party states. The advantage now is that we do not have to change our economic policy. The other parties have to change theirs ...

"The effect of the unbanning of the ANC and Nelson Mandela's release also played a major role in changing attitudes. What happened in Windhoek (at the independence celebrations), however, was the watershed. Until then, the perception of what De Klerk was doing was good. Windhoek was the actuality.

"Even Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze accepted his integrity and sincerity and realised that the road the SA government was taking was irreversible."

While the De Klerk government is clearly very seriously concerned at the loss of life in the current wave of violence, especially in Natal, there are few reasons to believe it will retard the diplomatic and trade thaw. For the ANC's manifest inability to control warring factions and reluctance to begin serious talks is heightening impatience in Western capitals.

The current outburst of violence is clearly not intended to overthrow or destabilise government, as it was in the late Eighties. It emphasises instead the shortcomings of a

revolutionary movement out of touch with reality and reluctant to embrace the Western democratic standards and economic values on which De Klerk is making an uncompromising stand.

"No government will ask for constitutional change to make way for violence," Botha says. "Not even the UN had approved the handover to an interim government."

Nor were sanctions raised by De Klerk or Botha at the Windhoek diplomatic meetings — though some of the others did so, not without embarrassment on their part. "SA has a new image," Botha says, "and I do not fear an extension of sanctions as we move along.

"The climate in Europe is one of opening up trade with traditional partners.

There was interest in and discussion of his idea for a Marshall Plan for southern Africa to encourage Western investment in the area. To be successful, however, it would also have to entail a rejection of one-party states and Marxist policies. The new mission would be economic advancement — one that Botha expected would become increasingly the slogan of the non-aligned nations as the gap between East and West closed further.

There is little doubt that De Klerk has taken the diplomatic initiative. He has emphasised to the West that he is in a hurry to reform and negotiate an equitable constitution here and redress what he calls the social and economic backlogs that have placed blacks at a disadvantage.

He has embraced Western democratic and economic values that are difficult to gainsay. The peaceful revolution in central Europe, the failure of socialism and the degradation of central Africa reinforce his stance.

The ANC, on the other hand, has made clear its preference for violence and an economic system that has failed to sustain a supply of even the basic necessities of life. It is vacillating, capricious and uncertain. Its moral and material support from abroad is waning.

In these circumstances it is difficult to see — especially in the absence of inspired and firm leadership — how the ANC can regain the diplomatic advantages it enjoyed only a short time ago.



F W de Klerk ... making reform tangible

by the black education crisis. Black children continue sporadically to boycott classes in protest at poor education standards, inferior teaching facilities, poor and poorly paid teachers, massive black unemployment which perpetuates the cycle of deprivation of inadequately trained black school-leavers and, above all, frustration that political and economic empowerment have not followed directly on the heels of Mandela's release.

In his first mass rally in Soweto, Mandela stressed the need for discipline and called on pupils to return to their classes. He was ignored and, even if the children had gone to school next day, they would have been faced with a strike by teachers protesting at low pay.

The children are now used to the violence of street politics and, as Fanie Cloete, of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies sees it, their response underscores the difficulties faced by Mandela and the ANC in changing policy lines. The armed struggle has been fundamental to the ANC's strategy for years and the organisation's supporters will find difficulty in shifting quickly towards the new strategy of negotiation. The same goes for the NP whose supporters have been told for years the ANC was Evil incarnate and who are now trailing way behind President FW de Klerk in the move to political reform.

The difficulties are worsened by Mandela's ambivalent calls at mass rallies. Recently in Natal he urged ANC and Inkatha supporters battling for dominance of black townships to throw their pangas into the sea. In almost the next breath he called on them to intensify the armed struggle against apartheid.

Cloete believes the ANC is facing a crisis of existence and that it deepens the longer the organisation delays establishment of offices and organisational structures inside SA. This, in turn, is affected by the intensification of the leadership struggle within the ANC as the organisation scents the closeness of real political power.

The crisis is also worsened by the challenges to the ANC apparently being mounted by groups such as the UDF and Cosatu, headed by strong and politically ambitious

leaders and which have well-structured organisations throughout the country and can mobilise their followers effectively.

Ironically, the ANC needs the NP if it is to survive and become the unquestioned dominant force in black politics. The ANC needs to demonstrate rapid progress towards black empowerment if it is not to lose support to more militant organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress. Many blacks expect empowerment to arrive more quickly than seems politically possible at present and could well heed the calls of radicalism as frustration sets in.

The converse of this is that De Klerk needs the ANC to ensure that progress towards accommodation and negotiations is smooth enough to satisfy white supporters. If violence persists and black demands seem too radical, apprehensive whites could swing increasingly behind the CP or the AWB, scuppering chances of a negotiated settlement.

Opponents of the political drama's two principal actors are winning support as violence in the black townships escalates almost daily. De Klerk has never said so, but it seems plain he was expecting some violence once he lifted the lid on the political pot. But whether he expected the present level — more than 400 people have died since the start of the year and 1990 threatens to become the bloodiest and most deadly ever — is another matter.

For the present the police and security forces are struggling to contain the killings, but with little apparent success. Increasing levels of violence are understandable, says Cloete. The exuberance blacks felt at Mandela's release has boiled over into an already existing violent state of affairs with the release of pent-up frustrations over education, unemployment and so on.

Cloete warns of the danger that the situation could spiral Lebanese-style. He does not believe a Lebanese situation will necessarily develop but warns of the risk unless it is contained. Boraine adds that De Klerk's room to manoeuvre is restricted. He has played the ANC card and now has little left in his hand if violence rises more and black anger continues to boil. One real option, Boraine fears, is repression, which would

undo all the good of De Klerk's recent moves.

Fundamentally, the NP and ANC have to move fast to ensure negotiation and SA's own version of perestroika work. Both have been pushed willy-nilly into moderate, centrist positions in an SA polarising between the Left and Right. The country's outlook is more uncertain than when Mandela took those first steps to freedom. ■

THE ANC FIM 6/4/90

Crisis of existence

When Nelson Mandela walked away from 27 years of imprisonment on February 12 he carried the hopes of most South Africans on his shoulders. ~~(304)~~ (304A)

Now, less than two months later, those hopes are evaporating as Mandela's abilities fail to match up to over-optimistic expectations. That failure puts a whole new complexion on SA's political future.

SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman says: "The advantage of 27 years in jail is that he did not put a political foot wrong. In jail his reputation as a martyr and international celebrity was built by a sympathetic media. But now he is free there is less certainty about his political influence — his ability to mobilise people and persuade them to do what he wants them to do. He has now to operate in a tough political environment."

Idasa executive director Alex Boraine adds: "Moral authority is no substitute for political muscle." Boraine, too, does not believe Mandela is slipping, rather that people's expectations of him were pitched unrealistically high. He has no illusions that progress towards black-white power sharing will be anything but difficult.

The prospective difficulties are epitomised



Mandela ... political influence questioned

Cam. Treurnicht 7/4/90 (308/17)

White nation 'at a crossroads'

PRETORIA. — If the Conservative Party did take part in negotiations on a new dispensation it would not "negotiate the non-negotiable" — the freedom of the white man and his claim to the land that belonged to him, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Addressing more than 2 000 participants in a CP conference at the showgrounds here, Dr Treurnicht said the white nation was at a crossroads.

"It has to decide if it will be submerged into so-called non- or multi-racialism that is nothing but black domination, or if we claim full self-determination for ourselves

...
"We dare not settle for anything less. If

the CP does take part in negotiations in future we won't negotiate the non-negotiable — our very freedom and our claim to the land that belongs to us."

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela and his agitation for the armed struggle, nationalisation and socialism had raised the revolutionary climate to an extremely dangerous level, Dr Treurnicht said.

The CP had great sympathy for the large majority of blacks who were prey to the intimidation and violence of the ANC.

Members of the CP should not stand in the way of the police as guardians of law and order.

"But if the police end up in a situation where they are overrun, if the situation

gets out of hand and the Defence Force cannot act immediately and efficiently, then we say it's our right to act in self-defence.

"Against this background we say we live in a revolutionary situation, a war situation, and we ordinary citizens may not be disarmed and left defenceless against ANC marshals and street committees and against planned attacks on white areas and other targets."

It was unthinkable that people like members of the ANC, who denied whites the right to their own homeland, should be brought into the defence and police forces.
— Sapa

Pressure and the way to majority rule

OLIVER Tambo hopes the transition to majority government will "not be too violent", but adds: "We must be prepared for the reality."

In an interview by Andrew Gham-Yool, of the Index on Censorship, conducted before Mr Tambo's stroke but published here for the first time, the African National Congress president says: "Pressures have got to be external and serious, up to the point where we are able to say apartheid has been destroyed and a new South Africa is emerging."

"But if we should withhold pressure, even withdraw it, then apartheid continues."

"It is only since 1985 that international pressure has begun to measure up to the demands of the situation, encouraged significantly by the rising pressures from within the country. These two have resulted in a new thinking on the part of those who are administering the apartheid system."

Asked if the ANC was planning for a time after apartheid, Mr Tambo said: "That should not pose a problem. We do not find it necessary as yet to have peo-

Oliver Tambo's remarks before his stroke almost foreshadowed the violent turn in events in South Africa. He said then that he hoped the transition to majority government would not be "too violent", the Weekend Argus Foreign Staff in London report.

ple assigned to specific roles in the new South Africa.

"I don't think we should have any problem deciding who should do what. For the moment the priority is to concentrate on ending the system."

"We say we want a government that derives its mandate from the people of South Africa as a whole, a majority gov-



ernment. If we had to pick a cabinet, we could do that without any difficulty."

"We have never doubted that apartheid would crumble some day. Now we are able to say some day soon."

"We know that we will be in Pretoria soon — if we choose Pretoria to be the seat of government, but it is so notorious as the seat of apartheid that the people

who will be in power (not necessarily Oliver Tambo) might want to go elsewhere."

HOWEVER, he added, the movement laboured under no illusions that apartheid would fall without heavy sacrifices, "possibly even after a protracted and vicious confrontation. We are prepared for that, but at the end of the day we know apartheid must end."

Mr Tambo accepted that there would be exceptions among those asked to act against apartheid — the frontline states, for example.

"Because their economies are dependent on trade with South Africa, they are not called on to impose sanctions."

"They know that if sanctions were imposed, they would be the worst affected and they say that this is the sacrifice they have to make."

"Of course, we all hope that the opponents of apartheid who enforce sanctions would want to minimise the adverse effect on these countries."

"In other words, we want them to be given assistance to enable them to survive the effects of sanctions."

Strong nerves

needed to reach peace

Weekend
FOCUS
2

with ANC's 7/4/90

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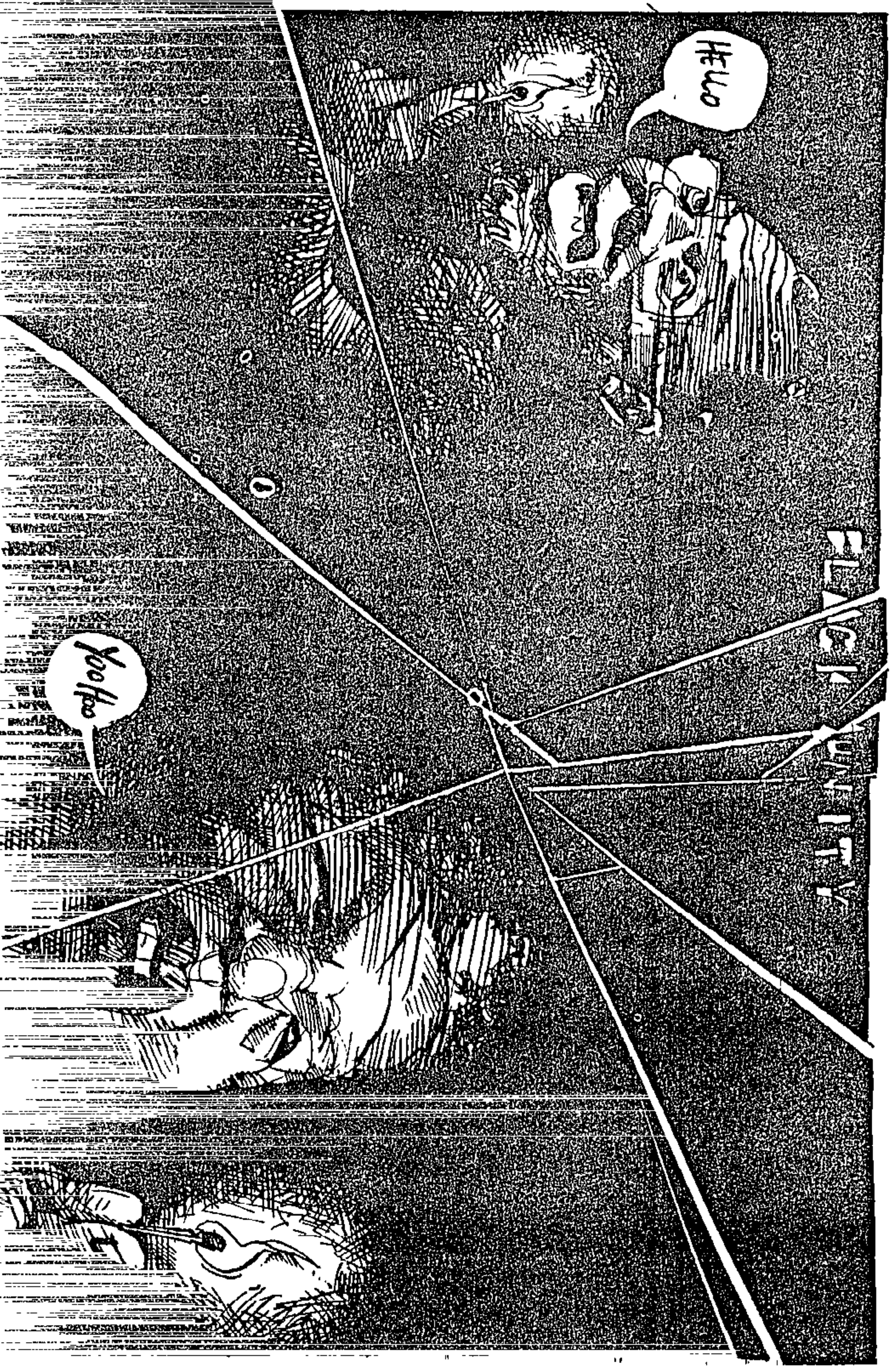
Political analysts foresee a bumpy road ahead for the peace process. They have emphasised the urgency of getting constitutional negotiations off the ground — if serious tensions, especially in black communities, are to be defused. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the difficulties that strew the path ahead ...

STRONG nerves and cool heads are going to be needed on all sides if the peace process is to be kept moving forward.

Both President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela showed this week that they had these qualities when they brought full-scale talks between the government and the African National Congress back on track after the first major hitch.

Despite gloom and dismay among many South Africans after this week's hiccups in the peace process, people close to the latest developments remain optimistic about prospects for negotiations, saying they see signs that the real bargaining process has begun.

This reading of events was borne out by the tone and content of statements by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela after their talks on Thursday at which agreement was reached on going ahead with plans for the talks originally scheduled for April 11 but postponed after the ANC's sudden withdrawal.



tone of content of statements by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela after their talks on Thursday at which agreement was reached on going ahead with plans for the talks originally scheduled for April 11 but postponed after the ANC's sudden withdrawal.

The dates and venue for the talks between fully-fledged delegations from both sides are to be announced simultaneously in Cape Town and Lusaka after the ANC's national executive committee has discussed final arrangements.

However, political analysts foresee a bumpy road ahead for the peace process and the possibility of more hitches. At the same time they have emphasised the urgency of getting constitutional negotiations off the ground — and producing early results — if serious tensions, especially in black communities, are to be defused.

One thing seems clear: black society is in the throes of political realignment which includes filling the gaps left by years of banings and other security methods of enforcing apartheid.

It is a daunting scenario, for it clearly extends beyond the real divisions exploited and the artificial divisions created in the name of that ideology, the basic purpose of which always has been to maintain white control over "white South Africa".

The bloody battles in Natal, the unrest in the homelands, the rivalries between the likes of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC, the mass demonstrations in some areas, trade union action — in some way all these might have their roots in black society's struggle to come to terms with its sudden change of status.

It is a battle for ascendancy which seems even to reach deeply into the ANC itself, with different factions at loggerheads over tactics. There are those, including Mr Mandela, who seem more inclined to talk negotiation; there are others, it seems, who favour conflict as a means of forcing the government's hand.

What is happening on the emerging black political front seems far more complex than the popular theory that Mr Mandela's peace efforts are being hampered by divisions and power struggles inside the ANC.

THE withdrawals by black leaders from planned talks with the government may not be as simple as that and could have another — yet more significant — meaning.

More optimistic observers see the violence sweeping the country as a sudden release of pent-up emotions which could subside once all sides get their acts together.

More bumps and more hitches are expected in the stop-start process. But a promising sign is that on all sides the desire to talk rather than fight seems to persist among most political leaders.

The ANC and its associates have had little time to prepare themselves for formal negotiations and are still putting their act together. Apart from the negotiation stand and the strategies they need to formulate, their preparations



Dr Ian Phillips, Natal political scientist, has studied developments within the ANC.

also require the widest possible measure of unity on their side.

As KaNgwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza told Weekend Argus in an interview this week: "The ANC has been banned for decades, with their leaders in jail. They have been a leaderless people. How can they be expected to have their leadership and political structures in place within two months?"

He emphasised that there was a great urgency in getting talks off the ground.

Mr Mabuza is among the non-independent homeland leaders who have denied emphatically that they were pressured or intimidated into withdrawing from their scheduled talks with the State President this week.

Natal political scientist Dr Ian Phillips, who has made a close study of developments in the ANC, thinks there are important and noteworthy aspects of the ANC's move to pull out initially from the planned April 11 talks.

He believes the move could be seen as a strong signal to Pretoria — a signal sent at a time when everyone is asking whether the ANC is in control of its own people.

By withdrawing in protest against the Sebokeng shootings, the ANC seemed to be asking Mr De Klerk whether his government was in



Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at UCT.

control. Did he have the security forces, particularly the police, under his thumb? Or was the negotiation process being sabotaged by elements in the police?

By implication the ANC was asking: "What is going on in your camp? You talk peace, but we see violence on the ground."

TO this an evidently cool-headed Mr De Klerk responded on Thursday by announcing that the government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into last week's Sebokeng shootings. In addition, legislation had been introduced enabling inquiries in such cases to be carried out by judges.

Dr Phillips said the argument put forward earlier by the government and others that the Sebokeng shootings were no valid excuse for suspending the April 11 talks could be appreciated. However, these observers were underestimating the degree of anger such incidents provoked in the black community.

Sebokeng could not be ignored. The "internal combustion" which the shootings had set off in townships inevitably affected the ANC itself, hence the angry reaction from that organisation.

Professor H W van der Merwe, director of

the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, does not think too much importance should be attached to the initial withdrawal from talks by the ANC and others. He sees this as being part of bargaining procedures.

The ANC, he said, was caught unawares by Mr De Klerk's February 2 announcements. The organisation had not yet formulated its stand for negotiations and was apparently still in the process of doing so.

As in the case of the National Party, there were differences of opinion within the ANC and it was getting its act together.

After much uncertainty on its part, the government had got its act together by February 2, but the "the ANC has not yet reached its February 2", Professor Van der Merwe said.

What was important was that a strong momentum had built up for negotiations and for the concept of majority government. The momentum was so strong that negotiations would have to begin this year and as early as next year some results would have to be shown.

If no results — like new political structures or even majority rule — emerged at an early stage the country could be in trouble. Enormous pressures and frustrations would build up and this could lead to more violence, Professor Van der Merwe said.

It was important, therefore, that there should be no heel-dragging on any side and that negotiations should produce early results.

PROFESSOR Van der Merwe said he had always been opposed to economic boycotts, but if international sanctions had to be applied this should be done to all parties involved in negotiations. The ultimate goal was peace and none of the parties should drag its feet.

Whatever the further outcome of this week's events, an immediate challenge now facing all political leaders seems to be the task of seeking an end to violence so negotiations can begin in a peaceful climate.

Professor Van der Merwe believes the ANC — like the government — can do much to curb violence, but neither the ANC nor any government can be expected to have complete control over violent elements.

From all this it now seems the immediate prospect is that it could take a while for black society to sort itself out before the even tougher task is tackled of bridging the vast black-white gap which is the most fearsome product of years of racism and apartheid.



Boys from the Diocesan College in Cape Town display their military precision. There is now suspicion that the government plans to expand the school cadet system into a citizen education programme.

13-YEAR-OLDS ASKED TO SIGN CP PETITION

LO/6 ARGUS 7/4/90

Weekend Argus Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party workers are asking 13-year-olds to sign the party's one-million signature campaign in protest against President FW de Klerk's negotiation initiatives, says a National Party MP.

Mr Johan Lemmer, MP for Benoni, said this week he had had a telephone call from a parent of a Standard 6 pupil at a Benoni high school whose son had been accosted by CP workers and asked to sign the petition.

The CP has not denied the allegation.

At school gate

Mr Lemmer said the parent told him a Boksburg CP councillor, Mr Koos van der Merwe, was handing out pamphlets related to the petition at the gate of the Hans Moore High School.

Two days later Mr Van der Merwe's wife and another woman were also gathering signatures from pupils.

"The son told me that he saw a group of Standard 6 pupils being

called closer to sign the petition," Mr Lemmer said.

He condemned the CP action and called on CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht not to misuse 13-year-olds who had no knowledge of the political realities.

Dr Treurnicht is reported to have justified 13-year-olds signing the petition.

He admitted that pupils were signing the petition, saying that the word "scholar" was written after their signatures.

The CP aims to get one-million signatures to force the government to call a general election.

Mr Van der Merwe was not available for comment but a fellow CP councillor in Boksburg, Mr Gideon Fourie, said the party had been collecting signatures from pupils at Boksburg high schools as well as Benoni.

He said Mr Lemmer had failed to mention that the pamphlet handed to pupils before they were asked to sign urged them: "Please consult your parents."

'Talks about talks' set for next month

By CP REPORTER

THE "talks about talks" between the government and the ANC will now be held on May 2, 3 and 4 in Cape Town, President FW de Klerk has announced.

An earlier date, April 11, was put off by the ANC after police recently killed at least 17 protesters in Sebokeng.

The killings featured prominently when De Klerk met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Cape Town this week in a move to save the collapsed April 11 talks.

De Klerk said the government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into the Sebokeng shootings. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Also, De Klerk assured Mandela he had given instructions for in-depth investigations into the Sebokeng shootings.

Mandela said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was not being sympathetic to black problems, while De Klerk is reported to have been critical of what "some of his (Mandela) followers were doing".

At the three-hour meeting the two leaders focused on new arrangements for the ANC-government talks which would remove perceived obstacles to negotiations. Also discussed at the meeting was the widespread violence sweeping the country.

In separate Press conferences de Klerk and Mandela emphasised the ANC-government "talks about talks" to pave the way for serious negotiations on South Africa's future were "back on track".

De Klerk criticised Mandela's alleged pressure on several homeland leaders and chairmen of ministers' councils earlier not to join talks with the government.

Only KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qwaqwa's Kenneth Mopeli, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader JN Reddy were present at the meeting.

But Mandela denied government suggestions that he had intimidated any homeland leaders.

■ Meanwhile, Mandela was due in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership, an ANC official said.

"We are expecting him today for consultations. He has been in touch with President De Klerk and has been on the scene of the violence in Natal and we would have to consult with him to get a first-hand report," national executive committee member Steve Tshwete said in an interview.

Tshwete said it was not clear how long Mandela would be in Lusaka. — Sapa.



Nelson Mandela and the UDF's Popo Molefe at their Press conference.

'No money can bring back my only son'

By ELIAS MALULEKE

UNEMPLOYED single mother Joyce Mafuya of Atteridgeville, awarded a total of R34 000 in the Pretoria Supreme Court for damages against Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, said this week no amount of money would bring back her only son.

Mafuya had claimed R100 000 damages.

Her son Godfrey, then a 15-year-old Std 5 pupil at Walton Jameson Primary School in Atteridgeville, was shot several times by a white policeman in December 1985.

The incident occurred in Atteridgeville after police had dispersed a crowd returning from the local graveyard. The victim was not among the crowd at the time.

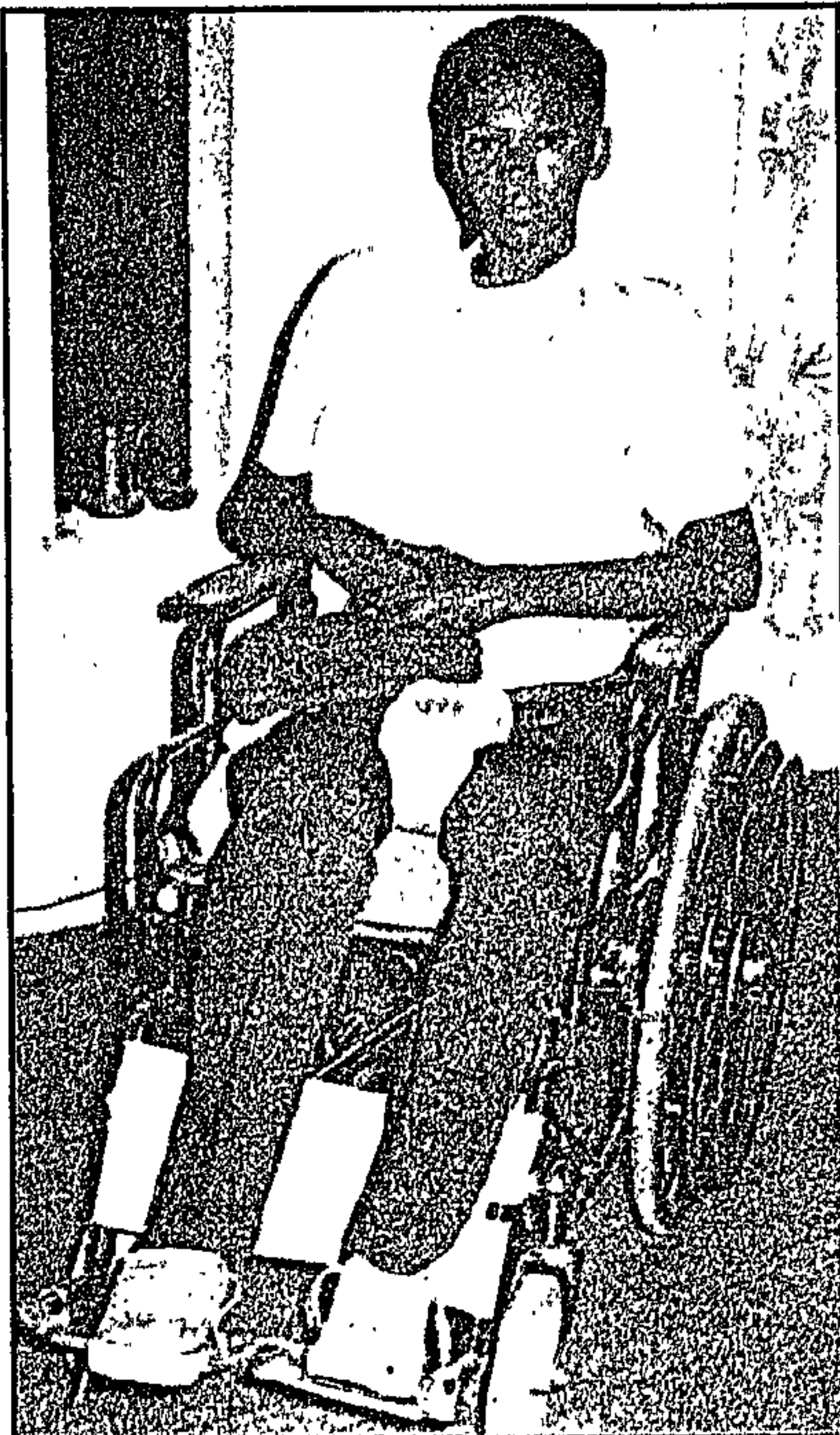
The court was told how Godfrey was first beaten by the police when he was found hiding in a room where he had gone to visit friends, dragged out and ordered to run before the policeman pumped seven bullets into him.

Godfrey was subsequently paralysed from the waist down and died a painful death two years later.

The police version was that Godfrey tried to throw a petrol bomb at a police Casspir when he was shot.

However, the court was told incriminating photographs showing bloodstains in the room where Godfrey was first beaten and a statement by the houseowner had gone missing, pointing to a police cover-up and contradicted evidence that he was attacking the police with a petrol bomb.

A physician who examined Godfrey before his death noted seven gun-



Godfrey Mafuya ... paralysed for two years before he died.

Man who killed him still roams free, says mother

shot wounds. Two bullets lodged in the brain, two on the left under-arm and the others in the upper end of Godfrey's spine.

The judge dismissed the police version and awarded Mafuya R34 247 in damages. But she is unhappy.

She said for the two years her son suffered she was forced to give up her job to look after him and

after his death she had been battling to find another job.

"No amount of money will bring back my son; this is not justice. The policeman who murdered my son is still roaming free and other police will do the same because they face no punishment from their bosses," Mafuya said.

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Mandela met Coetsee 22 times

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, met the then-jailed Mr Nelson Mandela three times at his official Ministerial residence in Cape Town in 1986.

Mr Coetsee revealed this in the House of Assembly yesterday in a written reply to Mr S C Jacobs (CP, Losberg).

Mr Coetsee had met Mr Mandela 10 times outside prison.

Other meetings had been at the Volks Hospital on November 17 1985, at Tygerberg Hospital on August 17 1988, at Constantiaberg Mediclinic on September 4 1988, at Tuynhuys on July 5 and December 13 1989 and February 9 this year, and at his office on January 25.

He had met Mr Mandela in prison 12 times between January 1 1987 and January 31 this year. — Sapa.

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New right-wing group set up to fight crime

JOHANNESBURG. — A new right-wing group has been established on the West Rand as a result of the upsurge in crime on the Reef.

A spokesman for the Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskapswag (WBG), Mr Stephanus Venter, a West Rand businessman, said on Friday that the group had been established to protect whites against black-on-white crimes.

The area covered by the organisation stretches from Westdene to the border of Krugersdorp.

"We are not interested in politics and we are not vigilantes. We will act strictly within the law to protect lives, property, our families and neighbours," said Mr Venter. The police force which was losing staff and being stretched by unrest work could not see to all the community's needs for protection. — Sapa

Teachers warned on party politics

PRETORIA — Education and Culture Minister Mr Piet Clase has ordered education officials to ensure that no education institution is abused for party political purposes.

Mr Clase said in a statement that his department would act against any teacher who contravened regulations and laws in this regard.

He also asked that the distribution of political pamphlets and gathering signatures for political campaigns at schools be discouraged.

Parents associated with this kind of behaviour were guilty of politicising education and were showing disregard for children and schools.

Mr Clase's comments were apparently aimed at a Conservative Party campaign to collect one million signatures for a petition against President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives.

CP leader Mr Andries Treurnicht reportedly admitted collecting the signatures of children over 13 years of age for the petition.

CP pamphlets were also reported at certain schools. — Sapa

ANC Troops NP Govt's allies join anti-apartheid front

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By MIKE ROBERTSON

THE ANC's success in persuading some homeland leaders and urban black councillors to pool resources with it has stepped up pressure on the NP to open its ranks.

The ANC, in announcing that talks about pooling resources with homeland leaders and urban black councillors have reached an advanced stage, has succeeded in outflanking the government. These were the very people the government regarded as its potential allies.

And in further moves at forming a united anti-government front, Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders met Azapo in Soweto at the weekend, an ANC spokesman said.

Meetings with other black political organisations, including Nactu, were in the pipeline in the ANC's drive for a broad anti-apartheid front, he added.

The PAC, meanwhile, met yesterday at the St James Hotel with Azapo, the New Unity Movement, the Cape Action League and Saco.

Cabinet ministers have for some time believed the NP has appeal far beyond its traditional white support base and the possibility of opening its ranks was one of the subjects discussed at last week's "bush council" of ministers and deputies.

But fears that opening ranks will have a negative impact on its white support has until now directed their thinking along the lines of alliances with black leaders.

Early on Thursday morning, government spokesmen were citing intimidation as the reason for the non-arrival of four homeland leaders for their scheduled talks with President F W de Klerk.

Mr De Klerk himself told Mr Mandela when they met later in the day that no leaders should in any way inhibit talks on the widest possible level. He also objected to Mr Mandela having telephoned Labour

To page 2

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From page 1

Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse asking him not to attend the talks. *apt. trip 9/4/90 (208A)*

Mr Mandela replied that the meeting between the ANC, KaNgwane's Mr Enos Mabuza, Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike and Gazankulu's Mr Hudson Ntsanwisi and representatives of QwaQwa and KwaNdebele was aimed at addressing the question of pooling the resources of all anti-apartheid forces.

In addition to meeting the homeland leaders and Azapo and his planned meeting with Nactu, he also had had talks with Mr Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of SA, Mr Mandela said.

● Meanwhile, the government and the ANC on Saturday announced that their first round of "talks about talks", suspended by the ANC in protest at police shootings at Sebokeng, would be held from May 2 to 4 in Cape Town.

The announcements came on the eve of Mr Mandela's departure for Lusaka to brief ANC officials on the outcome of his three-hour Thursday meeting with Mr De Klerk.

Referring to the ANC decision to postpone the talks with Mr De Klerk after Sebokeng, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told Mr Mandela in Lusaka last night: "We believe it is a good thing to show them (the government) there is always a limit to what mankind can stomach."

● The steering committee set up by government and the ANC to prepare for the May talks between the two will also act as an informal "security commission".

This became clear when both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, after Thursday's meeting, hinted that the steering committee would be the channel used by the government and the ANC to deal with security problems as well as to try to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

Membership of the committee is not known, but the fact that Mr De Klerk said it included external as well as internal ANC members points to the probability that ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, the only external leader of the organisation known to have returned to SA, is one. On the government's side, it is likely that constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe and foreign affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden are members.

NAME from the past cropped up unexpectedly last week: Arthur Mainane, whom I last saw across the tea trolley at Reuters in Fleet Street when we both worked there in 1961, is coming home at last. We need people like him.

He fled to Accra to escape apartheid, and to London to escape Accra. Thoroughly disillusioned with Africa, black and white, he talked of going to the West Indies but he has, I believe, lived most of the intervening 30 years in the gentle mists of Europe, amid rising prosperity and spreading freedom, while I have been stumbling through the blood and dust of African liberation.

The great African revolution has spanned my working life, and I have followed it southwards from the Sudan, where a white-robed priest took me to see the pitiful remains of a village razed by Arabic-speaking northerners in retaliation for raids from Uganda by Anyanya "freedom fighters".

Here I acquired a fresh grasp of the precariousness of life without social order: half-starved men crouched with bows and arrows on the banks of the nearby Nile, shooting at passing fish in the rapids, while a blind old man baited his hooks on the edge of the reeds, oblivious of the crocodiles.

Later, in Angola, I was to see similar villages, where people had been driven by war to wear bark clothing and use wooden implements, put to the torch by Portuguese commandos. One man, armed only with a bow and arrow, was killed and pronounced "a communist" because his sandals bore Chinese characters on the soles. Later, in Luanda, I found thousands of identical sandals, imported from Portuguese Macao.

The images run together in my mind. I have listened to British, and Portuguese, and Rhodesian, and South African intelligence officers, standing before maps and charts, prattle stupidly about "winning

This country needs more blacks who know what succeeds

1/Dec 9/14/40



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KEN OWEN

hearts and minds". I was to endure the same prattle from Americans about Vietnam.

The only sense I ever heard on the subject came from Laurens van der Post, who had perceived in the hatred of Indonesians for the Dutch at the end of the Second World War that the rehabilitation of people of colour, after centuries of European domination and scorn, was inescapable and necessary.

In retrospect, we can all see that the great African revolution was inevitable. In fact, Europe's intrusion into this continent did not last long. The French clung to Algeria, key to their empire, for little more than 130 years. From Mungo Park's exploration of West Africa to the birth of Ghana was little more than one-and-a-half centuries. British control of East and Central Africa lasted less than a century.

The seafaring Portuguese, who clung to the coasts and kept their backs turned to Africa, lasted a bit longer. The Afrikaners, their retreat to Holland cut off by British occupation, are still precariously here, 155 years after their Trek into the interior.

Compared with the great wars of Asia and Europe, or the American

Civil War, Africa's liberation struggle has been a skirmish. The memories that remain are not of great battles but of the most terrible atrocities and cruelties, committed on a village scale. I learned to carry a flask of brandy to wash the taste of death from my mouth.

Some memories, politically irrelevant, linger for their poignancy. In Cabinda, a young Portuguese man proudly lights a cigarette with his silver claws, and then falls to raging at himself for the moment of panic in which he tried to smother a grenade blast with his hands.

In Zambia's Luangwa Valley a British soldier, surrounded by corpses and burning huts, is charged by a child with a spear, the soldier smacks the child aside with the back of his hand, and begins to cry.

In Salisbury, the pavements and kerbs have to be adapted for wheelchairs.

We are all left with the feeling that we have seen too many bodies, too many wounds, too much mutilation and cruelty.

Yet, as wars go, it was all on a

modest African scale, and what followed was worse. An American has coined an apt phrase, "the Great Breaking", to describe what came after liberation.

When the much-travelled author, Stuart Cloete, predicted in the sixties that Zaire would "go back to the bush", I dismissed the remark as South African racism, but within a few years the waterways used by the Belgians were clogged, and some regions fell into bottomless isolation.

Since then, the West Indian writer, V S Naipaul, has confirmed in his semi-factual novel, *A Bend in the River*, the accuracy of Cloete's foresight.

Nairobi and Lusaka, once stiff little colonial towns, have become dangerous slums, where even modest homes are protected by walls and lights and straggling barbed wire, and where the streets at night belong to youngsters who never work, and expect never to work.

Luanda and Maputo are crumbling. Kinshasa is surrounded by miles and miles of slums. Railroads have stopped, lake steamers lie rusting, and the ancient lateen-sail dhow have replaced the ships in

Maputo harbour.

Through all these failures, African leaders were encouraged in their folly by whites whose inverse racism expressed itself as fawning. Highly trained educators trekked to Tanzania to study the methods of Julius Nyerere, an over-promoted schoolteacher whose socialist ideas brought great misery on his people, to the admiring "oo's" and "ah's" of guilt-ridden Westerners.

Kenneth Kaunda was treated as a Grand Philosopher when he began to preach a childish nonsense called "humanism". In Kenya, whites used to say all would be well "if the old man (Kenya's late president) lasts", just as in South Africa whites are now saying all will be well "if the old man (Mandela) lasts".

In Rhodesia long ago I was accused of being hopelessly "left" because I believed in liberty under law, one-man one-vote, and a society where every individual could go about his business without fear of the *gauleiters*, today, I am accused of being hopelessly "right" because I believe in liberty under law, one-man one-vote, and a society where every individual can go about his business without fear of the commissars.

Neither accusation has meaning: they are symptoms of a collapse of courage, of the unwillingness of the most highly educated classes to defend those values which, they know, enabled Western Europe to prosper while Eastern Europe fell into decay, democracy and capitalism.

This is where a man like Arthur Mainane may help. He is not white, not too guilt-ridden to argue with black elites, and he has lived all these years amid prosperity and success.

He can, if he will, tell us that the formula for success is not revolution, but peaceful evolution; not assault on capital and seizure of property, but security of title; not centralised power, but the loose cloak of democracy. Not ferocious Eastern Europe, but the gentler West.

Political tensions could further erode confidence

B10am 9/14/90

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CONTINUED socio-political tensions can lead to a dramatic fall in business confidence, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) says.

While the low gold price — the main reason for declining confidence in March — has begun to recover, other factors will be the chief determinant of whether business sentiment follows suit, it says.

These include political developments, the level of unrest and the impact of these factors on the JSE.

The chamber's note of caution follows the results of its latest business and industrial confidence indices — released simultaneously for the first time at a Press conference on Thursday — which reflect waning optimism.

Its business confidence index, measured against 16 economic indicators, tumbled 1,7% to 94,2 last month — its second lowest level since mid-1987.

But political developments within the country also heightened nervousness on the market, Sacob says.

"In recognition of the ANC's perceived importance in a future SA, significant weight is being placed on the statements of its senior officials, and the financial markets have responded accordingly," it says.

It is important in these times of

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

socio-political upheaval that the economy provide a stabilising influence.

However, both foreign and local investors have shown reluctance to invest in SA, either on the JSE or in new business ventures, in view of the uncertainty. If this persists, it will "undoubtedly" impact on future economic growth.

Escalating violence in some areas and ANC statements which saw share prices fluctuate sharply and created deeper uncertainty — coupled with the Budget's failure to provide much

tax relief for manufacturing concerns — dampened confidence in the manufacturing sector.

Sacob's manufacturing activity index, after rising sharply to 132 in February, fell to 118 in March, while its chief indicator of industrial sentiment — that of expected sales — declined to 120 from 132.

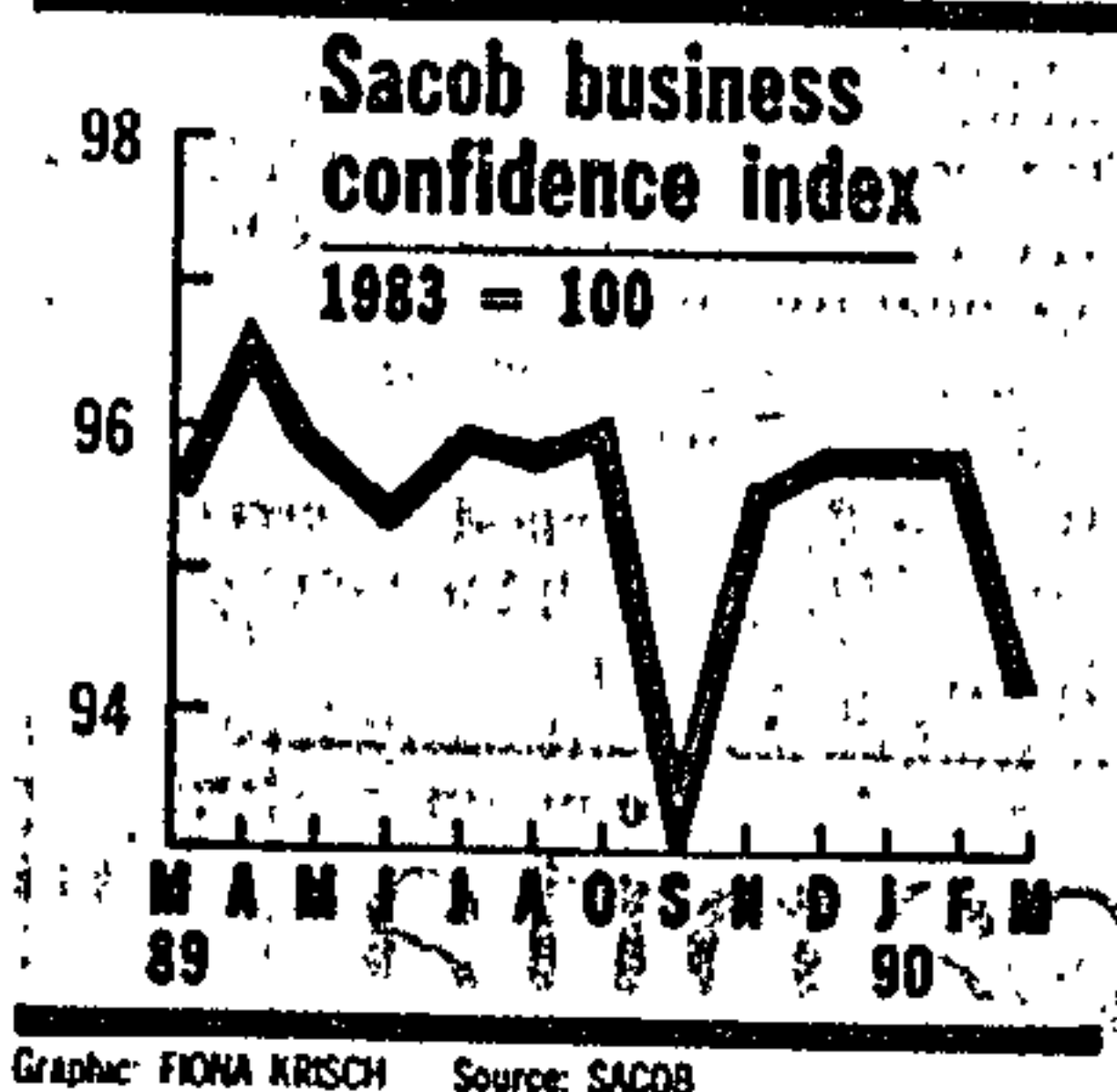
Expected sales indices for the next year in Maritzburg, highest overall in February, registered the sharpest fall — 36 points to 136.

However, the chamber says it may be that confidence levels in the sector have reached more realistic levels. On the basis of current economic expectations the sector should enjoy positive growth in 1990.

Sacob economic consultant Roelof Botha, commenting on overall prospects, told the conference it was important for business to bear in mind that the death of apartheid would induce two major beneficial economic effects.

One was a "post-apartheid dividend", in the form of savings on public expenditure aimed at supporting apartheid policies and the reversal of the costs of sanctions.

The other was the release of pent-up demand for housing, education and health, leading to more economic activity in areas with low import-propensity.



Pressure mounts on NP to open its ranks

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's success in persuading some homeland leaders and urban black councillors to pool resources with it has stepped up pressure on the NP to open its ranks. *9/14/90*

Cabinet Ministers have for some time believed the NP has appeal far beyond its traditional white support base and the possibility of opening its ranks was one of the subjects discussed at last week's *bos-beraad* (bush council) of Ministers and deputies.

But fears that opening ranks will have a negative impact on its white support have until now directed their thinking along the

lines of alliances with black leaders.

However, the ANC, in announcing that talks about pooling resources with homeland leaders and urban black councillors have reached an advanced stage, has succeeded in outflanking government. These were the very people government regarded as its potential allies.

Early on Thursday morning government spokesmen were citing intimidation as the reason for the non-arrival of four homeland leaders for their scheduled talks with President F W de Klerk.

De Klerk himself told Mandela when they met later in the day that no leaders

should in any way inhibit talks on the widest possible level. He also objected to Mandela having telephoned Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse asking him not to attend the talks.

Mandela replied that the meeting held between the ANC, KaNgwane's Enos Mabuza, Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike and Gzankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi and representatives of QwaQwa and KwaNdebele was aimed at addressing the question of a pooling of resources of all anti-apartheid forces.

In addition to the homeland leaders,

□ To Page 2

NP under pressure

Mandela also had talks with Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of SA and with Azapo and planned to meet Nactur. *9/14/90*

□ The steering committee set up by government and the ANC to prepare for the May talks between the two will also act as an informal "security commission".

This became clear when both De Klerk and Mandela, after Thursday's meeting, hinted that the steering committee would be the channel used by government and the ANC to deal with security problems as well as to try to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

Membership of the committee is not known but the fact that De Klerk said it

included external as well as internal ANC members points to the probability that ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, the only external leader of the organisation known to have returned for a short while to SA, is one.

On government's side, it is likely that constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden are members.

Hinting at a security role for the steering committee, De Klerk said that his meeting with the ANC delegation had contributed towards better communication to avoid misunderstandings that could result in an outbreak of violence.

● Comment: Page 4

□ From Page 1

CP, independents hold key to management committee

9/4/90 By Louise Burgers
Municipal Reporter

The Johannesburg City Council will have a new management committee today, but which party will control it depends on the Conservative Party vote and "dark horses" among the independents.

Late last night, there appeared to be no doubt that a motion of no confidence tabled by the Democratic Party would be carried by about 28 votes to 23 with the help of CP and independent votes in the 51-seat council.

Not one city councillor, however, was willing to predict what the management committee would look like.

The motion of no confidence was tabled after disclosures by The Star that a council spy ring had carried out surveillance of well-known leftists.

A pact between more conservative nationalists and the four CP councillors, confirmed by National Party sources last Friday, will split the caucus down the middle if it goes ahead.

Couple washed away

A Boksburg couple had a narrow escape when their car was washed more than 120 m down a stormwater canal yesterday.

A fire department spokesman said the incident happened in Campbell Road soon after a thunderstorm.

The couple clambered to safety. Their vehicle was recovered by firemen. — East Rand Bureau.

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The NP, with 21 seats, are only one vote ahead of the DP, with 20 seats. There are six independents.

One NP councillor told The Star last night that if the names of NP councillors other than those agreed upon by the caucus were proposed and supported by the CP, they would not get the vote of fellow Nats.

"They will not get our vote, that I can assure you. We will support those already nominated by our caucus."

He said there was absolutely no possibility of a "more conservative" management committee being elected.

The motion was set down for 9 am today, only 48 hours before the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry begins to hear evidence of The Star's revelations concerning the council spy ring.

The DP was due to propose council leader Mr Ian Davidson as chairman of a new management committee coalition, with the only independent on the present committee Mr Eddy Magid, as deputy chairman.

Other members due to be proposed included DP councillors Mr Paul Asherson and Mr Cecil Bass and independents Professor Harold Rudolph and Mr Howard Bloomberg.

The NP was expected to propose the same management committee for re-election. NP sources have indicated that there could, however, be a new chairman. The names of Mr Eddy Magid and Mr Koos Roets, the leader of the pact between the NP and CP, were put forward by NP sources last night.

Minister loses job

THE Deputy Minister of
Local Government,
Housing and Agriculture
in the Ministers' Council
of the House of Dele-
gates, Mr S Pachai, has
been relieved of his
office.

The State President,
Mr F W de Klerk, said in
a statement yesterday
that he had decided to
relieve Mr Pachai of his
office.

Mr S V Naicker is to be
appointed Deputy Minis-
ter of Housing.

There will no longer
be a deputy minister of
Local Government and
Agriculture in the Minis-
ters' Council of the
House of Delegates.

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10/4/90

2 Cape Times, Tue

Teachers 'recruit' children: CP, NP in squabble

Staff Reporter

THE Conservative Party yesterday accused the National Party of using schoolteachers to recruit schoolchildren for a recent party youth congress — after being severely admonished by the government for a similar offence.

CP national secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the CP's signature-gathering campaign in support of its Freedom Manifesto had yielded thousands of schoolchildren's signatures outside of school hours.

The NP had recruited children for a recent Transvaal youth congress addressed by President F W de Klerk by using teachers in school hours, he said.

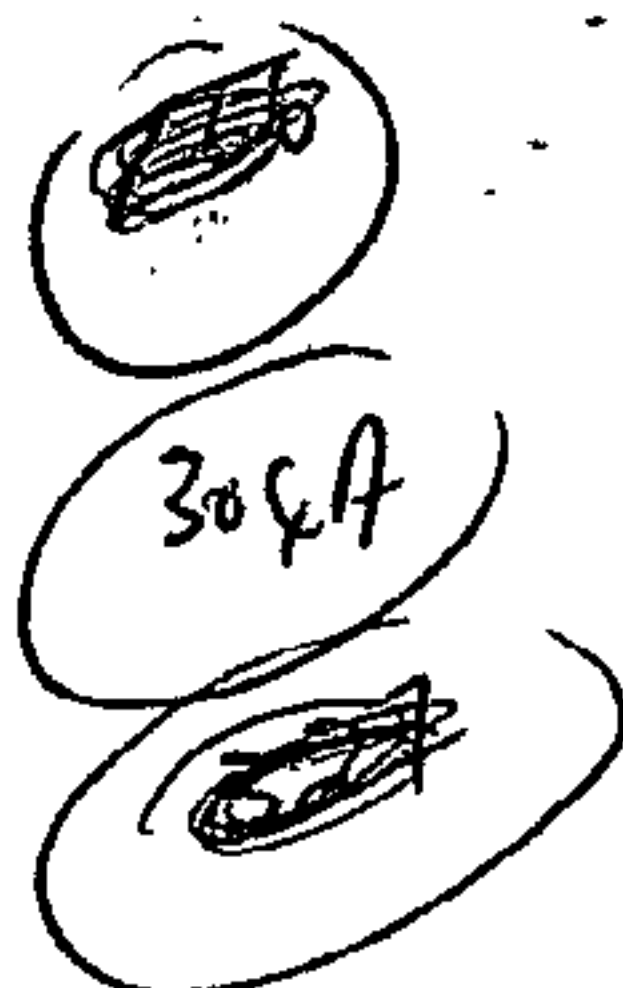
Mr Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture, said earlier that any teacher involved in such actions contravened the Education Affairs Act and broke the code of the Teachers' Federal Council.

Mr Beyers noted that children of 12 and 13 had been active in the Boer War of 1899 to 1902. Children joining today's fight for freedom by South Africa's whites would join the ranks of those heroes, he added.

Mr Beyers said: "We are proud of our children collecting signatures. They are part of our struggle. In four or five years' time they will have to vote and we've made them partners in the struggle."

Spy row: Defeat for NP in Joburg

C/M Tm 75
10/4/90



JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party was yesterday ousted from control of Johannesburg City Council's management committee in the wake of the municipal spy scandal.

The Democratic Party now has three seats on the committee, the National Party two, and independent Mr Eddie Magid the remaining seat.

DP leader Mr Ian Davidson is the new chairman and Mr Magid vice-chairman.

In yesterday's voting following the no-confidence motion brought by the DP, three NP members lost their seats on the committee.

The new coalition committee consists of Mr Jan Burger (NP 29 votes), Mrs Marietta Marx (NP 35) and Mr Eddy Magid (Ind 43).

They are joined by three DP members, council leader Mr Davidson (27 votes), Mr Paul Asherson (30) and Mr Cecil Bass (26).

Mr Ernie Fabel, Mr Cecil Long and Mr Koos Roets were voted off the committee.

Mr Davidson said the voting had come as a complete surprise to him.

"The new committee is thoroughly

competent, comprising a mixture of youthful vision and solid experience.

"We will unshackle Johannesburg from the old dictates of the past and open up a new era for this city."

He said the defeat of the conservative-minded members of the NP was a vote for progress and rejection of any step back into the past.

"This is a reform-minded management committee and the higher authorities can only be delighted by today's move."

When the results of the voting were announced, practically every councillor in the 51-seat chamber showed shock.

In an obvious split in the NP ranks, the more conservative Nationalists lost out to the more liberal faction within the party which supported NP members Mr Burger and Mrs Marx.

The re-election of the two "verligte" Nats is a clear defeat for the NP conservatives who formed a pact with the CP.

The DP motion of no confidence was carried by 29 votes to 22 (20 DP, five Ind, and four CP).

The only independent on the management committee, Mr Magid, voted against the motion.

CP claims to have secret ANC plan

3/12/94 20/4/90
PRETORIA — The CP claims to have access to a document from the ANC which outlines plans to make the homelands ungovernable.

It claims that in terms of the plan right-wing leaders would be monitored with a view to assassination.

ADELE BALETA reports ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday challenged the CP to produce the letter.

He said the CP claims had serious implications and the ANC would like to see the document. "There is no truth in the CP's allegations," he said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said in a statement government had been

informed of the letter's contents.

The letter had been seen by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and had been sent to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The document, allegedly drawn up by the ANC's national executive committee, outlined strategies to carry out counter-attacks against Inkatha and to place "terrorist cells" in the homelands to render them ungovernable. "Special comrades" would be infiltrated to carry out attacks in reaction to right-wing deeds.

President F.W. de Klerk's spokesman said last night De Klerk could not be reached for comment. — Sapa.

SAY one thing for SA, the political conversation here is unusually stimulating. The reason is obvious enough: lives and happiness are at stake. In places like Washington, by contrast, politics is a relatively abstract business. American politicians can behave like utter buffoons, but the show will always go on. Not only is it bigger than they are but it was consciously designed to prosper despite them.

In the three weeks that I have been down here, I have done very little except have political conversations. One especially intriguing line of thought has cropped up again and again. In essence, it is this: the Afrikaner elite has lost its nerve. "That slapping noise you hear, it's the sound of men in velskoens scurrying away across the veld," is how one friend colourfully put it.

Now, you would expect such criticisms from the CP. However, in each instance, the speaker has been the sort of a solid right-thinker who has been inveighing against the Nats for years for not doing precisely what President F W de Klerk is up to now.

Some will be tempted to conclude that such qualms merely demonstrate the Fabian hypocrisy of the NP's centrist opposition. In other words, what nice people have really been thinking all along is: apartheid is hell, it must go, but not, preferably, in my lifetime. There may be a little truth to this analysis, but it is also dangerously facile.

The real worry is not that the government has decided to break with the past. It is rather that, with the possible exception of a few men at the core like Roelf Meyer, the Nats have yet to work through in their minds what precisely that break means. They have taken steps whose implications they cannot yet fully comprehend.

On February 2, De Klerk pushed a button that suddenly opened the trapdoor of SA's future. Since then,

FW's new African National Party is not just a dream

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Bldg 16/4/90

SIMON BARBER

everyone has been in free fall. This has evoked an interesting mix of emotions, ranging from exhilaration to high panic. Unfortunately, because nobody really knows how far away the ground is, there has not been much in the way of quiet or purposeful reflection.

To the contrary, the government has feverishly concluded that the only chance of survival is to claw its way across the sky in hopes of linking arms with the ANC. The latter, it is assumed, is the only entity out there that has the makings of a parachute. Everyone else is therefore obliged to rely on the Nats and the ANC being able to cobble something together. Hence, presumably, the chorus of oh-my-gods when the April 11 rendezvous was aborted.

This is not a very clever way to proceed. Not only is the ANC hopelessly tangled in its own strings, there is no guarantee that whatever expedient it ultimately works out with government will carry the weight of the rest of the country. For example, the millions of people unlucky enough not to belong to Cosatu's labour aristocracy or other politicised urban elites are unlikely to get a ride down if and when a

solution is devised.

Furthermore, the government's own haste to bind itself to the ANC has encouraged the movement to say to those who may not altogether share its views: fly with us or plummet to your destruction because we're the only people who can promise a soft landing. In other words, the ANC and its formations have been unilaterally granted the power of blackmail. Thus were other leaders constrained from talking to De Klerk last week.

The government has permitted this unsatisfactory state of affairs to develop because it lacks the basic self-confidence to consider alternatives. Still trapped by what Mikhail Gorbachev calls "old thinking" — in this case the mentality of "groups" — it is having difficulty following through on the new logic it has created. It may also be being hindered by guilt over what it has done to its countrymen over the past 40 years.

The Afrikaner ruling class must come to grips with a very simple idea: it has the capacity to lead, on a democratically elected basis, not

just fellow whites but all South Africans. However, this capacity can be realised only if the government stops thinking of whites as an embattled minority whose rights must be somehow be protected against a vengeful majority and starts competing for the affection and loyalty of a nation of equal citizens.

The competition ought to begin by renaming the NP the African National Party and opening its membership to anyone who wishes to join it. Forget the so-called DTA option of creating a coalition of existing ethnically based organisations. These are apartheid's creatures mostly, many are highly corrupt and few command widespread popular support. Ignore them, go straight for the people — the citizens — beneath, and leave front politics to the ANC.

Apart from embodying the final and complete renunciation of racial politics, the ANP's chief selling point would be competent, wealth-promoting government that stands up for the right of ordinary people to make decent livings and send their children to good schools, free from crime and political intimidation. If necessary, it would deliver on this promise

by placing a Casspir on every corner to deter those bent on hijacking civil society by violent means.

A reverie, you may say. Not so. The government has already given the basic idea enough serious attention to worry that opening the party would swamp existing office-holders out of power. In other words, it believes there would be substantial numbers of joiners. But then, in its still race-based thinking, it forgets why this would be so. It would be so because De Klerk is an attractive leader well beyond his "group" constituency — because, in short, his constituency transcends race. And if that is true of him, why not of his party as well?

As things stand, the government intends to negotiate a new constitution as a vastly outnumbered minority suing for kindness from a group of third-rate Marxists who aspire to succeed where even the first-rate Marxists of Europe have failed abysmally. Worse, it proposes to deem these people representative simply because they and the outside world say they are representative, and not on the basis of any democratic competition in the marketplace of ideas and policies.

I am repeatedly told there cannot be any electoral test of popular desires because this is Africa. Elections are said to be an alien concept here, and, in any event, will only result in yet more mayhem than already obtains. This will not do. It is capitulation — the equivalent of the mayor of Chicago allowing his city to be run by Al Capone.

SA's black citizens have been brutalised long enough not to be allowed a say in their destiny until people they never chose adopt a blueprint for them to rubber stamp. Welcome them into the National Party as equal members so that even if they must be denied prior access to the ballot box, they may at least have some voice in how their constitution is to be shaped.

□ Barber, Business Day's Washington correspondent, is visiting SA.

EC visit may set new policy on SA

A HIGH-POWERED EC delegation is due to arrive in SA tomorrow morning on a three-day fact-finding visit, the outcome of which could decisively affect the future of European sanctions policies against SA.

The 20-strong delegation, headed by Irish Foreign Minister Gerald Collins, whose country chairs the EC, is to meet a wide variety of SA organisations ranging from the ANC and PAC to CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

Their visit was decided upon at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the EC in Brussels on February 20.

The EC "troika" — as the composition of the delegation is described — will also include, as the immediate past and future chairs of the EC, representatives of France and Italy. They will be French deputy foreign minister Thierry de Beaucé and his Italian counterpart Susanna Agnelli.

The other senior politician in the delegation is EC Commission vice-president Frans Andriessen. The delegation is scheduled to arrive tomorrow on separate flights from London, Paris and Rome.

Italian Embassy second secretary Alessandro Cortese said yesterday the purpose of the visit was for EC representatives to meet all in SA concerned with constitutional development.

The delegation would report back to Brussels on its findings on events in SA

ALAN FINE

since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech at the opening of Parliament.

It was hoped the visit would assist the EC in developing its policy on SA, he said.

He expected that, with 12 countries having to reach agreement on the question, this would be a lengthy process. But, depending on the delegation's impressions, it could be the beginning of a process of changing or refining EC policy.

Tomorrow afternoon has been set aside for meetings in Johannesburg with the ANC, UDF and Cosatu. An ANC spokesman said at the weekend deputy president Nelson Mandela would be arriving back from his Lusaka trip in time to meet the group.

On Thursday the delegation flies to Cape Town, where it will meet De Klerk and other government representatives.

In the afternoon it is scheduled to see the SA Council of Churches, House of Delegates head J N Reddy, and Treurnicht. It will also meet various members of the business community including, it is understood, a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business.

On Friday the EC group returns to Johannesburg, where it will see Labour Party chief the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the DP

□ To Page 2

EC visit

and the PAC.

It will also meet representatives of the Kagiso Trust — the body through which much of the funding for anti-apartheid organisations has been channelled.

The delegation plans to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday morning before flying home.

In 1986 the EC banned the import of SA iron, steel and Krugerrand gold coins, and barred new investment in SA. British non-

compliance with aspects of EC sanctions has already caused dissent in the EC.

The UK regards the iron, steel and coin embargoes as mandatory, but not the investment ban. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has indicated her intention to phase out certain sanctions.

Before 1986 the EC froze scientific and cultural relations with SA. Britain has already announced it is no longer observing the scientific and cultural embargo.

□ From Page 1

More curbs on court reporting possible

CAPE TOWN — The Government was considering further curbs on court reporting, the 13th meeting of the South African Media Council was told yesterday.

Chairman Mr Jan Steyn confirmed that the Department of Justice was considering further media curbs on court reporting, but did not furnish further details.

He confirmed that he had various meetings with members of the Cabinet, including the State President and the Minister of Home Affairs.

Arising from these meetings the Minister of Home Affairs had requested the help of the Media Council in addressing restrictions on the media in the context of securing the fullest possible free flow of information.

It had been decided that the chairman should appoint a committee which could consult outside experts to analyse the existing statutory and regulatory restraints and to make recommendations on the lifting of these restrictions.

SAC

10/4/90 Re-examination

Mr Steyn said he had also had talks with the "alternative" press.

The Conference of Independent Editors had written to him saying they had decided to individually join the Newspaper Press Union. This could lead to their taking up seats on the council.

The Southern African Society of Journalists would re-examine, at its congress next month, the question of taking up its seat on the council.

The council had decided, in principle, that conciliator/registrar Mr Bob Steyn should be allowed to assume a quasi-lobbying function with government and extra-parliamentary parties to establish the council as the authority on media matters, the chairman said.

The council should also be consulted before the introduction of legislation which could affect the media.

The council's next meeting will be on November 19. — Sapa.

Litigation only for the rich

304A 3/5/10/4/90

Litigation in South Africa can only be afforded by those with considerable financial means at their disposal. The average person in the lower to middle income groups cannot afford to litigate.

In theory, South Africa's legal system is accessible to all, but in practice in any civil case that goes to court the successful party who is awarded costs will generally recover less than 50 percent of the fees outlaid to lawyers. Such fees, in a simple trial, can amount to between R10 000 and R50 000.

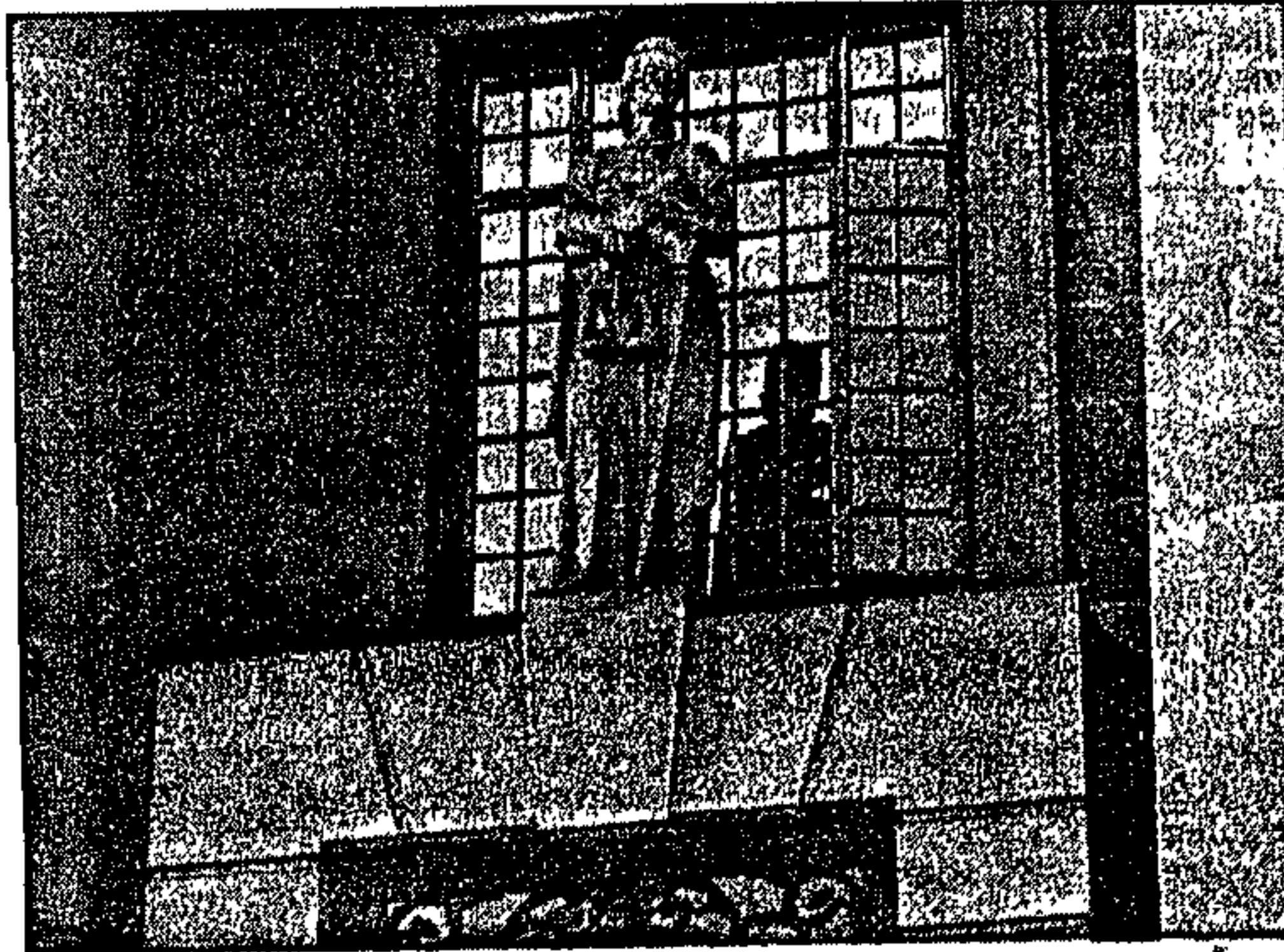
A close re-examination of the court tariffs, legal aid, the monetary jurisdiction of the Small Claims Court and an investigation of alternative methods for settling legal disputes is urgently required.

The unsuccessful party in a civil case is usually ordered to pay legal costs of the successful party; however, this is misleading. The costs to be paid by the unsuccessful party are determined by court tariffs which are unrealistically low in relation to the actual fees of attorneys and advocates. This means that the successful party will recoup less than half the legal costs paid.

When a person is owed money, for example, a loan, for motor accident or from a breach of contract, and the money cannot be recovered, the only option for recovery is to sue in a court of law. The other party will always have an opportunity to defend the claim.

The amount claimed will determine which court will hear the mat-

In theory, South Africa's legal system is accessible to all, but in practice the average person in the lower to middle income groups cannot afford to litigate, writes **TIMOTHY GORDON-GRANT** of a Johannesburg legal firm.



ter. If the claim is less than R10 000, the matter will be heard in the Magistrate's Court (with certain exceptions), while claims above R10 000 will generally be heard in the Supreme Court.

The litigant will require representation by an attorney (and, on occa-

sion, an advocate) in the Magistrate's Court and both an attorney and an advocate in the Supreme Court. Self-representation is not recommended in the courts under the existing system.

The attorney and/or advocate generally requires to be paid throughout the course of the action,

irrespective of the court in which the matter is heard.

For the average person, it is not financially worthwhile to litigate unless the claim is well in excess of the anticipated legal costs.

What alternatives remain for the ordinary potential litigant?

A Legal Aid system exists, but this has a means test that precludes the middle income and most of the lower income groups.

The Small Claims Court was recently introduced with the objective of enabling access to the courts for the litigant with a lesser claim. In this court, parties may not be represented by lawyers, and cases are heard at a very low cost.

However, the monetary jurisdiction of the Small Claims Court is R1 500 and claims in excess of this necessitate litigation in the Magistrate's or Supreme courts.

A possible means of alleviating the burden of immediate legal expense may be the charging of a "contingency fee". Here the outcome of the case determines the fee payable.

A percentage (by prior agreement between lawyer and client) of the amount awarded in a successful case is paid to the lawyer as a fee. At present, lawyers are not permitted to charge fees on a contingency basis.

The above alternatives, including other alternative methods for settling legal disputes, require urgent examination to give truth to the adage that "justice is for all".

FW to meet clergy today

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11/4/90
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Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has cut short a brief holiday in order to meet church leaders at Tuynhuys today for a discussion of the violence in the country and the turmoil in the homelands.

Tomorrow Mr De Klerk will resume his hectic schedule when he meets a delegation from the European Community (EC) on a fact-finding tour in South Africa, and he will spend much of the Easter weekend preparing for his budget vote in Parliament on Tuesday.

This afternoon's meeting with church leaders is at the request of the SA Council of Churches (SACC). The SACC has been meeting a number of leaders — including Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — in recent weeks to discuss the violence.

The meeting follows a phone call from Archbishop Desmond

Tutu to Tuynhuys requesting urgent discussions after clerics expressed "grave alarm" after a recent visit to Natal.

A spokesman for Bishops-court said yesterday that the agenda for the meeting was expected to cover a number of subjects, but "the violence around the country, including Natal, will be a major thrust".

Other issues

An SACC statement said other issues to be handled at the talks included impediments to negotiation, the government's handling of the unrest situation and the homelands.

The church delegation comprises Archbishop Tutu, Dr Alan Boesak, the Rev Frank Chikane, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Bishop Michael Nuttall, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, the Rev Douglas Bax, the Rev B Finca and the Rev Khotso

Mgojo.

The EC delegation Mr De Klerk will meet tomorrow will comprising their past, present and future presidencies.

The group will be led by the Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Gerard Collins, who will be accompanied by the Italian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mrs Susanna Agnelli, and the French Secretary of State for International Cultural Co-operation, Mr Thierry de Beauce.

Also in the party, which will also meet Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, will be the vice-president of the EC, Mr Frans Adriaessen, and the secretary-general of European Political Co-operation, Mr G Jannuzzi.

The group will hold talks with a number of political organisations while in SA, including the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu and the Conservative Party.

MOUNT NELSON HOTEL

304 A South View 11-16 April 1990

Constitution making: the ultimate hurdle

WHO will be the architects of a new South African constitution?

This will be one of the key questions to be answered once negotiations and the peace process get under way.

The ANC's view is that the constitution must be drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person one-vote.

The government has flatly rejected this proposal, saying this would predetermine the winner before the race began. Instead, it favours a system premised on minorities and group interests.

The government fears a constituent assembly may mean the "bit players" such as homeland leaders and the Labour Party could be eliminated from the political stage.

At issue is the question of who will determine the way the country is governed.

ANC constitutional expert, Professor Jack Simons, says the basis for the demand for a constitutional assembly is simple: there has to be a legal framework for how the new South Africa is governed.

The parties at the negotiating table will have to decide how this framework is to be drawn up and who will participate in the constitutional debate.

The drawing up of a new constitution will be the ultimate hurdle to cross in the unfolding peace process in South Africa.

Already the key political forces, the National Party and the African National Congress (ANC), have adopted divergent positions on the mechanics of constitution drafting.

CHIARA CARTER examines the idea of a constituent assembly that has now entered the debate:

Simons says the ANC's view is that the constitution must be decided by an assembly representative of the South African people, not the apartheid parliament or any other apartheid institution.

"If we want the future South Africa to be democratically shaped, we must ensure that those who draw up the constitution represent the views of the majority."



"This can be done only through a democratic election on the basis of one-person one-vote," Simons says.

ANC international affairs spokesperson, Thabo Mbeki, says it is not enough to say the political forces must get together to discuss a new constitution.

There has to be a way of determining who these political forces are.

"You can't just say all political forces in the country must get together. You have to answer who those parties are," he says.

"The ANC is obvious, the National Party is obvious. But where does Allan Hendrickse belong? Is the AWP part of this process?"

"The ANC and the democratic movement think that the body that should work out a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote."

Mbeki agrees that the constituent assembly will be a major bone of contention once negotiations get under way.

"With democratic elections, the question of who is truly representative is not an issue, because the people would decide."

"But before you get to that point, there will have to be agreement on how such an assembly is to be constituted," Mbeki says.

There is a long road to travel before this point is reached.

First, a climate for negotiations has to be created.

This includes a situation where there can be free political activity with organisations able to operate unhindered, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the total lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the removal of troops from the townships and a halt to political executions and trials.

After this, the parties will have to reach agreement on a cessation of hostilities.

OAU Declaration

Then, whatever the basis for formulating a new constitution, certain basic principles will have to be agreed upon by the parties at the negotiating table.

These would probably be on the lines of those included in the OAU Declaration.

These guidelines would provide the broad parameters within which a constitution could be drawn up.

Although it has called upon people to mobilise around the demand for a constituent assembly, the ANC has not released details on how it sees the mechanics of such an assembly working.

Still to be answered is the question of an interim government to govern the country while the constituent assembly is deliberating, and the question of policing during

this transitional period.

Does South Africa need a neutral umpire during this period? Will the ANC and PAC cadres be allowed back? Will SA security forces be confined to barracks?

These questions will have to be decided through negotiations.

Buthelezi

Unlike Namibia and Zimbabwe, there is no direct link between South Africa and an external party.

ANC thinking earlier this year was that an interim government could include FW De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Gatscha Buthelezi, but it is unclear how recent events in Natal will affect this idea.

On the security front, the possibility of a combination of the government's security forces and returned cadres during negotiations has been mooted, but this does not seem a likely option.

It is also possible that the international community could play a role in ensuring that justice and impartiality are maintained during this period.

Both the ANC and the South African government would prefer not to involve an "umpire" in the peace process.

If an outside party is to become involved, however, the ANC is known to favour the OAU, which the government tends towards "involvement of the United Nations or a Western power."

Assembly

The ANC journal "Mayibuye" says there should be "an institution impartial and sovereign" to oversee the transition process.

Also to be decided is whether the election to such an assembly will be on a proportional basis as in Namibia, or a "first past the post" constituency-type format.

The Namibian experience is likely to inform much of the thinking around a constituent assembly.

In essence, the struggle in South Africa is about who will exercise power and in whose interests South Africa will be governed.

From the viewpoint of the liberation movement, the people need to transform the existing state power and its structures to form a people's government.

For this to happen, it is necessary to draw up a constitution which is based on the will of the people.

That is why the ANC has called on people to mobilise around the demand for a constituent assembly.

Hard bargaining for acceptable solutions

South 11/4 - 18/4/90
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TWO issues will be on the table when the National Party government and the African National Congress meet formally for the first time — the state of emergency and the possible release of political prisoners.

On both these, the government is quietly confident that an acceptable formula will be found.

The occasion will mark the beginning of talks about talks. It is thus of particular importance. Both parties can be expected to do their best to keep the momentum going, thus enhancing the possibility of agreement.

On the state of emergency — which the ANC wants scrapped as a necessary pre-condition to starting real talks — the government will raise its real concerns that the escalating violence in the country precludes a simple scrapping.

Yet it feels also that it will have to do away with the state of emergency at some stage — and that the violence will not end soon, despite its existence.

Natal is an example of this.

Thus it is possible that it will let the state of emergency go, but warn that if violence is not brought under control, it will be re-imposed.

The ANC will also find that the government will put a great deal of the onus on it when it comes to demands that violence be controlled. It will be made co-responsible.

The question is whether the ANC can control the violence. There must

With talks about talks between the ANC and the government back on track, two issues are expected to dominate discussions.

It is expected that some hard bargaining will be done on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

There are indications in government circles, however, that concessions will be made on both issues, writes HARALD PAKENDORF:

be considerable doubt about that.

On political prisoners, the question really is one of definition: is somebody guilty of necklacing a political prisoner? Is Barend Strydom one?

A possible solution being discussed in government circles is a general amnesty, but to make it clear that not just anybody who claims to have acted for political reasons will be released.

An idea being floated is that the Namibian example be followed. There, an international jurist was asked to look into each case and make a recommendation. In all cases, both Swapo and the South African government accepted the jurist's definition.

Thus, a possible solution will be a general amnesty, but with a jurist looking at doubtful cases — with prior agreement that his advice be followed by both sides.

That would get the two main issues off the table.

It would be important then to decide on a date for another meeting, one where progress on the first two decisions can be monitored, but also be able to show that talks are moving ahead.

The stumbling block here will be the forum in which real negotiations will happen — and also who will attend.

At the moment, the ANC is looking to a constituent assembly which will somehow reflect the political strengths of the parties involved — and would therefore prefer an election to set up the assembly.

It would also like to reduce the number of parties, broadly speaking, into pro-apartheid and anti-apartheid groupings.

The government is opposed to both. In fact, it sees itself continuing to rule the country while negotiations continue — with as many political groupings as possible.

But these are issues which will come to the fore after the first round of talks about talks — assuming that these will be able to show movement.

At this stage, it looks as if they will. Certainly, neither side can afford to be too unreasonable and to appear to be the party which sinks the country's high hopes.

(Harald Pakendorf is the former editor of the Transvaler, a daily newspaper which supported the National Party)

IF apartheid is indeed on the way out then the fight against it must start waning as a cause - not immediately, perhaps, but possibly early in the current decade.

Another cause presents itself, however, for those claiming an interest in the fostering of human rights and the promotion of freedom and democracy as these are defined in Western culture.

The other cause has as much to do with human rights as does the fight against apartheid. Some might consider that it has even more to do with the prevention of human suffering than the anti-apartheid battle ever did -

Post-apartheid SA poses questions

Sowetan 11/4/90

304A

and that it is more urgent.

It is nothing less than the cause of freedom of choice in politics and economics. Democracy itself, in short, as related to South Africa, would be a matter of seeking to ensure that the evils of apartheid were not replaced by what could be the greater evils of political autocracy in a one-party state and of economic

Looking at the lessons of Africa, Gerald L'Ange of Sowetan Africa News Service, suggests that the Western nations should put as much into promoting their version of democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa as they have to fighting apartheid.

economic deprivation through policies of extreme socialism.

These evils are dreadfully evident in Africa from the plight into which

they plunged every country in which they were applied. Their effects are to be seen in economies wrecked by excessive state interference, in human

rights trampled by monolithic parties and by dictators operating falsely in the name of "the people."

Socialist extremism and monopolyism are arguably the greatest afflictions to have been visited on Africa since the dawning of independence in the continent. It is possible that that they have caused more human misery in independent African countries than apartheid has caused in South Africa.

Idealism

On this basis, a good case could be made out for the energy and idealism that have been devoted to the fight against apartheid, being directed at least in equal measure to the promotion of basic freedoms in a post-apartheid South Africa.

What would give this cause greater importance and urgency than the fight against apartheid is that if economic and political freedom are denied to post-apartheid South Africa, the consequences will be appalling not only for this country, but for the whole of Southern Africa - and perhaps far beyond.

And it might be far more difficult to reverse them than it was to destroy apartheid.

Interests

It seems to be generally accepted now that the economic interests of South Africa and its neighbours are interlocked.

Given that it is essentially economics that shapes day-to-day politics, their political interests, too, are intertwined.

And given further that the future stability and prosperity of the region will best be promoted through free market systems, then it would be in the interests of South Africa's neighbours to promote and protect such systems.

Chances

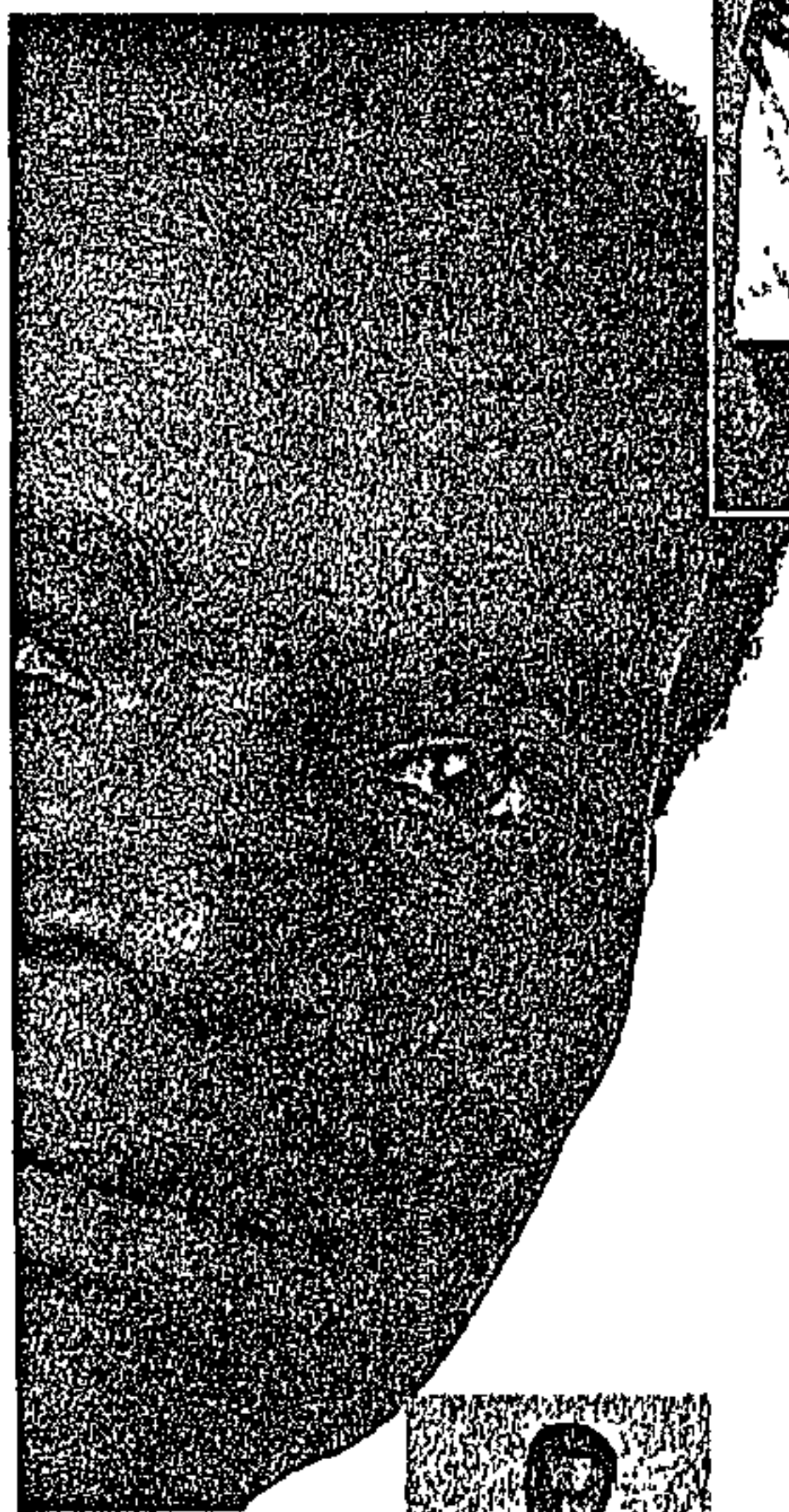
An international campaign in support of Western democratic ideals in a post-apartheid South Africa, which was waged with the same intensity as the fight against apartheid would virtually guarantee basic freedoms in this country - and perhaps the region as a whole.

But the chances of it happening seem slim at present.

Most Africanists expect that this continent will get little economic or technical aid from a Europe obsessed with economic unity in 1992 and with repairing the ravages of socialist autocracy in Eastern Europe.

You know - when I think of the success I have achieved in life - the simple thought that comes to my mind is planning. I plan my life man!"

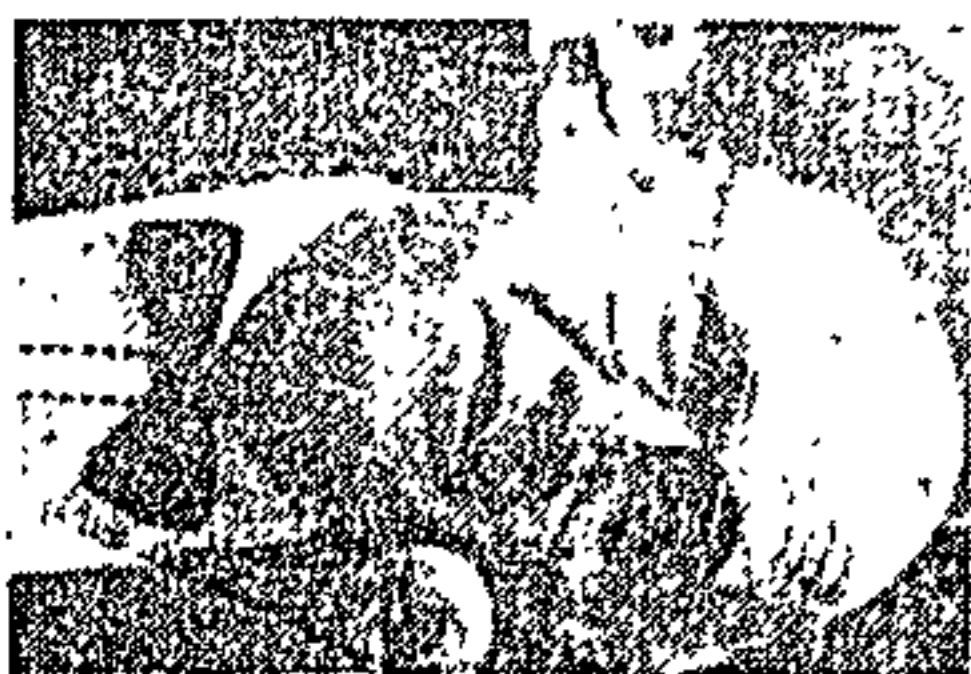
Stephen Nkosi
Business Entrepreneur.



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Plan your life with Durex
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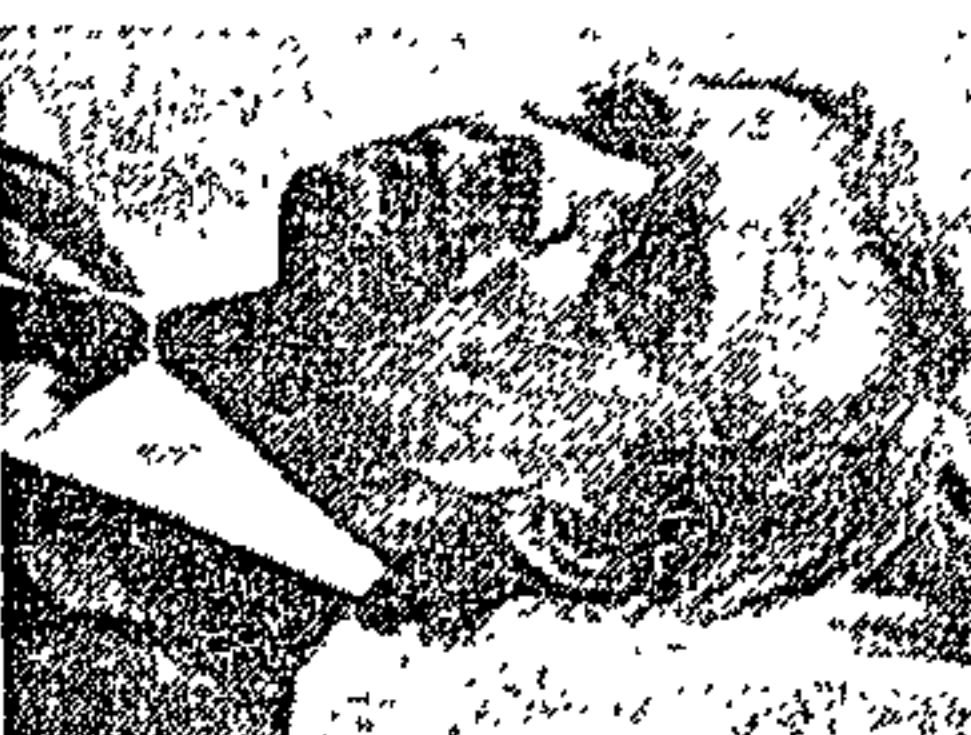
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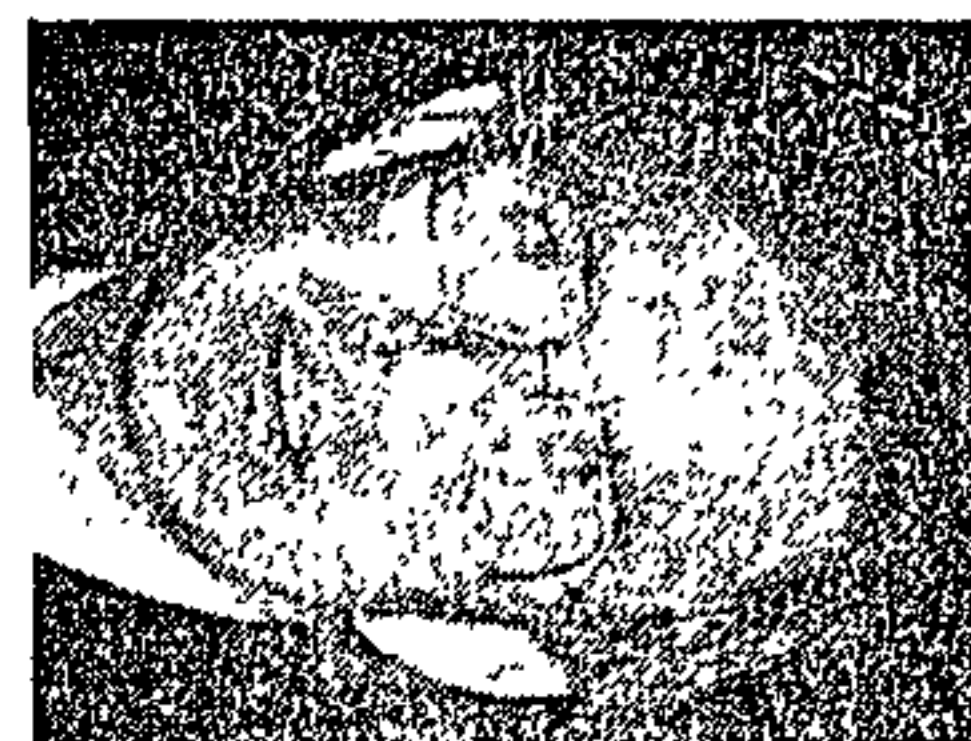
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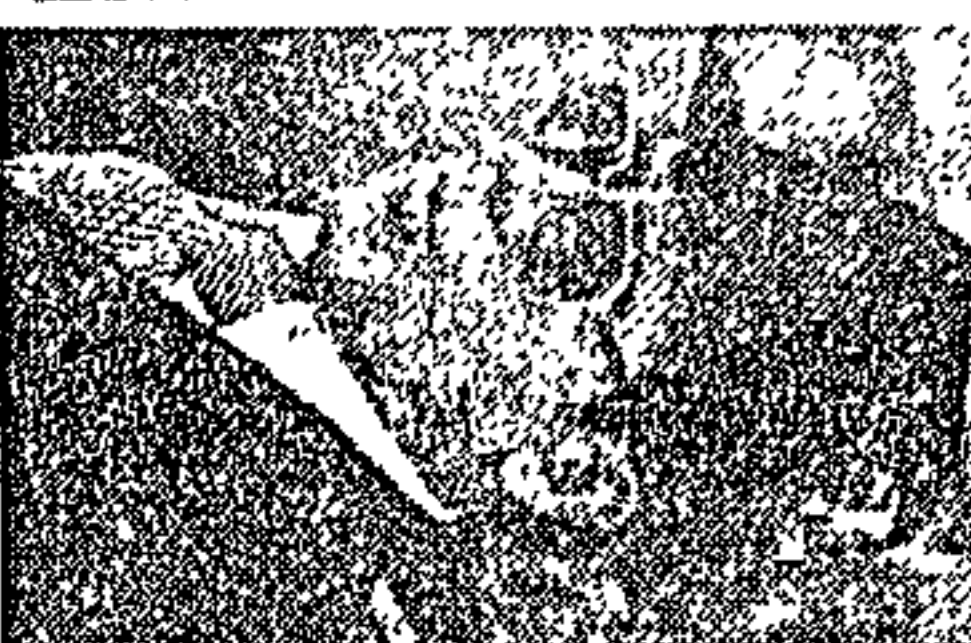
VAN DER MERWE



MEYER



DU PLESSIS



COETSEE



DE VILLIERS



BOTHA

FW promises are welcomed

THE ANC yesterday welcomed State President FW de Klerk's assurances that he would urgently address the issues of State violence against peaceful demonstrations and renewed

Sowetan Reporter
detentions of its members.

In a statement from Lusaka on last Thursday's informal meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and De

Klerk, the organisation also praised homeland leaders and the Labour Party for their "principled decision to join the ANC in its opposition to and struggle against police violence which resulted in the Sebokeng massacre, among others".

It "stressed the urgent need for all anti-apartheid forces, including the homeland and Bantustan leaders, traditional leaders and others serving within the separate development structures, to unite in the struggle against the apartheid system".

Reaffirming the importance of next month's meeting with De Klerk, it

said: "To achieve speedy movement towards the abolition of apartheid, it is vital that this meeting achieve the necessary results in terms of removing the obstacles that continue to stand in the way of negotiations."

It expressed concern that the Government had not yet fulfilled undertakings it had made to introduce measures which would enable members of the organisation, and others in exile, to return to South Africa legally.

It reiterated its commitment to do everything in its power to end the "fratricidal strife in Natal".

sday April 11 1990

SACC delegates meet

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will meet a South African Council of Churches delegation at Tuynhuys today.

It will be his second meeting with major church leaders since taking office.

Well-placed sources yesterday confirmed a Council of Churches statement that Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, the Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Alan Boesak

FW today

would be seeing De Klerk.

On October 11 last year, he met Tutu, Boesak and Chikane at the Union Buildings for talks - scheduled for 45 minutes - lasting almost three hours.

The churchmen presented De Klerk with a six-point memorandum listing obstacles to negotiations on a constitution

for a "new South Africa".

They said he should immediately: Lift the state of emergency; lift restriction orders on people in terms of the emergency and other legislation; release those detained without trial; urban and derestrict political organisations; release all political prisoners; and reprieve all Death Row

prisoners and declare a moratorium on executions.

The clerics also set a six-month deadline for De Klerk to allow all exiles to return to South Africa; to repeal all regulations and laws inhibiting political activities; repeal the Separate Amenities Act, Land Acts, Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act; and start negotiations with movements including the African National Congress.

Sowetan 11/4/90

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By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A police investigation has been launched into the authenticity of the document which the Conservative Party claims is a Government document giving details of an African National Congress (ANC) plan to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

A police spokesman said in Cape Town that the investigation would also determine whether there had been a security breach.

He said the document was obviously a "source" report — a report from an informer. The police received many such reports which were then evaluated.

The impression in police circles today was that allegations in the report were far-fetched.

Police probe CP's 'ANC murder document'

The CP released the document to back up its leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's claims on Monday of an ANC assassination plot.

In a statement yesterday, the CP's chief secretary in the Transvaal, Mr Andries Beyers, said he had been instructed by Dr Treurnicht to release the document in which the ANC plans were mentioned.

A copy of the document was faxed to The Star yesterday. Headed "Secret" and "Urgent", it refers to a secret report sent by the ANC's National Executive Committee to Mr Nelson Mandela and outlines what was contained in the report.

The document is typed on paper without a masthead and is not signed.

Yesterday morning ANC spokesmen in Lusaka and Johannesburg dismissed the CP leader's allegations as "absolute rubbish".

In a statement following Dr Treurnicht's first allegations, President de Klerk denied any knowledge of a secret ANC document outlining a strategy to assassinate right-wingers, establish alternative structures to Inkatha, use violence to make the homelands ungovernable and monitor right-wing protest activities in order to assassinate the organisers and the families of security force members.

A spokesman for the State President's Office said the Government would like the CP to give full details to the police so that appropriate steps could be

taken.

Mr Beyers said the State President's statement indicated that he was hesitant to deny the existence of the document.

According to the source who revealed the document's existence to the CP, the document had been sent to Government circles on March 3 this year.

Submitted

Said Mr Beyers: "It is of course technically possible, but in practice highly unlikely, that the Government has not been informed of the existence of the document and that the CP received the information before it was put at the disposal of the Government."

Mr Beyers said the document, which he claimed backed Dr

Treurnicht's revelations, had —

according to the CP's source — come from within the Government's own intelligence circle.

According to the circular, the ANC's strategy had been drawn up by an ANC internal sub-committee led by Mr Joe Slovo.

It had been submitted to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

The circular noted that Mr Mandela's reaction to the document was unknown.

It said President Kaunda had remarked that he hoped white South Africans would not force Mr Mandela to accept the plan.

President Kaunda is touring the rural areas of Zambia and could not be contacted for comment on his alleged remarks.

The ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said yesterday: "That is absolute rubbish."

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said in Lusaka: "The ANC has no intention whatever to assassinate right-wingers or any individuals."

He said if the CP had any document "it must be one that has been made up to reflect the ANC in a bad light".

DP co-leader Mr Wymand Malan said he believed the ANC was committed to peace and negotiation although it was experiencing problems in creating structures after a 30-year ban.

"It has never even contemplated such action against established politicians, let alone right-wingers who don't even have the power."

"Dr Treurnicht's claims smack of trickery and do him no favours. If he didn't make it up, he should at least try to verify his sources."

Mr Beyers said the CP was giving attention to the safety of its leadership.

"Our message to the ANC is: The CP will not be intimidated by threats of assassinations of its leaders into backing down from the struggle for our nation's freedom."

He said the Government circular had been sent to the Ministry of Law and Order to be passed on to the South African Police.

Security police are investigating the alleged documents produced by the CP.



Cheryl Carolus.



Joe Modise.



Ruth Mompati.



Joe Slovo



Alfred Nzo.



Archie Gumede.



Ahmed Kathrada.



Beyers Naude.



Thabo Mbeki.



Walter Sisulu.



Nelson Mandela.

Delegates include Beyers Naude and SACP's Joe Slovo

ANC names its talks team

The Star's Africa
News Service

Lusaka

Prominent anti-apartheid campaigner the Rev Beyers Naude and two officials of the Mass Democratic Movement and United Democratic Front are part of the 11-person African National Congress delegation to meet the Government on May 2 for "talks about talks".

The ANC announced its team for the vital three-day discussions yesterday after a meeting at a secret venue of the national executive committee.

Co-opted to bolster the ANC group are Dr Naude, Mr Archie Gumede of the UDF, one of the main leaders in Natal, and Ms Cheryl Carolus of the MDM.

Dr Naude, the only Afrikaner to be included in the team, is a former prominent member of the Broederbond and the NCA.

The ANC's top echelon will be represented by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who will lead the delegation. Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other ANC delegates will be Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, director of international affairs; Mr Thabo Mbeki, Ms Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive, and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, jailed after the



Anti-tennis tour demos dragged off

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Plainclothes police and security guards forcibly removed a group of people who staged a sit-in during the last match at the Good Hope Centre last night to protest about overseas tennis players taking part in the international tournament.

Protesters from the National Sports Congress (NSC) sat down at the net and linked arms soon after the end of the first set of the match between American Robbie Weiss and South African Royce Depe in the \$100 000 National Video Camera Classic.

The protesters were removed, some being dragged across the court.

Play resumed after about 15 minutes, but the protest continued outside with about 40 protesters singing and toy-toting.

Some protesters were allegedly kicked and punched and thrown down the stairs outside the Good Hope Centre.

South African Tennis Union (SATU) president Mr Johan Barnard met the NSC group and was told the protests would

Broederbond and the NGK.

The ANC's top echelon will be represented by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who will lead the delegation; Mr Walter Sisulu; secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo; and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other ANC delegates will be Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki; Ms Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive; and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, jailed after the Rivonia trial and freed in October.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still in a Swedish clinic after a brain spasm, will not be at the talks.

The inclusion of Mr Modise in the delegation suggests that the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with the SADF.

This was mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, perhaps, Mr Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President de Klerk would like to play down the military factor.

Asked if the ANC team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night that the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates.

'Speechless' at news

He denied reports in some newspapers that there was disunity in the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with Mr de Klerk or ANC tactics.

"That is nonsense. There is a spirit of complete unanimity in the ANC at the moment."

● In Johannesburg today, Dr Naude's wife, Ilse, said her husband, who is in Sweden on a working trip, was "speechless" when he heard he had been included.

She said Dr Naude had never been a member of the ANC, although over the years he had been visited by many members of the organisation for advice.

"Bey only met Mr Nelson Mandela after his release for the first time and they have not yet had time for official consultations due to their busy schedules," Mrs Naude said.

She said her husband would return to South Africa after the Easter weekend.

The internal chairman of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, today praised Dr Naude as a long-standing arch-foe of apartheid.

Asked to comment on Dr Naude's inclusion in the high-powered ANC delegation to meet the Government in May, Mr Sisulu said: "Why not include Dr Naude?" the ANC leader asked rhetorically. "He has been associated with the ANC for a very long time and has contributed tremendously to our struggle."

"Granted, like some others in the delegation, he is not a member of the ANC's national executive committee, but he is a leading personality in anti-apartheid circles."

New city council vows to bring change

W Mail 12/4 = 19/4/90

By KATHY STRACHAN

JOHANNESBURG'S DP-led management committee has vowed to introduce major reforms after it ended 10 years of Nationalist Party domination of the city council this week.

"This all comes as a complete surprise to me, to call it a culture shock is to underestimate it," says newly elected chairman of the management committee, Ian Davidson, who is now in charge of a R2-billion budget.

Davidson took over on Monday after a Democratic Party vote of no-confidence ousted the NP-dominated council.

Following the spy scandal debate, NP members of parliament approached the DP with a view to forming a coalition committee, yet the test now is how the two traditional enemies are going to co-operate. There are fears about the fragility of the coalition, but management committee members have discounted these.

The coalition could come under strain because of the tensions within the NP city council caucus, brought about by conservative NP members wanting to block reforms.

They could use the threat of resignation to cause the two reform-orientated management committee members to oppose DP reforms, NP sources say.

Although Davidson has the casting

vote in management committee recommendations, important issues such as the opening of residential areas still have to be put to a full council vote, according to DP committee member Paul Asherson.

NP management committee member Marietta Marx discounted fears of friction and said there was no threat of NP caucus members opposing reform initiatives. "The NP initiated reforms in this town and the caucus supported the reforms then — we have proven we are reform-minded."

Davidson admits that they still have the country's legal constraints to contend with and that they will have to work through existing structures, but he says they will "try to do as much as possible".

He is also determined to get to the bottom of city council spy network and is more interested in finding out "who is at the top of the tree" rather than who the people are who may be implicated at lower levels.

Davidson says they will have to work with the Soweto City Council through existing channels, yet he stresses that "there are also people outside that structure who are highly representative of their communities and we will try to create channels and

informal links with these people to exchange views and ideas."

As far as creating a single city is concerned, he says, "there are enormous obstacles". He attributes the fact that the Soweto infrastructure hardly exists and that they have such an enormous debt burden.

It would therefore be unfair if the Johannesburg ratepayer had to pay the bill alone. "The government has to wipe that debt burden out," he says.

Davidson said the new management committee would be looking at implementing changes in Johannesburg in four crucial areas:

- The opening of the city's residential areas to all races.

- The establishment of a municipal police force to augment the South African Police.

- Opening up of municipal government in order to restore power to councillors, who represent ratepayers.

- Tackling decay in inner-city areas.

Actstop representative Cas Coovadia says he "certainly hopes a DP management committee will make a difference and that this will be the chance to see whether the DP will in practical terms be able to deliver what they say they will.

CP leaders haven't

304A

W/Mand 12/4-19/4/90
seen that

'ANC plot' document

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE African National Congress has denied knowledge of a much-publicised "secret" document detailing a plot to assassinate rightwing leaders.

The ANC dismissed the allegations made in the document as "rubbish" and their headquarters in Lusaka said the organisation had no intention of assassinating rightwing politicians or any other individuals.

It also emerged yesterday that the Conservative Party, which made public the existence of the document, does not have the original in which the plot is outlined — nor have they seen it.

What the CP has is a report which, according to them, comes from within government circles and makes references to the document.

In a press statement issued by Andries Beyers, the national secretary of the Conservative Party, the party

**ANC replies to
'torture camp'
allegations**

PAGE 2

said: "The wording of the State President's (FW de Klerk) statement indicated that his office is hesitant to deny the existence of the document."

The government has asked the CP to give the police full details so that a probe into the authenticity of the document can be held.

The CP said it was "giving attention to the safety of its leadership".

The CP alleges the document was sent to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Nelson Mandela, before the latter's recent visit to Lusaka.

They say it outlines strategies to assassinate rightwingers, establish alternative structures to Inkatha, use violence to make homelands ungovernable and monitor rightwing protest.

W/Mail 12/4-19/4/90

Zimbabwe in fear of SA democracy

By JOHN MORRISON

WORRIES about competition in the 1990s from a democratic South Africa are lending a new urgency to plans to liberalise Zimbabwe's tightly controlled economy.

Liberalisation has been talked about since the mid-1980s when a post-independence boom fizzled out and it became clear that Zimbabwe was failing to meet its economic targets.

Now, after several years of waiting, it looks as though action by the government is imminent.

"What we are working on and what we plan to implement in the middle of this year is a phased and targeted opening of the economy," Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero said.

Majority rule in South Africa could open wide the doors to black Africa for South African exporters, who at operate under a political handicap.

Mike Humphreys, economist for the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries, believes that change in South Africa is making Zimbabwe's policy rethink even more urgent.

"Within the region our major competitor is South Africa. It's a Third World country in trade with the rest of the world, but in terms of the region it is a First World country selling manufactured products."

"This makes it more and more crucial that we get our act into gear. The time we have got left until South Africa has a settlement, we have got to use to get our industry much more competitive, much more efficient," Humphreys says.

Fifteen years of international sanctions up to 1980 against the rebel Rhodesian regime created an industrial sector based on import substitution, making a broad range of products for the domestic market. But efficiency was low and costs high.

Starved of foreign exchange for years, industrialists now will get the chance to re-equip their factories — but only if they export. Since independence textile and clothing manufacturers have plunged into cut-throat international markets, but other industries have stood still, cushioned against competition from imports.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Right trying to sabotage talks - Nelson

MR Nelson Mandela last night dismissed the right wing's anti-ANC campaign as a tactic to sabotage talks between his organisation and the Government.

On his return from Lusaka last night, Mandela said: "He (Treurnicht) is shaken by events he cannot control."

"He is therefore seeking to sabotage a settlement between the ANC and NP and is trying to corrode all potential support (for the negotiation process)."

He denied the ANC or South African Communist Party had anything to do with a pamphlet which Treurnicht accused them of drawing up.

"The ANC policy is publicly documented in the Freedom Charter."

"This charter is the most devastating attack on all forms of racialism."

"On the contrary, every public document of the Conservative Party and its policy exploits the

full repertoire of racialism."

Mandela confirmed he had gone to Lusaka to discuss issues raised in a meeting with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobbie Coetsee.

Mandela said there were still obstacles to negotiations. Unfortunately there are so many political prisoners, the State of Emergency is still in operation and the whole indemnity for the delegation has still not been resolved.

He referred to another

pamphlet, purportedly distributed by the ANC.

This pamphlet called for people to record discuss issues raised in a meeting with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobbie Coetsee.

"This pamphlet is supposed to have come from SA Congress of Trade Unions and the SACP but neither of these organisations nor any ANC organisation was responsible for this document," Mandela said.

Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.



Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, greet people at Jan Smuts airport on their return from Lusaka last night. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Mandela delegation regains initiative

Wolant 12/4 - 19/4/90

THE African National Congress moved quickly this week to reclaim the high ground on the negotiations initiative, and set in motion a mass membership drive within the county.

Stressing that there were no divisions within the movement on the negotiations, the ANC National Executive Committee said in a statement that they "welcomed the assurance given by Mr De Klerk and his colleagues to address as a matter of urgency (...) violence against peaceful demonstrators and the renewed detention of members of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement".

But the movement noted concern that the government had "not yet fulfilled its undertakings to clear the way for exiles to return to South Africa legally" and urged De Klerk to finalise this without delay.

The NEC also stressed its commitment to "do everything in its power to end the fratricidal strife in Natal", but in guarded tones expressed its "profound regret that some leaders in this area have embarked on a virulent campaign of propaganda against the ANC, the MDM, the church and others who are committed to peace".

On Tuesday night the movement unveiled its high-powered and carefully balanced 11-person team for the May 2 "talks about talks", which will focus on removing obstacles to negotiations.

Led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, 71, it includes internal

304A By GAVIN EVANS and GAYE DAVIS

leadership core head Walter Sisulu, 77, SA Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, 63, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, 61, ANC acting secretary general Alfred Nzo, 64, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, 47, ANC administrative secretary Ruth Mompati, UDF co-president Archie Gumede, 76, former SA Council of Churches secretary general Dr Beyers Naudé, 75, ANC internal publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada, 60 and UDF Western Cape executive committee member and Cheryl Carolus, 33.

Meanwhile, the NEC has acknowledged that "faster progress needs to be achieved to meet the demand of the countless numbers of our people who seek to join the ANC", and has called on the international community "to make resources available" for the repatriation and resettlement of ANC members currently in exile.

Over the past 10 days the ANC has set up offices in Port Elizabeth, East London and Umtata, in addition to its Johannesburg-based national office, and expects to set up offices in the other regions over the next fortnight.

Membership cards have now been printed and will be issued at branch level.

Last week eight ANC regional co-ordinators were announced, and the

remaining three will be announced within the next week, an ANC source said.

"We must stress these are interim structures to get things moving and these will be replaced once elections are held before our December 16 conference," he said.

ANC southern Natal co-ordinator and UDF National publicity secretary, Patrick Lekota, said his interim committee would be visiting areas throughout the region in order to set up branch structures over the next two weeks.

"In each area local chairpersons will be elected along with local branch committees."

The United Democratic Front will not be disbanded, but its character will be changed into a forum representing grassroots structures, while the ANC will assume the national political leadership, he said.

Trevor Manuel, secretary of the UDF and coordinator of the ANC in the Western Cape, said the front held a national workshop in Cape Town at the weekend involving 250 delegates from around the country. It recommended that UDF should continue as a movement separate from but closely linked to the ANC.

Views at the workshop ranged from "let's shut up shop" to "the UDF must continue in its present form", Manuel said. But, he added, it was significant there were no "hard and fast" positions.

New leftwing Portuguese group formed

304A

in Mail 1984 - 1984/90.

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

A NEW leftwing group has been formed in the South African Portuguese immigrant community.

The new group — the Democratic Initiative of the Portuguese in South Africa (Dipsa) — said it wished to express "democratic views in the Portuguese community, which is perceived by many in this country as politically conservative."

Dipsa seeks to move the Portuguese community away from the camp of Nationalist Party. Many Portuguese people in South Africa vote for the NP, but according to Dipsa they vote rather apathetically for the NP and seldom get involved in South African politics.

But the organisation had barely been born when it received a bashing from the Portuguese rightwing. Heated debate took place at its launch on Tuesday.

Opposition came from rightist heads of Portuguese newspapers. The main source of debate was whether to recognise traditional leaders, who are generally perceived as rightwing and have strong connections with Portugal.

Dipsa said that it encouraged the current political dialogue between the government and the ANC.

Viljoen off on world tour to discuss reform

12/10/90
144/90
Own Correspondent (504/8)

CAPE TOWN — Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen, left last night for talks with European and US politicians, academics and business leaders.

During the nine-day trip Viljoen will visit London, Washington, New York and Bermuda for talks on constitutional change in SA.

On the Bermuda leg, Viljoen will participate in a seminar on southern Africa arranged on behalf of US congressmen and European legislators.

In Washington, Viljoen will address the Foreign Policy Association on Negotiation for Constitutional Change.

He will also address a Carnegie Foundation breakfast attended by academics and congressional aides.

In London, Viljoen will be addressing academics and politicians at the Royal Institute for International Affairs on Negotiating Constitutional Reform Towards a New SA.

Viljoen was originally scheduled to visit Canada as well but had to cancel this leg of his trip because of work pressure.

However, it is understood that members of the SA Law Commission will be visiting Canada soon.

The visit will be to study aspects of the Canadian constitution.

Viljoen will be returning on April 20.

FW considers SACC proposals on Natal

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk would give serious consideration to proposals by an SA Council of Churches delegation aimed at ending the violence in Natal, his office said in a statement last night.

The proposals included the creation of an effective and impartial peacekeeping force, and the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the causes of the violence.

The statement was issued after a two-hour meeting between the church delegation and De Klerk, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe at Tuynhuys yesterday. B Day 12/4/70

The statement said the delegation also presented De Klerk with documents which would be studied. If necessary this could lead to follow-up discussions.

After the meeting the Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, said the church leaders had also called for the affected areas of Natal — particularly Edendale and Vulindlela — to be declared disaster areas.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the delegation had also discussed other general issues with De Klerk. — Sapa.

● See Page 2

Tensions in Jo'burg NP over open city plan

THE proposal to open all of Johannesburg to all races is increasing tensions in the NP following the election of two of its members to the new DP-led city council management committee.

The tensions are in the council's NP caucus and among councillors and senior NP officials.

Turffontein MP and vice-chairman of the NP in the Johannesburg region André Fourie said yesterday opening entire cities was not NP policy.

But Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson of the DP

EDYTH BULBRING

said he had the support of the two NP members on his committee for opening the whole Johannesburg metropolitan area.

Davidson predicted last night that tensions over this and other issues since the ousting of the former NP management committee would soon lead to NP councillors resigning from the party.

The divisions came out into the open yesterday when Fourie issued a statement aimed at dispelling suggestions that the composition of the new management com-

mittee would mean the NP was helping to implement DP policy.

Details he gave of the NP caucus meeting before the management committee election revealed that six of the 21 NP councillors had voted for co-operation with the DP in a DP-led management committee. Although the proposal was defeated in caucus, this was the outcome of the council vote for the new management committee.

NP councillors are accusing their colleagues of stabbing them in the back and voting against caucus decisions.

□ To Page 2

NP tensions

Yesterday three council sources confirmed that verligte NP members were party to a deal with the DP to form a coalition management committee.

This deal resulted in the defeat of three NP members previously on the management committee. b10m 12/4/90

Asked in an interview whether the proposal to open Johannesburg's residential areas would cause problems for the NP, Fourie stressed it was "not NP policy to open Johannesburg or any other city". Asked why not, he replied: "Don't ask me, ask Mr de Klerk; I don't make NP policy."

He said the two NP members on the new management committee, Jan Burger and Marietta Marx, would have to liaise closely with the NP caucus.

"I want to make it clear our two members are committed to President de

Klerk's policy and are subject to NP policy."

The NP would not be subject to or committed to implementing DP policies.

An NP source said yesterday Marx and Burger were asked by Fourie to reconsider their positions on the management committee following their election on Monday. However, Fourie said he had not asked them to resign but that the NP would have to consider their position on the committee.

Davidson said last night he had held discussions with Marx and Burger and was confident they supported the opening of Johannesburg's residential areas.

Whether they would be able to take their caucus along with them, or persuade central government not to oppose the idea, remained to be seen, he said.

● Comment: Page 8

THE historical alliance between the ANC and the SACP gives the strategic logic of SA communists particular importance for the future of democracy in SA. It is only in the apartheid state that the hammer and sickle proudly flies at mass rallies.

As long as the gross inequality and historical exclusion of the majority persist, hopes that Eastern European developments would also prove infectious in SA remain wishful thinking.

Michael O'Dowd (Business Day, February 14) may invoke the mass migration out of existing socialism or "the stifling of initiative and progress implicit in (Joe) Slovo's hatred of profits", but the dream of greater equality and non-exploitation will be furthered rather than stifled by Anglo American monopolies.

This gives SACP pronouncements a special importance. Its quaint orthodoxy and discredited Stalinist past notwithstanding. The end of state socialism, many argue, heralds the future of democratic socialism.

Slovo's thoughtful paper *Has Socialism Failed?* constitutes the first theoretical attempt by the chairman of the party to shed the ideological ballast of a Stalinist past.

Slovo does not go nearly far enough in coming to terms with a tyrannical system whose terror is akin to fascism as well as apartheid. By blaming human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals, Slovo fails to recognise the intrinsic causes of Stalinist tyranny.

Lenin introduced the one-party state and abolished independent unions. Celebrating a Leninist vision of the state contradicts the proclamation of democratic pluralism.

Conceiving of itself as a "vanguard party" with "moral superiority" remains incompatible with liberal equality. Even if the vanguard role is to be earned rather than imposed, as Slovo now realises, commitment per se is no criterion of truth or higher morality.

Slovo now claims he had his personal doubts since the middle-1950s. However, he remained silent on the subject and the party continued to

Slovo's problems: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

HERIBERT ADAM

endorse Stalinist practices. When pressed as to why, the answer amounts to expediency: "It became almost risky and counter-productive to battle this issue out in our party. It would have caused an enormous split, and it had less and less bearing on our own work," he said in 1988.

Such opportunism on a vital issue disproves Slovo's current claim that there has always been internal democracy in the party. If the party cannot take a principled position on Stalinist crimes for fear of a split (or more likely for fear of being denied Soviet assistance) then its internal debate on peripheral issues are meaningless distractions.

Slovo defines Stalinism as "socialism without democracy". He repeatedly refers to "distortions" from the top. It is pilot error, rather than the structure of the plane, that is responsible for its crash.

Slovo, like Marx, conceptualises an abstract working class. But the working class is comprised of blacks and whites, women and men, skilled and unskilled workers who live in urban and rural settings. Above all, there are employed and unemployed.

To expect solidarity because of common exploitation lingers as a long-standing illusion. Yet it is such a self-deception on which the ANC and the SACP bases its strategy.

Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the left apart-

heid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superior rationality of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.

Rather than joining Cosatu or the ANC, the few remaining white workers flock to the neofascist AWPB. Deep resentment over loss of status and security drives its victims into the camp of those who hold out the vain restoration of a lost past. That was one of the lessons from fascism in Nazi Germany.

By building its strategy on white-black working-class alliances, the SACP not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasingly significant split in the labour movement: the competition between employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu has devised a strategy to cope with the one-third of the national workforce who are unemployed. The unions are increasingly representative of the employed only.

Merely employment in SA almost qualifies for membership in a "labour aristocracy". Merely having a

job is a mark of privilege. The range of life-chances — from access to housing, medical care, education and pensions — depends on employment.

Those millions outside the formal economy — in township backyards, in shacks around the cities and in huts in the countryside — form a permanent underclass. The liberation movements have yet to organise these permanently marginalised outsiders, the unions have yet to address the relation between employed and unemployed workers.

In Slovo's sensible, pragmatic assessment, the SA economy cannot be transformed "by edict without risking economic collapse". Instead of bureaucratic state control along Eastern European lines, Slovo now advocates public control through effective democratic participation by "producers at all levels".

This amounts to a classic social-democratic programme of co-determination where large firms are held publicly accountable and union representatives sit on boards. Since such widely legitimate visions are also considered negotiable, not much of economic orthodoxy is left among former Leninists. The collapse of Eastern European state socialism finally has shown its impact on some of its last fervent adherents.

The SACP, by its own admission, was caught offguard by its urban-

ring on February 2 1990. After preparing 30 years for liberation, the ANC found itself unprepared.

Believing in its own propaganda of a fascist, racist enemy, most exiles never took seriously the warnings about the adapting, deracialising capabilities and modernising potential of the opponent. Without an adequate theory of the antagonist, the opposition wasted precious years with doubtful and ineffective strategies.

Yet the test for the future SA democracy may not lie in the SACP's past alliances but in its internal practice of a democratic culture. The recognition of union independence by the SACP together with the endorsement of a multi-party system and traditional liberal freedoms bodes well for SA democracy, despite the Leninist relics and a repressed Stalinist past.

Because SACP members are the major force that dominates the theoretical debates and strategies within the broad apartheid opposition, its own practice of internal democracy influences the style of the entire movement. Whether the SACP declarations for democracy should be taken at face value or treated with scepticism is best tested by the behaviour of the party itself.

Will the SACP continue placing its members into strategic political and union positions, as the secret Broederbond infiltrates influential Afrikaner and government institutions? Pressure for democracy from below, particularly in the unions, may well finally force the SACP to part with the relics of Stalinism both in theory and in practice.

The self-critical Slovo account of the failure of socialism constitutes the first indication of a democratic renewal that may lay to rest Pierre van den Berghe's sceptical comment in 1989 that "SA, which has already spawned the world's last official racists, may also see its last Stalinists".

□ Prof Adam teaches at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and is at present visiting Professor at UCT's Graduate School of Business. This is an extract from a seminar presentation at the Centre for African Studies at UCT, from which the full text may be ordered.

Murder two rapes every hour

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — More than half the 11 750 murders in South Africa last year took place in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, General Johan van der Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, said in his annual report to Parliament yesterday.

One person is murdered every hour, two are raped, three rob-

beries take place, six vehicles are stolen and 25 homes are burgled.

Crime increased by 3,49 percent in 1989 compared with 1988, with 1 473 472 cases being reported. Police solved 56,65 percent of them (56,83 percent in 1988).

Crimes of morality like prostitution, sodomy, cruelty towards children and indecent assault had shown an alarming increase.

April 12 1990

Star 12/4/90

2044

NEWS

Mandela returns home, denies CP claims

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela has dissociated the African National Congress from what the Conservative Party claims is a Government document giving details of an ANC plan to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

At a press briefing at Jan Smuts Airport after his second visit to Lusaka, the ANC deputy president described the document as a devastating attack on the ANC, which he said was on record as having explicitly repudiated all forms of violence and racialism. He said there were certain

elements who were intent on sabotaging the three-day meeting between the ANC and the Government in May.

Mr Mandela said he had gone to Lusaka to brief the ANC's national executive committee on his recent meeting with President de Klerk.

His discussions with the NEC were fruitful and as a man who had been "urging" the Government to meet the ANC he was delighted at the progress made so far.

He cited the near collapse of negotiations between the Government and ANC as the main reason for his visit to Lusaka.

He had also briefed Zambia's President Kaunda about the recent developments in South Africa, he said.

Asked if, since his release from prison two months ago, he had made any progress, he said he was satisfied with the progress made so far.

He said he has condemned violence in Natal and other places but refused to condemn the armed struggle, which had been adopted as a strategy to get rid of apartheid.

He added that all strategies adopted by the ANC would be maintained.



Mr Nelson Mandela, next to his wife, Winnie, addresses the press after his return from Lusaka yesterday.

SA 12/4/90 (304A) (H)

ANC's talks team a sum of all its parts

The African National Congress has chosen a team for pre-negotiation talks that reflects a blend of age, race, gender and region, in sharp contrast to their Government counterparts, who but for one member consist of Afrikaner men in their 50s and 60s, writes **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

The African National Congress has chosen a judiciously balanced team for its pre-negotiation talks with the Government on May 2, 3 and 4.

Its 11 negotiators reflect a judicious blend of age, race, gender, and perhaps ideological emphasis; they stand in sharp contrast to their Government counterparts.

The ANC delegation, under the leadership of the indefatigable Mr Nelson Mandela, is characterised by diversity and, one assumes, corresponding versatility.

The Government contingent is, by contrast, remarkably uniform: with one exception it consists of white male Afrikaners in their 50s and 60s. The only exception of the nine-member Government team is Deputy Minister Mr Roelof Meyer. He is a white Afrikaner in his 40s.

The ANC representatives range in age from early 30s (Ms Cheryl Carolus) to late 70s (Mr Walter Sisulu).

Although pre-dominantly black, they include South Africans of all races; leavening the black predominance are two whites (clergyman Dr Beyers Naude and SA Communist Party secretary general Mr Joe Slovo), a coloured (Ms Carolus) and an Indian (Mr Ahmed Kathrada).

The racial composition is, it may be safely assumed — a manifestation of the ANC's commitment to non-racialism, an ideal which runs through its history of nearly eight decades.

It is not an exclusively male team.

Its representatives includes two women (Ms Carolus and Mrs Ruth Mompati), signalling — in the view of Mr Mark Phillips, of the Centre for Policy Studies — sensitivity to charges of "male chauvinism" and awareness of the political importance of women.

Rivonia trial

There is, furthermore, a balance between internal and external ANC members and, coincidentally, between ex-Rivonia trial prisoners, who were jailed for life in 1964 and released in the past six months, and the ANC leaders who escaped imprisonment in the 1960s and who, for years, directed "the struggle" from abroad.

Internally-based Rivonia trailists include stalwarts Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu and Mr Kathrada; externally-based operatives include Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Alfred Nzo,

the ANC's foreign and general secretaries respectively.

The ideological equilibrium is maintained in the juxtaposition of, say, Mr Mbeki, a strong pro-negotiation man, and Mr Joe Modise, commander of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or, on a different issue, Mr Slovo, a communist of many years standing, and Mr Mandela, a man who gives greater emphasis to black nationalism.

There is, to cap it all, a geographical or regional balance within South Africa.

Thus there are ANC representatives from the Transvaal (Messrs Mandela, Sisulu, and Kathrada) Natal (Mr Archie Gumede, Natal president of the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front) and the Cape (Ms Carolus).

Standing back and taking a broad view there are, as Mr Phillips points out, two interesting exclusions from the ANC team: it does not include a representative from the powerful trade union front or one from the township-based civic associations.

The cool-headed Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the National Union of Mineworkers, is a notable omission.

'Subliminal message'

Mr Phillips surmises that there may be a "subliminal message" in his exclusion: Mr Mandela may be declaring between the lines that Mr Ramaphosa's position at the helm of South Africa's biggest trade union is more than enough responsibility.

Assuming that Mr Phillips is right, it does not, of course, follow that Mr Ramaphosa agrees. His position as chairman of the National Reception Committee — which controls access to newly released ANC leaders — seems to indicate that he aspires to being more than a trade union boss battling against "monopoly capital".

The exclusion of leaders of civic associations may be a sign that the ANC believes they should concentrate on the task at hand: organising township residents into political units which will grow into battalions, divisions and, eventually, whole armies.

But one must be guard against reaching conclusions dogmatically. The May 2, 3 and 4 negotiations are merely the first step on a long, hard road.

The ANC may be keeping its rising stars — of whom Mr Ramaphosa is undoubtedly one — in reserve for the struggle ahead.

De Klerk impresses SA church leaders

12/4/90 Political Staff 304A
CAPE TOWN — A listening ear had replaced a wagging finger in the office of the President at Tuynhuys, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference after a delegation of church leaders had held talks with President de Klerk, Archbishop Tutu said that while not wanting to harm the President "by praising him too much, we have someone there who appears to listen. He engages people in discussions and we want to stress that we were received very warmly. People were able to say their concerns freely".

The delegation told Mr de Klerk they were deeply concerned that the actions of the security forces at Sebokeng and against squat-

ters could jeopardise the creation of the climate for negotiations.

The churches wanted to do all they could to assist the authorities in creating the climate conducive to negotiation, he added.

● The church leaders also asked Mr de Klerk to help implement a stalled Natal peace plan that was drawn up between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance last July.

The plan provided for a meeting in London of the ANC, United Democratic Front, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and Inkatha, a joint peace conference with 250-people-strong delegations, joint peace rallies, joint peace committees to monitor the implementation of peace, a joint peace publicity campaign and help for the Natal refugees.

FIM 13/4/90

JOHANNESBURG COUNCIL

A new era (304A)

The DP, despite being short of an overall majority, in effect took control of Johannesburg City Council's management committee on Monday. The DP's motion of no confidence in the NP management committee was put after last month's disclosure of an alleged spy ring run by city officials.

Even the DP, which has 20 of the 51 seats to the NP's 21, must have been surprised by the ease of its victory. Another nine councillors (five of the six Independents and the four CP members) supported the DP to give it three votes more than needed.

Until the meeting rumours were flying that conservative Nats, backed by the CP, would stage a coup and try to assume control of the committee, previously chaired by verligte Nat Jan Burger.

In the vote for chairman of the management committee, however, DP leader Ian Davidson beat the NP's Marietta Marx (another verligte and formerly deputy chairman) by 26 votes to 24. Eddy Magid, an independent member of the old committee, ran unopposed for vice-chairman. Also elected were Cecil Bass and Paul Asherson of the DP — and Jan Burger. The breakdown is now three DP, two NP and one Independent. Though the DP cannot command an automatic overall majority of 26 in the council, up to a dozen NP councillors are known verligtes.

The Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry begins hearing evidence this week on the alleged spy ring that purportedly collected information on various organisations. The Star has alleged that hundreds of thousands of rands were spent over seven years on covert activities authorised by high-ranking officials, including town clerk Manie Venter and public safety director John Pearce. ■

NATAL VIOLENCE FIM 13/4/90

Refugee crisis (276)

After police reinforcements and SADF members — many called up on 12 hours' notice — moved into the burning townships of Maritzburg and Durban late last week, the level of violence began to decline slightly.

But not enough, as new floods of refugees came streaming into Maritzburg, Pinetown and Durban. Staying wherever they could find shelter, they brought home the message to those living in white suburbs and the city that the war between Inkatha and the ANC-UDF is not confined to the townships.

Last week, the violence, which has generally centred on the Maritzburg region over the past few weeks, spread to townships on the coast, a pattern which has often been seen before. (128)

First it was at Mpumalanga, a large township midway between Maritzburg and Durban next to the industrial area of Hammars-

FIM 13/4/90

dale, where the violence has forced many large factories to run at minimum capacity.

On Friday afternoon, refugees — mainly women and children — began to stream into Pinetown and New Germany. DP MP Roger Burrows, monitoring the situation in his constituency, said by 8 pm last Friday night, 600 refugees had been housed in churches in the region. "I visited Mpumalanga at the weekend, together with refugee representatives and, although the violence had eased a bit, they felt it was still sufficiently tense not to return." (276) (128)

Most of the men in the area remained behind to protect property and possessions. Though Burrows said the refugees were anxious to return home, many are going to find themselves long-term refugees — scores of houses have been burned down.

He estimates there are about 40 000 refugees from Natal's violence scattered over the province, just over half living in official refugee camps. The remainder have moved in with friends and relatives, returned to rural areas, or are staying in white suburbs or at their places of work.

Other refugees — like the 4 000 who moved into Durban at the weekend — have had to make do with whatever place they could find. Some are living on the beach or open areas on the beachfront; others moved into the city council's Exhibition Centre in the CBD; some are living in parks or on the streets.

A broad spectrum of organisations — from the Red Cross and city officials to community and church groups — have been helping the refugees, but by early this week supplies were running low and there was concern about sanitary conditions in some of the unofficial refugee camps.

The sudden movement into Durban was sparked by fierce fighting between Inkatha and the UDF at the South Coast township of KwaMakutha last Friday night, followed by fresh outbreaks of violence in Umlazi, Lamontville and KwaMashu at the weekend — townships all bordering on Durban.

On Monday, when most workers in Durban stayed home in response to the national protest against the Sebokeng shootings, both Umlazi and Lamontville had been sealed off by burning barricades. ■

RAILWAY DISPUTE FIM 13/4/90

White smoke (151) (152)

In what could signal a new labour trend, thousands of white employees of the Railways downed tools last week to press pay demands. (276) (128)

Illegal strike action, described as spontaneous by Artisan Staff Association general secretary Kenny Cuthbertson, occurred throughout the country. He says about 10 000 artisans and trade-hands were involved in work stoppages at mechanical, electrical and maintenance workshops and sheds in the western Cape, Port Elizabeth,

THE WHITE RIGHT

Passionate division

F1M 13/4/90

304A

31/4/90

A major effort by rightwing opposition groups to unite against the reforms of President F W de Klerk has exposed cracks in the conservative movement. Instead of aligning themselves over a broad front, former enemies in rightwing circles are now joining ranks — while former allies are splitting up.

Afrikaners have not been so divided since the 1982 breakaway by Andries Treurnicht from the NP. The divisions have also been highlighted since De Klerk's February 2 speech, after which Treurnicht's CP scrambled to muster support — only to alienate groups like Eugene TerreBlanche's militant AWB and Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag.

In a recent interview with the *FM*, TerreBlanche was openly critical of Treurnicht's call for a three-day stayaway and the CP appeal for "a million signatures." A stayaway by civil servants, an important base of CP support, would give De Klerk's government good reason to lay off people, argues TerreBlanche. Later, at an AWB meeting, he snubbed Treurnicht again by saying what was needed was not a million signatures but a million arms and ammunition.

Treurnicht has tried to distance himself and his party from TerreBlanche. The CP has now formed a loose alliance with the Blanke Bevydingsbeweging (BBB) of former RAU professor Johan Schabot (who had been listed by government soon after the Strydom massacre on Church Square in Pretoria last year).

Nowadays, Treurnicht also finds himself in the company of former AWB members Dave Barnett (an ex-leader of TerreBlanche's military wing, Aquila), Manie Maritz and Chris Beyers.

Treurnicht has also been accused of making militant speeches, demanding "the right to use what is necessary, including violence, to protect our people and our property." Even a newspaper like *The Citizen*, which in the past has not been too enthusiastic about De Klerk's initiatives, has called on Treurnicht "not to encourage a shoot-it-out mentality among whites." In the same issue of that newspaper, Treurnicht was quick to say that his party would rather see people joining the police reservists than form uncontrolled "protection groups."

Treurnicht admitted, however, that the CP had already formed vigilante committees

in several areas, including Welkom, which has been the scene of white-on-black violence.

Revolution as an alternative also features high on the agenda of the *Afrikanerfront-komitee*, a body which accommodates other far-right organisations under the chairmanship of Schabot. In a leak (said by the CP to come from Jaap Marais' HNP) to the newspapers of Nasionale Pers, the confidential minutes of a meeting in December suggest that Treurnicht supports the idea of a rightwing extra-parliamentary front and rightwing

action against black protest marches in white cities and towns.

According to the minutes, a representative of the front had fruitful talks with Treurnicht earlier. "He was very positive about rightwing action against black protest marches ... as well as rightwing action against organised black swamping (*verdringing*) of white amenities," read the minutes.

A notable absentee at the meeting was Boshoff, whose public statements have often clashed with Treurnicht's views. In another confidential document, Boshoff says the establishment of a *volkstaat* is the only solution if a political victory cannot be won. A CP victory at this stage is not in sight, says Boshoff, and "the nation has not risen in spite of government opening up beaches."

While rightwing unity seems far off, a disturbing feature has been the incidence of white-on-black violence and sporadic anti-Semitic actions.

In one of the latest incidents, anti-Semitic pamphlets linked Jewish South Africans, liberal Afrikaners and NG Kerk moderator Johan Heyns to a plot to undermine Afrikanerdom. The accusation is that Heyns was born a Jew in Soestdijk in Holland and that he changed his name from Heinzowitz when he came to SA. No Jew can become a Christian, the pamphlet says; Heyns merely pretends to be one.

At this stage, it appears that De Klerk is not unduly concerned about the movement in rightwing circles. He did, however, make provision in his statement to parliament last Monday, for action against rightwing groups that take the law in their own hands.

It also does not appear that he fears a rightwing takeover by the security forces — but insiders say De Klerk is very concerned

about morale in the security services. Revelations about the Civil Co-operation Bureau and so-called police death squads could not have come at a worse time for him. ■

THE ANC

Taking decisions

Who actually calls the shots in the ANC?

At the apex, in Lusaka, is the national executive committee, technically under ANC president Oliver Tambo, but, since his illness, effectively run by secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international department head and "crown prince" Thabo Mbeki, and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

All major decisions, such as the recent one postponing talks with President F W de Klerk, are taken by the NEC but very much in consultation with the recently formed internal Interim Leadership Core.

This is chaired by Walter Sisulu and includes Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and, since his release, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who is very much seen as a national leader, with a stature that goes beyond the ANC.

The Interim Leadership Core men have all been co-opted on to the NEC.

If Tambo does not fully recover, Mandela could well be elected president when the ANC holds its first national congress in 30 years inside SA on December 16. According to one insider, elections for the new NEC will return a mixture of older and new generation leaders. F1M 13/4/90

The latter might well include the likes of National Union of Mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota and UDF Cape leader Trevor Manuel.

It will be interesting to see who makes up the ANC team, led by Mandela, which is due to meet De Klerk and his senior ministers for pre-negotiation talks on May 2. The *FM* learns that the list could include: Thabo Mbeki, Slovo, Jacob Zuma from the ANC intelligence department (who is already in the country), Nzo (uncertain), Pallo Jordan, Walter Sisulu, Popo Molefe, Ramaphosa, Manuel, and perhaps Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

As part of a membership and unity drive, the Interim Leadership Core recently announced the formation of five departments inside the country which will function until the ANC-in-exile has returned. Not all the names have been divulged.

The departments are: the Office of the National Organiser under Wilton Mkwayi; Department of Information and Publicity,



Treurnicht



Heyns

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Financial
Mail

PRIVATISATION AND THE DP



304A

F17 13/4/90

No time for selling the past

It's ironic that the DP, so long unjustly condemned by radicals as the propaganda arm of big business, seems to be rushing head over heels to abandon its free market principles. And this at the time when its stand on broader political issues has been converted by the governing hierarchy from an obscene heresy into received wisdom.

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz's recent statement opposing the privatisation of Eskom, Posts & Telecommunications and the railway and harbour components of Transnet is also a reversal of his stand during the general election (*Leaders* August 18). Then, he said that the only candidates the DP ruled out for privatisation were schools and hospitals.

Having had a lengthy business career, Schwarz should know better than most politicians that only the private sector can create wealth; the public sector consumes it.

The belief that nationalisation or public-sector ownership can effectively redistribute income or wealth in a way that will benefit the disadvantaged and reduce our admittedly excessive extremes of poverty is also not one that can be taken seriously by anyone with practical experience of the two sectors.

It is now common cause that it's no longer enough for

business just to bewail that nationalisation is a bad thing; it must argue the positive advantages of free enterprise systems in maximising general welfare. It's not sufficient merely to point to basket cases like Tanzania or Zambia; it's necessary also to explain why countries like South Korea or Taiwan, with few natural resources, have done so much better.

Of course, it's also necessary to accept that free enterprise does not mean a total abnegation by government of social responsibilities. But these social responsibilities can be met only in an efficient economy; and that means an economy in which the supply and demand for goods and services are as far as possible determined by the market.

That is the message the DP should now be sending forth, against the intrinsically socialist ethos, in their distinctive forms, of both Afrikaner and African nationalism.

Instead, the DP's new populist position curries favour with the ANC and the unions (see *Business*). That is a sad retreat into expediency for a party whose *raison d'être* for decades was a refusal to sacrifice principle for political gain.

How tragic that when those decades in the wilderness are at last being justified, the DP should opt for policies which will increase poverty and inefficiency rather than maximise the prosperity of the majority of the population. ■

Taking decisions

Who actually calls the shots in the ANC?

At the apex, in Lusaka, is the national executive committee, technically under ANC president Oliver Tambo, but, since his illness, effectively run by secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international department head and "crown prince" Thabo Mbeki, and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

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The latter might well include the likes of National Union of Mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota and UDF Cape leader Trevor Manuel.

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FM 13/4/90 (MAD) (304A)

under Ahmed Kathrada; National Political Education; Finance Control under TIC president Cassim Saloojee; and an Administrative Secretariat.

More important is the team of regional conveners tasked with recruiting new members and the setting up of ANC regional offices.

The country has for this purpose been divided into 12 regions. The conveners so far named include: PWV — Kgalema Motlanthe, a NUM officer and Robben Island "graduate;" northern Transvaal — Thabo Makunyane; southern Natal — Terror Lekota; Natal midlands — Harry Gwala; western Cape — Trevor Manuel, who is likely to be joined as co-convenor by ANC exile Reg September; eastern Cape — Benson Fihla; Border — Arnold Stofile; and Transkei — A Xobololo.

The ANC's legal department, under Albic Sachs, has also prepared "a new interim constitution" to "guide the workings of the movement now that it has been unbanned."

At a national workshop last weekend, the UDF decided that it would continue to exist but the "ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making." ■

**'Whites-only policy
damaging to
De Klerk's image
as negotiator'**

— Marinus Wiechers



**'It would be tragic
for blacks and
whites to end up
on opposite sides'**

— Jasper Walsh



**'No reason to go
further than the
NP's time-tested
structures ...'**

— Renier Schoeman



The National Party will have to open its membership to all races if it is to have future in the new South Africa — and if President F W de Klerk's image is not to be tarnished by overtones of racism, FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent reports.

NAT DILEMMA OVER WHITES-ONLY POLICY

W/1-ARGUS 14/4/90 304A

THE National Party will soon have to grasp the nettle of open membership for all races if it is to survive as a political force in the promised apartheid-free "new South Africa".

This is the view of prominent academics and politicians — even inside the NP — who believe the NP will be at a serious disadvantage if it goes to the negotiating table with its image of a "whites-only" party.

At the same time, they say, the image and credibility of President F W de Klerk as statesman and reformer risks being tarnished by his party's racial tag, while he preaches the removal of all official discrimination.

However, the NP itself is clearly dragging its feet on the issue of open membership, although it is being discussed in party circles.

A senior NP source said this week the matter was not even "on the agenda," but could be raised for discussion later. It was not regarded as urgent and there were other more important matters to deal with now.

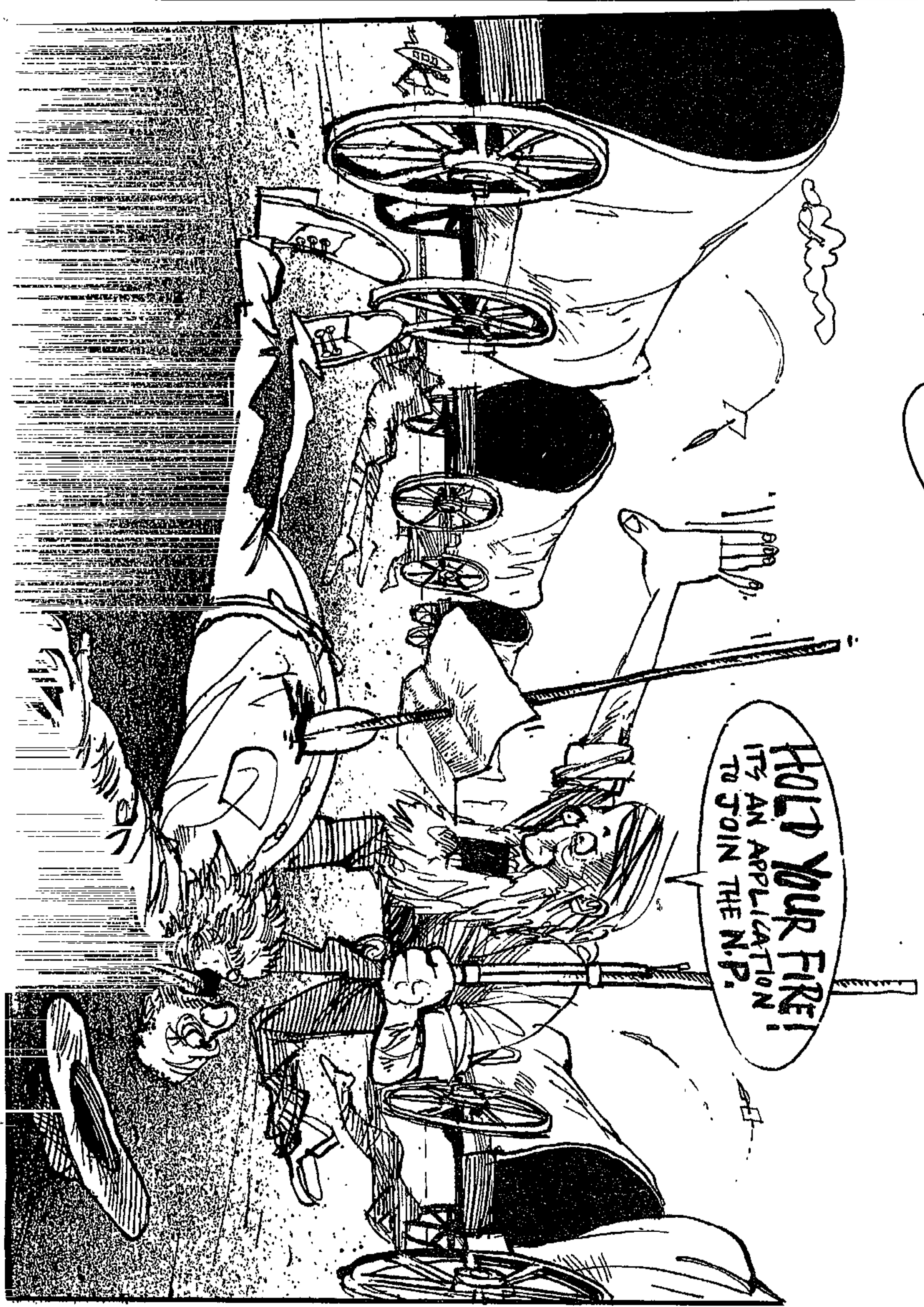
In support of his argument, the source said the Democratic Party, for example, was open to all races and yet this policy had shown no spectacular success in drawing people other than whites.

Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa, believes a decision to open its membership to all races is a matter of great urgency for the NP if it is to survive as an effective political force.

THE present "whites-only" character of the party, he says, is damaging to the image of President F W de Klerk in his role as statesman, negotiator and reformer committed to working for a non-racial democracy.

Mr De Klerk's role as leader of a racially exclusive party was also a glaring contradiction to his and his government's commitment to move away from apartheid and racial discrimination.

The "whites-only" image would put Mr De Klerk and the NP at a serious disadvantage at the negotiating table where a new non-



constitution was to be discussed between leaders of all the significant political groupings.

Professor Wiechers, in summing up the NP's dilemma, said: "It is a matter of survival for the NP. What role is there for the NP in the politics of the future if it retains the whites-only tag? It would have no chance to survive as a political force."

At best the NP in its present form would get support from a million white voters. It was unlikely to get support from elsewhere, not even by way of significant alliances with other political groupings.

As a "white-only" party it would be seen as a party in the unsavoury company of die-hard apartheid groupings such as the Conservative Party and its right-wing allies.

Such a situation would bode ill for the NP's role in the planned constitutional negotiations.

If the NP were to continue to play white politics on the side while talking about moving away from racism, it would paint itself into a corner. In that position it would be doomed to remain a shrinking minority in the politics of the future.

PROFESSOR Wiechers cited Namibia as an example of the failure of "whites-only" politics to work in a non-racial constitutional dispensation. There, the white NP could get no significant allies because no one wanted to be associated with an exclusively white political party.

If South Africa's NP were to open its membership to all races, it would have an opportunity to draw black and coloured support and

would escape from the accusation of negotiating on a racial basis.

The open membership issue was already a matter of intense discussion among rank-and-file members of the NP.

"It is becoming a matter of great urgency for the NP. If top people in the party do not regard it as urgent it is high time they do so," Professor Wiechers said.

He suggested a decision on open membership should be taken by the NP as soon as possible — preferably even before constitutional negotiations began.

The viewpoint that open membership is important for the NP, especially in the negotiating process, is shared by Professor Pieter Potgieter, head of the department of political science at the University of Potchefstroom.

HE said the principle of open membership was particularly important in a symbolic sense. In practice it was unlikely to have the effect of drawing large numbers of people of colour to the NP, because politics tended to be conducted largely on ethnic lines.

Symbolically, however, the opening of the NP to all races would be seen as a final departure from the racist basis of Nationalist politics.

This was important, because the NP would then be in a position to talk on the basis of being able to say its doors were open to all.

What was much more important for the NP in practice was the prospect of forming alliances with other political groupings. To be seen as a "whites-only" party could hamper this pro-

cess which actually would be a first step towards political integration.

It was also important for President De Klerk, in his reform initiatives involving people of all races, not to be seen as the leader of a "whites-only" party whose doors were closed to other races.

Democratic Party spokesmen reject Nationalist claims that open membership has not had any significant results for their party.

While admitting that the party's membership is still predominantly white, the DP says this is largely due to the racially-based tricameral system of Parliament.

The DP's Jasper Walsh, MP for Pinelands, said the circumstances under which the party had tried to build a non-racial party were "impossible" because, under the tricameral system, it was unacceptable for the party to operate in houses of parliament other than the white Assembly.

NEVERTHELESS, there had been growing interest among people other than whites in the DP's policies and principles for a non-racial democracy. Evidence of this had been found at DP meetings which drew many people of colour.

The main stumbling block in the way of operating as a fully non-racial party remained the tricameral system, which Nationalists themselves recognised as a failure.

The NP, however, had not come forward with a plan to replace this system.

Mr Walsh said he believed that in the inter-

ests of South Africa the NP should open its membership to people of all races.

"It would be tragic if negotiations should end up with whites and blacks on opposite sides of the table."

He noted that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had indicated the ANC's objective was to draw together everyone opposed to apartheid, irrespective of race.

A SENIOR NP source, on the other hand, made it clear that the issue of open membership was not a high priority for the NP.

Although the matter was being discussed among Nationalists, it was "not on the agenda". There were no immediate plans to raise it at NP congresses or caucus meetings.

The subject would have to receive attention in the future and there was nothing to prevent its being raised at NP congresses or in caucus meetings.

"Our preference is for a style of multi-party co-operation," the spokesman said.

This meant different parties would exchange opinions, seek common ground and continue discussions to find further points of agreement.

The NP's chief information director, Renier Schoeman, conceded that open membership was being discussed among Nationalists, but denied speculation that the party was under pressure to change its membership policy.

"The NP has time-tested structures of a highly democratic nature. Nothing that has been written gives any reason for the party to go further than it has," Mr Schoeman said.

De Klerk to make historic visit to the United States

sta 14/4/90 (30kA)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk, leading his country out of diplomatic quarantine, will visit the United States in June, sources close to the Government said this week.

It will be the first visit to Washington by a South African head of government since the National Party assumed power 42 years ago.

President George Bush invited Mr de Klerk to the White House in February after the Government released Nelson Mandela and legalised several anti-apartheid organisations including the African National Congress.

Share power

Taking advantage of a warmer international climate created by his changes, Mr de Klerk will visit Europe next month to explain his plans for a new South Africa in which the black majority will share power with the whites.

He is expected to visit several capitals after talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London on May 19.

He plans to spend about a week in North America from about mid-June, the sources said on Thursday.

Mr de Klerk will try to persuade Western leaders that the course on which he has launched South Africa is irreversible and that the country deserves to be rewarded with the lifting of se-

lective economic sanctions.

Speculation that Mr de Klerk would visit the United States in June brought a stark "no comment" from spokesmen for his office, while Foreign Affairs spokesmen said on Thursday afternoon that they could neither confirm nor deny it.

There was no doubt that the President had been invited to visit US President Bush, nor that Secretary of State James Baker had reinforced that invitation when he and Mr de Klerk met in Windhoek and Cape Town during and after the Namibian independence celebrations, spokesmen said.

Equally, dates had been discussed, but as yet there was no indication of exactly when, or how long, his visit would be.

EC visit

Sources close to Parliament told Sapa that, while June had been among the months discussed for a meeting, it was by no means the only month, nor had any dates been fixed as yet.

The speculation follows hard on the heels of the visit to Mr de Klerk on Thursday morning by a European Community delegation which later met Foreign Minister Pik Botha for more than an hour, later lunched with him and then retired to the Italian Embassy where they met several political and community leaders. — Sapa.

Sebokeng probe - FW to decide

THE President, Mr F W de Klerk, is expected to announce in Parliament on Tuesday whether an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the Sebokeng shootings on March 26 will be instituted.

A few days after the shooting, which left 17 people dead and scores injured, Mr de Klerk requested information on circumstances surrounding the incident and promised to make an announcement soon.

"No formal statement has been issued on the matter but we expect the President to address the matter in Parliament," said a spokesman from Mr de Klerk's office.

Screaming

The 17 Vaal residents died when police opened fire after stopping the marching residents on the main road to Vereeniging on that day. A day after the shooting police said they opened fire in self-defence when they were attacked by a mob screaming: "Kill the boers".

The incident led to a decision by the ANC to suspend the "talks about talks" with the Government. The talks have since been re-scheduled for May 2, 3 and 5.

Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president, welcomed a commission, but as all South African judges are white, he believes the commission should include members credible to the "masses". Mr Mandela said he welcomed both the steps to appoint a judge to hold the inquest and to set up a judicial commission.

Major Reg Crewe of the SAP public relations in Pretoria said police took necessary steps to prevent killings in rioting, but no one could say that situations were such as that when nine people were shot dead in Sebokeng could never happen again.

Major Crewe said police would conduct their own

procedural inquiry but the findings, which would form part of documents forwarded to judicial officers, would not be made public.

He added that inquests would be held into the deaths, as was done in any unnatural death. Police as a matter of routine also conducted internal investigations into police actions taken during unrest.

The Vaal Detainees Support Committee (Descom) has alleged that police in the Vaal triangle were intimidating and harassing people who had been injured at Sebokeng and were forcing them to make false statements.

The SAP public relations division confirmed statements were being taken from persons involved in the shooting incident in Sebokeng but "rejected as false" allegations police were forcing people to make false statements.

Questioning

Descom spokesman Mr Sakhiwe Khumalo said police had a list of those treated in Sebokeng Hospital after the shootings and were taking them to police stations for questioning. At the police station they were forced to make false statements, he alleged.

He cited Mr Andrew Hlalele who he said was forced to make a statement saying demonstrators threw stones at police before they were shot at.

A police statement said suspects were warned in terms of the Judges Rules and were not compelled to make statements.

"While we reject allegations of police intimidation and harassment we expect there might be other persons or groups who will try to intimidate witnesses and persuade them not to co-operate with police."

Nothing can stop Mandela Park



Squatters have taken over Kutlwanong township in the Free State and built a corrugated-iron city called Mandela Park.

By DAN DHLAMINI

A NEW South African city is developing under the noses of authorities in the Free State — and there is nothing they can do to stop it.

Some call it Mandela Park. Others prefer to call it Mutsi Park, after the late Congress of South African Students branch leader in Ondendaalsrus, Sipho Mutsi, who died in police detention in 1985.

Officially, this growing city is known to South Africans as Kutlwanong township, situated on the outskirts of Ondendaalsrus in the Free State.

But now the shacks outnumber official houses.

The Kutlwanong Town Council is helpless to slow the growth of this new squatter phenomenon, which saw 7 000 shacks built in the past three weeks.

This week, during a *City Press* drive around the area, the sound of people hammering nails into corrugated-iron sheets never stopped as more numbers were being added to the staggering 7 000.

The shacks, by their sheer numbers, have literally engulfed the matchbox structures at Kutlwanong.

However, Piet van Zyl, a spokesman for the OFS Provincial Administration in the Local Affairs Department said the squatters did not constitute a crisis.

He said his officials had met the Kutlwanong Town Council and some-thing was being worked

More than 7 000 squatter shacks built in 3 weeks



C/Press

15/4/90

309

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A NEW South African city is developing under the noses of authorities in the Free State – and there is nothing they can do to stop it.

Some call it Mandela Park. Others prefer to call it Mutsi Park, after the late Congress of South African Students branch leader in Ondendaalsrus, Siphosiphos Mutsi, who died in police detention in 1985.

Officially, this growing city is known to South Africans as Kutlwanong township, situated on the outskirts of Ondendaalsrus in the Free State.

But now the shacks outnumber official houses.

The Kutlwanong Town Council is helpless to slow the growth of this new squatter phenomenon, which saw 7 000 shacks built in the past three weeks.

This week, during a *City Press* drive around the area, the sound of people hammering nails into corrugated-iron sheets never stopped as more numbers were being added to the staggering 7 000.

The shacks, by their sheer numbers, have literally engulfed the matchbox structures at Kutlwanong.

However, Peet van Zyl, a spokesman for the OFS Provincial Administration in the Local Affairs Department said the squatters did not constitute a crisis.

He said his officials had met the Kutlwanong Town Council and something was being worked out.

On the other hand, Kutlwanong mayor John Pina confirmed his council had problems controlling the influx of squatters.

He said unlike in the Cape, where about 30 shacks in Kraaifontein's Bloukombos township were this week demolished by police, Kutlwanong had land earmarked for shack-dwellers.

This land had been surveyed, but there was no infrastructure, he said.

Godfrey Mayekiso, a member of the Kutlwanong Civic Association's (KCA) interim committee, said the exodus from backyards by shack-dwellers was triggered by Pina who earlier encouraged some residents to erect shacks near the nightsoil dumping place.

Mayekiso said shack-dwellers, who had been living in other residents' premises and paying high rents, decided to move and allocated themselves sites free of charge at Mandela Park.

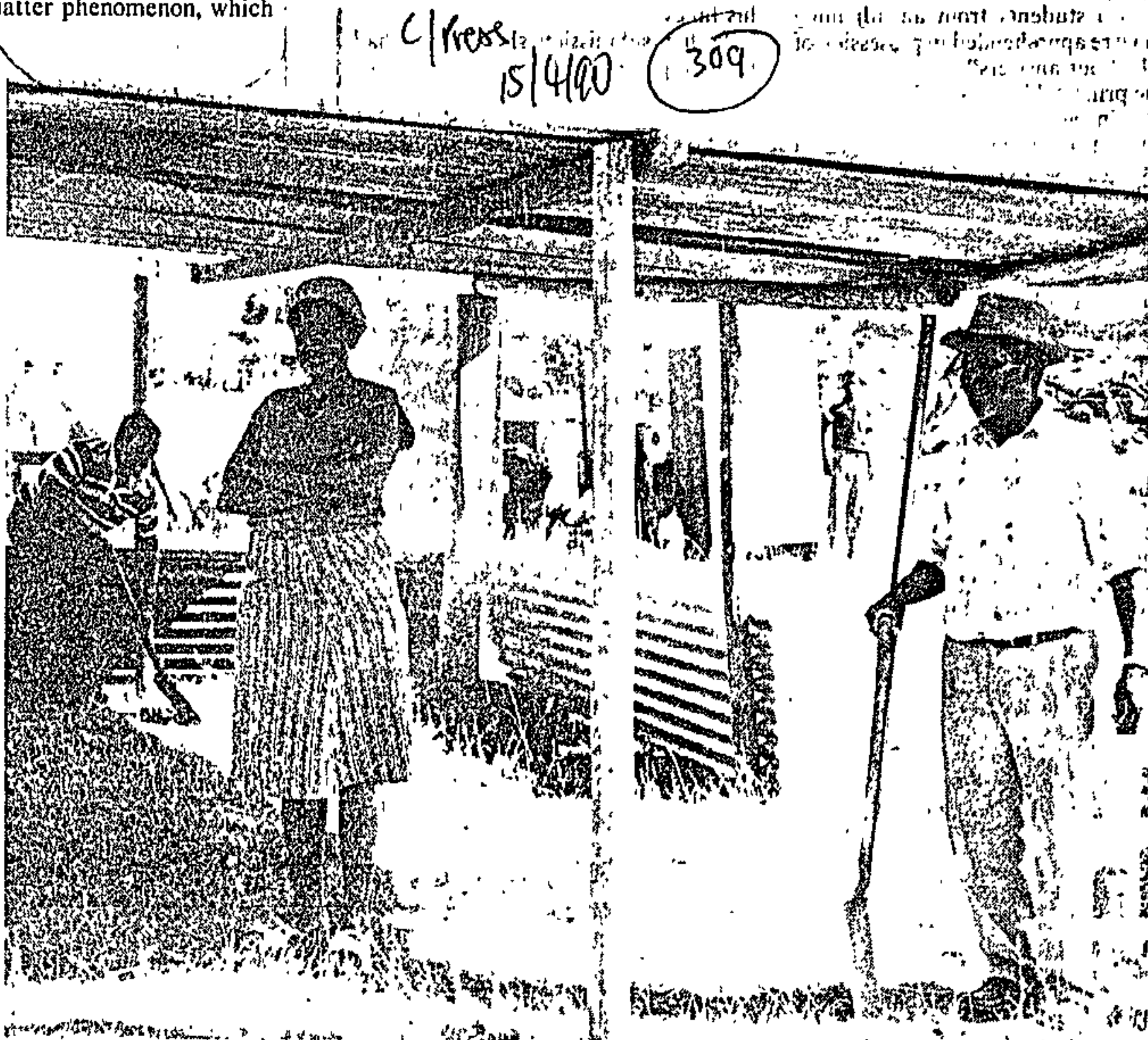
People living on nearby farms also took advantage of free access to the township.

In the past the council charged squatters R300 each to erect a shack in someone else's yard.

Young comrades are acting as land surveyors and have measuring tapes at hand which they use to demarcate sites and potential streets.

This whole operation

More than 7 000 squatter shacks built in 3 weeks



Young comrades allocate 'plots' free of charge and within hours a shack has sprung up.

Cape squatters increasing

BETWEEN 7 000 and 10 000 squatters are arriving each month in greater Cape Town, the Western Cape president of the Institute of Professional Land Surveyors, Brian Mellon, said in Cape Town this week.

The greatest areas of new squatter concentration are at Crossroads, KTC, Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Noordhoek and Hout Bay.

There are fears that Crossroads, especially, might erupt into a "mini-Natal" situation over the Easter weekend.

Tensions are reported to be running high in this area, and MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck has warned that any eruption in Crossroads "could make Crossroads 1986 look like a picnic".

Mellon, in turn, has called for areas of land to be

carved up into housing plots in various squatter areas and set aside to cope with the growing problem.

"It is of paramount importance that we identify and set aside ground on which squatting can take place legally in the metropolitan area," he said, adding that expropriation should follow to legalise settlements.

He urged the setting up of communal water points and toilets, and said the State should supply basic building materials such as clay, cement and thatch, for the erection of traditional houses by the squatters themselves.

Three houses in Crossroads Section 4 were "torched" on Wednesday, according to a fire brigade spokesman, and tensions are reported to be growing between Crossroads' town committee and a rival group under breakaway headman Jeffrey Nongwe. — Sapa

is free of charge, except for truck owners – who are making a fortune transporting furniture.

The only sad part is that residents of Mandela and Mutsi Parks have no ablution facilities and there is no water.

They have to beg for toilets and water from stand owners and this could lead to a misunderstanding between residents and squatters.

Health workers in the area have already lashed out at the conditions under which these squatters live.

A local doctor told *City Press* that if something was not done quickly in the area – which is already a health hazard – there could be loss of life through illnesses.

The doctor said despite the fact the thou-

sands of shacks are barely three weeks old, he had already referred more than 10 people to hospital with symptoms of vomiting and acute diarrhoea.

Mayekiso told *City Press* his committee was negotiating with Anglo American Corporation regarding the possibility of building houses in Kutlwanong to ease overcrowding.

He said residents had asked the council to resign and the KCA would be officially launched on April 29.

Already this week councillor Isaac Wau resigned from the eight-man council after pressure from the committee.

Councillors had until yesterday to respond to demands that they all resign because of allegations of corruption.

The group which will define our future

CPress 15/4/90 (60) (3044)

THE inclusion of **CHERYL CAROLUS**, 32, in the ANC team of 11 people which will hold exploratory talks with the government on May 2, 3 and 4 may have surprised people outside Cape Town. But it didn't shock those who know her down in the Cape where she handles the United Democratic Front's publicity.

Tall, lithe and articulate, she became a hit with the media last year when she co-ordinated the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign.

She said of her inclusion: "I don't think it was because of me personally, but because the ANC is recognising the role women have played in the struggle."

A University of the Western Cape graduate, she was the first woman to be detained in Cape Town in 1976. After leaving university, she became a high school teacher.

She and Trevor Manuel became the first joint secretaries of the Western Cape in 1983. Two years later she was working in the UDF's headquarters.

In 1986 she was a member of the UDF delegation which met the ANC in Sweden. She was detained on her return.

Last year she attended the Organisation of African Unity summit where the Harare Declaration was drawn up. In her absence she was elected publicity secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape.

In March this year she married sweetheart and fellow UDF member Graham Bloch.

Another woman in the team is veteran activist **RUTH MOMPATI**, 65, head of the ANC's religious department and member of the National Executive Committee and military council.

She is one of two women who hold top leadership positions in the ANC. She was born in Vryheid.

After her marriage in 1952, Mompoti and her husband went to live in Soweto where she worked as a secretary with Tambo and Mandela's law firm. In 1954 she served on the NCE of the Federation of South African Women.

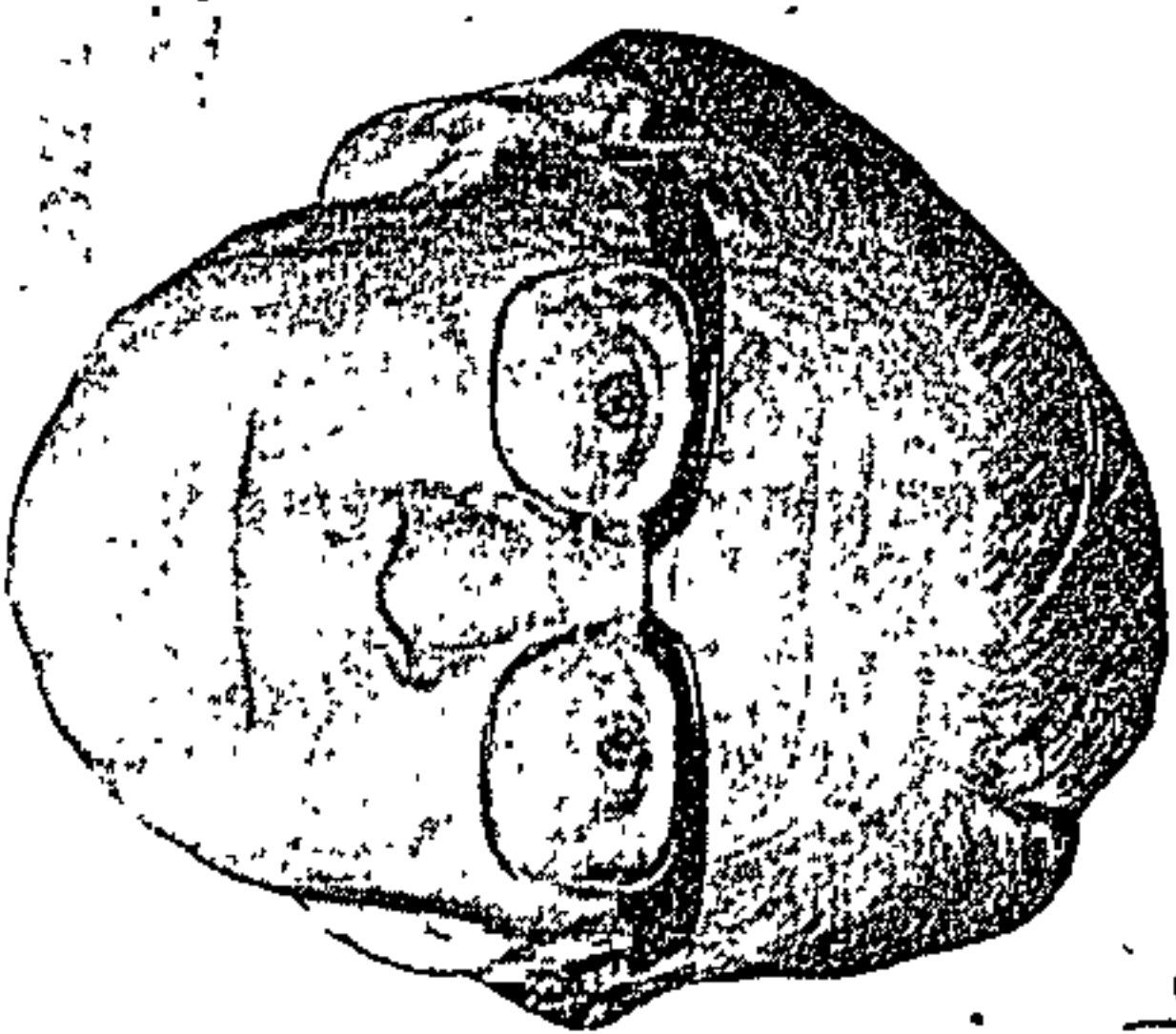
In 1962 she left the country to help set up the ANC's foreign and underground structures.

Mompoti is a strategist in the military council, and was also the organisation's chief representative in London in the 1980s.

In a recent interview with an overseas newspaper she said: "We have something to offer all South Africans, irrespective of colour or creed. We offer them a free, democratic South Africa."

The rest of the negotiating team comprises:

■ **ARCHIE GUMEDE**, 77: He joined the ANC in 1944 as Maritzburg assistant regional secretary. A former student of Fort Hare University, Gumede came into contact with black leaders ZK Matthews and DDT



Boysers Naude... strong Afrikaner background.

Jabavu, who were lecturers at the college.

Gumede, a lawyer, participated in defiance action against the extension of the pass laws to women and the introduction of Bantu Education.

In 1963 he was banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. He became founding chairman of the Release Mandela Committee.

When the UDF was formed in 1983, Gumede, veteran trade unionist Oscar Mphahla, and human rights activist Albertina Sisulu were elected presidents.

■ **NELSON MANDELA**, 71: The deputy president of the ANC was released in February after serving 27 years of his life sentence.

He was the founder of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

He matriculated at the Healdtown Methodist Boarding School before enrolling at Fort Hare where he met ANC president Oliver Tambo. Both were expelled for their involvement in a student strike.

Mandela left his home in the Transkei to avoid an arranged marriage, and met Walter Sisulu who introduced him into the ANC. He completed his BA degree in 1941 by correspondence and studied at Wits University for his LLB degree.

In 1944 he helped found the ANC Youth League with Sisulu and Tambo, became national secretary in 1948 and president in 1950.

Mandela and Tambo formed the first black legal partnership in the country in 1952.

In 1952 he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Mandela left the country secretly after the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1961 to train as a guerrilla. He returned and led implementation of the M-plan.

■ **THABO MBEKI**, 47: He is the son of Govan Mbeki. He joined the ANC Youth League at Lovedale High School in 1956.

Lovedale was closed down after a student strike, and Mbeki wrote matric through private study in 1959. He completed A-levels in 1961, then enrolled for an economics degree at London University while working underground for the ANC.

He left South Africa in 1962 on the advice of the ANC, and was arrested in then Southern Rhodesia. He was given political asylum by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania and later flew to the UK where he studied for an MA degree in economics at the University of Sussex in 1966.

He received military training in the Soviet Union and moved to Lusaka in 1970. He negotiated in vain for the opening of an ANC office in Botswana, and later became the organisation's acting president in Swaziland from 1975 to April 1976. From December 1976 to February 1978 he served as ANC representative in Nigeria, and later returned to Lusaka.

Mbeki was appointed to the NEC in 1975, and was tipped to be in line for the presidency before Mandela's release.

■ **JOE MODISE**, 60: He was born in Johannesburg. He went to school in Kiptlova, completing Form II at the Fred Clark Memorial School in Nancefield. He studied privately for his matric.

He worked as a driver and joined the ANC Youth League in Newclare in 1947. Modise played an active role in resisting the removal of Sophiatown, and was arrested in 1954.

He was one of 156 ANC activists charged with treason in 1956, but charges against him were dropped.

When Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed, Modise served on its high command, travelling extensively with Mandela.

The ANC decided he should take charge of MK abroad. He underwent military training in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and at the end of 1964 returned to Tanzania.

From 1970 to 1976 he directed the establishment of an underground network in South Africa.

■ **BEYERS NAUDE**, 74: He comes from a strong Afrikaner background, his father Jozua Francois being one of the pioneers of the Afrikaans language.

Naudé holds an MA degree in languages and is also a graduate of the Stellenbosch School of Theology. He found a home for his political beliefs in the National

Party, but the 1960 Sharpeville emergency changed his views.

In 1961 he became acting regional moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church synod in the southern Transvaal, and was later appointed moderator.

He was a founder member of the Christian Institute which sought to unite all Christians and later resigned his job as moderator to work full time in the Institute. He lost his status as a minister and came under tremendous pressure from security police and the fighting.

In the 1977 government clampdown on anti-apartheid organisations and activists, Naudé was banned for five years. In 1980 he broke away from the Dutch Reformed Church and was accepted into the NGK in Afrika, a black sister church.

Naudé served as the SACC's secretary-general after Desmond Tutu left the position.

■ **ALFRED NZO**, 64: He matriculated at Healdtown Institute in Fort Beaufort, and later enrolled for a BSc degree at Fort Hare, but dropped out at the end of his second year in 1946.

He joined the ANC Youth League at the university. In 1951 he completed a health inspector's course and worked in Alexandra township. He mobilised people for the 1952 defiance campaign.

In 1958 he served in the Transvaal and national executive committees of the ANC.

The ANC advised Nzo to leave the country and join the external wing under Tambo in March 1964. He has served as deputy president in Cairo and as chief representative in New Delhi, India.

He was elected secretary-general of the ANC in 1969 and transferred to the Tanzania headquarters.

■ **WALTER SISULU**, 78: He came to Johannesburg from Engobo in the Transkei, and worked in a gold mine.

In 1940, while working in a bakery in Johannesburg, he organised a strike for higher wages and was fired.

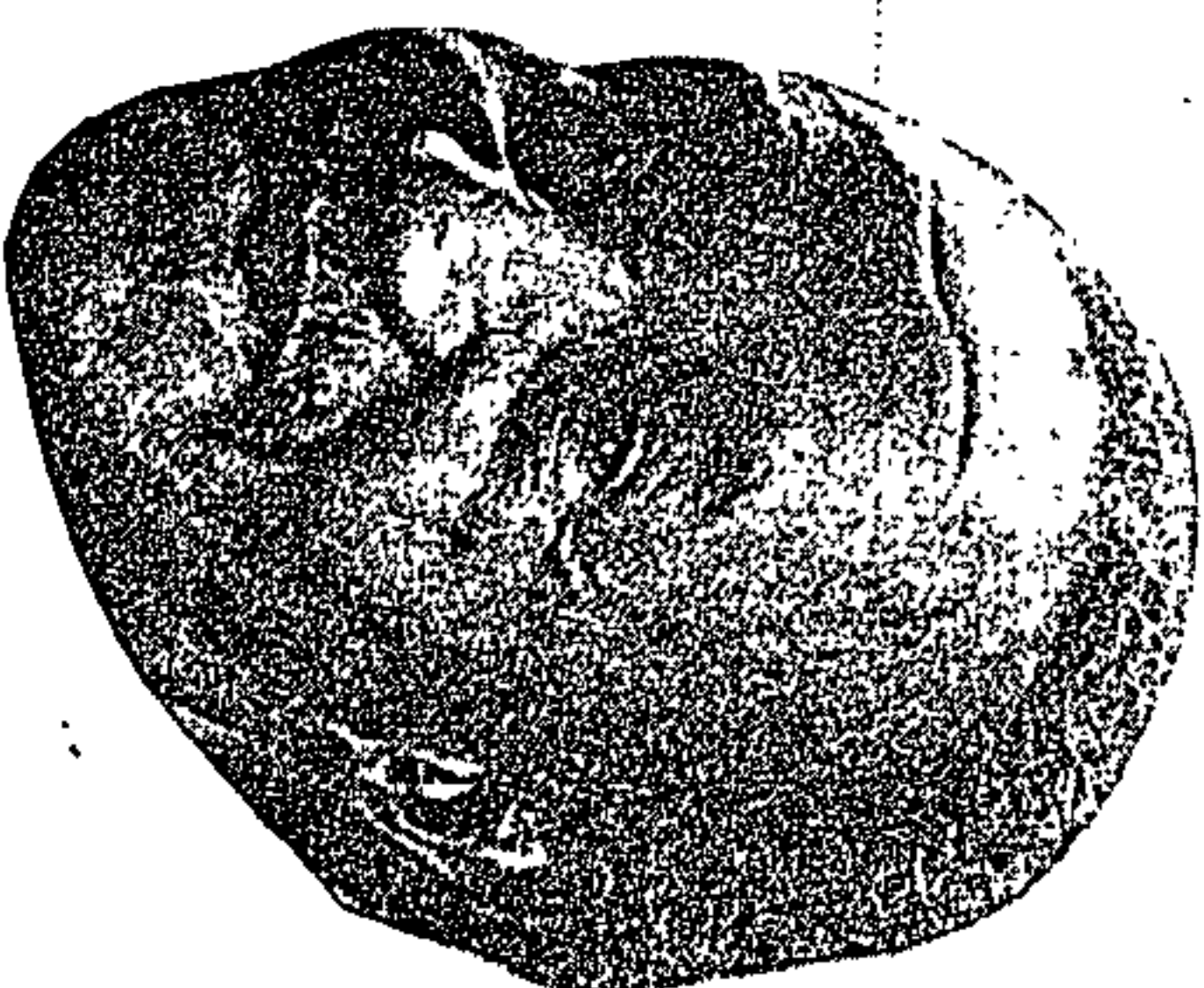
He joined the ANC that year and became Youth League treasurer, taking an increasingly anti-white stand.

During the Second World War, he led a campaign opposing the conscription of blacks.

Sisulu was released from Robben Island after serving 27 years of a life sentence.

After his release, he was appointed internal leader of the ANC.

■ **JOE SILOYO**, 63: He was born in Lithuania in 1926, and came to South Africa with his parents in 1935, aged nine.



Archie Gumede... ANC stalwart since 1944.

He graduated from Wits University with a BA LLB degree. He became an advocate at the Johannesburg Bar, defending political trialists.

SiLOYO was an ardent member of the South African Communist Party.

In 1950, he and his wife Ruth First were among the first 600 people restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act. First was killed by a parcel bomb believed to have been sent from South Africa. The couple was living in exile in Maputo.

In 1955, he contributed to drawing up the Freedom Charter.

He became one of the first members of Umkhonto We Sizwe, attending meetings regularly at Lillicleaf farm. A month after his escape from South Africa, Sisulu and Mbeki were captured.

In 1977 he moved to Maputo where he established an ANCSACP base. He became the first white to serve on the NEC.

■ **AHMED KATHIRADA**: He was born in Schweizer-Reneke and moved to Johannesburg to attend school, because there were no Indian schools in his hometown.

He became involved in the anti World War II campaigns of the Communist party, joined the Young Communist League in 1941 and also sold the party's newspaper.

He worked closely with the ANC until captured at Rivonia, and was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

THIS week I watched with amazement a Cliff Saunders TV interview with leaders of the PAC and the ANC who were expected to spell out their political differences.

At any given time, a debate between these two organisations is expected to be a big attraction – particularly given the political, social and economical situation in South Africa today.

But before I become an instant TV critic, let me refresh your memory about what happened in the late Sixties when American TV moguls tried to stage a debate between fiery Muslim leader the late Malcolm X and famous civil rights leader the late Rev Martin Luther King Jr.

White and black Americans were keen to see a TV debate between these two fighters for equality, justice and black pride. They were disappointed when both men refused a debate.

The reason was simple. There was nothing to debate. Although they agreed they differed in strategy, this did not mean they had problems with each other. The problem was white America.

Undaunted by this snub, influential TV owners later tried again, this time to promote another debate between Chicago-based Muslim leader Louis Farakhan and civil rights leader Rev Jesse Jackson.

Farakhan refused to go on the box saying he would not compromise his principles by appearing on a commercial media that used blacks to wash their own dirty linen in public.

To paraphrase Farakhan, he said: "Why do Jews not debate with Jews or whites with whites on matters they differ on? Why must it always be blacks who must fight against each other in public?"

Farakhan has since been labelled a racist and a "Jew-hater", because of his anti-Semitic views.

Jackson also got into hot water and lost many votes in New York in his first presidential attempt because of his alleged

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Did debate on TV help the politicians?



The ANC's Patrick Lekota.

remarks about New York Jews.

But back to that interview between Benny Alexander of the PAC and Patrick Lekota of the ANC.

Many white South Africans are keen to know what the two organisations think and stand for.

For almost 30 years, when they were silenced by



The PAC's Benny Alexander.

the government, many whites did not raise a finger of protest.

Most whites probably thought the government was doing its best to protect their interests.

By doing this, a myth has been created around these organisations and their leaders.

Today, as was the case on *Network* on Thursday night, leaders of both the PAC and the ANC were able to speak freely without fear of intimidation or harassment from the authorities.

With the ANC openly in favour of negotiations and the preliminary talks back on track after being derailed by the killings in Sebokeng, interest among black and white people has been enhanced.

The no-compromise policy of the PAC on negotiations has also raised interest locally and abroad. Also, its popularity and membership has been questioned in the past.

It is common knowledge the PAC and ANC leadership are sensitive to the question of forming an alliance against apartheid rule.

Millions of viewers in this country would pay anything to watch a slanging match between the PAC and the ANC. Some would be interested to know what strategies these organisations have planned.

Others, of course, would be delighted to see wider divisions being created among black people.

Were those black Americans right by sounding a warning about black-on-black TV debates?

Who gains afterwards? Did Lekota and Alexander gain any mileage out of the interview? In my mind they are now more divided than when they went on the box.

Lekota said the PAC has no constituency and no following, so its leadership was able to say anything because they were not accountable to anyone.

Alexander refuted this, saying since the PAC was unbanned it had gained members to such an extent it was unable to keep track.

I was left speechless by the interview.

The time is not yet right for a public debate questioning the credentials of the ANC and PAC.

Only equals can negotiate, says Azapo

4/press 15/4/90 *304A*

THE INTERNATIONAL community should not forget the oppressed people in South Africa have the capacity to overturn unacceptable solutions, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said in Johannesburg on Friday.

He was speaking to the Press after an Azanian People's Organisation delegation met with a three-member European Community (EC) fact-finding mission headed by Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins.

"We cannot negotiate now because as long as our oppressors have the right of veto on the discussions then these are not talks between equals but with someone who considers himself superior. Azapo will only ever talk to others as equals," said Moodley.

"Sebokeng has proved (President F.W.) De Klerk's political structures are still bent on violence and he still holds the keys to the prisons. Azapo is not prepared to negotiate for freedom."

Moodley said Azapo had informed the EC of bias in the composition of the Kagiso Trust's trustees and their distribution of funds.

"The list of trustees are either directly ANC or UDF. Whenever organisations linked to Azapo have requested aid for projects, this is rejected," said former Azapo deputy president Lybon Mabasa.

Kagiso Trust trustees include Dr Alan Boesak, Dr Max Coleman, Prof Jakes Gerwel, Yusuf Mohamed, Eric Moloib, Dr Beyers Naude and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Azapo told Collins that EC funds were being used to fuel violence.

"I hope he and his delegation will investigate the matter so their money will be used for its correct purpose and not to further the aims of any particular political organisation," said Moodley.

Azapo made it clear the EC should use sanctions as part of its strategy to

persuade the government to eliminate apartheid.

On Azapo's recent talks with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Moodley said the delegation had expressed concern over the differences in Mandela's public and private approach to Azapo.

"He has always agreed with us in private about the major part played by the Black Consciousness Movement, but in public he has never acknowledged the role of the BCM."

"We told Mandela a political solution unacceptable to the people will fail just like those in other countries."

Mabasa said in Africa many liberation movements were very divided before a final solution was reached and therefore the apparent "split between the ANC and Azapo, while unfortunate, is not an unbridgeable barrier". - Sapa.



**Lybon
Mabasa**

The 'shining city on the hill' that is waiting to be built

304A
8/7/90 15/4/90

I REMEMBER well the evening of October 26 1988, the date of the municipal general elections in Johannesburg.

It was my lot, as the city council leader of the PFP, to say a few remarks for SATV. Directly preceding me was the Johannesburg NP leader, Pik Botha.

With typical hyperbole and flourish, he declared that the bare outright Nat majority made the day one of the most important in his life. Well, speak in haste and repent at leisure.

The rise and fall of the National Party in the city council has many roots. The speed of its decline has been awesome. In less than 18 months the Nats have been reduced from a total monopoly of the management committee, and all other posts of significance, to a junior partner in the governance of the city — trumped by an aggressive, and canny, Democratic Party.

From another perspective, this week's constitutional coup at City Hall is even more significant. Johannesburg represents the first major site where the Democratic Party will be able to put its principles into practice.

Crucible

Certainly, other local authorities are managed by progressive elements — but none by a political party, and few have a canvas as vast as Johannesburg's to give local effect to national political aspirations. Consider that Johannesburg's annual budget of nearly R2-billion is larger than that of the entire Free State!

Far more than any other metropolitan centre, Johannesburg is the crucible of a changing South Africa: it was here that Verwoerdian apartheid first collapsed; it is here that the post-apartheid era is emerging. Thus the control, deployment and management of its infrastructural and political resources is of immense importance.

One of the major reasons for the



Tony Leon

Democratic MP for Houghton, says the political shake-up in Johannesburg could point the way to the New South Africa

the NP's demise in Johannesburg was an absence of any coherent vision about the city and urbanisation. Certainly some of its members are concerned about the issues, but most have been content to hide their views, if any, under the skirts of the city's powerful bureaucrats.

Indeed, if anything characterised the outgoing management committee it was an alarming accretion of power from elected councillors to efficient, yet unaccountable, officials. Indeed the genesis of the spy scandal which swept the NP out of office lay in the shadowy realm of officialdom.

The DP in Johannesburg began operating as a guerrilla army. In 1988 it had little in the way of a political base, being beset by infighting, resignations and defeatism.

However, the candidates recruited in that election were united in principle and hard in resolve. Consequently, the 18 elected were cohesive, effective, relentless in opposition and not too fussy about seizing any opportunity to afflict the enemy.

That was a necessary role then — and the sleaze factor, pork-barrel approach of the Nats in local government offered endless opportunities.

However, the resilience of a party in opposition will have to be supplemented in government. Yet, even as an opposition, the DP always believed it could give practical effect to its vision of creating "a shining city on the hill" (with apologies to the Mayflower pioneers). The control of Johannes-

burg brings that vision within grasp. Why should a DP city council not introduce an open city, create a user-friendly administration and practise green politics in open forums of decision-making? Certainly Democrats have both the belief and the resolve to achieve these goals — and more.

There are two constraints. The first is central government. Only last month, Minister Kobie Coetsee proclaimed that the Government was committed to the maximum devolution of authority "to the lowest effective decision-making level". However, the Government has observed this principle only in its breach.

Slavish

It has deconcentrated functions to local government and not devolved authority in the process. From all-powerful co-ordinating councils through to the training of municipal officials, right down to the appointment of town clerks and appeals on town planning, control and power at local level has been severely circumscribed by Pretoria.

Perhaps the Government, which is assiduously and rapidly changing the habits of a lifetime, will see the virtue of local independence. As things now exist, when a new regime takes control it will inherit intact an all-powerful state apparatus with little, or any, autonomy for local decision-making to set a useful precedent.

Not that this process is one-sided. Hitherto, Johannesburg's

administration has mainly been distinguished by a slavish adherence to the policy dictates of Pretoria — often simply providing a polite chorus of approval to the demands of the Government.

Management committee chairman Ian Davidson and his team will prove to be hard and skilled adversaries in any stand-up confrontation. His team also has a trump card.

Effectively, the Witwatersrand Regional Services Council, not to mention Soweto and Diepsmead, are heavily dependent on Johannesburg for their daily functioning. If the Government proves unwilling to negotiate the new agenda in Johannesburg, the DP can simply, but effectively, retaliate.

Enemies

The second potential obstacle to achieving a non-racial local democracy in Johannesburg is the DP's now junior partners — the Nats. In recent times, though, implacable hostility between the two camps has lessened.

Only two years ago the Johannesburg Nats were essentially CP in outlook (apartheid on the buses and in the suburbs), but many in the NP caucus today are considerably ahead of the Cabinet in their thinking.

The common cause reached between the NP and DP in opposing the fragmentation of Johannesburg into free settlement pockets is evidence of this fact.

But can such a coalition endure? The DP should not be too disturbed about the power-sharing arrangements. After all, the closer the Government comes to implementing policies affording equal rights in the context of a free market and enshrined liberty, the more prosperous and peaceful our future.

Much is riding on the Johannesburg experiment. On its success, or failure, many other political scenarios depend.

PERSPECTIVES 3

FLAMBOYANT Democratic Party chief whip Paul Asherson was the architect behind the palace revolution which this week led to the DP seizing control of Johannesburg from the Nats.

Prior to the DP's historic takeover, Mr Asherson lobbied support from reform-minded Nats and fence-sitting independents, skillfully outmanoeuvring a management committee takeover bid by conservative NP councillors backed by the CP.

The wily member of the newly-elected pro-reform management committee is said to have enlisted the support of independent councillor Eddy Magid for a "reform minded" management committee.

It is believed he also promised DP support for former management com-



PAUL ASHERSON

mittee chairman Jan Burger and ex-deputy chairman Marietta Marx, whose continued membership of the management committee was threatened by conservative NP members.

But this week a jubilant Mr Asherson refused to comment on his part in the coup or the power play behind closed doors.

"The new management committee is looking forward to the task ahead with verve and excitement, which we hope to carry through to council officials and residents of Johannesburg."

Niggled

Mr Asherson said he did not foresee any problems in dealing with former opponents Mr Burger and Mrs Marx, but foresaw problems with conservative NP elements in the council.

The tough-talking 36-year-old former attorney turned businessman, whose passions include fast cars

Tough-talking DP whip topples Nats

Ivor Crews

explains how the DP wrested control from the National Party in Johannesburg this week



and racehorses, has been a niggling barb in the side of the council's Nats.

Mr Asherson, who represents Melrose, last year promised to "derail the Nat gravy train in the council".

He relentlessly investigated allegations of mismanagement and corruption within various municipal departments, demanding satisfactory answers to his probing questions.

And although he lost the internal battle for leadership in the council, he still remains firm friends with DP kingpin Ian Davidson, who vowed to end NP council rule within four years of taking over from dynamic Mr Tony Leon.

Crusade

Mr Asherson's forte is dealing with the problems of rapid urbanisation and winning over disillusioned NP voters to the DP.

A crusader against slumlord exploitation of blacks, he is also a firm believer in strict health standards.

Now in charge of the transport and utilities portfolio on the new management committee, Mr Asherson said that one of the major objectives of the new management committee was "to restore Johannesburg's pride".

The workings of the sinister security department will be scrutinised and attention will be given to extravagant white elephants, like the Overseas Guest Programme and the multi-million rand Civic Theatre project.

But this week's dramatic

secret ballot for the new controlling body on the city council, defying an NP caucus decision to vote en masse for all NP nominees.

Now the ousted NP members are claiming "liberalists" in their own party supported the DP and they were "stabbed in the back".

Mr Long is now considering resigning from the NP.

Open

The Nats lost outright control of the 51-seat council on Monday after the DP tabled a vote of no-confidence following disclosures of a spy ring operating within the council.

Mr Davidson, who now leads South Africa's largest city with a council budget

of nearly R2-billion, this week promised an open administration; the introduction of a municipal police force; close scrutiny of security and municipal budgets and the streamlining of the entire council operation.

The election of the joint management committee — which now comprises the DP, the NP and an independent — is seen as a victory for "reformists" on the council.

The six new management committee members are: Mr Davidson, Mr Asherson, DP councillor Cecil Bass, independent deputy chairman Magid, Mr Burger and Mrs Marx.

Their immediate aim is an action plan to uplift the city.

304A S/Tues 15/4/90

US group gets SA foes round Bermuda table

FORMER United States senator Dick Clark has achieved an amazing coup by bringing together South African politicians and academics from both the left and right of the political spectrum.

The gathering is taking place this weekend under the auspices of the Aspen Institute in Bermuda — just a stone's throw away from where British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President George Bush met to discuss international peace last week.

But one of the key speakers — ANC International Department head Thabo Mbeki — did not arrive as scheduled.

Mr Mbeki had been asked to spell out the ANC's prerequisites for negotiations with the South African Government, and who would be acceptable to the organisation as negotiation partners.

Prestige

No reason for Mr Mbeki's absence could be established yesterday, but earlier in the week he failed to appear at a meeting of the Cape Town Press Club, after confirming that he would be the guest speaker.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen are at the conference, however, along with NG Kerk Moderator Dr Johan Heyns and the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin.

Others attending the congress are advocate and former Pan Africanist Congress member Dikgang Moseneke, Mr Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers and Inkatha

By MARK STANSFIELD
and NORMAN WEST

secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

The meeting opened at the prestigious Lantana Colony Club on Thursday — the date originally set for the first round of talks about talks between the SA Government and the ANC — and ends tomorrow.

Each speaker has been given 30 minutes to speak on a specific subject.

Mr Van der Merwe has been asked to speak on white attitudes to current changes within South Africa and whether the CP can, in its view, win over a majority of white voters. He will also talk on what the international community can do to encourage change within the country.

CCB makes info look tame, says Rhoadie

Own Correspondent

9/17/90

17/4/90

30/4/90

DURBAN. — Dr Eschel Rhoadie, a leading figure in the Information scandal, says the more he reads about the activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), "the more respectable the operations of the Department of Information seem".

Dr Rhoadie is in Durban after visiting Mozambique.

Referring to the activities of the CCB, Dr Rhoadie said: "I like to think that we were a hell of a lot more sophisticated than to go around shooting and bombing people."

"We made an attempt to influence people's opinions, not to take their lives."

Dr Rhoadie is the former secretary of the

defunct Department of Information, which was implicated in a secret decision to transfer funds from the Defence budget to the Department of Information.

The ensuing scandal was widely regarded by political analysts as the major catalyst which toppled prime minister Mr John Vorster, and catapulted former state president Mr P W Botha into power.

He now lives in Atlanta in the United States, where he is a foreign investment risk analyst.

He also writes articles on South Africa for leading international newspapers, and has recently published a number of books.

Commenting on recent political developments in South Africa, including the un-

hanning of the ANC and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, Dr Rhoadie said "the new generation is getting a fresh start".

He warned that the current political initiatives of the National Party were "the last chance — so the NP must not mess up".

The recent changes indicated that State President Mr F W de Klerk had finally crossed the Rubicon, "but unlike Caesar, he left half of his soldiers behind".

Dr Rhoadie said he felt that if there was another general election, the National Party would still win, but its support base would be substantially altered.

He added that he believed there were serious divisions within the ANC, which could become obstacles to negotiation.

FW speech to focus on Areas Act?

Cap Times 17/4/90

304A

Political Correspondent

EXPECTATIONS are high that President F W de Klerk will deliver another major reformist speech when he addresses Parliament today during the debate on his budget vote.

Mr De Klerk is expected to use the occasion, traditionally one of the highlights of the parliamentary session, to flesh out his vision of a new South Africa — including the future of apartheid statutes like the Group Areas Act.

Coalition government

During the debate on his vote this week, Mr De Klerk could well throw new light on the power-sharing package the National Party hopes to negotiate.

The government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has already declared that the government is prepared finally to relinquish its monopoly on power and enter some form of coalition government in the next few years.

Political observers believe Mr De Klerk will gear his remarks during his budget vote to retaining the political initiative both at home and abroad by keeping up the momentum of reform.

The government hopes that "good faith" commitments to change away from key apartheid statutes like the Land Acts will serve to draw more black South Africans to the negotiating table.

However, Mr De Klerk is likely to balance any incentive of promised changes to black South Africans with assurances to conservative whites, many of whom have become increasingly confused and fearful about the

pace of recent changes.

Mr De Klerk indicated before the Easter recess that he might well deal with the Conservative Party's claims of ANC hit squads which have allegedly targeted right-wing white leaders and their families.

Mr De Klerk's budget vote, his first as State President, comes at a crucial time — just weeks before the government's first round of fully fledged talks with the ANC and his extended tour to meet several European leaders.

Mr De Klerk has already indicated that he would use his vote to give greater clarity to the future of the Group Areas Act.

It is also possible that he may focus on the government's stand on other key apartheid statutes like the Population Registration Act and the Land Acts.

He has said several times recently that the government had no intention of summarily scrapping cornerstones of apartheid like the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act without putting something in their place as this would result in "chaos".

Both Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen have also stressed that statutes like the Population Registration Act were central to the present constitution.

White voters

As such, these laws could only finally go once a new constitution has been agreed to by parties attending negotiations — a process that could take several years.

Mr De Klerk has also promised that any major changes proposed by the government or emerging from negotiations would first be put to white voters before being implemented.

Major policy statement expected from FW

SUSAN RUSSELL

30 (4)

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is expected to make a major policy statement, outlining government's plans to scrap remaining discriminatory legislation when he speaks on his budget vote in Parliament this week.

Sources have confirmed he is likely to set out government plans on the Group Areas Act and its approach to the opening of schools to all races.

Schools in his budget vote. Asked by Andrew whether government intended removing remaining statutory apartheid, De Klerk said apartheid was a political concept which neither appeared nor was defined in SA's legislation.

Government has been investigating the possibility of opening entire cities as free settlement areas and "privatisation" of schools within these areas.

De Klerk's speech also comes just weeks before he is to meet ANC representatives and a trip to see European leaders.

De Klerk could also detail the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, which he announced on February 2. No moves to scrap the Act have been made since.

It is believed De Klerk's speech, to be

Two weeks ago, in response to a question in Parliament from Ken Andrew (DP Gar-dens), De Klerk said he intended disclosing details of government's plans on the Group Areas issue and enforced segregation of

One of the reasons government has not gone ahead with scrapping the Act is that it is seeking clarity on the future of segregated hospitals.

LAST week I wondered whether SA might not be a lot better off if the ruling party stopped thinking of whites as an endangered species that could survive only on some special constitutional reservation, and started instead to sell itself as an indispensably integral part of the country's economic and political future by, among other things, opening its ranks to all corners.

The odd idea that "non-white" South Africans deserved a say in their fates even if they chose to remain outside the ANC was greeted with hoots of derision in some quarters. Perhaps in expectation that this innocent abroad will provide yet more merriment, I have been asked to defend myself.

The principal objection to my argument is that it is based on a hopelessly millenarian disregard for the SA's history and culture and therefore "strains the tragedy out of the situation". In other words, it is as though I had reacted to Hamlet by saying: "Gee, wouldn't it have been neat if the prince's stepfather hadn't poisoned his real father because then there would have been no ghost demanding vengeance, and the poor boy would have been able to dither on happily ever after."

Of course, had there been no initial murder and family intrigue, we would all be deprived of a great play and the cathartic thrill of seeing a stage pilled with bodies as the curtain comes down. Perhaps, for my critics, the play's the thing...

So let me plead guilty as charged. Yes, I believe SA's script is in need of drastic emendation so as to achieve the duldest of dull denouements — a society, like America's, where most people cannot be bothered to vote because they have every reason to believe their continued pursuit of happiness is constitutionally protected from whatever ambitious clown or faction their fellow citizens might choose to govern them. If that is a millenarian aspiration, so be it. At least it is preferable to the defeatist

Fatalism could be dangerous ^{304A} flaw in white bargaining

SIMON BARBER

determinism that appears to have infected so much of this country's intellectual elite.

In this regard, Rian Malan's book, *My Traitor's Heart*, tells a quite different story now that I am down here than it did when I first read it at home in Washington. There, it seemed a badly needed jolt to Americans who insist on seeing in SA a re-enactment of the civil rights morality drama: no, said Malan, it is not Selma, Alabama, all over again when a drunken white man shows off to his friends and family by beating the maid's boyfriend to death at a braai, or striking miners daub themselves with ritual potions before marching off to do battle with the management's security force, or a mass murderer in Zululand is motivated by the anger of his ancestor's shades.

This, I now realise, was only part of Malan's point. He reserves his real scorn for the adolescent romanticism of the white student he sees toy-toying like a broken marionette in a Cape Town demonstration.

His conclusion, reached after the death of Neil Alcock in a Zulu faction fight at Tugela Ferry, is that if the white man wishes to stay in Africa (or cannot obtain an Irish passport),

he has two choices: either to stockade himself behind razor wire and superior firepower — or to go gently and acceptingly into Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. A more despairing fatalism is hard to imagine, but I have heard it echoed, with varying degrees of subtlety, almost every day for the past month. And that is scary.

Fatalism is scarcely an ideal frame of mind in which to enter a negotiation on a new constitutional order: much less to manage the preparatory phases which will determine in advance just how representative of popular sentiment any new constitution will be and, therefore, how much bloodshed and chaos will ensue thereafter.

Because it feels trapped by history, government is apparently preparing to cut a deal much in the manner of an executive of a major manufacturing facility I spoke to last week. His plant, despite offering some of the best employment conditions in its industry, has been racked by unrest of an increasingly quixotic and intractable nature.

Even when it seemed to want to be helpful, the union wasn't. No agreement ever stuck. Grievances of an ever more illogical nature kept proliferating. Either the union couldn't control its shop stewards or their rank and file. Or hidden agendas were at play. There was nothing left for management but to treat with the strongest higher power. That power was the ANC and in the end not even it could guarantee the peace. The plant was closed indefinitely a few days after our conversation.

This, it seems to me, is in microcosm how government is proceeding in the management of the nation's future. In the company's case the recourse was at least understandable in that the ANC was, for the time being at any rate, the single most powerful organised force in the area. However, the same cannot be said of the ANC's hold over the country as a whole. Indeed, the question is hotly disputed even within the nominally ANC-aligned mass democratic movement.

So how does the government respond? Not only does it seek out the ANC, as the factory management did — it goes the additional step of helping it develop the authority and cohesion it does not yet possess.

□ Barber, *Business Day's* Washington correspondent, is visiting SA.

In essence, President F W de Klerk and his men are working to build an organisation sufficiently confident to be kind in setting the terms of the National Party's surrender (whites will have a comfortable internment camp of entrenched protections) and enforce those terms in the face of whoever, to right or left, might be disposed to object. It is a project breathtaking and unprecedented, and surely, in its numbingly undemocratic method, doomed to trigger savage reaction from those left out in the cold.

Eastern Cape UDF leader Mkhutseli Jack gave a flavour of what may be in store when he casually predicted to me last week that the new SA would quite likely have its very own Unittas and Renamos. Not everyone could be expected to submit quietly to the new arrangements that were being worked out for them.

"Our ambition as an organisation is that everyone should join," Jack explained. "We are committed to a multi-party system, but would rather not have to have one because everyone supports us."

Of course, one also had to understand that "no amount of accommodation will save us from reactionary elements" — whether they be the Conservative Party, the PAC or Inkatha.

With regard to the last, Jack felt it most important that Nelson Mandela not talk to Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, especially now that the latter looked to be on his last legs and would only be strengthened by a meeting with Madiba.

Such thinking is a recipe for hell. The most frightening thing is it comes from an otherwise admirably sensible man. Capitulation to Jack might almost be a pleasure. After all, he regularly takes tea with the very security policemen who until quite recently were dangling him out of helicopters. He will easily forgive, and perhaps even employ, those who put him in power. But what about the rest?



Meet the press . . . Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha introduces Mr Theo Ben-Gurirab (right) and Mrs Ben-Gurirab (left) to the press at the Government guest house in Pretoria yesterday. In the background are Mr Riaan Eksteen (left) and Mr Carl von Hirschberg. ● Picture by Karen Fletcher

Developments in SA please Namibia

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Namibian government had been watching developments in South Africa and was pleased with what had happened so far, Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Theo Ben-Gurirab said in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking to journalists shortly after calling on his South African counterpart, Mr Pik Botha, at the Government guest house in Waterkloof Heights, Mr Ben-Gurirab said the recent Namibian independence celebrations in Windhoek had afforded the

leaders of the two countries and their foreign ministers an opportunity to begin a process of dialogue.

Mr Ben-Gurirab, on his way overseas with his wife, said it was in the same spirit engendered by President de Klerk and President Nujoma's meetings at the independence celebrations that he had accepted Mr Botha's invitations.

Asked if Mr Nujoma would be prepared to visit South Africa, Mr Ben-Gurirab said if Mr de Klerk extended an invitation he

was sure the Namibian president would consider a visit.

"Things are happening here. We are very happy about what is happening in our region," said Mr Ben-Gurirab.

Mr Botha — who was accompanied by former South African ambassadors to the United Nations, Mr Riaan Eksteen and Mr Carl von Hirschberg — said the Government was reciprocating the hospitality given to it by the Namibian government at the independence celebrations.

Mr von Hirschberg was Mr

Botha's predecessor as South African ambassador at the UN, and Mr Eksteen, who has been chosen South African representative to Namibia, was Mr Botha's successor at the UN.

Mr Ben-Gurirab, on the other hand, was Swapo's representative to the UN during the three men's terms of office.

Said Mr Botha: "It is a unique moment for the four of us to be able to meet under these circumstances and reflect on the past and see if we can learn anything from it."

Re: 17/4/90

3044

NEWS/STOEP TALK

ANC must be a normal political party — Borraine

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — One of the ways in which some of the current violence in South Africa could be prevented would be for the ANC to move beyond being a liberation movement to becoming a normal political party, says the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Borraine.

"It would be in their own self-interest to establish their headquarters inside South Africa and more especially to open branches in all the major centres of South Africa," Dr Borraine said.

"This would not only give them a visible face and base which is essential for any successful political party, but it would also enable them to use their quite considerable clout to lead people away from violent confrontation towards discussion, debate and argument."

In his editorial in the latest issue of Democracy in Action, Dr Borraine said there could be no doubt that the convulsions experienced in the newly

emerging South Africa had become fertile ground for right-wing forces.

"There has been a backlash and a lot of education is going to be necessary. Whites have to come to terms with the consequences of the long legacy of apartheid."

"An example of this is the popular uprisings in the Ciskei and other so-called homelands which were tragically accompanied by widespread arson and looting."

"It is inevitable that a society which has been repressed for so long will demonstrate in an exuberant manner. This can so often be capitalised on by a minority who desire to seek material and personal gain from the downfall of dictators and the joy and celebration of the oppressed."

Dr Borraine said what white South Africans were inclined to forget was that the homelands were a direct result of the National Party policy of divide and rule, which had meant that blacks were compelled to forsake their South African citizenship.

He said political changes and reform had to be reflected in the improvement of the quality of life of

people if they were going to have any impact on the attitudes and mood of blacks.

"This is particularly true of the legitimate black grievances regarding the present economic system."

"It is unhelpful for the business community to simply denounce nationalisation and redistribution without clearly acknowledging that these genuine grievances exist and that demands made by the black community for a restructuring of the economic system are justified."

"If one can find common agreement that the restructuring of the economic system is necessary, then the debate can start as to whether nationalisation will bring this about or whether there are any other ways and means of restoring a just economic system in South Africa."

"The painful reality is that we have a vast chasm between a minority who are well fed and well clothed ... and the vast majority who are not only very often poorly clad, badly housed and unemployed, but in many of the rural areas actually face starvation."



"What is required is a great deal of understanding, decisive action, strong hearts and cool heads," says Dr Alex Borraine.

Mandela's plea to world: Don't provide prop for apartheid

No 'rewards for reforms'

The Star Bureau

London

Mr Nelson Mandela delivered a strong plea for sanctions to an international audience last night, attacking Mrs Margaret Thatcher's "rewards-for-reforms" approach as a prop for apartheid.

He told an enraptured Wembley concert audience and TV viewers in 26 other countries that "it is only those who support apartheid who can argue that Pretoria should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken".

Despite his criticism of Mrs Thatcher, the ANC deputy leader had earlier confirmed that he planned to meet the British premier, possibly next month.

Mr Mandela told an estimated 72 000 concert-goers "There are some in the world who wish to support the South African Government by giving it rewards and carrots."

"But we, representing the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, turn to you for support, which we now need more than ever before."

He exhorted his audience to make a fresh commitment in the fight against apartheid, to "refuse to be demobilised, even if those who seek to demoralise us plead that they are doing so out of a new-found concern for the oppressed, and out of the goodness of their hearts."

"Reject any suggestion that the campaign against the isolation of the apartheid system should be wound down", he said. The reward that the people of South Africa wanted was the end of apartheid and "the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy."



Warm welcome... Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, at Wembley Stadium yesterday where the 72 000 capacity crowd gave the couple a standing ovation. Picture by Reuters.

'Wrong signal'

"That prospect will only become reality as a result of the struggle, including the struggle represented by the sanctions campaign."

He was optimistic about reaching his goal: "The dreams of millions of people to see our country free and at peace will be realised sooner rather than later."

At a Wembley media conference earlier, Mr Mandela said Mrs Thatcher was not welcome to visit South Africa as this would send a "wrong signal. We are opposed to her coming unless there is a settlement to end apartheid."

When he took the podium Mr Mandela was given a five-minute standing ovation by the crowd, which had braved a hailstorm to see him.

They were rewarded when he warmly thanked all those who had "chosen to care" about the anti-apartheid struggle.

The British government has welcomed Mr Mandela's decision to meet Mrs Thatcher. The Foreign Office said he had confirmed during a brief meeting with two British diplomats "that he plans to return to London later this year, when he hopes to see Mrs Thatcher".

He told the Daily Mirror that the first stop on his world tour, starting next month, was likely to be London to visit the British leader. A Downing Street spokesman said she remained "ready and willing, diary permitting", to see Mr Mandela.

See Page 3.

FW expected to maintain Govt's reform initiative

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is expected to throw further light on the Government's reform plans in an important speech to Parliament today.

He will be speaking in the debate on the State President's vote, traditionally an occasion for dealing with weighty political matters.

Although political observers believe that Mr de Klerk will clarify several important Government policy issues, they do not believe he will make any momentous announcements. But they do believe he will try to maintain the initiative by keeping the focus on the Government's reform plans.

The timing of today's speech is important, coming as it does before the Government's crucial talks with the ANC starting on May and Mr de Klerk's expected visits to Britain, Europe and America after that.

The speech may give some indication if any important decisions were made when the Cabinet held a special "bush indaba" session two weeks ago to discuss basic policy.

It is understood that the Cabinet agenda included ways of dealing

with remaining apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. There has been speculation that Mr de Klerk will today announce a timetable for the abolition of these measures.

National Party sources said today this was unlikely and that the Government had already made enough of the running.

"Mr de Klerk cannot keep making concessions while the ANC gives nothing in return," one source said.

Mr de Klerk may also discuss the continuing violence and the ANC's continued refusal to renounce the armed struggle.

Mr de Klerk indicated before the Easter recess that he would deal with the Conservative Party's claims that it has discovered a secret ANC plan to assassinate right-wingers and that the Government was not dealing satisfactorily with the threat.

Intelligence sources said today that the ANC plan was "nothing more than an informer's report" which had not been confirmed.

Mr de Klerk is also likely to address the question of whether or not the NP should admit members of other races or seek alliances with other parties.

Teachers set to end strike tomorrow

Thousands of teachers and pupils are expected to return to classes tomorrow when schools controlled by the Department of Education and Training reopen for the second term.

The decision on April 4 by 6 000 teachers in the DET's Johannesburg region to suspend conditionally their month-long "chalks down" strike, has come as a relief to parents.

Fears were already being expressed that, should the crisis continue much longer, this year's results were bound to be the gloomiest.

Aware of these sentiments, the teachers have agreed that schools should not close in June for the winter holidays.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, last week announced the Government had waived a rule automatically firing about 11 60 black teachers for their strike action and a clause treating unauthorised absence as leave without pay.



Warm welcome . . . Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, at Wembley Stadium yesterday where the 72 000 capacity crowd gave the couple a standing ovation. © Picture by Reuter.

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Staff Reporter

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FW gets tough on talks

CAP- Tint
18/4/90

304A

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has flatly rejected black majority rule on a one person one vote basis in a new South Africa.

In a tough speech opening the four-day budget debate in Parliament yesterday, Mr De Klerk emphasised that a "key role" awaited whites in any new dispensation.

He said that to "those who arrogantly equate the concept of a new SA to a take-over of power, the message needs to be transmitted loudly and clearly (that) the new SA will not fall prey to a section of the population at the expense of the rest".

While the government was honest in wanting to create equal opportunities for all, "anyone who believes that we will accept a dispensation in which the quality

of existing liberties and rights are dismantled, is mistaken".

"Those who enjoy full political rights at present are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history.

● **ANC team 'in SA this month' — Page 2**

● **John Scott's column — Page 7**

"On the contrary, a key role awaits them in any new dispensation. We shall not throw freedom and values that have been built over three-and-a-half centuries overboard."

One man one vote was a recipe for power struggle and domination, Mr De Klerk said.

The model the National Party would take to the negotiation table was the "just and safe system" of power sharing — with

a vote of equal value for every adult citizen and effective constitutional protection of minorities and "collective values".

Mr De Klerk made no announcement on the scrapping of remaining apartheid legislation, but said he would deal with these issues later in the debate.

In his wide-ranging address, partly lifting the veil on the NP's negotiating agenda, Mr De Klerk also:

● **Slammed the ANC's continued commitment to "armed struggle", arguing that real negotiations could take place only among those committed to peaceful solutions.**

Even if the ANC's commitment to violent methods was merely rhetorical, it constituted an obstacle to negotiations, Mr De Klerk said. He called on the organisation to moderate its statements.

To page 3

18/4/90

Govt to probe CP intelligence leak

Political Staff

THE government is to investigate how a secret but suspect intelligence document — alleging that the ANC had a right-wing hit list — reached the Conservative Party.

President F W de Klerk yesterday accused the leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, of political irresponsibility in making public the document.

Dr Treurnicht hit back saying he was not sorry for exposing it as it was in the public interest to reveal threats against right-wing leaders.

Mr Jaap Marais, of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, had previously questioned the CP's motives in revealing the document, claiming it had been in the CP's possession for some time without the party alerting other right-wing leaders.

Mr De Klerk told Parliament yesterday that an inquiry was being launched into how an intelligence document, clearly marked "secret", had reached the CP.

To page 3

pe Times, Wednesday, April 18, 1990 3

From page 1

Document leak

Dr Treurnicht said an NIS officer had found the report important enough to give it to the CP.

Mr De Klerk said there were thousands of reports in circulation in the intelligence community which were obtained from legions of overt and covert sources.

"These reports contain rumours, disinformation, allegations and hard information," he said.

It was therefore necessary to subject every report to expert evaluation to verify the source and the report's intelligence value. Only worthwhile information was passed on to the authorities.

Mr De Klerk said he had called for a report on the document because of the CP's actions.

He had been told the document had not been given to the authorities because its credibility was suspect because of doubt about the source and the information.

Information passed on by the same source could not be verified in the past and the source could not supply the ANC document on which his report was based.

Mr De Klerk said other sources were not aware of such an ANC report or of the alleged plan to attack right-wing leaders.

"Indeed, this information did not tally with information received from other sources."

There had also been inaccuracies and distortions in the source's report which had left a strong impression that it had "fabricated information produced by an unidentified source for own ends with the aim of having a specific effect including the further polarisation of the South African society, the destabilisation of authority and the obstruction of the current process to establish a peaceful way of life in South Africa".

Mr De Klerk said the report to him said it was for these reasons that the suspect report was not submitted to the decision-makers.

He said the CP could have obtained all this information through confidential inquiries but had decided to follow the irresponsible route.

What the CP had released had clearly come into its possession in an "unauthorised and illegal way".

Dr Treurnicht said the information had been passed on to the CP by an officer of the National Intelligence Service which "says a lot to us".

NIS leaked death plan to us — CP

Political Staff

AN official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked to the Conservative Party a classified report about an ANC plan to assassinate rightwing leaders, it has been claimed in parliament.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht made this claim yesterday after he had been lashed by President F W de Klerk for disclosing the report, which Mr De Klerk said was "probably fabricated" to create polarisation and upset peace talks.

But Dr Treurnicht said that if an NIS official considered it worthwhile and important enough to leak the document this had "tremendous implications".

"I want to ask the State President whether his officials in the Department of National Intelligence are playing games or whether they are busy with disinformation in planting the document on us."

Mr De Klerk disclosed that the government would investigate its security establishment to find out who leaked the report to the CP.

He said the CP's release of the document was probably illegal and could have endangered lives.

EXTREMELY UNRELIABLE

During the debate on the State President's vote yesterday, he said the report had not been submitted to the government because it was considered "extremely unreliable".

The CP last week accused the government of failing to act on the report.

Mr De Klerk told parliament yesterday that thousands of reports were in circulation every day within the intelligence community.

These contained rumours, disinformation, allegations and hard information.

Only information which was credible and important was submitted to the government.

Mr De Klerk said that after the CP had made Press statements about the alleged assassination plan, he had requested a report from the intelligence community.

They had informed him that the report was extremely unreliable as the source was doubtful.

Past information supplied by the source could never be confirmed and the source had been unable to provide the report alleged to have been compiled by a sub-committee of the ANC's national executive committee.

There were also distortions and inaccuracies in the source's report which created the "strong impression that it was fabricated information produced by an unknown party to create a certain effect for purposes of his own".

These probably included "the further polarisation of South African society, the destabilisation of the order of authority and the impediment of the current process to establish a peaceful milieu in the RSA".

For these reasons the report was not submitted to the government. However, a further investigation of the report — and also "of possible leaks within the intelligence community" — was under way.

Dr Treurnicht said he believed the report had been leaked to the CP "in all seriousness".

Mr De Klerk said the CP's disclosure of "unevaluated" security intelligence was "outrageously irresponsible".

"Had the report been obtained from a delicately placed source, the CP's treatment of it could have endangered the lives of people."

It had come into the CP's hands by unauthorised and, therefore, illegal means.

It was marked "secret" and this should have been a clear indication — "even to an amateur" — that it could contain extremely sensitive information. "Therefore, its publication was probably in contravention of legal prescriptions concerning security information."

Mr De Klerk said the CP could have established the truth about the report by means of confidential inquiry.

Dr Treurnicht said the important thing was that Mr De Klerk had admitted the document existed.

"He says the document is unreliable and unevaluated. If an official of the NIS deemed it worthwhile to reveal its contents to us, then I consider it important."

FW warns on negotiations

(304A)

Sowetan 18/6/90
IF negotiations were abused to gain time for secret, disruptive agendas, negotiation would become futile, State President Mr FW de Klerk said yesterday.

He said the irrevocability of the process of constitutional change and negotiation in South Africa placed an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of all leaders in South Africa.

Opening the debate on

his Budget vote, he said sterile ideological debate should be replaced - the time for straight, honest talking had arrived.

Since September 6 last year, the Government had tried to promote negotiation, and would continue to do so.

De Klerk said the Government had acted with conviction, and not from a position of weakness.

But the ball was not

only in its court - a responsibility also rested on every other leader.

He hoped the debate on his vote would be realistic.

The same applied to those outside, and specifically the ANC.

No one could have the attitude that there should be victory before negotiation.

There should be a realistic climate for negotiations and realistic negoti-

ations.

De Klerk said the past two general elections - in 1987 and last year - would be recorded as turning points in South Africa's history.

They had placed South Africa irrevocably on the road to far-reaching constitutional change.

The agenda was open and the overall aims to which the Government was aspiring should be

● To page 2

Sowetan 18/6/90

(304A)



F W DE KLERK

● From page 1

acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among others, the aims included a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

* When negotiations

De Klerk warns on talks

for a "new and just South Africa" had been completed they would be put to the electorate by way of an election or a referendum and, if approved, would be implemented by the Parliament as prescribed in the new constitution. De Klerk said in his Budget vote.

* Conservative Party Dr Andries Treurnicht had acted with shocking irresponsibility by circulating an untested piece of security information illegally, De Klerk said.

He referred to a secret document which purported to be proof that the ANC was planning to assassinate right-wing leaders. - Sapa.

5 294 880 can vote (304A)

THE Republic of South Africa had 5 294 880 registered voters on March 31, 1990, of whom almost 60 percent were white, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, announced in Pretoria yesterday.

There were 3 171 875 voters in the white House of Assembly, comprising 59,9 per cent of the electorate.

The coloured House of Assembly had 1 583 456 registered voters - 29,9 percent of the total - the Indian House of Delegates 539 549 or 10,2 percent of the entire electorate.

The Transvaal had the largest number of registered white voters, at 1 703 788.

The Cape Province followed with 858 856 white voters, Natal with 370 556 and the Orange Free State with 238 675. *Sowetan 18/4/90*

The largest white constituency was North Rand near Johannesburg, with 46 410 voters, and the smallest, Walvis Bay, with 5020. (304A)

Taking a closer look at the lessons of Africa

Fight for freedom of choice

Sowetan 18/4/90

304A

~~304~~

after apartheid battle is won

IF apartheid is indeed on the way out then the fight against it must start waning as a cause - not immediately, perhaps, but possibly early in the current decade.

Another cause presents itself, however, for those claiming an interest in the fostering of human rights and the promotion of freedom and democracy as these are defined in Western culture.

The other cause has as much to do with human rights as does the fight against apartheid.

Some might consider that it has even more to do with the prevention of human suffering than the anti-apartheid battle ever did - and that it is more urgent.

It is nothing less than the cause of freedom of choice in politics and economics. Democracy itself, in short.

Replaced

As related to South Africa, it would be a matter of seeking to ensure that the evils of apartheid were not replaced by what could be the greater evils of political autocracy in a one-party state and of economic deprivation through policies of extreme socialism.

These evils are dreadfully evident in Africa from the plight into which they plunged every country in which they were applied.

Their effects are to be seen in economies wrecked by excessive state interference, in human rights trampled by monolithic parties and by dictators operating falsely in the name of "the people."

Socialist extremism and monopolyism are arguably the greatest afflictions to have been visited on Africa since the dawning of independence in the continent.

It is possible that that they have caused more human misery in independent African countries than apartheid has caused in South Africa.

Idealism

On this basis a good case could be made out for the energy and idealism that have been devoted to

Looking at the lessons of Africa, Gerald L'Ange, Editor of the Argus Africa News Service, suggests that the Western nations should put as much into promoting their version of democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa as they have to fighting apartheid.

the fight against apartheid being directed at least in equal measure to the promotion of basic freedoms in a post-apartheid South Africa.

What would give this cause greater importance and urgency than the fight against apartheid is that if economic and political freedom are denied to post-apartheid South Africa the consequences will be appalling not only for this country but for the whole of Southern Africa - and perhaps far beyond.

And it might be far more difficult to reverse them than it was to destroy apartheid.

It seems to be generally accepted now that the economic interests of South Africa and its neighbours are interlocked.

Interests

Given that it is essentially economics that shapes day-to-day politics, their political interests, too, are intertwined.

And given further that the future stability and prosperity of the region will best be promoted through free market systems then it would be in the interests of South Africa's neighbours to promote and protect such systems.

An international campaign in support of Western democratic

ideals in a post-apartheid South Africa which was waged with the same intensity as the fight against apartheid would virtually guarantee basic freedoms in this country - and perhaps the region as a whole.

But the chances of it happening seem slim at present.

Once apartheid goes and the Western democracies can no longer get any moralistic satisfaction out of combatting it they are likely to lose interest in South Africa and its neighbours.

Promoting

Their interest in promoting democracy in South Africa may be no stronger than it has been in promoting democracy in Cambodia or anywhere else where people were oppressed by regimes that were not white.

They might, however, be persuaded that it is in their interests to promote both economic and political freedom in Southern Africa - if for no other reason than that this will promote stability, since the current view in the major Western capitals is that disorder anywhere in the world is against their interests.

By the same token, they might consider it in their interests to help spread stability and prosperity throughout Africa.

Population explosions and economic decline across the continent have set it on an accelerating course into what some authorities see as a "Malthusian nightmare."

It would not cost much in monetary terms, however, for Europe and America to give political encouragement to the promotion of democracy in the new South Africa in the same way that they supported the fight against apartheid.

But who is to persuade them to do it once the spur of guilt has been removed with the passing of apartheid?

Decline

Perhaps the only light of hope in the gloom is that the main causes of the economic decline are being recognised as monopolyism and extreme socialism. And that efforts are being made to switch to free market economies and multiparty political systems that give the people the power to change the government when it is deemed to have failed or to force changes in its policies through the ballot box.

If these systems were to be entrenched in a post-apartheid South Africa the efforts to adopt them elsewhere in Africa would probably be given enormous encouragement.

Most Africanists expect that this continent will get little economic or technical aid from a Europe obsessed with economic unity in 1992 and with repairing the ravages of socialist autocracy in Eastern Europe.

The SA Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from mem-

bers of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But

late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7317. Inquiries are welcome.



Talks in SA are vital - Tutu

Sowetan
18/4/90

3049

DESMOND TUTU

HARARE - Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu said yesterday there was a need to press harder for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Interviewed on arrival in Harare for Zimbabwe's 10th independence celebrations, he said the achievement of Namibian independence through negotiation was a source of inspiration for South Africans.

"After the situation in Namibia where people sat down and talked I think we have to press as hard as we can for negotiations to take place," he said.

Asked about the prospects for successful negotiations, Tutu said this could be judged from the outcome of a meeting between the South African Government and the ANC next month.

"Our people are committed to a negotiated settlement and want peace and prosperity." - Sapa.

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Sowetan 18/4/90

Intelligence sources laughed at CP document

304A

THE "intelligence document" released by the Conservative Party last week was nothing but an unevaluated "source report and a storm in a teacup", intelligence sources said yesterday.

It had also been established that the document was definitely not a police document.

President FW de Klerk was expected to address the issue in Parliament yesterday.

According to intelligence sources, the document - which deals with an alleged ANC plot to eliminate Right-wing white leaders and politicians, had "raised laughter" in intelligence circles.

"This was a source report at the bottom of the intelligence pyramid. It was raw information and completely unevaluated and its credibility had not been established.

"All intelligence networks have huge and varied sources of information and no one will run to the Government with such unprocessed information. Everything must first be evaluated," said one source.

EC to be briefed on visit to SA

(306A) KIN BENTLEY (BIB)

LONDON — THE leader of an EC delegation which visited SA last week, Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins, will brief his 11 European counterparts on the trip at a meeting in Dublin this weekend.

However, Irish Foreign Office spokesman Michael Forbes said yesterday that the matter would only be dealt with in a "preliminary sort of way" on Saturday. A formal report would be made to the next EC Council of Ministers, probably in June. The matter would then go before the European Parliament.

He said Saturday's meeting of the 12 was primarily to discuss events in Eastern Europe.

The EC "troika", which included the deputy foreign ministers of Italy and France, met a broad cross-section of leaders in SA, including President F W de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and leaders from the far right and far left.

Forbes said the delegation returned hopeful that a dialogue could begin between the ANC and the government, both having expressed themselves willing to address the key issues. B.1024 18/4/90

However, there were extreme groups opposed to talks, and the EC troika had sought to encourage them to enter the process of negotiation.

He said Collins had reiterated the EC's view that there had, as yet, been no fundamental change in the apartheid system. "The aim of the dialogue must be to lead to that."

Equal vote for all is pledged (304A)

FW spells out govt line for negotiations

B1 Day 18/4/90

CAPE TOWN — Power-sharing with an equal vote for all South Africans and constitutional protection for minorities was the only viable solution for SA, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his vote in Parliament, De Klerk said this was what the NP would fight for during what it expected would be a tough negotiation process.

He made no announcements on the scrapping of remaining apartheid legislation, but said he would deal with these issues later in the debate.

Attacking the ANC, he said its continued commitment to armed struggle — even if only rhetorical — was an obstacle which had to be removed before negotiations could begin.

Its leaders, he said, would have to moderate their statements in the realisation that negotiation was a process of debate and agreement; of giving and taking.

"If the quest by anyone is victory before negotiation, then negotiation becomes meaningless... if negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile," De Klerk said.

Stressing that the NP rather than government would be represented at the negotiating table, De Klerk said he and the party were convinced power-sharing based on full participation by all, as well as protection from domination, constituted the only workable solution for SA.

The NP would, in negotiations, work for

MIKE ROBERTSON

a system which provided equal treatment to all citizens: a system in which every citizen was entitled to the rights and privileges inherent in citizenship of a democratic country.

This, he said, entailed a vote of equal value for every adult citizen. He did not specify, however, whether this vote would be on a common roll.

De Klerk said the protection from domination that the NP sought from negotiations included "constitutional protection of minorities, collective values and individuals by the constitution as well as by a bill of human rights."

"Important methods of preventing domination are to be found, among other things, in the decentralisation of power; the imaginative devolution of authority; constitutional checks and balances; the requirement of consensus on controversial matters; systems which promote consensus and; a strong, independent judiciary."

The system would have to be constituted in such a way that the essence of the new dispensation could not be manipulated or tampered with without consensus having been reached, De Klerk said.

"At the same time, any new system should not leave room for any perception whatsoever that it constitutes preferential treatment for any group at the expense of others."

De Klerk said he was outlining what

□ To Page 2

FW's aims

B1 Day 18/4/90 (304A)

government expected from negotiations because there was a serious risk of excessive expectations and of unnecessary fears in many quarters.

The NP, he said, was not prepared to allow existing rights and liberties to be destroyed.

"Anyone who believes we will accept a dispensation in which... existing liberties and rights are dismantled, is mistaken."

"Those who enjoy full political rights at present are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history. On the contrary, a key role awaits them in any new dispensation."

While what the NP was looking for in a

new constitution sounded complicated, it should be realised there were complex problems to be dealt with.

Any new system agreed to in negotiations would be put to the electorate as either a referendum or an election.

"Should they say 'yes' to the proposals, Parliament as constituted in terms of the constitution prevailing then will implement the proposals in a constitutional manner," De Klerk said.

In the meantime, orderly government would continue and strategies to disrupt existing structures — such as homeland governments — would be strongly opposed.

□ From Page 1

Treurnicht irresponsible over hit-list scare — FW

CAPE TOWN — The controversial secret "intelligence document" exposed by CP leader Andries Treurnicht, alleging the ANC had a hit-list of right-wingers, appears to have been a politically motivated hoax.

It has now become the centre of a heated political row, with President F W de Klerk rapping Treurnicht over the knuckles and accusing him of political irresponsibility.

However, Treurnicht said he was not sorry for exposing it as it was the first time right-wing leaders had been mentioned in such a document.

When releasing the document, the CP had suggested government had been aware of it and the threats it contained.

Meanwhile, HNP leader Jaap Marais has also questioned the CP's motives, claiming the document had been in the CP's possession for some time without the party alerting other right-wing leaders.

De Klerk told Parliament yesterday an inquiry was being launched into how an intelligence document marked "secret" had reached the CP.

Treurnicht said a National Intelligence Service officer

Political Staff

had thought the report important enough to hand to the CP.

But De Klerk said there were many reports in circulation in the intelligence community obtained from overt and covert sources.

"These reports contain rumours, disinformation, allegations and hard information," he said. (304A) (22/4/81)

It was necessary to subject every report to expert evaluation to verify the source and the report's intelligence value. Only worthwhile information was passed on to the authorities.

De Klerk said he had called for a report on the document because of the CP's actions.

He had been told the document had not been given to the authorities because its credibility was suspect.

What the CP had released had clearly come into its possession in an "unauthorised and illegal way", De Klerk said.

However, Treurnicht said the information had been passed on to the CP by an officer of the NIS which "says a lot to us".

26/4/81
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Economic sacrifices bear fruit

The present downturn in the economy had been weathered much better than the previous one in the middle 1980s, the Finance Minister ~~Mr. Barend du Plessis~~ said yesterday. (3 of 4) (4 of 4)

He said the private sector was much better geared to the required stabilisation measures and the regrettable, but unavoidable, toll of the downswing had been much lighter.

"One could say that confidence has continued so high through 1989 and into 1990 that the cooling-down measures have taken some time to bite."

The foundation was now being laid for a new period of economic growth.

The sacrifices inevitably involved in a process of consolidation — high interest rates, retrenchments, insolvencies — were bearing their fruit for the common good.

"The Government is keenly aware of these sacrifices, but now that our broad macro-economic objectives are being attained we look for a new and sustainable round of growth at the earliest opportunity." — Sapa.

Nearly 5,3-m registered

voters in SA

801 18/4/90 (304A)
South Africa had 5 294 880 registered voters on March 31, of whom almost 60 percent were white, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw announced in Pretoria yesterday.

There were 3 171 875 voters in the white House of Assembly, comprising 59,9 percent of the electorate.

The coloured House of Representatives had 1 583 456 registered voters — 29,9 percent of the total — and the Indian House of Delegates 539 549, or 10,2 percent of the total.

The Transvaal had the largest number of registered white voters, at 1 703 788.

The Cape followed with 858 856 white voters, Natal with 370 556 and OFS with 238 675.

The largest white constituency was North Rand near Johannesburg, with 46 410 voters, and the smallest was Walvis Bay, with 5 020.

Smallest

The largest coloured constituency was Mitchell's Plain, near Cape Town, with 41 854 registered voters. The smallest was Eastern Free State, at 4 058.

The largest Indian constituency was Phoenix, near Durban, with 58 706 voters.

The smallest Indian constituency was North West Cape, with 4 981 voters.

There were no Indian voters in the Free State.

The Cape accounted for the largest number of registered voters in the House of Representatives — 1 325 030.

This was followed by the Transvaal with 1 62 935 voters, Natal 66 552 and the Free State 28 939, Mr Louw said.

The bulk of constituencies in the House of Delegates were in Natal, with 437 246 registered voters. Second largest was the Transvaal, at 83 269, and lastly the Cape with 19 034. — Sapa.

Government and university on crash course

CAPE TOWN — The Council of the University of the Western Cape is to meet tomorrow to discuss a course of action following a Government ruling blocking a distinguished academic from taking up a post at the university.

South African-born Professor Njabulo Ndebele, now a citizen of Lesotho and presently pro-vice chancellor of the National

University of Lesotho, was earlier this month refused a permit to work in South Africa.

Professor Ndebele had been appointed to the post of second vice-rector at UWC.

A UWC statement said Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw yesterday told rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and vice-rector Professor Jaap Durand that the decision had been taken at Cabinet level. Mr Louw refused to divulge reasons for the refusal.

The academics told Mr Louw the university would have difficulty in accepting the Government's barring of Professor Ndebele who was eminently suited for the post.

"There is no likelihood of UWC filling the post with another candidate. The university would pursue all avenues to have the candidate of its choice installed in the position," the statement said. — Sapa.

Board of new CP newspaper announced

STW 18/4/90 (304A)

Pretoria Correspondent

THE board of directors of the proposed Conservative Party newspaper has been announced.

The chairman of the board is Mr Piet de la Rey, the CP MP for Maraisburg.

The members are Mr J W Bell of Ceres; Mr Cehill Pienaar, the CP leader in the Free State and MP for Heilbron; Mr Jurie Schoeman of Oudtshoorn; Dr At van Wyk, a Pretoria attorney; Mr Doepel Erasmus, a former MP for Pietersburg; Mr Abrie Oosthuizen, MP for Smithfield; and Mr Cas Uys, MP for Barberton.

The board met in Pretoria last week.

Shares in a capital fund, valued at R20 million, will be sold to finance the newspaper.

The shares are to be marketed at a CP meeting on May 26.

UN group publishes FW speech

18/4/90 Special Correspondent (3044)

NEW YORK — In what South African representatives termed a development of unusual significance, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid has issued in an official document from President de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on February 2.

The excerpts run to more than six pages, under the title "F W de Klerk announces changes in his Government's policy".

South African UN Mission spokesman, Mr Aubrey Dwyer, said the committee's action came as a complete surprise. He said it was significant that the State President's address should be given such attention when

there were still many hardline anti-SA elements within the UN.

"This is one of the most significant things to come out of this organisation for a long time," Mr Dwyer said. "I have never seen anything like it."

Mr de Klerk's remarks in his inaugural address last year were greeted with considerable scepticism in the UN, but it is now becoming evident to many of his former critics that he is sincere in his reform efforts.

Western delegates said that the decision to publish his remarks indicated that those UN members were beginning to accept that what many had dismissed as "cosmetic" proposals were really serious, and could spell an ultimate end to apartheid.

Cabinet to decide on Sebokeng today

18/4/96 Political Correspondent 304/9

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is expected to decide today whether to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate the police shooting of several black protesters at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle last month.

President de Klerk announced after meeting African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela on April 5 that the Government had agreed to consider appointing a judicial inquiry.

He said the Cabinet would make the final decision at its next meeting, which takes place today.

The ANC cited the police shooting at Sebokeng, which caused the death of several black youths, as its reason for calling off pre-negotiation talks with the Government scheduled for April 11.

Most political observers believe that the Cabinet will decide to appoint a judicial inquiry and that this is a condition for the ANC's participation in new talks with the Government scheduled for May 2 to 4.

At the quest by anyone to for the

Probe begins as CP leader says NIS leaked document

18/4/90
Stw Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Police are investigating the part played by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in publicising a secret Government document.

Dr Treurnicht claimed in Parliament yesterday that an official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked a classified report to the CP about an alleged ANC plan to assassinate right-wing leaders.

He made the claim after he had been lashed by President de Klerk for disclosing the report, which he said was "probably fabricated" to upset peace talks.

But Dr Treurnicht said that if an NIS official considered it worthwhile and important enough to leak the document, it had "tremendous implications".

"I want to ask the State President whether his officials in the Department of National Intelligence are playing games, or whether they are busy with disinformation in planting the document on us."

Mr de Klerk disclosed that the Government was to investigate its security establishment to find out who had leaked the report.

He said the CP release of the document was probably illegal and could have endangered lives.

During the debate on his vote yesterday, Mr de Klerk said the report had not been submitted to the Gov-

ernment because it was considered "extremely unreliable".

The CP last week accused the Government of failing to act on the report.

Mr de Klerk said Dr Treurnicht and the CP owed Parliament an explanation of how they acquired and handled the report.

"I wish to dissociate myself in the strongest terms from the insinuation by the CP that the Government was knowingly prepared to expose right-wing leaders to danger and assassination by the ANC. The allegation is unfounded, libellous, base and devoid of truth."

Dr Treurnicht said the important thing was that Mr de Klerk had admitted the document existed.

"He says the document is unreliable and unevaluated. If an official of the NIS deemed it worthwhile to reveal its contents, then I consider it important."

It is understood investigators are also looking into the role of the CP's secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, in disseminating the intelligence report.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said today: "There is an investigation as to the distribution of the pamphlet."

Sources said the investigation was being conducted in terms of the Official Secrets Act and, possibly, other laws as well.

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FW tells ANC: End violence, stop preaching armed struggle

Govt's bottom line for talks

Star 18/4/90

304A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government will insist during talks with the ANC starting on May 2 that the movement must abandon violence and stop preaching the armed struggle.

President de Klerk laid down the Government's bottom line for negotiations when he addressed Parliament during the debate on his vote yesterday.

He said the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle and the violence in the country were obstacles to negotiation.

Mr de Klerk said the Government insisted on an "unequivocal commitment" to peaceful solutions which included the cessation of violence and of preaching the armed struggle.

The ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle was an obstacle to negotiation, "even if it were merely rhetorical".

The President said that since the elections on September 6 last year, the Government had made good progress in removing obstacles to negotiation.

"The initiative is in our hands and we have at our disposal the means to ensure that the process of negotiation and change proceeds peacefully."

"However, the ball is not only in the Government's court. Every other leader also has a responsibility."

Leaders outside Parliament, especially those of the ANC, had to "moderate their statements in the realisation that negotiation is a process of debate and agreement, of giving and taking".

"If the quest by anyone is for vic-

tory before negotiation, negotiation becomes meaningless. A realistic climate of negotiation and realistic negotiations envisage peaceful solutions from which all of the participants will benefit in the sense that all will emerge as winners.

"If negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile."

Mr de Klerk's speech dealt mainly in broad generalities with the NP's policy of power-sharing and he did not make major announcements as some had predicted.

However, he said he might deal later in the debate this week with other aspects that the media had predicted he might address.

Consensus

He said the NP believed in full participation by all as well as protection from domination. The new system would have to be constituted in such a way that it could not be manipulated or tampered with without consensus having been reached.

Any new system agreed to in negotiations would be put to the electorate as either a referendum or an election.

In his response, DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer seized on Mr de Klerk's statement that full participation "included a vote of equal value for every adult citizen" as an "extremely important concept".

If it meant what he thought it did — a common voters roll — it was an important step forward.

But he said he would like Mr de Klerk to say whether he meant an equal vote on a common voters roll or on a separate voters roll.



18/4/90

Protest damage: Bill out soon

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A Bill which will provide for organisers of protests to be accountable for damage caused by marchers is at an advanced stage and will be introduced in Parliament in the near future.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said this in the House of Assembly yesterday in reply to a question from Conservative Party MP Mr Louis Stofberg.

He said that the legislation would address the orderly organisation of marches and that the question of compensation for damage to property caused by people taking part would be specifically provided for.

Concern about the issue arose in part after protesters caused damage in Cape Town earlier this year.

Parliament
1990

Race differential in compensation

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — White workers receive thousands of rands more than other races in one-sum compensation payouts for occupational diseases, Parliament has been told.

Minister of National Health and Population Development Dr Rina Venter said in a reply to a question from Democratic Party MP for Pinelands, Mr Jasper Walsh, that whites found to suffer from compensative diseases received a sum of R23 775 or R43 834, depending on the category.

If they suffered from tuberculosis, the sum was R10 064.

The figures for coloured and Indian groups are R14 089, R25 328 and R5 593 and, for blacks, R3 079, R3 842 and R1 746.

Dr Venter said further increases of 15 percent (whites), 17 percent (coloureds and Indians) and 20 percent (blacks) had been approved.

Violence no solution to conflict — Vlok

Violence could not solve a conflict situation, as the people of Rhodesia had discovered, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation by Mr Mike Tarr (DP Maritzburg North) on what specific measures had been implemented to resolve the unrest situation, he said the Government had taken several steps.

These included the state of emergency and implementing security action, attempting to address people's grievances by providing housing and jobs, and looking for a permanent, acceptable constitutional solution.

Violence had flared up despite political leaders being released, the permitting of protest marches and the unbanning of organisations as well as millions being spent on the socio-economic front. This appeared to be as a result of efforts by radical

leaders to destroy the present authorities, Mr Vlok said.

"We are not prepared to accept violence and disorder."

Mr Tarr said the Democratic Party backed steps taken by the Government to strengthen the security forces in Natal, as the effects had been positive.

He deplored attacks on security personnel, but said there was concern that actions had addressed only the symptoms.

He said only a commission of inquiry could get to the root of the problem in Natal.

Infiltrate

"We need to know how imps can infiltrate and attack residential areas and how warlords can carry out such large-scale intimidation. There have been 2 000 murders and less than 10 convictions," Mr Tarr said.

This gave rise to allegations of bias against the security forces and it was in the interests of everyone to get answers and

clear the name of the police.

Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said that when the Government freed Mr Nelson Mandela, it thought it had caught an angel by the wings, but had instead caught the devil by his tail.

Since the Government had released black leaders, violence had escalated. The Government was incapable of enforcing law and order. Inciters of violence were not being prosecuted and were even granted amnesty.

Mr Rob Haswell (DP Maritzburg South) said the Government's actions to combat the violence was too little too late.

The security personnel should make it safe for displaced people to return to their homes. Funds should be made available as compensation to the victims of violence with the same speed as was done for the victims of the Welkom tornado. Peace talks and rallies were premature until law and order was again established. — Sapa.

Reform poll 'would destroy right'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — If the government called a referendum to test white political support for reform, "the Boers and other right-wingers" would be democratically and constitutionally destroyed.

This was said last night by Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party, at a joint rally with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche in the Krugersdorp town hall.

Mr Van Tonder said conservative whites would be unable to

defeat Democratic Party and National Party supporters in such a referendum.

"I say to you, (President) Frederik Willem de Klerk, the path that you are taking leaves us Boere no other option but to take this land through violence and possibly through a coup ("staatsgreep").

Mr Van Tonder urged the Conservative Party to enter into talks with the AWB, Herstigte Nasionale Party and Boerestaat Party to formulate a means of rooting out "this Communistic,

Marxistic FW virus".

He reiterated his request to the State President to call a referendum only in the original Boer Republics.

"The Boers cannot go along with a referendum which gives the pink Cape and the British Natal a say in Boer affairs."

Mr Terre'Blanche said the Conservative Party's one million signature campaign would not force the authorities to call an election, "But they will hear us very clearly if the Boere assemble one million guns."

But life

US kids urge FW: 'Drop South 19/4-23/4/90 apartheid'

From THUMIDA MAISTRY

EAST LONDON. — More than 50 American children have written to the South African government, calling for an end to apartheid.

The children live in Milwaukee, the sister community to Potsdam in the Border area. The Potsdam community won the right to live in South Africa after a lengthy struggle with the Ciskei government.

The community is unhappy that the Department for Development Aid (DDA) has not yet met their proposals for land distribution and development.

The Milwaukee community has been involved in a support campaign to pressure South Africa into agreeing to their demands.

The sister community aims to educate the US community, while playing a strengthening role in the struggles of rural communities. — EL-NEWS

Viljoen tells Americans of coming peace talks

Sowetan 19/4/90

304A

WASHINGTON - The full implications of the rising level of violence and the effect of rhetoric about armed struggle in this regard would be thrashed out in talks between the Government and the African National Congress on May 2, according to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The Minister, in the US on a brief visit, briefed the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Washington this week, on the thrust of the Government's reform plans and progress towards negotiations.

Dr Viljoen told the Carnegie Endowment the May 2 talks would address specifically the requirement to eliminate remaining legal restrictions on the normal political process (the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners) and the continued use of rhetoric about the armed struggle by certain parties.

He said such rhetoric

was causing problems by enabling young people to justify their use of violence in townships and other areas of South Africa.

The Minister was highly complimentary of Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, who he said was firmly committed to a peaceful solution for South Africa. However,

he was concerned at Mr Mandela's continued adherence to the basic principle of the armed struggle. This was being interpreted at the lower levels of society as an encouragement to resort to violence, he said.

Mildness

Dr Viljoen described Mr Mandela as an impressive person. "I ad-

mire him for his reasonableness and mildness he displays after spending more than a quarter of a century in prison," he said.

Mr Mandela, he added, was no doubt under heavy pressure from younger people who did not share his enthusiasm for a peaceful solution and who would prefer to fight it out.

Treurnicht may face inquiry 30 4A

Sowetan
POLICE are investigating the part played by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in publicising a secret Government document.

It is understood they are also looking into the role of the CP's secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, in disseminating an intelligence report disclosing alleged African National Congress plans to target right wing leaders.

Confirmation of the

19/4/90
police probe came after President de Klerk told Parliament that the report released to the news media had reached CP hands by unauthorised and therefore illegal means.

"Its publication was probably in contravention of legal prescriptions concerning security information," Mr de Klerk added.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mel-

let, said: "There is an investigation as to the distribution of the pamphlet."

It is believed police may take statements from Dr Treurnicht and particularly Mr Beyers who first released the document last week with a press release.

Sources said the investigation was being conducted in terms of the Official Secrets Act and, possibly, other laws as well.

De Klerk to reply to debate

SA 19/4/90
By Peter Fabricius, 304A
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk addresses Parliament today to deal with issues raised during this week's debate on his portfolio.

However, senior government sources say they do not think he will make any major announcements.

He may clarify his promise this week of a vote of equal value for all adults.

He is also likely to deal again with the continuing controversy over the Conservative Party's release of an official intelligence report about an alleged ANC plan to assassinate right-wing leaders.

Mr de Klerk indicated on Tuesday he would deal this week with some of the other matters that the media have predicted he will address.

These include the scrapping of apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act and Land Acts and the debate in the National Party about opening its membership to blacks or forging alliances with other parties.

Mr de Klerk entered the debate just be-

fore the adjournment last night and said he would reply today to questions raised.

He slammed the CP on Tuesday for releasing an unevaluated security report on the right-wing assassination plan.

He said the report was probably fabricated to create further polarisation. The CP had acted extremely irresponsibly and probably illegally in releasing a secret report and owed Parliament an explanation.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday Mr de Klerk had said last week he knew nothing about the report. Yet this week he said the report existed. Mr de Klerk had played with people's lives by not acting on the report immediately.

The President is also likely to respond to Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer's request for more details on his promise on Tuesday to give all adults a vote of equal value.

There has been wide speculation that Mr de Klerk may announce definite plans to scrap remaining apartheid legislation.

However, senior government sources believe he is more likely to re-state in general terms the Government's commitment to ending apartheid without providing detail.

PARLIAMENT



Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg: "Mr de Klerk cannot even claim to enjoy the support of all whites."

ANC has FW in a double-Nelson CP

President de Klerk was recklessly playing with the lives of many people by pursuing negotiations with the ANC, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenberg), said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the State President's Vote, he said Mr de Klerk was intent on holding negotiations with people who perpetrated violence even though he had said in the past that he would not do so until they had renounced violence.

Mr de Klerk was even willing to indemnify from prosecution those who had been responsible for acts of violence to keep the negotiation process going.

However it was the ANC which was dominating the process and setting the pace. Their deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had cancelled the proposed talks with the Government because of alleged violence at Sebokeng. Mr de Klerk responded by considering prosecution against the police.

Dr Hartzenberg said the ANC had also torpedoed the talks between homeland leaders and the Government. He said Mr de Klerk could not even claim to enjoy the support of all whites: "The State President is firmly in the grip of a double-Nelson."

Referring to a security document containing threats of attacks on certain people, he said the CP would not cover up the violence being planned by the ANC against the security forces. — Sapa.

304A 828 19/4/90

Questions in the House

A total of 845 000 black people were unemployed according to an expanded definition of employment in November last year, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday in reply to a question from Mr Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central).

He said 719 000 people had been unemployed on that date according to a strict definition of employment — that a jobless person was looking for work.

The expanded definition stipulated that such a jobless person should only have the desire to work.

Large quantities of arms seized

Since the formation last year of the South African Police Gang Unit, large quantities of arms and ammunition, including a mortar, had been confiscated, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation by Mr N M Isaacs (DHP Bishop Lavis) on whether special measures had been taken to curb gang warfare, Mr Vlok said gangs were an evil and the police were paying serious attention to the matter.

"I am sorry we have not been as successful in eradicating the gangs as we would have liked, but we are trying our best. The gang problem is extremely serious, but is the result of circumstances like deep-seated socio-economic problems over which the police have no control."

80 000 gangsters

"The police cannot solve these problems but will do the best they can."

Among the arms confiscated from gangs were 28 firearms, 33 home-made zip guns, 378 rounds of ammunition, 22 magazines and a mortar.

Mr Isaacs said about 80 000 people were involved in gangs, which represented about five percent of the population.

It should not be forgotten that the

Group Areas Act caused thousands of families to be uprooted, which caused gross overcrowding of living conditions, he said. Additional factors were unemployment and misuse of alcohol and drugs.

Mr Cecil Herandien (DRP Macassar) said it was time the police established a gang-destroying unit. There were daily occurrences of serious assaults and rapes, and people catching a train or walking home from church were not safe anymore.

He asked whether the procedure of charging gang members could not be shortened.

"If 10 members of a gang are arrested, it takes the whole staff of the station the entire evening to fill in all the forms."

"These people must be wiped off the face of the earth."

Mr Patrick McKenzie (LP Bonteheuwel) asked if a group of kitskonstabels could not be trained and used to patrol the communities.

Mr Isaacs said the time had come to look at legislation on the matter. Prominent people from each community should be able to sit with magistrates to cross-examine in gang cases.

"Someone from the area would have a much better idea of circumstances and he would be able to advise magistrates on suitable punishment. In this way we could possibly get to the root causes of the problems." — Sapa.

Quick fix won't help Natal

Communication must be established on ground

At the height of the violence in Maritzburg at the end of March, after 30 people had been killed in a single day, it was announced that Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha and Mr Nelson Mandela of the ANC would address a joint rally at Taylor's Halt in the rural area of Vulindlela.

The following day the ANC withdrew and the rally was cancelled. The general response was one of shock and outrage. The ANC was castigated for maliciously aborting the peace process.

The ANC claims that it had never agreed formally to the rally in the first place. The announcement was leaked, leaving the ANC in an embarrassing position.

In fact, a rally at Taylor's Halt — the site of numerous clashes between Inkatha and UDF supporters — would have been a dangerous experiment. It could easily have become a battleground.

More significantly, the bluster surrounding the rally is indicative of a strangely short-sighted approach to the question of peace in Natal.

The approach, which can be summarised as the "rally mentality", places all hopes for peace on a meeting or on a joint rally addressed by both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

A recent newspaper editorial declared: "A joint rally could save Natal", and articles by journalists and other political commentators focus almost exclusively on the political obstacles to such a meeting.

Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would certainly serve some purpose. Both are charismatic and respected leaders. Their words have clout; people listen to what they say.

An Inkatha-ANC palaver would send a signal to the effect that both sides were getting serious about peace.

However, such a meeting constitutes only the first, and easiest,

In concluding his series examining the violence in Natal, **MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a freelance political researcher, says the short-sighted "rally mentality" is not helping in the search to find a solution to the conflict.

stage-post on the road to peace.

The history of the war in the Natal midlands is littered with broken peace attempts. Every few months a new round of meetings — "talks about talks" and sometimes even "talks" — have been convened between top-level executive officials in Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, and each new initiative has been hailed a major breakthrough.

Unfortunately, none have proved either "major" or a "breakthrough".

Bad faith

Inkatha and the UDF tend to attribute each fresh breakdown to bad faith on the part of the other, and to some extent both have been guilty of this. However, the failure of all peace initiatives to date is the product of a far more fundamental and intractable problem.

It is one which exposes the limits of the rally mentality, and undermines high level, high profile diplomatic activity between officers of the rival organisations.

What each successive failure has illustrated more and more clearly is that the process of translating the decisions of top-ranking officials into action at the grassroots level is fraught with difficulties. There are two compounding aspects to the problem.

The first consists of the lack of

intermediate organisational structures; there is no reliable mechanism to relay signals from the top down or the bottom up.

And even where a chain of command still exists, there is no guarantee that local officials will follow the directives of their national executives. UDF "comrades", for whom the war is a way of life and mistrust of Inkatha the most fundamental component of their world view, were not prepared to heed Mr Mandela and "throw their weapons into the sea".

Likewise, Inkatha warlords, many of whom have reaped large material and political rewards from the war, will not necessarily accede to Chief Buthelezi's calls for peace.

The second aspect of the problem is the fact that the original political dispute has spawned a host of local, personal feuds.

These gloomy prognostications do not mean that there is nothing to be done for Natal. There are three major steps that should be taken immediately and in conjunction with one another to bring about a substantial reduction in the levels of violence:

● First, the police must show themselves to be an honest, impartial professional force. The police have forfeited the trust of the black residents of the midlands and their recent actions show that the old path-

ologies of partisanship, bad faith and obstructiveness are still there.

It is up to the police to flush out the perpetrators of violence comprehensively and in an even-handed manner. When this happens the cycle of violence and revenge will be broken as people no longer take the law into their own hands.

● Second, both Inkatha and the ANC and UDF must strengthen their intermediate and local levels of organisation. Talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will have neither influence nor purchase without a formal, disciplined chain of communication.

● Third, a socio-economic development plan is needed. Apart from the need to resuscitate devastated areas and repair the ravages of war, the foot soldiers on both sides must have some alternative to fighting. The development proposal for Natal announced by the State President in early April is a first, but insufficient, step.

The Government has to regain the trust of communities which have been ignored and neglected for years. A development plan under the auspices of the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs will not succeed in this respect.

Rather, the Government should make development funding available, to be administered by a third party who enjoys credibility with all sides. In other words, something is needed similar to the R2 billion general development trust fund to be administered by Mr Jan Steyn.

None of these measures is straightforward, nor will their implementation be easily achieved. But at least they are something positive to work towards.

These difficulties notwithstanding, ultimately none of the parties has any choice: without a solution to Natal, the much vaunted forthcoming negotiations on the future of South Africa will be just so much empty talk.

Race laws 'will be axed soon'

Nats consider alternatives to Group Areas

3049

MLus 20/4/90

From CHRIS WHITEHEAD, The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The government plans an "early and prompt" dismantling of the remains of apartheid, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said here.

He told the Royal Institute of International Affairs such a move was essential if the National Party was to make its "group concept" marketable. The "abattoir of apartheid" had led to the suspicion that this concept was simply injustice in disguise.

"Without drastic action in this respect success will evade us." Meanwhile Tos Wentzel of The Argus Political Staff reports that a measure to regulate social conditions in residential areas and to prevent overcrowding is one of the alternatives to the Group Areas Act being considered in National Party circles.

Government thinking on the issue is still vague but there is the acceptance that the Group Areas Act must at least be replaced by something more positive.

Speaking in Parliament yesterday President de Klerk said the National Party had indicated that the Act would have to be replaced in an orderly way. Own residential areas would be protected in a firm, yet sensitive, application of the law.

Any measure substituted would have to be generally acceptable and must not institute any new form of discrimination on the basis of race or colour.

Maintenance of standards

Among some Nationalist MPs the main concern is about the residential areas of lower-paid whites, where there is likely to be the most pressure from blacks.

MPs said today that some measure that would ensure the maintenance of standards and the prevention of overcrowding was needed. They conceded it would be difficult to allow any group to have exclusive residential areas as this could not be done without discrimination.

In the end, they said, the group areas concept would have to be scrapped while attempts could be made to maintain standards — although it was difficult to see how this could be enforced by law.

The one hope was that a pattern of "natural selection" that was showing at present would continue. It seemed people wanted to live among their own group or among people with a similar background. This should continue.

The government was also trying to speed up the declaration of "free settlement" areas in an effort to relieve the pressure on segregated areas.

The issue had not yet been thought through in detail and, as Mr De Klerk had indicated, there would have to be negotiation.

Dr Viljoen, who meets British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher tomorrow, said in his London address that a new

Treurnicht on why people arm themselves

By MICHAEL MOSELEY

Political Correspondent
CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has singled out the unbanned ANC's "open threats of violence" as one of the chief reasons why "people arm themselves for protection against attacks".

This was part of his response to being asked whether he would be prepared to state his and his party's unequivocal opposition to the use of violence by whites.

Dr Treurnicht said: "We do not think in terms of revolution or counter-revolution, but we expect the government to protect our rights as a people, and our safety, and we claim the right to defend ourselves."

UNCERTAINTY

"We warn people not to take the law into their own hands. But the government is responsible for a general feeling of uncertainty. Attacks on people, murder, rape and the open threats of violence by the ANC as an unbanned organisation,

Mr Rudolph (sought by police in connection with the theft of arms from the SAAF headquarters in Pretoria at the weekend) or those detained for theft of weapons."

Dr Treurnicht came under pressure in parliament yesterday from President F W de Klerk and other senior Nationalists to say where he stood on the question of right wing violence.

Mr De Klerk challenged him: "We ask him to take a stand against the psychosis of violence and the illegal stockpiling of weapons which some of his friends and partners are engaging in."

Later in the debate, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer said that, as had been expected, Dr Treurnicht had shied away from taking a stand on this issue.

Deputy Minister of Defence Mr Wynand Breytenbach took up the attack, saying it was ex-



Win a car in our new Stick-a-Pic contest

TO put yourself in line to win a brand new Toyota Corolla retailing at R25 000 don't miss The Argus from Monday next week: That's when our new Stick-a-pic competition starts.

And we've changed the rules. From now the first five correct entries drawn stand an equal chance of winning the grand prize.

Details in The Argus on Monday. Don't miss it.

Plan to stop 5c parking meter dodge in city

Blaze destroys revenue offices

By JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter

By HENRI DU PLESSIS, Tygerberg Bureau
REVENUE offices, including contents, were destroyed by a fire today on the first floor of the Boston Centre in Voortrekker Road, Bellville.

The centre forms part of the business complex under the Baron Hotel and also houses an attorney's firm, an insurance company, a transport business and a restaurant.

Robber kills accomplice and flees with R70 000

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A robber shot and killed his accomplice during a pre-dawn raid in Durban in which more than R70 000 was taken from two security guards today.

Police said two men held up employees of Fidelity Guards in Southampton Road, just before 6am.

Police said that soon after the raid one of the robbers shot and killed the other and escaped with the cash.

It is believed the money was in a metal trunk.

Cloudy, warm

(Details — page 2)

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the Argus Foreign Service
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thought through in detail and,
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there would have to be negotia-
tion.

Dr Viljoen, who meets Brit-
ish Prime Minister Mrs Marga-
ret Thatcher tomorrow, said in
his London address that a new
situation had to be created.

"The point can be brought
home that the claim for protec-
tion of minorities against domi-
nation should be assessed with-
in an entirely new context."

He gave a clear indication
that the Population Registra-
tion Act would be abandoned.

"The unacceptable existing
group definitions in racial
terms and with rigid, statutory
prescriptiveness will have to
go.

"Provision should also be
made for those South Africans
wishing to have no group affil-
iation."

In the talks with the ANC the
government was prepared to
discuss conditions for lifting
the state of emergency and the
possible extension of the defini-
tion of "so-called political of-
fences" with a view to the re-
lease of prisoners, the return of
exiles, and the granting of
indemnity against prosecution
or arrest.

● President De Klerk's speech
and opposition reaction, page 4.

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Treurnicht on why people arm themselves

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has singled out the unbanned ANC's "open threats of violence" as one of the chief reasons why "people arm themselves for protection against attacks".

This was part of his response to being asked whether he would be prepared to state his and his party's unequivocal opposition to the use of violence by whites.

Dr Treurnicht said: "We do not think in terms of revolution or counter-revolution, but we expect the government to protect our rights as a people, and our safety, and we claim the right to defend ourselves."

UNCERTAINTY

"We warn people not to take the law into their own hands. But the government is responsible for a general feeling of uncertainty. Attacks on people, murder, rape and the open threats of violence by the ANC as an unbanned organisation, are the reasons why people arm themselves for protection against attacks."

The leader of the opposition also said: "The CP is in no way whatsoever involved in the alleged activities or comments of

Mr Rudolph (sought by police in connection with the theft of arms from the SAAF headquarters in Pretoria at the weekend) or those detained for theft of weapons."

Dr Treurnicht came under pressure in parliament yesterday from President F W de Klerk and other senior Nationalists to say where he stood on the question of right wing violence.

Mr De Klerk challenged him: "We ask him to take a stand against the psychosis of violence and the illegal stockpiling of weapons which some of his friends and partners are engaging in."

Later in the debate, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer said that, as had been expected, Dr Treurnicht had shied away from taking a stand on this issue.

Deputy Minister of Defence Mr Wynand Breytenbach took up the attack, saying it was extremely important that Dr Treurnicht should distance himself from the hoarding of weapons.

If he failed to, "everyone will know exactly where he stands on the matter".

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AR 64 20/4/40

Servicemen in court

From ESTHER WAUGH
The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The mother of one of the national servicemen arrested in connection with the theft of arms from the South African Air Force, Mrs Sannie van der Merwe, has described her son as a "fantastic boer".

Two of the three arrested national servicemen, Mr Christoffel Gerhardus Liebenberg and Mr Francois Marthinus van Rensburg, were to have finished their national service at the end of the month.

Mrs Van der Merwe — the mother of Mr Liebenberg — said her son had already found employment, but she would not say where or in which field.

306A Mrs Van der Merwe described her only son's arrest as "sudden and a shock" although she admitted that she was a member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Asked whether her son also belonged to the movement, she said: "You will have to ask him that."

She believed her son was acquainted with the two other national servicemen.

A relative of Mr Adriaan Francois de Necker Vogel said the family had no ties with the AWB.

The three men were dressed in civilian clothes for their brief court appearance yesterday.

F.W.'s plan for Group Areas

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Group Areas Act would be substituted — possibly next year — with other "generally acceptable", non-discriminatory measures, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

The government would, following discussion and negotiation, put "something" in the place of the act "which will ensure a general pattern of residential areas in a non-discriminatory manner which will be generally acceptable".

Mr De Klerk said the "new measures" would have to get the support of all three Houses of Parliament, and added that this would be possible only if they did not contain any new form of racial discrimination.

However, the Labour Party's PRO, Mr Peter Hendrickse, warned that the government could expect resistance to its plans. "The Group Areas Act cannot be amended or replaced but must be scrapped in its totality."

Näts ready for common voters' roll if

30/4 Political Staff *20/4/90*
The National Party was prepared to accept a common voters' roll in a new South Africa, provided it was operated within a constitutional dispensation based on the principle of non-domination, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk was responding in Parliament to Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, who said in the debate on the president's vote

And the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said he was disappointed that the repeal of the "racist" Group Areas and Population Registration acts was "still some way off in the future" in a wide-ranging address to Parliament in which he

insisted that the National Party was "absolutely committed" to repealing all discriminatory legislation. Mr De Klerk said that:
● The government hoped to introduce land reform in South Africa before a new constitution was finalised.

30/4
The president said that a correct reading of what Dr Viljoen had said was that he envisaged there would be more than one voters' roll in a new South Africa.
The NP, he said, was in favour of universal adult franchise within a constitutional dispensation based on the principle of non-domination.
Mechanisms which he believed should be built into such a system were:
● Decentralisation of power.
● Devolution of authority.
● Constitutional checks and balances.
● Decision-taking by consensus.
● An independent judiciary.
A common voters' roll applied in a constitutional system based on a winner-takes-all approach was not acceptable to the NP, Mr De Klerk said.

However, changes to the Land Acts would have to be part of the constitutional negotiating process.
● Any amendments to the Population Registration Act — the main cornerstone of apartheid — would only take place once a new constitution had been agreed. "It really cannot be done in any other way."
● The Separate Amenities Act would definitely be repealed during the current session of Parliament.
● All races could have a referendum to test their support bases on any new constitutional proposals that emerged from negotiations. (However, these would be racially based — a position vehemently rejected by the ANC and other parties.)
● The government envisaged a system of various "differentiated" voters' rolls under a new dispensation, which did not exclude a common voters' roll. However, a common roll based on a "winner-takes-all" approach was not acceptable to the NP as this did not offer adequate protection of (racial) minorities or for cultural, religious and language differences.
● The NP would actively promote and participate in
● Group Areas must be repealed — Page 5

To page 2

P.T.O.

From page 1

the formation of alliances with other political parties — even its electoral opponents — in a bid to reach consensus on key principles.

Responding to repeated calls for him to issue a "declaration of intent" on the shape of the new South Africa, Mr De Klerk said the party would "soon" be ready to produce a comprehensive statement on "principles, fundamental points of departure and aims".

Such a document could serve as a basis for discussion and negotiation with a view to establishing a broadly representative consensus "which could serve as a basis for working out alternative constitutional models".

Referring to the controversial pieces of racial legislation which he dealt with, Mr De Klerk said:

"It is my sincere desire to establish a clean slate. . . .

"Stop fighting history and join me in my effort to write a new history of a happier South Africa which offers a dignified place for all its people," he said.

SOUTH AFRICA'S VOTERS

W/Hand 2041-2649(2041)
Almost 60 percent of the registered voters in South Africa are white, according to figures released this week by Home Affairs minister Gene Louw. Only 13 percent of South Africa's population (including the "independent homelands") are white. Louw said South Africa had a total of 5 294 880 registered voters on March 31 of whom 3 101 875 are white voters in the House of Assembly (59,9 percent), 1 583 456 are coloured voters in the House of Representatives (29,9 percent) and 539 549 are Indian voters in the House of Delegates (10,2 percent).

'The war of Boere liberation is in progress ... it's just a matter of when the war of weapons is declared'

304A



Call to arms ...
Piet 'Skiet'
Rudolph (left)
and Robert van
Tonder

Far right warns of a new 'Boer War'

w/ Mail 20/4 - 26/4/90

By IVOR POWELL
and GAVIN EVANS

THE rightwing counter-revolution has begun.

This is the view being expressed by the white far-right in the wake of this week's raid on an Air Force headquarters arsenal, allegedly masterminded by Boerestaat Party deputy leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

State-of-the-art R5 rifles, shotguns, a light machine gun, sophisticated night sights and ammunition were taken.

Rudolph, who allegedly phoned the *Pretoria News* yesterday while on the run from police, said: "I have now crossed the Rubicon. The boere now have a chance to arm themselves. We are now going for the ANC's throat."

The heist came in the wake of repeated calls from Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terreblanche for whites to buy arms in preparation for the coming "boere-vryheidsoorlog" (boere freedom war).

While Conservative Party spokesmen have strongly condemned the theft, organisations further to the



right of the CP are warning that if negotiations between the government and the African National Congress continue, a "new Boer War" will follow.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais warned yesterday that "feelings are running high among the whites and throughout the country whites are organising themselves in preparation for a civil war."

"FW de Klerk has already capitulated. Further moves towards political power for blacks may have disastrous consequences," he said.

Marais told the *Weekly Mail* he had already been approached by a number of civilian groups organising themselves into heavily-armed vigilante commandos in the style of Welkom's Blanke Veiligheid. Soon, he claims, these will be operating countrywide.

"The war of Boere liberation has long been in progress. Whites are organising and arming themselves. It's just a question of when the war of weapons is declared."

This week AWB chief Eugene Terreblanche, speaking in Krugersdorp, reiterated his call for "a million

● TO PAGE 2



Homecoming, according to Plan ... looking more like conventional soldiers than guerrillas, the last combatants of Swapo's military wing, Plan, returned home from Angola this week atop a Stalin Organ bringing to an end the Namibian peace process.

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG, Afrap

●From PAGE 1

guns" in response to the CP call last month for a million signatures opposing what the rightwingers see as a handover of power by the government.

He also called upon whites to buy up guns and "to keep them clean" in preparation for civil war.

Marais warned that the rightwing cause has huge support in the lower ranks of the security forces and that increased insubordination is to be expected in the police and the military.

"This country has long been in a state of war. The war has not ended but the government has all but dismantled the security apparatus. If the government can't provide security then the *Boerevolk* will."

The government was no longer in control of the whites, he said, citing as proof the recent withdrawal of military weaponry allocated to members of rural commandos.

"They aren't sure any more what the weapons are going to be used for," he said.

Marais warned that the treatment "as common criminals" of former Civil Co-operation Bureau members who, he said, had acted according to the rules of war, had further alienated members of the security forces.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder — whose deputy Piet Rudolph is — described the theft of South African Air Force weapons as being "part of the *volksvryheidstryd*" (struggle for freedom of the Afrikaner people) and warned that as State President FW de Klerk moves further down the road of negotiations, "more and more of this kind of thing is going to occur".

'Prepare for war' call to right-wingers

Mail 20/4 - 26/4/90

304A

Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said the weapons stolen included shotguns, nine millimeter pistols, R5 rifles, a light machine gun and ammunition.

Other reports have claimed that over 70 guns, thousands of rounds of ammunition and sophisticated night sight equipment were taken.

The weapons were stolen from a safe believed to have been opened with duplicate keys. Rudolph was allegedly smuggled into SAAF headquarters in the top security Nedbank building in Church Street, Pretoria, in a South African Defence Force minibus driven by national servicemen.

Conservative Party spokesman Chris van den Heever said yesterday his party only believed in non-violent action and opposed the raid.

"If we condone this kind of action then we can just as well join up with the ANC. The ballot is our bullet — our road is a democratic one and we are not demanding the overthrow of the government."

Asked what he felt the effect of the raid would be, Van den Heever said "They might shoot a few blacks and liberals and this will have no impact at all. The law must pursue its course and we'll leave things in the capable hands of the police."

However in post-February 2

speeches to his own constituency, CP leader Andries Treurnicht has sounded more militant than he has in the past. At a Pretoria mass meeting on February 15, Treurnicht said the government was forcing the Afrikaners to "live dangerously if they did not want to live as mice".

According to well-placed sources, rifts are growing in the CP constituency as more and more rightwingers endorse extra-parliamentary tactics in a struggle justified, as they see it, by the armed struggle of the ANC.

A number of prominent CP members of parliament are known to have strong AWB links and according to well-placed sources have been pressurising Treurnicht to adopt a more militant stance.

Last month CP defence spokesman Koos van der Merwe met with members of Welkom's Blanke Veiligheid and reportedly gave unofficial endorsement to the movement.

● This week Johannesburg AWB leader Leonard Veenendaal, a fugitive from Namibian justice, came out of hiding. He had escaped from custody after his arrest in connection with an attack on an Untag office and the death of a nightwatchman.

Returning to Johannesburg in the face of Namibian warrants for his arrest, Veenendaal said: "I have now returned to my family and I am going to devote myself full-time to the cause as the revolution is here."

He is the second of three escapees accused in the incident to surface in South Africa. Last month, Daryl Stopforth returned to his Rosettenville home and said he would support law and order in South Africa until that law and order broke down.

THE conclusion of a negotiated settlement between the African National Congress and the National Party government will be something very close to the position held by the Democratic Party.

That, at least, is the view of DP parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, who sees the current state of tentative *toenadering* between the contending forces as a sign of his party's success.

"If you examine the basis of principle and policy on which the Nats and the ANC could find each other you will find that basis is the policies for which the DP and its predecessors have always stood," says De Beer.

"We don't want to exaggerate a role for ourselves," he adds, "but we do point out that we have the only feasible formula for a broad-based South Africa."

Not everyone within the party would share that optimism, though, and many are unsure what the formula is to ensure a future role.

One year after its glitzy Johannesburg launch, the DP has reason to pat itself on the back for a job done better than most of its detractors and even its backers expected. But today it faces a quieter and less certain future.

DP co-leader Wymand Malan sees a role in being a catalyst for negotiations and democratic processes.

"We've had discussions with NP representatives and ANC representatives where we've been pushing for negotiations, interpreting the one for the other and passing on information. This has helped lead to a situation where they can soon break the ice and move towards the second phase."

One problem is that once the second phase is underway the party will be quite capable of understanding each other's positions without the help of interpreters.

For the moment, though, the DP is adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

"In the short-term we'll be responding to the environment and creating

Have talks made the DP irrelevant? No way, says Zach

Has the Democratic Party become irrelevant in this age of talks about talks? No, says Zach De Beer — the compromise both sides come to will match DP policy. By GAVIN EVANS

our own future," says Malan, "but we're not pretending to lead the struggle".

He sees the future as one where the boundaries between parliamentary parties and extra-parliamentary movements will begin to break down and the DP will be able to span both with fewer headaches than in the past.

Already the party appears to have had modest success in this sphere. With the government and the ANC beginning to talk, working with the DP has been less of a prickly issue for most extra-parliamentary groups.

Last month, for example, ANC supporters joined the DP in a pro-negotiations march which was followed by a public meeting addressed by De Beer and United Democratic Front Transvaal general secretary Jackson Mthembu.

And with former State President PW Botha and the "securocrats" out of sight, the DP has enjoyed easier access to the government.

Increasingly, however, uncertainty and uneasiness has arisen among the party membership over which way to lean, though the party leaders reject

talk of major tensions.

Some confusion came close to the surface recently when DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz cast the party's vote in favour of the budget. Several members of parliament complained privately that they had not been told of this decision, and some said they did not support it.

De Beer says that any surprise among MPs and other members about this decision was due to the "technicality" of it not having been formally discussed in caucus.

"The decision followed logically from the positions which both Schwarz and I had publicly taken beforehand," he said.

Over the past three months State President F.W. de Klerk's enticing reform carrots and the stick of ongoing township violence have rattled the DP's support base.

"Quite clearly the polls are showing we've lost support to the NP," says Malan. "This was a foreseeable situation because a lot of people are perceiving De Klerk as taking up their interests, but I think the extent of this fall-off in support has been overstated."

The highlight of the DP's first year in existence was its strong election performance in September which saw it taking 33 seats. Since then their Berea municipal bi-election victory and the NP's disintegration in Johannesburg, have given them the major boost of taking over the country's most lucrative city council.



Zach De Beer ... optimistic



Wymand Malan ... catalyst role

Now the party is gearing up for the Umlazi parliamentary bi-election which will give some indication of

the extent of the fall-off in their support. It's a safe NP seat, so no-one is predicting victory, but De Beer believes they'll put up a strong enough performance to justify putting up a candidate.

But with De Klerk's negotiations proposals likely to be tested by referendum, the next general election could be five years away, and may well not be an "group"-based affair. This has meant that electoral politics are not the prime concern on the DP's current agenda.

On the left of the party some MPs and constituency workers are keen to bend the stick towards closer relations with the ANC, and a few are talking about eventually joining it.

However, party members interviewed by the *Weekly Mail* said they did not expect splits to take place before the end of the year — neither to the NP nor to the ANC.

"Some of us are waiting until the ANC conference on December 16. What happens there will help determine whether people decide to join," said one former parliamentary candidate on the party's left wing.

Malan, however, said he did not foresee many members leaving the DP for the ANC.

"Many in the DP have great empathy with the extra-parliamentary struggles, and some have talked of merging with the ANC. But at least 90 percent are clear that there is an important role for the DP."

Party strategists are now speaking of encouraging "a convergence of democratic forces", and the talk of building the DP as non-racial, liberal third force seems to have been put on hold for the moment.

With the hope of the negotiations conclusion being a DP policy clone, caution and flexibility seem to be the watch-words.

"We're talking more in terms of alliance politics," says Malan, "and less of building a new and larger party".

304A

Pearce at inquiry: 'I can't remember'

BY KATHY STRACHAN

"I DON'T know ... I can't remember at this point ... General Visser dealt with it ... I had nothing to do with the details ... I will have to find certain documents before I can answer ..."

John Pearce, head of Johannesburg City Council's security department reiterated these words at the Hlemtsa Commission of Inquiry yesterday as he was questioned about alleged irregularities in his department.

Pearce told the commission under cross-examination that although he headed the department, it was composed of many sections including traffic, and he was not aware of the details of the council's intelligence ac-

tivities.

He had entrusted the details of the running of the intelligence section to Brigadier Visser, senior deputy of security responsible to Pearce, and that Visser kept him informed of what was happening.

Cross-questioned by Denis Fine, SC, he said he did not know that the Democratic Party was spied on by his department. Fine produced documentation collected by the security department from an "unregistered source" on the DP election campaign. Pearce

said it was the first he knew of it.

Fine, inquiring of Pearce if he really was unaware of the activities of the people in his department, asked whether limitations were placed on the security department and if they had a mandate. Pearce replied their mandate was to gather information for the security of council property and assets and members of the public where it pertained to council.

Fine asked how Pearce could claim his department did not concern itself with party political considerations when all of the 48 organisations spied on were anti-National Party organisations.

Pearce said they were only spied on if it was of concern to the Council, although he was not involved in ascertaining the value of the information.

Fine asked why the management committee did not know about it if the activities of informers weren't se-

cret and clandestine, as Pearce had earlier claimed.

Pearce said the previous management committee chairman, the late Danie van Zyl, was aware of the activities.

Pearce admitted informers were trained by Frik Barnard, who had previously been a major in military intelligence.

Advocate John Campbell asked why material irrelevant to their mandate kept coming through in weekly reports, compiled by the security department. Pearce replied that he had discussed the matter with Visser. The hearing continues.

FWT to start Group Areas

Journal 26/4/90

304A

28

THE National Party had a mandate to replace the Group Areas Act with an "effective and generally accepted" measure which was not discriminatory, State President Mr F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate in Parliament on his Budget vote, he dealt with apartheid laws still on the Statute Book.

He said the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act would be repealed this session as he had undertaken in his opening address on

February 2, and that the Government was working on proposals for a substitute to the Group Areas Act which could be brought before Parliament early next year.

The Land Act was similar to the Group Areas Act and the problems were the same to some extent, said De Klerk.

● To page 2

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Sowetan 20/4/90

FW on Group Areas

● From page

Although many of these issues were linked to the Constitution, it was evident from preliminary findings that action could be taken before a new constitution was arrived at.

The Population Registration Act, he said, was more complicated and an inseparable part of the Constitution. It would have to be amended in conjunction with the Constitution.

"I appeal to members to accept this legal reality."

"It is the Government's clear intention that new measures should not be discriminatory and I commit the Government to that goal," said De Klerk.

There was evidently a great deal of emotion among members who found the Acts offensive and it appeared from their remarks that there were members who suspected the Government's sincerity in doing away with discrimination.

But De Klerk said the National Party's Plan of Action, as campaigned for in the last election, clearly declared that discrimination was unacceptable.

Until the Group Areas Act was replaced, it would continue to regulate and protect residential areas by "sensitive application" of the law.

A substitute measure would have to create a system which gave communities peace of mind, protected them against financial exploitation and did not jeopardise civilised norms and standards.

Any reforms on land use would have to take into account the principles of free enterprise, security of tenure and vested property rights. - Sapa.

ANC hails FW move for probe

HARARE - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has welcomed South African President FW de Klerk's move to set up a judicial inquiry into the killing of black demonstrators in Sebokeng last month.

The Sebokeng shootings on March 26, in which 17 people died, caused a major hitch in preparations for preliminary talks between the ANC and the South African Government.

The talks, originally set for April 11, were postponed to May 2 after a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk. Sowetan 20/4/90

De Klerk announced this week that his Cabinet had approved the appointment of the commission, to be headed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

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Democracy: New book starts the debate

FOCUS

Democracy is suddenly the world's political buzzword. Countries across the globe have been shaking off un-democratic regimes in favour of new political systems based on freedom, justice and equality.

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, East Germany, South Korea, Nicaragua and Argentina - the list gets longer every day.

The tide of democracy is sweeping across every continent. Even in Africa the democratic principles established so clearly in Namibia's new constitution are finding echoes, at least, in the rhetoric of other African states, including Mozambique, Ethiopia and Nigeria.

Debate

In South Africa we are now looking forward to a democratic future. However, constitutional blueprints, political programmes and academic studies which have been prepared over the decades advocating various models of democracy for South Africa, are hardly known.

South Africans themselves seem poorly prepared to debate their future.

Almost all the political parties advocate a democratic future for South Africa, but when the debate moves beyond the high sounding principles to specific details, it becomes very technical and often obtuse.

Democracy in practice is not a technical abstract, but a way of life. Democracy is the citizen's form of government so the debate about democracy should be a citizen's debate.

Complex

Yet, almost inevitably, the South African debate about democracy ends up as an academic exchange between experts (who are often foreigners at that) about the respective merits of consociational and majoritarian systems.

Some get into complex arguments about electoral systems, judicial review, or any one of a range of issues whose relevance and meaning are quite obscure to

This is the first in a series of six articles highlighting some of the major themes in the book titled *Shaping a Future South Africa - Citizens' Guide to Constitution Making*. The book is edited by Bobby Godsell and published by Human Rouspuw. It sells for R12,95. The articles are written by Margie Keeton, who was in the team which produced the book.

the man in the street - and probably to most politicians, too.

But some help is at hand. A little book has been published recently which hopes to "demistify" the debate.

Shaping a Future South Africa, edited by Anglo American director Bobby Godsell, is intended to help the concerned citizen who wishes to participate in the debate about his political future to do so more effectively.

It hopes to lift the veil on the process of democratic constitution making, by setting out in a simple and direct way some of the issues and choices South Africa may face along the way.

Consent

Just as good government depends on the consent of the governed, so successful constitution making and democratic politics requires the informed participation of citizens. This slim volume of only 64 pages hopes to make a modest contribution to this process by:

- * clarifying some of the terms used in the debate and in general political discussion
- * exploring the meaning of democracy and setting out some of its essential features
- * surveying some of the constitutional options
- * outlining some of the steps in constitution making and the transition to real democracy

* The book is not prescriptive and does not represent Anglo American's view of the political future.

It instead tries to be as objective as possible and set out, in a balanced and neutral way, some of the choices South Africans will have to make in forging a new democratic constitution.

For example the advantages and disadvantages of both parliamentary and presidential forms of executive governments are set out.

This leaves the readers to make up their own minds.

It is hoped that South Africans of all political persuasions will find something of value in the book.

It was written with the help of colleagues in Anglo's political scenario team as well as a group of leading international constitutional experts.

The foreign academics, many of whom had direct knowledge of the success or failure of many different experiments in democracy around the world, were able to enrich the text with relevant illustrations from other countries.

The remaining articles, to be published next week, will focus on democracy, constitutional choices, the relationship between economic and political system and the question of transition.



Don Ncube.. a member of the team that wrote the new book

The SA Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

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lic who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or, other news media directly.

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accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7317. Inquiries are welcome.

Land reform vital — Relly

SA's economic prosperity demanded a more stable and equitable political dispensation, former Anglo American Corporation chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

Speaking at a Witwatersrand Agricultural Society luncheon at the Rand Show, Relly said the well-being and continued growth of the economy would provide an essential underpinning to the difficult political process facing the country.

Political liberties on their own were meaningless unless there were economic opportunities for all — including in agriculture.

There could be no justification for the existing racial restrictions on ownership of farmland and ways would have to be found to give people of all races access to the land market. — Sapa.

20/4/70

10 am

304A

'Common voters roll acceptable'

Group Areas Act will go

De Klerk

Bl Day 2014/90

304A

CAPE TOWN — The Group Areas Act would be replaced, possibly next year, by new non-discriminatory measures which would have to be acceptable to the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in Parliament in the debate on his budget vote, De Klerk said similar measures to replace the Land Acts were being investigated, and initial indications were that it would be possible to replace them before a new constitution was negotiated.

He did not expand on what the new measures to replace the Group Areas Act might entail other than to say they would ensure "a general pattern of residential areas".

These measures, he said, would have to have the support of all three houses of Parliament. This would only be possible if they did not "institute any new form of discrimination on the basis of race or colour".

In a wide-ranging speech, De Klerk also said:

□ the NP would agree to universal adult franchise on a common voters roll in a new SA, provided this was in combination with other forms of voting to provide constitutional protection for minorities;

□ in the run-up to negotiations and in the



● DE KLERK

MIKE ROBERTSON

negotiation process the NP would actively seek alliances with other parties;

□ any new constitutional dispensation would be put to the white electorate, either in a referendum or an election, before being implemented by Parliament.

De Klerk said it was clear there were still many people who secretly suspected government was not sincere in its declaration to do away with discrimination on the basis of race or colour.

He reiterated the Separate Amenities Act would go during this session of Parliament and the Population Registration Act would be scrapped this year.

Dealing with Group Areas, he said the NP had stated it would be replaced by a generally acceptable measure.

"The key words are that any substitute ... has to be 'generally acceptable'. Generally acceptable means exactly what it says. New measures will certainly have to have the support of the three Houses of Parliament. I am sure this will be achieved only if such a measure — or measures — does not attempt to institute any new form of discrimination on the basis of race or colour," De Klerk said.

Government was working hard on the planning and execution of the new measures.

"I trust we will be able to produce firm proposals soon. The possibility cannot be ruled out of such proposals being submitted to Parliament in the form of legislation next year already.

"In the interim, it is important that application of the Free Settlement Areas Act be continued in order to broaden the available options immediately."

De Klerk said the Land Acts entailed

□ To Page 2

De Klerk

Bl Day 2014/90

304A

From Page 1

more than the simple determination of who might live where.

"There are constitutional implications, particularly on the local government level, which will have to receive attention. Similarly, any reforms with regard to the usage of land will have to take into account the principles of free enterprise, security of tenure and vested property rights."

It was also necessary that any land reform be preceded by consultation with all affected groups.

"However, this does not mean we have to wait for a new constitution before we are able to make progress. Preliminary findings indicate we may be able to act sooner."

The President said there would never be

complete peace in SA as long as there was statutory discrimination.

Support for any new constitution would have to go hand-in-hand with a satisfactory solution in respect of those Acts which dealt with the franchise as well as with ownership and utilisation of property.

Protest against "these discriminatory Acts" was no longer necessary, he said.

"As they stand, they are part of the old SA. All of us have to build the new SA ... Stop fighting history and join me in my effort to write the new history of a happier SA which offers a dignified place for all its people."

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 8

Speech draws 'cautious' reaction

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party has criticed yesterday's speech by President F W de Klerk, stating that the Group Areas Act cannot be amended or replaced "but must be scrapped".

(3049)
The DP has greeted the speech with "cautious pleasure", but it too has expressed disappointment that the repeal of the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act "is still some way off".

In a statement, Labour Party national public relations officer Peter Hendrickse, said the LP welcomed the imminent scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act — but insist-

Political Staff

ed that it be totally repealed.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said the president now appeared to have edged closer to the declaration of intent the DP sought.

Specifically, he said, the president had appeared to state that the NP was, or might be, in favour of a common voters' roll — albeit in some form of constitutional combination of other forms of voting.

But by not repealing the Separate Amenities Act immediately an opportunity to improve the climate for negotiation was being lost.

Talks on summit

11/10 am 20/14/90
MIN BENTLEY

LONDON — Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen will meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher today, reaffirming the warming of relations between the two countries.

The meeting was confirmed by the SA Embassy and Downing Street yesterday. (304A)

However, neither was prepared to furnish details. ~~SE~~

High on the agenda is expected to be the summit between Thatcher and President F W de Klerk, scheduled for mid-May.

Common voters roll acceptable ³⁰⁴⁹FW

CAPE TOWN — The NP was prepared to accept a common voters roll in a new SA, provided it was operated within a constitutional dispensation based on the principle of non-domination, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He was responding in Parliament to DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer who said in the debate on the President's vote that Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen had expressed himself against a common voters roll.

The President said a correct reading of what Viljoen had said was that

3 Day 2014/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

he envisaged there would be more than one voters roll in a new SA.

The NP was in favour of universal adult franchise within a constitutional dispensation based on the principle of non-domination.

Mechanisms which he believed should be built into such a system were: the decentralisation of power; devolution of authority; constitutional checks and balances; decision-taking by consensus; and an independent judiciary.

A common voters roll applied in a

constitutional system based on a winner-takes-all approach was not acceptable to the NP, De Klerk said.

"However, universal adult franchise on a common voters roll, within a qualified system of political representation in to which the constitutional mechanisms of protection I have mentioned are built, is, indeed, an achievable possibility," he said.

De Klerk said any deductions made from his speech to Parliament earlier this week, to the effect that it was a plea against the majority of the country's population getting its due, were wrong.

Govt has agreed to relinquish power – Slabbert

By Karen Stander

The South African Government had "agreed to be negotiated out of power" and had invited previously bitter opponents to help it do so, according to Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and a director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) was speaking last night at a conference on "Namibia – A Nation in the

Making at Wits University, organised jointly by Idasa and the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Dr Slabbert said in this respect South Africa differed from other former colonies in Africa, including Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. It was the only case where the major players had agreed that white domination had to be negotiated away and a new constitution negotiated.

Although there were lessons to be learn-

ed from the Namibian experience, there were also other important differences.

- In Namibia the international community had a legitimate excuse for intervening.

- Leaving the country had been a psychological last resort for whites.

- Prior to independence, Swapo had the international status of sole representative of the Namibian people, but in South Africa there was more than one liberation movement.

SA's future: leaders must be elected

By DR HENNIE LOTTER,
Senior Lecturer in the Dept of
Philosophy, at Rand Afrikaans
University

There seems to be general confusion in South Africa today about the composition of the group of people who will be deciding the constitutional future of our country when "real negotiations" eventually get started.

Some times, it seems as if all "real" leaders will be present, at other times it seems as if the Government and the ANC will be the only two partners.

This issue is important as the drawing up of a constitution is a matter that will seriously affect all aspects of our future life in this country.

Hopefully South Africans have learnt by now — through the 1910 and 1983 constitutions — that the writing of a constitution by a non-representative group of people only leads to resentment and resistance and creates the urgent need to rewrite.

The constitution of a society can be defined as the way in which its political institutions are structured.

A constitution defines the political institutions, specifies how their members are to be elected and determines who has the right to elect and be elected.

It also indicates which political offices will be part of the political institutions, what their legitimate functions are, and how office-bearers are to be elected and appointed.

A constitution also has to state the relationships between the various political institutions, such as the parliament, a presidency (if any) or a second chamber, and also the relationships between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government.

A constitution has to fulfil these functions in such a way that it simultaneously embodies the political values of the various communities in South Africa and ensures the presence of political procedures that will lead to just political outcomes.

Qualifications

The question now is: who has the right to participate in drawing up a new constitution?

Obviously, there will have to be certain qualifications for prospective participants.

If we sincerely wish to learn from our mistakes, then it should be clear that a new constitution should be drawn up by a body of people who are representative of the South African population.

If, for example, any leader — whether a homeland leader or an exiled one — claims to be representing a specific constituency, then he would have to prove it by gaining support in democratic elections.

There seems to be little doubt that South Africa is in a process of democratisation. What better way to give this process the legitimacy it needs than by having elections for representatives to a constitutional convention?

This has the implication that the Government itself would have to fight an election for the right to participate in the constitutional convention — and rightly so, too.

Only those people who are supported by the citizens of the South African state should have the right to represent them at such a major event in the history of our country.

It will indeed be a major event, involving the remaking of society.

Granting effective and equal political rights to all South Africans would also be part of the remaking of South African society — not least because it would involve a full recognition of the equality of all citizens and protect the basic human rights of everyone.

If our society is to be remade, then every one of us should be represented equally.

What better way to ensure this than by having elections in which each party is represented according to the proportion of the votes that it gets?

Info Bureau scales down

5/20/90
The Bureau for Information hopes to make recommendations to the Government by the end of this month on the possible privatisation of its functions, according to its annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The report says the Bureau had already closed seven of its 13 regional offices.

"Although this has diminished its national communication capability the decision was unfortunately unavoidable from the point of view of cost-effectiveness. The Bureau will continue to serve the communities involved from the remaining regional offices."

Referring to its foreign media liaison functions, the report says



there were 240 accredited foreign media representatives based in South Africa last year: Correspondents — 144; administrative personnel — 29; technical personnel — 53; and photographers — 14.

Newspaper reports and radio and television programmes compiled by the foreign media were monitored and, where necessary, periodic discussions were held with correspondents on their reporting. — Sapa.

THE PRESIDENCY

304A

100

No time to play

FIM

2014/90

There was an iron fist in President F W de Klerk's velvet glove this week. He warned in parliament that government will not tolerate, from Left or Right, attempts to derail the delicate negotiation initiative.

To the Conservative Party he read the riot act, accusing it of irresponsibly "playing with fire" and suggesting that it reflect "deeply and seriously" on its actions. To the ANC he suggested a moderation of statements by its leaders and an acceptance that negotiation is a process of give-and-take.

He also gave an indication of how the National Party will approach both the "talks about talks" with the ANC on May 2 and the main negotiations — when they get off the ground. On May 2, government will tell the ANC that its continued commitment to the "armed struggle" conflicts with the concept of peaceful negotiation. "(It) therefore constitutes a further obstacle, alongside the reality of violence, that has to be removed."

And in a preview of its main negotiation stance, De Klerk again stressed that government sees no merit in either partition or simple majoritarianism (in either a unitary or geographically federal state) as constitu-

47

FIM 2014/90

304A

100

tional solutions to SA's problems. When it sits down to talk, the NP's plan will be based on a "power sharing" system in which full democratic rights will be accorded to all under the protection of a Bill of Rights which will also safeguard minorities.

He repeated government's sincerity as a reformer acting from a position of strength and called for an equal commitment from other participants. "If negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile."

Secret document

But he merely chastised the ANC. It was for the CP that De Klerk reserved his real wrath, pegging his attack on the now discredited "secret document" released to the media recently by CP leader Andries Treurnicht. An alleged ANC plan to attack right-wing leaders was in the document.

De Klerk said the information was contained in an "unevaluated secret report from the ranks of the intelligence community." The report was subsequently judged to be so unreliable that it did not need to be submitted to government. The CP could have established this by means of confidential inquiry.

"It is truly shocking that the leader of the CP, in his eagerness to get at the government, should have made himself guilty of outrageous irresponsibility . . . I wish to dissociate myself in the strongest terms from the insinuation by the CP that government was knowingly prepared to expose rightwing leaders to danger and assassination by the ANC.

"Any such allegation or insinuation is not only unfounded, but also libellous, base and devoid of all truth."

De Klerk's speech set the tone for a debate on his budget vote that was due to continue after the FM went to press. It showed that while he may be losing patience with ditherers and destroyers to both Left and Right, he remains determined to push ahead with fundamental change.

The cares of office

304A

■ The DP must prove it can run Johannesburg more openly than the Nats

If ever there was a bunch of politicians proud of themselves, it's the Democratic Party (DP) Johannesburg city councillors. "We always told the management committee that it had served its time," says tough-talking new committee member Paul Asherson. "Well, its meter has expired."

Now the meter starts ticking for the DP. From playing the role of prickly opposition, it has assumed the mantle of leadership. After introducing a successful no-confidence motion in the National Party-controlled management committee, the DP won half the seats on the six-member body, including the chair. Two verligte Nats were returned to the committee, along with the lone independent (*Currents* April 13).

And as DP leader Ian Davidson was moving into the committee chairman's office last week, Judge Victor Hiemstra was heading a judicial inquiry into allegations of a city spy network.

Revelations about espionage funded by ratepayers helped put the DP in power. "There's no doubt that the spy scandal precipitated action," Davidson says.

"But we already had an unstable government on the road to a motion of no confidence."

The NP's Marietta Marx (one of her party's two re-elected members and ex-deputy chairman) says the no-confidence motion was unnecessary because the Nats themselves wanted a full investigation into the spy allegations. "It's not really a scandal that affected us," she says. "It isn't yet proved that it was a scandal at all."

Yet elsewhere in the massive city centre complex, Town Clerk Manie Venter — in effect MD of the city — sat at a small desk in the council chamber and responded to questions from the Hiemstra Commission.

More accurately, he did *not* respond, except to say that he did not know what the spy network was



Davidson



Judge Hiemstra ... probing city spy network

really up to. He testified that he merely authorised payments and had been misled about the gathering of information.

"You were in charge," Hiemstra reminded Venter at one point. "You are Town Clerk. You should have known."

Venter said he relied on security officials John Pearce and Brigadier Jan Visser for information and did not know which organisations were being investigated nor how the security department worked.

Venter was not alone in saying he did not know what was going on. Councillors swear they had no idea that city officials were allegedly running a spy network for seven years with some of the millions spent under an amorphous label of "security."

Councillors readily admit they were no more than a rubber stamp, busy with rezoning applications while non-elected employees usurped the job of policy-making. At least a dozen of the 51 councillors would never be household names due to their lack of participation. It was a scenario for abuse and trouble.

Taking back power from the advisory committee — headed by Venter — must be the first job for the new management. Over the years, particularly after Francois Oberholzer's retirement as management committee chairman, councillors delegated almost all decision making to the city hall pro-

fessionals.

These in turn gathered information from department heads and then presented reports — or withheld them, depending on the contents — to the management committee. "We had management by remote control," says Davidson, who will be responsible for wresting control away from the bureaucrats.

After the judicial inquiry, it will be up to council to decide what's to become of officials allegedly involved. Privately, the DP says it smells blood. "(The investigation) will hang a few people," says one. "It will keep us from having to reduce the size of the bureaucracy. The judge will do it for us."

Because DP members were shut out of the old management committee, they will take a while simply to figure out how the show operates. They promise glasnost at Braamfontein's fortress-like Civic Centre. Davidson's open door is apparently surprising quite a few city employees accustomed to the NP's closed doors and part-time approach.

With his hands-on style, Davidson (38), a Maserati-driving stockbroker with Ferguson Bros, is a distinct contrast to the NP's meek Jan Burger (68). Burger has managed to keep his seat on the committee, but lost the chair.

Not everyone is pleased about the new management, even though Davidson goes out of his way to praise the high quality of city officials. "We are not on a witch hunt," says another DP councillor. "But those with their snouts in the trough are worried."

Already the DP is facing the challenges of office. Instead of pushing for a vote immediately on opening the city to all races, David-

son plans to call for a council committee to look into the ramifications of such a move.

Some of his supporters will call this backtracking. After all, an open city is what the DP has been screaming for all along. But Davidson knows that with 21 NP, 20 DP, six independents and



Theron

304A

304A

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304A

four Conservative Party (CP) councillors, he isn't assured of the votes.

The NP, still licking its wounds after the no-confidence motion, would undoubtedly close ranks if pushed too hard right now — even though one recent survey indicated that 11 of the 21 Nats favour an open city. At present, opening cities is not NP policy.

Marx denies that she or other NP members in the council got a "negative reaction" from Cabinet ministers after they lost control, but the CP and DP both scoff at the idea that Marx & Co operate independently.

"The NP caucus is often attended by Cabinet ministers," says CP council leader Jacques Theron. "There's little doubt they get their marching orders from higher up."

The Nat faithful are keeping a stiff upper lip, but no one doubts there was backstabbing and collusion with the DP in the vote for a new management committee. In the end, the three most conservative NP councillors were out and two verligtes held their seats.

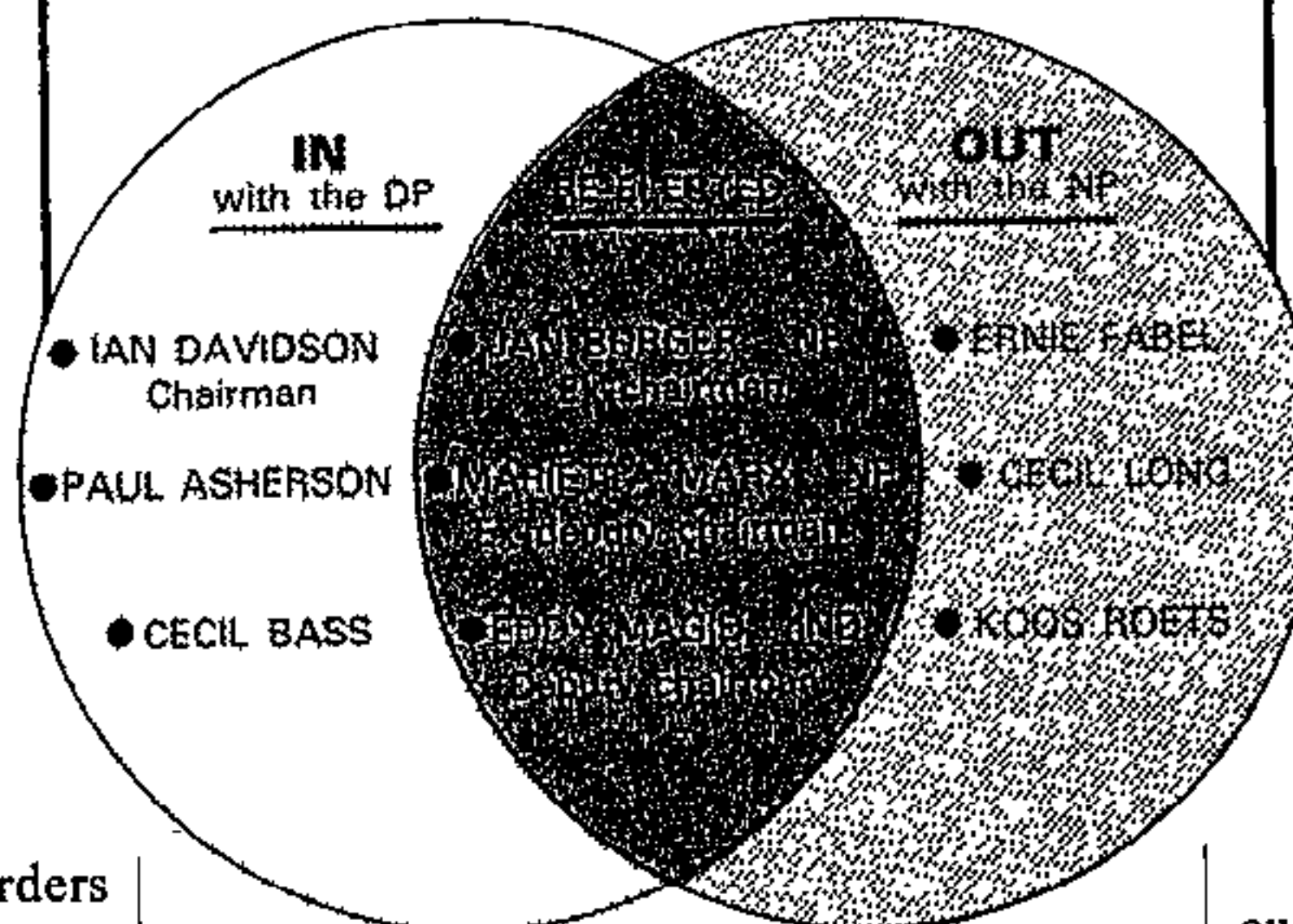
Marx says the three ousted NP committee members each got at least 21 votes, which proves that every Nat voted the party line. But the CP begs to disagree. Theron says his caucus decided to support all sitting committee members except Burger, much to the chagrin of the DP and NP powerbrokers who expected the CP to vote down everyone after having supported the no-confidence motion.

DP and NP dealmakers were embarrassed by the totals, which proved collusion. Koos Roets, who lost his seat with only 24 votes, got four CP votes, meaning that at least one Nat didn't vote for him. On the other hand, Marx got 35 votes, which could mean 21 NP votes, four CP votes, six independent votes and four DP votes. Burger got 29 — possibly 21 NP, six independents and at least two DP.

"They tried to blame the CP," Theron says, "but it's clear some Nats supported the DP. They left the party in the lurch."

Marx acknowledges that she outlined a plan in caucus to co-operate with the DP, but says she was outvoted and went along with the plan to support all NP nominees. She

Inventing a new Johannesburg City Council



bristles at charges that Nats committed "political betrayal" against their colleagues.

"We did not hand anything over on a silver platter," she says. "We put up our candidates, voted for them and lost." Marx, however, did not lose. "I was absolutely sure I'd be out. I was flabbergasted."

Says Theron: "We've accepted that the Nats are turning over everything to the ANC, but we were surprised that they gave it over to the DP."

Actually, the NP has been fading ever since it won 26 of the 51 seats in the 1988 municipal election. Three Nats have since gone independent, one defected to the DP and another seemingly safe seat went to the DP in a by-election.

"They could no longer run the city with the people they have," Asherson says. "In a sense, they abdicated. They committed political suicide some time ago but the body was still kicking."

The DP, however, would like to believe its liberal stance helped it get where it is. "You can't write off a party that controls Johannesburg, Sandton, Randburg and Midrand councils," Davidson says, "and when it stands for policies that are winning the day."

But the NP fumbling of the ball and internecine warfare in the caucus may be closer to why its control dissolved.

There is also speculation that NP Cabinet members approved the removal of the three conservative Nats from the management committee in a deal with the DP. "Marietta was under enormous pressure not to split the NP," Davidson says. "It came close."

Theron senses revolt brewing in the NP camp, but won't go hunting for converts. "I don't feel like buying people. A time will come when people have to decide. They shouldn't join out of anger or frustration, but because they believe in our policies."

The real showdown will be over the open city vote, which may come this year. The council cannot unilaterally open the city to all races, but can recommend that to central government. The DP is firmly against the option of scattered free settlement areas. "We don't want the Bophuthatswana-isation

of Johannesburg," Asherson says.

Marx says it would be irresponsible of the council to address an open city just so some people can score political points. "We must concentrate on issues that we can solve in the next few months or years, issues that really affect lives at the grassroots level," she says, citing housing, health, redevelopment of the city, transport and "uplifting and beautifying the wards."

Says Davidson: "She's ducking the issues. We can't take a narrow view. The future will be decided in the cities. We must be seen to be exerting pressure, especially in Johannesburg. If we can't get it right here, we can't get it right anywhere."

He will push for privatisation of city-owned facilities, such as the market and Rand Airport. He will also call upon the Urban Foundation, Central Business District Association and other groups with special expertise that were held at arm's length by the previous management.

Also on his agenda is the formation of a municipal police force. But where will the money come from?

"We must re-prioritise," says Davidson, deriding the R110m spent on revamping the Civic Theatre. "We will have to cut back on luxuries. If the SAP can't provide the service, we have to look to fill the gap."

Already there are whispers of higher office for Davidson, who took over the DP leadership when Tony Leon was elected to parliament last year. He won't comment on his ambitions — but he can prove himself to the locals by cleaning house in Johannesburg, where the faith of the ratepayers is being severely tested.

He can start by reforming the cumbersome council itself. The combination of a weak management committee and strong advisory committee run by bureaucrats removes decision-making from elected representatives and opens the way for abuse. He must be sure to gain control immediately.

Above all, Davidson's goal should be to ensure accountability in a system that has slipped out of control.



NP's Marx ... didn't betray her colleagues



DP's Asherson ... the body was still kicking

CP vows not to divulge its source

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has vowed that it will not tell police the name of the intelligence official who leaked to it the report about an alleged African National Congress plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, security officers and homeland leaders.

Two police officers visited CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers in Pretoria yesterday, the Conservative Party deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in a statement.

"The obvious aim of the visit was that Mr Beyers should divulge who the person was he received the document from," said Dr Hartzenberg.

"The chief secretary of the CP will not divulge his source," he said.

"Any attempt by the State President to try to intimidate the chief secretary of the CP in this way is condemned."

"This investigation against a person who revealed the ANC's evil plans to the CP contrasts sharply with the indemnity from prosecution which the State President recently extended to terrorists," Dr Hartzenberg said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told Parliament this week that an official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked the document.

President de Klerk said this week in Parliament that the CP had acted "extremely irresponsibly" and probably illegally in leaking a classified document.

The document contained unevaluated intelligence which had subsequently proved to be unreliable, said Mr de Klerk.

Apartheid laws under scrutiny

FW accepts a common voters roll

Star 20/4/90 (304A)

Cape Town

President de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that he accepted the idea of a common voters roll for all races as part of a new constitution subject to protective measures for minorities being built into the system.

In a major speech, he also promised to replace the Group Areas Act with a "generally acceptable" non-discriminatory measure — possibly next year.

Speaking during the debate on his vote, Mr de Klerk spelt out Government plans to scrap or change other apartheid laws: Land Act, Population Registration Act, and Separate Amenities Act.

He said there would never be complete peace as long as there was statutory discrimination.

Further protest against "these discriminatory acts" was unnecessary.

The laws as they stood were "part of the old South Africa. All of us have to build the new South Africa".

In one of the most significant constitutional developments, Mr de Klerk said that universal franchise on a common voters roll was acceptable to the Government — as long

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

as protective measures for minorities were also built in, possibly through other separate voters rolls.

In other announcements:

- He committed the National Party to forming alliances with other parties, and said those which had opposed one another would have to join forces on matters they agreed on.

- He made it clear that any new constitution emerging from negotiations would be put to the test of the white electorate specifically, either in a referendum or an election.

- The National Party would soon produce a comprehensive statement of "principles, aims and fundamental points of departure", which could serve as a basis for negotiating constitutional models through consensus. On the crucial franchise question, the Government envisaged more than one voters roll — but this did not exclude a common voters roll as well.

Political observers said Mr de Klerk was apparently referring to a bicameral legislature with voting on a common roll for one House, and voting on separate rolls for a second House where minorities were represented.

Mr de Klerk said a common voters roll in a constitutional system based on the winner-takes-all approach was not acceptable to the National Party.

It did not provide adequate protection for minorities, nor for the cultural, religious and language differences of South Africans.

However, universal franchise on a common voters roll with built-in protection for minorities, possibly through other differentiated voters rolls, was "a possibility".

These protective measures to prevent domination included decentralisation of power, devolution of authority, constitutional checks and balances, decision-making by consensus, and an independent judiciary.

Impatience with gradual change

Star 20/4/90 (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Opposition parties yesterday expressed impatience at the Government's plans to deal with apartheid laws gradually.

Dr Zach de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said: "We cannot for the life of us see why these racist Acts cannot be summarily scrapped."

Expressing "cautious pleasure" at the speech, he said the DP was disappointed that the repeal of the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act were still some way off.

Dr de Beer said President de Klerk had edged closer to the declaration of intent the DP had been seeking.

"In particular, he appeared to state that the National Party is or may be in favour of a common voters' roll, albeit in some form of

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"In particular, he appeared to state that the National Party is or may be in favour of a common voters' roll, albeit in some form of constitutional combination with other forms of voting," he said.

Another DP co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, said Mr de Klerk had made a nice-sounding speech intended for the international community, but it was fundamentally a stalling tactic on the essential and inevitable ending of apartheid.

The Government was holding on to vestiges of apartheid to bargain with at the negotiation table to try to secure a Rhodesian-type settlement for whites.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said the LP welcomed the ending soon of the Separate Amenities Act. But it had to be a total scrapping of the law.

His party disagreed that race classification in the Population Registration Act could be changed only with the scrapping of the present three-chamber parliamentary system.

Robber shoots his accomplice dead

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — An alleged robber shot and killed his accomplice during a pre-dawn raid in Durban in which more than R70 000 was taken from two security guards today.

Police said that two men held up two employees of Fidelity Guards in Southampton Road, off Point Road, just before 6 am.

It is believed that the money, which was in a metal trunk, was being taken to a company in the area.

Police said that soon after the raid one of the robbers shot and killed the other and escaped with the cash.

Detectives from the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit, under the command of Captain Hendrik Engelbrecht, were at the scene.

Police are still hunting for the other suspect.

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● He made it clear that any new constitution emerging from negotiations would be put to the test of the white electorate specifically, either in a referendum or an election.

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These protective measures to prevent domination included decentralisation of power, devolution of authority, constitutional checks and balances, decision-making by consensus, and an independent judiciary.

To be replaced

Responding to calls during the debate for a statement of intent on remaining apartheid laws, Mr de Klerk said that the Group Areas Act would be replaced with "generally acceptable" non-discriminatory measures.

The Government was already working hard on these measures and he trusted that it would produce "firm proposals" soon.

The possibility could not be ruled out that legislation would be submitted to Parliament next year. The Free Settlement Areas Act would continue to be applied.

The new measures would have to be generally accepted, and this meant all three Houses would have to approve them. This could happen only if the new measures did not introduce any new discrimination.

The new measures would "ensure a general pattern of residential areas in a non-discriminatory manner which will be generally acceptable".

They would have to:

● Give communities peace of mind with regard to their wishes and ideals, on a fair and just basis.

● Protect communities against financial exploitation.

● Ensure civilised norms and standards.

Mr de Klerk said the problem of the Land Act was similar to that of the Group Areas Act, as both dealt with land ownership.

However there were also constitutional implications.

Any land reforms would have to take into account the principle of free enterprise, security of tenure, and vested property rights.

Any negotiations about these laws would therefore have to be part of the constitutional negotiating process. But progress could be made before there was a new constitution.

Mr de Klerk said that the Population Registration Act was an inseparable part of the present constitution and the Electoral Act.

It would therefore have to be amended during negotiations for a new constitution.

Nats on path to alliances

W/E Argus 21/4/90

30 APR

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved nearer to constitutional concepts that will be acceptable to the African National Congress.

He has set the National Party on the way to alliances with other political parties in the build-up to negotiations on constitutional reform.

He also moved to consolidate and re-state the government's position on negotiations in a number of speeches in parliament this week.

This was the impression among his own followers and in the Democratic Party after a four-day debate on his vote in parliament.

Counter-move

Meanwhile, the government is preparing a major "package" of aims and principles for negotiations to serve as a basis for the formation of such alliances.

This move is seen as an attempt to counter ANC attempts to consolidate movements behind it.

The government has been keen to avoid the impression that negotiations will basically be only between it on the one side and the ANC on the other. It has now chosen the alliance option as a counter to ANC moves while maintaining that all parties who can make a contribution must be at the negotiating table.

Dr Zac de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said yesterday that Mr De Klerk was moving as imperceptibly as he could towards a constitutional position that could be sold to the ANC or at least some of the ANC.

For this reason he had to accept the concept of one vote, one value, and he also had to come to terms with the need for a common roll.

Mr De Klerk had committed himself to the first concept and had accepted the second with some reservations.

At the same time he had done whatever he could to retain his own power base, Dr De Beer said.

Among Nationalists the feeling was that Mr De Klerk had in his statements this week consolidated his stand on negotiations and that he had also restated the party's major principles.

They maintained that the momentum towards negotiations had not been affected but that there had also been the need to emphasise that the government was not simply beginning to surrender on the way to negotiations.

An indication of this was Mr De Klerk's insistence that there must be a system where minorities were protected.

According to some Nationalist sources, the NP has shelved for the moment the question of opening up its membership to all races in favour of alliances with other groups.

Ending the debate, Mr De Klerk spoke candidly about why the National Party had abandoned its old apartheid policy.

He said it had realised that economic realities did not make the policy of separate development viable.

He also indicated that in a new system the position of the president, who had such vast powers, would be drastically changed.

Defence Force tightens security



Mr van Tonder

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

AS RIGHTWINGERS THREATEN A COUP

THE Defence Force is reviewing security at its weaponry stores as white rightwingers warn they will regain South Africa by violence or a coup if "Boer freedom" is threatened with destruction.

The rightwing extremists say commandos are being organised on Boer-style military lines and are armed.

Yesterday, in a bid to prevent a repetition of the embarrassing Easter arms heist in Pretoria, in which guns and ammunition reportedly valued at R600 000 were stolen from a locked Air Force safe, the Defence Force announced it will review security and set up a board of inquiry to investigate the theft.

Manhunt continues

Three national servicemen, who allegedly had duplicate keys and used a Defence Force minibus to move the haul, have been arrested in connection with the theft. A manhunt is continuing for former Pretoria city councillor Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who was apparently smuggled into the top security Nedbank Plaza building to help remove the weapons.

About a third of the guns and ammunition have been recovered, but police said Mr Rudolph is still on the run, allegedly with a wide range of arms from the stolen cache.

The claims on rightwing mobilisation were made by Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaatspartij, in the wake of the theft.

Threatening threats by rightwing activists to resort to violence in a bid to stop a constitutional deal involving blacks is causing concern in political circles.

President De Klerk told parliament yesterday that his office regularly received threatening letters and telephone calls.

Taken seriously

The new wave of rightwing militance is clearly being taken seriously by the government.

It was reflected in debates in parliament when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht came under pressure from President De Klerk and other senior Nationalists to say where the CP stood on the issue of violence.

Dr Treurnicht seemed to avoid taking a clear stand. He cited the unbanned ANC's "open threats of violence" as one of the chief reasons why "people arm themselves for protection against attacks".

Mr Van Tonder said his organisation was organising on a large scale to set up commandos on Boer-style military lines to prepare for the possibility of armed conflict.

Asked whether the commandos were being armed, Mr Van Tonder said: "The people have arms. I know hardly anybody who is not armed and we have the further advantage that all our sons have had military training. In this regard the government has done us a favour."

Mr Van Tonder said his par-

■ Turn to page 3

Defence Force tightens security

■ From page 1

ty was concentrating its recruitment drive in the Transvaal and the Free State.

He would not disclose how many men had already been signed for service, but claimed there were thousands.

Mr Van Tonder confirmed that he was a friend of far-rightwing activist Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who is reported to have admitted he was involved in the theft of arms from the Air Force.

Commenting on the arms theft, Mr Van Tonder said he was surprised by it only in the sense that he knew nothing about the "specific plan" to steal arms from the Defence Force.

But such actions were to be expected. If the government continued on its present course "worse things will happen."

He said there were "thousands of people" who shared Mr Rudolph's views.

Tension rising

Mr Van Tonder and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, this week addressed a public meeting at Krugersdorp where they repeated warnings about possible rightwing violence and called on men to join the commandos.

According to Mr Van Tonder, tension was rising among rightwing groups over the government's constitutional plans.

He said the government was saying it would consult white voters by a referendum. However, should this be done, the rightwing parties would have no chance of winning. They could, perhaps, win an election, but not a referendum.

The point of no

THERE is a point in every journey when it becomes too late to turn back. The journey of South Africans to the creation of a new society reached that point this week.

President F W de Klerk's far-reaching embrace of new democratic ideals committed his administration, finally and openly, to the point of no return.

His opening of Parliament 80 days ago started the country's much-piloried National Party Government on the new way by placing all political parties on an equal democratic footing — including those so long banned that exile and imprisonment had become a way of life for their leaders.

A new deal was clearly and unarguably implied, and much spoken of. But two kernel questions as old as reform itself in SA lingered: how far would President De Klerk go, and what were the essential elements of the Government's end vision?

In two epochal speeches in Parliament this week, he answered those questions. And in doing so, he plucked familiar terminology from the ephemera of debate and cast it in the unfamiliar setting of government policy.

To hear talk of "universal franchise" and "votes of equal value" was not new to anyone. To hear the head of SA's white government talking of exercising those through a common voters' role was. Astonishingly so.

To hear talk of "ending discrimination" was not new. To hear the President suggest replacing the Group Areas Act with a residential order acceptable to all who would live by it was.

Anxiety

In these utterances, and others accompanying them, President De Klerk achieved two important political goals. In the first place, he has marked out the beacons of the future for all, but mainly white, South Africans sympathetic to his cause, who have been asking with anxiety exactly where the Government is leading them. They may now agree or disagree with the goals, but at least they know what they are.

Up to now, as far as a large segment of white sentiment was concerned, only the Conservative Party had reasonably clear beacons — and those were all rooted in the past.

In the second place, he has neutralised his negotiating opposition's telling argument that only it, through the ANC's Freedom Charter, offered a vision in principle which it wanted to emerge with at the end of negotiations.

The table is now set for the parties to meet, matching principle against principle and vision against vision, with the common goal of a fully democratic society free of racism. Each party will have recourse only to its power to persuade and appeal to reason in the South Africans who will be watching — and the governments in foreign capitals who will also be watching.

At this stage, naturally, the



Lester Venter

evaluates the importance of President De Klerk's mould-breaking announcements in Parliament this week

parameters of the visions will remain cast in broad principles only. The political structures for accommodating them will emerge in the process of negotiation.

But a closer examination of President De Klerk's exposition contains many pointers to what the process may entail and the structural elements that may result.

A significant departure point made clear by President De Klerk is that the Government itself will not be an active participant in the negotiations; the National Party will. And it will be on an equal footing with any other party with a demonstrated or perceived support base that elects to participate.

The NP's now-declared willingness to form alliances may promote the formation of opinion blocs and simplify negotiations.

Neutral

It may also avoid the negotiations being seen as between blacks and whites, with opposing groups representing opinions rather than skins.

The NP's presence rather than the Government's will also leave the Government outside of the process in the role of a more-or-less neutral sponsor, in a position to ensure social order, and in the role of a legal entity capable of implementing agreed changes through Parliament.

Ultimately, though, the negotiations will centre on definitions of what each one understands by a common voters' role, operating in practice. This understanding and

return



its outcome will be pivotal to the sort of constitution — and even society — that will emerge.

President De Klerk gave meaningful pointers to his view of the issue.

He began by criticising the unitary system familiar to societies that are ethnically and economically largely homogenous.

Otherwise known as the Westminster system, President De Klerk referred to it as "the politics of confrontation" and declared himself in favour of "the politics of consensus".

This has the immediate implication of consensus sought, bargained and achieved among groups. And at this point red lights go on among all parties outside the NP's thought culture. For "group" read ethnic, read statutory racial definition, read apartheid.

However, against President De Klerk's commitment to abjure all and any racial discrimination, another interpretation must be looked for.

Indeed, a system of ethnic and racial groups seeking political accommodation will not be possible without a Group Areas Act and a Population Registration Act — both of which President De Klerk offered as subjects for negotiation.

Furthermore, no NP leader any longer entertains vain hopes of an overtly ethnic dispensation.

The key lies in an understanding

and acceptance of the ineradicably diverse nature of South African society. Even without the present legal fences around race groups, there will be groups who speak Afrikaans, Xhosa and Zulu, groups who live in essentially First World patterns and groups with Third World cultures. They will also manifest the different cultural inflections, ambitions and requirements that transcend their commonality.

The accommodation of these diversities is not as problematic as it seems. Examples abound in other multi-ethnic societies, such as Canada, Mauritius, Sri Lanka and Switzerland.

Senate

There is even an example of blossoming relevance in South Africa: the KwaNatal Indaba.

The most likely outcome in practice, given all the negotiating parties' attitudes, is a lower house of government in which race or other group considerations will play no part. This will be equated with a "house of commons" and its members will certainly be overwhelmingly black.

Superimposed on it will be an upper house of government in which groups, however they wish to define themselves, will be represented on an equal and not proportional basis.

An illustration much touted by

President De Klerk's advisers is that of the United States Senate, in which all states — big and small — have their interests voted on and represented by two senators each.

The example extends further into the US model of federalism.

President De Klerk spoke pointedly of decentralised power, the "imaginative" devolution of governing authority (to regions), and constitutional checks and balances — all of them the building blocks of American democracy.

Another pointed reference by President De Klerk was to Switzerland's practice of rotating the presidency to illustrate the equality of numerically varying groups and emphasise the importance of regional government.

In such federally-constituted systems, regions have remarkable leeway in developing their own characters and peculiarities.

A universally agreed and enforced Bill of Rights normally ensures that elementary values and human rights are not transgressed, and this was suggested by President De Klerk.

Finally, he proposed that the constitution eventually negotiated would be open to alteration.

So, if the way seems clearer, it is certainly not any easier. Whether South Africans will find the essential ingredient of goodwill is something they will soon have the opportunity to demonstrate to one another, and to the world.

AP Wirephoto

A SINISTER underground campaign of disinformation aimed at sowing fear and distrust is being waged in South Africa. Academics, politicians and religious leaders this week blamed far-right elements and called on the Government to hunt down these agents of anarchy.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Sample Terreblanche said disinformation campaigns were a notorious feature of societies in flux. "There will be such elements manipulating any unstable society — especially one like ours," he said.

"If the authorities are not brave enough to put a stop to it, there will be havoc."

Four incidents in the last few months bear the trademarks of a vicious disinformation campaign.

In March, the bleeding head of a pig was left at the entrance of the United Hebrew Congregation synagogue in Kempton Park.

Kill

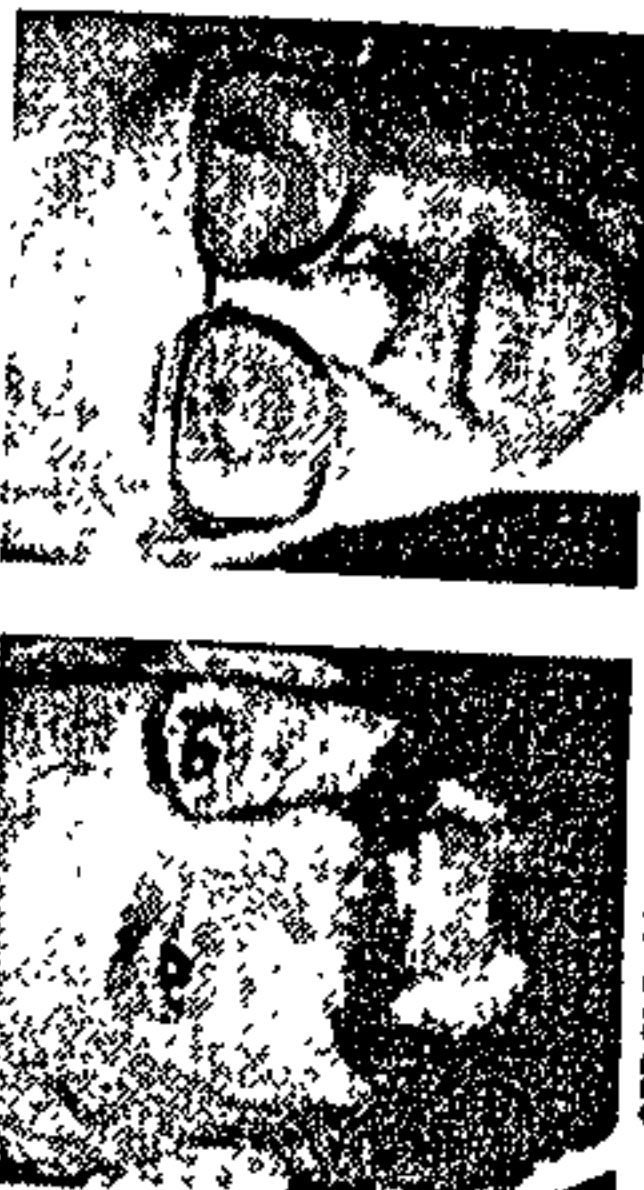
The perpetrators tried to pin the act on left-wing groups, daubing the building with slogans such as "Viva Mandela", "Pigs" and "Zundel lies".

A placard decorated with a swastika and bearing the words "death to all race mixers" was pinned to one of the synagogue's doors.

Last week, vandals desecrated the Jewish section of a Pretoria cemetery, setting fire to a burial house and smashing tombstones.

Once again, attempts were made to disguise the vandalism as the handiwork of the left. Slogans saying "Viva ANC", "Kill the Jew", "PAC" and "Free Azania" were painted on graves and cemetery gates.

Smear campaigns are bent on causing fear, anger in SA



GERALD LEISSNER
SAMPLE TERREBLANCHE

This week, ANC internal leader Dr Walter Sisulu distanced his organisation from the attacks.

"It is inconceivable that the ANC would do such things," he said.

"This is disgusting propaganda — a shameful attempt to drive a wedge between the ANC and the Jewish community."

Jewish leaders agreed the ANC was not responsible.

Jewish Board of Deputies national chairman Gerald Leissner said: "Anybody can write left-wing slogans. We believe the attacks were the work of the right wing."

The two attacks have shocked the Jewish community, triggering awful recollections of the Holocaust.

Meanwhile, Jewish Theological Seminary chancellor Rabbi Nissim Wernick has announced the creation of the Shomrim — a group formed to protect Jewish holy places and people "wherever anti-Semitism raises its ugly head".

"We can no longer afford the luxury of words and resolutions. We are prepared to respond with deeds," he said.

A third disinformation campaign has also played on racial issues.

Fear gripped Indian communities recent-

ly when a pamphlet advising black men to have sex with Indian women hit the streets of Pretoria, Laundum, parts of the Transvaal and parts of Natal.

Purporting to come from the ANC, the inflammatory pamphlet said AIDS expert Dr Rueben Sher had proved Indian women carried antibodies to the AIDS virus, and black men should therefore choose them as sexual partners.

It claimed South Africa paid Israeli scientists R1-billion for the virus, and "white racists" were using it in a slander campaign.

It also called on blacks to arm themselves with "pangas, knives, guns, bricks and stones to destroy the white racists. Kill an Indian, coloured or white today."

Once again, the ANC was forced to clear its name.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "This is a smear which totally contradicts the ANC's policy of non-racialism. We had nothing to do with it."

Lashed

Police agreed and said: "The pamphlets are no more than an amateurish effort to create uncertainty and panic — especially in the white community."

And disinformation swept through the portals of Parliament last week when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht announced the existence of a secret ANC plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, make the homelands ungovernable and carry out attacks against Inkatha.

President F W de Klerk lashed out at him for disclosing a report "probably fabricated to upset peace talks".

Forced to defend himself, Dr Treurnicht



DESECRATION ... a Jewish grave wrecked by sinister elements

then claimed the information was leaked to him in a document by an official of the National Intelligence Service.

President De Klerk this week told Parliament an inquiry was being launched into how an intelligence document marked "secret" had reached the CP.

He said there were many reports in circulation in the intelligence community containing "rumours, disinformation and allegations" and it was necessary to subject every report to expert evaluation before it was passed on to the authorities.

He said: "This document came into the CP's possession unauthorised and illegally."

Yet again, the ANC had to clear its name.

Mr Sisulu told the Sunday Times the CP's allegations were "too cheap to even comment on".

"Treurnicht should be ashamed to be associated with such propaganda. The ANC regards this in an extremely serious light. The right wing is obviously trying to create a bloodbath."

"We appeal to people not to panic, but rather to sift through information they hear and pick out the true from the false. Then they will realise Dr Treurnicht's allegations cannot be taken seriously."

CP secretary Andries Beyers said: "We are not anti-Semitic. We condemn any acts of intimidation and it's certainly not necessary to act against other races."

Politicians and academics this week called on the Government to put a stop to disinformation campaigns.

304A Chaos

Democratic Party MP Tony Leon said: "It is vital that the Government and security forces hunt down the perpetrators and bring them to light."

"The ultra-right and the wild men of the left are the greatest threat facing South Africa. They will try their best to sow uncertainty and chaos because they have a lot to gain from an ungovernable South Africa."

Professor Terreblanche explained that disinformation "fosters fears and creates panic. Unless the Government disciplines these groups, all kinds of instabilities will emerge."

Dobsonville man to take legal action after police beating

By SAMKELO KUMALO

THE Legal Resources Centre will take legal action against Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok following the assault of a Dobsonville man last week by a number of policemen who concealed the registration numbers of their vehicles (304A) (304A).

A letter of demand has been sent to Vlok by LRC lawyers acting on behalf of the victim, Peter Tana Mashao.

Last week *City Press* published a story in which Mashao alleged he was assaulted and kidnapped by policemen

in uniform outside a shebeen in Dobsonville.

He said he was taken to a minedump near Meadowlands where he was assaulted and left for dead. Mashao crawled to a house in the township where he received help and was later taken to the Hillbrow Hospital.

Tandi Orleyn of the LRC said a letter of demand has been sent to the ministry of police.

In other cases, Rodney Adams and Obie Morake were assaulted by police under similar circumstances and Dobsonville resident Kabelo Bogatsu had his house damaged.

THE South African government has created a Frankenstein monster in the form of rightwing elements - and now all of us are called upon to destroy it.

Should we really? What is there for us to gain in the end? Should we fight the Right in order to soothe and entrench the present regime?

Certainly not, some people say. It is the government's own creation and they must see to its end.

The rightwing element now rearing its ugly head did not come about by mistake. It was created by apartheid and those policies are still very much entrenched on our statute books.

Granted, the ruling party has indicated its intention of scrapping the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act, but it is moving at a snail's pace.

The longer they take the more ammunition they give to those who are against these changes.

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiba

Why should we help?



It is becoming more and more clear as the white rightwing element comes to the surface that most government sectors, including the army, the prisons service and the police have been infiltrated by the AWB, the Witwolve and other rightwing elements.

These people seem prepared to fight to the death to keep us where they think we belong - "oponse plek".

While some are gloating at an apparent white-on-white confrontation, they seem to overlook the fact that this could be compared to black-on-black confrontation.

The rightwing backlash is dangerous not only to the present government but to the future one as well.

They will make everything ungovernable. As things are, they have been able to shoot innocent people under the pretext of maintaining law and order. There are many recorded and unrecorded incidents.

Many people now believe the incident this week in Ramulotsi township in Viljoenskroon in the Free State, where five people were killed and several others injured, could be linked to rightwing elements within the police force.

The recent Sebokeng massacre, where 17 people were killed and many others injured in clashes between the police and a group of peaceful marchers has also been linked to rightwing elements within the police and army who it is believed were against negotiations between the government and the ANC.

In Barberton Prison, I was told the other day, certain high-ranking warders use strong-arm tactics on prisoners every time President de Klerk makes a concession on reform.

The rightwing elements can stalk their victims, invariably black people,

under the cloak of maintaining law and order.

Many blacks have been stopped at roadblocks, harassed and beaten up for no apparent reason by these sick people.

If government needs our help in destroying this monster, it should get rid of all these laws.

After all, they too are no longer safe. Consider that the life of President de Klerk was threatened and ammunition stolen from the South African Defence Force.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has warned the government of a serious rightwing backlash should the present government capitulate. "The Boere must take up arms now and be ready to take over," he said.

Nothing has so far happened to him or anybody within his party who has made these utterances.

Is this not fattening the Frankenstein instead of destroying it?

Unless they are stopped in their tracks more damage could be done to all of us. Their racist threats are real.

IT WILL bring about a social revolution, altering everything from the way history is viewed to education, culture and politics.

And if English survives as the main means of communication, it will be infused with words and terms we have never heard of.

It will destroy a precious social heritage and could lead to enormous unrest, even violence.

Thus are American magazines and British newspapers writing about the United States because in the next few decades whites will have become a minority. As the Observer in London put it:

"The white American is now a diminishing species, overwhelmed by a tidal wave of immigration from Asia and Latin America."

And, it might have added, the white birth rate has virtually flattened out while that of non-white Americans is growing rapidly.

Fear

If this development is cause for concern and attention in the United States, how much more will it be so here as black South Africans move centre-stage, readying themselves for the occupation of the heights of power and influence in a country where they have always been in a clear numerical majority?

At the moment white South Africans are not talking or thinking about any of this. Their concern is whether the advent of black rule will mean a deterioration in the quality of their daily lives, from slower service in shops, banks and from the civil service to a fear of overall economic decline. Plus the fear of losing all say over their future to a new authoritarian, possibly dictatorial government.

It is trepidation that comes from looking north. Is that what we are going to be like? The fears are understandable, but exaggerated.

Of course, everything can go wrong. But that worry does not take account of the strong democratic traditions in the white, coloured and Indian communities and

We must all play a part in building the new SA

304A
8/1/90 22/4/90



Harald Pakendorf

urges South Africans to ponder the effects of the social revolution that will accompany political change

certainly in the major black groupings like the ANC.

Nor does it take account of the extremely strong First World centre, which takes in people of all colours and racial backgrounds.

What we ought to be thinking about — all of us — is the simple fact that as you exchange your rulers, you must expect what the Observer foresees in a browner America: "With it will come a social revolution, altering everything from the way history is viewed to education, culture and politics."

English-speaking white South Africans had to adapt after 1948 to Christian national education, to a civil service, army, police and railways — not to forget politics — dominated by white Afrikaans-speakers.

They had to accept that

the centre of the world had moved from London to Pretoria.

The question is not only whether the transition will be relatively orderly, ending in a democratic form of government with a growing economy, but also what it will mean in the day-to-day, ordinary lives people lead.

It is a question on which a great deal hinges.

For if a future South Africa is dictated entirely from the top, there will be severe resistance.

Those who are about to share the political and economic power (some might say transfer it) ought to be thinking about and debating the full consequences of the revolution we are all going through. And those who are about to take their rightful share of the same political and economic power ought to do so, too.

Stress

We all ought to be considering more than just the locus of future political power and economic well-being.

Because, in the end, life is about more, much more than that. If this is ignored, or simply to be changed from the top without taking into consideration the way people go to school, and church, shop or relax, future stresses in society could be enormous.

It is a challenge which demands from all of us that we together create the new South Africa. Any other way could be disastrous.

PERSPECTIVES 2

Stephen Robinson
in his valedictory report as Daily Telegraph correspondent in South Africa, detects a growing pessimism among liberal whites

WHEN I flew out of Johannesburg at the end of my tour in South Africa, I could have sworn, as the plane banked over the city's affluent northern suburbs, that I heard the sound of breaking hearts.

Few things are predictable in South Africa, but nothing surprised me more in the 2½ years I spent there for the Daily Telegraph than the sudden collapse of morale among liberal whites in the weeks after Nelson Mandela was released in February.

Suddenly, prosperous, educated whites — the sort of people who for many years voted for the liberal opposition parties and against the policies of racial segregation — seemed to be having second thoughts.

Faith

Foreign embassies in Pretoria report an enormous increase in passport inquiries, while many people who keep second passports in their bottom drawers are doubtless pulling them out just to check the expiry date.

These are the people who have to stay if South Africa is to remain an advanced society with a vibrant, albeit unbalanced, economy.

The new pessimism has arisen largely because Mr Mandela's release led to spiralling violence, particularly in the murderous feud in Natal between ANC supporters and Chief Buthe-

The legacy of the white liberals

zi's conservative Inkatha movement.

The sight of Zulus on the rampage has always been the white South African's worst nightmare.

With hindsight this was entirely predictable and President De Klerk certainly had contingency plans to contain a township upheaval. But to the liberal white, the latest surge in killing is both bewildering and unnerving.

All of us were, perhaps, guilty of building up wildly unrealistic expectations about Mr Mandela's chances of controlling his supporters.

Now we are seeing that Mr Mandela's release was not in itself a solution so far it has merely diminished the white man's burden of guilt.

In my final week in South Africa I lunched with a young, left-wing white journalist, a typical example of the band of courageous and idealistic South African reporters who, over the years, have tried to convey

events in black townships to a white readership.

I suggested she must be pleased with the way things were developing in South Africa, now Mr Mandela was free and the 30-year ban on the African National Congress had been lifted.

She shook her head sadly and recalled how a few days before on a foray into Soweto she had been held up with a knife and had her car "nationalised" (as her assailants put it) by a group of ANC supporters.

"Three years ago, under P W Botha, when there was no prospect of fundamental change, it was fine to demand one-man-one-vote," she said.

"Now that it all seems to be happening, I'm suddenly not so sure."

When Mr De Klerk announced his reforms, many warned of a right-wing backlash. Instead, the backlash seems to be coming from those who might broadly be termed liberals who now —

freed of their guilt and nervous of their future — are beginning to adopt what might be termed a newly respectable conservative position.

Alternatively, they are making plans to emigrate. I know of a couple of people who used to vote for the old Progressive Federal Party but who are switching right across the political spectrum to the Conservative Party.

Mr Mandela's performance in the weeks since his release has been a disappointment to those who campaigned so long for his freedom.

Of course, he was bound not to fulfill ludicrous expectations, but he has manifestly failed to assert his leadership of the ANC and was seen to be involved in the ANC's panicky withdrawal from talks with the Government earlier this month when excited hard-liners in Zambia took fright over engaging Pretoria in debate.

The last few weeks have shown how difficult it is for

gent towards Mr Mandela's wildly contradictory statements.

When he seeks to reassure whites with conciliatory rhetoric and promises of a place in the sun, we applaud his statesmanship.

When he turns his back on the reality of events in Eastern Europe and reaffirms his commitment to the nationalisation of the mines, the banks and what he quaintly terms "monopoly industries", we say "but tut tut" but console ourselves that he is merely seeking to pacify his militant left flank.

Vision

But we fail to ask if there is any conceivable political compromise available in South Africa: whether the fears of whites who look towards Britain and America can be accommodated within a political framework which will satisfy a rural sub-class with no political experience and highly radicalised urban blacks who dismiss the demise of

anyone to lead the ANC which is essentially a collection of different interest groups who in turn claim varying degrees of loyalty to the trade union or communist cause or, alternatively, the more general concept of "the oppressed masses".

These groupings seem far less willing to trust Mr Mandela's leadership and appear to lack the confidence which the National Party is showing towards Mr De Klerk.

We in the West are indul-

communism elsewhere in the world as a fiction of a racist, imperialist Press.

In private conversation, Mr De Klerk is impressive in his determination, his energy, his lack of pomposity.

But what is lacking is a vision of how it is going to unfold in the end.

He has no answer to the depressing fact that black South Africans talk of liberation and resistance rather than of democracy.

I was always suspicious when black activists spoke to me of building a "non-racial society".

Suspicious because, after 42 years in which blacks have been abused, humiliated and generally under-

mined by apartheid legislation, it seems illogical that they should see whites as their brothers and unrealistic to expect them to treat them as such in the future.

Recent developments in South Africa beg the question of what the West should be doing there.

The answer is probably as little as possible. It is as ridiculous for Mrs Thatcher to claim Mr Mandela's release is a vindication of her non-sanctions policy as for other governments to claim it as a victory for squeezing Pretoria until the plums squeaked.

It would be far better for the West to acknowledge the strict limits of its influence in South Africa — particu-

larly now that, with Mr Mandela and his ANC free to operate at will, political developments have acquired a momentum all of their own.

The most significant recent development in the region — Namibia's long postponed independence — has come about as a result of the superpowers' loss of interest in southern Africa.

Influence

Once Mr Gorbachev told Fidel Castro that Moscow could no longer pay for 50 000 Cuban mercenary troops to support Angola's Marxists, and Washington lost interest in attempting to curb Soviet influence in the region, Africa's last colony achieved its independence.

Whether or not we are sceptical about whether Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela can forge a new constitution and bring peace to South Africa, we would do well to be realistic about how little we can affect the country's future.

IT'S time the Democratic Party was challenged to define its role in the politics of the new South Africa more precisely.

After all, there is a by-election coming up in Umlazi in six weeks, and the DP has indicated that it will stand against the NP candidate (it is an NP-held seat) who is also facing a substantial challenge from the CP.

It is only fair to the 3 000-odd voters in Umlazi who supported the DP last year to explain to them exactly why they should not, as reformists, bolster the National Party and its reform initiatives against the CP's forces of reaction.

Quite a few leading DP members have had a go at trying to do this in the media but their attempts have been most unsatisfactory and lately quite obscurantist, pleading that the DP is part of a "convergence of democrats", whatever that may mean.

That is why I read with great interest the latest effort by the DP's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, in the Perspective pages of the Sunday Times, trying to justify the continued existence of the DP on the occasion of the party's first birthday. However, it was most disappointing.

Honest

Dr De Beer, like other DP apologists, starts off by conceding that the DP has seen the new South Africa taking shape since last September when State President F W de Klerk took office. He says that during the past year the DP "sensed" that apartheid was falling to bits but that it is not clear how much credit should go to the DP.

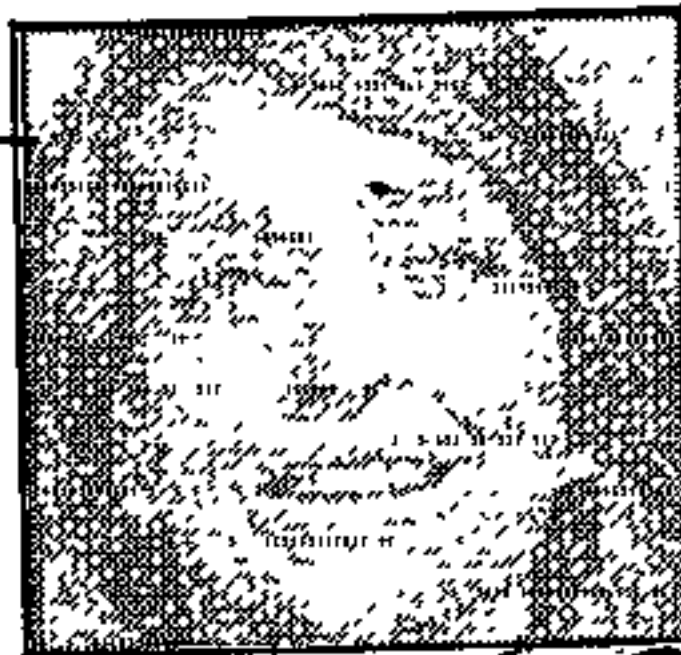
I submit that it is very clear that the DP should be honest enough not to try to claim any credit at all. The National Party under our new State President has made all the running.

He gave notice of his intention of creating a new South Africa in February 1989 when, as newly elected leader of the National Party, he delivered his "credo" speech to Parliament setting out his intentions. This speech was delivered some months before the DP was formed.

Since then he and the Government have made steady progress down that road. The DP provided mainly nuisance value in that it stood in some seats that were marginal between the NP and the CP, thus delivering them up to the latter and giving more credence to the reactionaries by strengthening

DP must clear up its role

S/Times 22/4/90



Sheila Camerer

MP and Transvaal NP information officer, argues that the DP is hindering reform

their parliamentary representation.

As I recall, this was done to create a "hung parliament". How ill-advised this course was is surely becoming embarrassingly clear to the DP.

With the initiative for a new South Africa firmly in the hands of the NP and its discussion partners, the DP has been completely sidelined. Since it also committed to a democratic South Africa, in Parliament itself, it has been reduced to a party of nit-pickers — "this is not quite right, we would have done that a little differently" etc — and, intermittently, protesters.

Perhaps its purpose in putting up a candidate in Umlazi is to be noticed again, but the DP should examine whether this is really in South Africa's interests.

DP apologists writing in the media concede that at the moment they are not part of the debate, but from the sidelines they make a lot of points about the main players. Some of them allege that two of the main participants in that debate, the NP and the ANC, are far apart in their thinking; others again, like Wynand Malan, talk about an "unholy alliance" between the NP and the ANC.

All of them concede that the CP is growing in strength because of

the Government's reforms. Yet in spite of this the DP still hangs back from defining its own role as a political party.

This is presumably because its ranks are split. There is one faction that is prepared to support at least some of the Government's initiatives — for instance, it supported the reformist March budget. This faction seems to include most of those that spoke in the budget debate, among them Denis Worrall, Zach de Beer, Harry Schwarz, Roger Hulley and Ken Andrew.

But this faction can't go all the way for fear of alienating the other faction in the DP which seems to believe that it must rather act in the extra-parliamentary arena to change the ANC from within. Led by Wynand Malan, who this session is chiefly noticed outside Parliament, this faction seems to include the likes of Peter Gastrow, Pierre Cronje, Jan van Eck and Dene Smuts.

Some DP apologists have even been politically arrogant enough to claim to be able to act as facilitators in the debate between the ANC, NP and other major actors. Very obviously they are not needed. F W de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi don't need the likes of Wynand Malan to get them talking.

The last resort of the DP is to distinguish itself as "non-racial", whatever that means in a multi-racial country; and to say that the DP is prepared to be "part of the majority" — whatever that means if it is not to have the sinister connotation of a one-party state.

Whimper

But even on this front the DP has been outgunned by the National Party. We in the NP are totally committed to a new South Africa which will be democratic and in which there will be no discrimination based on race. We have also faced the fact that the NP will not rule exclusively and political alliances will be very important in the new constitutional dispensation.

Dr De Beer concluded his commemorative article with a whimper that perhaps he would have something more meaningful to report next year, if the DP could "become part of something larger and broader" which he also does not define.

If the DP wants to play a constructive role in creating the new South Africa, it should support the reformers and not stab the NP in the back when it fights the forces of reaction.

NP seeks Inkatha alliance

304A
8/7 mcs 22/4/90

THE National Party and Inkatha are exploring an alliance. The process is in its early stages, but tentative talks are under way.

President F W de Klerk said in Parliament this week the NP favoured forming alliances for negotiations and the constitutional process that would flow from them. A senior NP source said later the possibility of an alliance with Inkatha, specifically, and with other parties was being discussed.

Encouraging reaction had already come from Inkatha, he said.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, responded cautiously yesterday.

He confirmed Inkatha was considering forming alliances and was aware the NP was interested, but said Inkatha had not yet discussed this directly with the NP.

Dr Dhlomo did, however, hold out two likelihoods.

First, he said, informal alliances could form at the negotiating table.

Values

Second, more formal alliances would become important in preparations for elections that would follow negotiations.

Dr Dhlomo said the NP's "race policies" embodied in laws such as Group Areas, Population Registration and "own affairs" were obstacles.

Both the NP and Inkatha believed alliances would dispel an impression that negotiations were purely between blacks and whites.

They would demonstrate it was a debate about competing value systems, not competing races.

In addition, there was concern about the headway the ANC was making in bringing a variety of black groups — including homeland leaders — under its umbrella.

Moreover, the NP was showing growing interest in

By LESTER VENTER

the KwaNatal Indaba, of which Dr Dhlomo was chairman.

President De Klerk's reference in Parliament to a common voters' roll with group protection was seen — both within and outside the Government — as steering towards an Indaba-style structure of a non-racial lower House of government, with an upper House in which cultural, language and ethnic groups exercised veto powers.

The Government and Inkatha held an exploratory meeting on February 20 and will meet again on May 7 — only days after the Government and the ANC meet for their first formal talks.

N Tvl win

NORTHERN Transvaal beat Transvaal 24-6 in the Telly rugby challenge at Loftus Versveld yesterday. Northerns scored five tries to Transvaal's one.

Steph to wed

PRINCESS Stephanie of Monaco has announced her engagement to French property magnate Jean-Yves Le Fur, a palace official said yesterday.

Sexy Greta

NEW YORK publishers Simon and Schuster will soon release a sexually frank biography of screen legend Greta Garbo, who died last week.

● See Page 21

nd Magazine

Nat MP denies right-wing accusations

cut 30/4/90
T. J. J. S.
ARCW 23/4/90

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

NATIONAL Party MP Dr Johan Steenkamp has denied weekend newspaper reports that he is mobilising a right-wing backlash inside the party.

The report followed a speech by Dr Steenkamp, MP for Umhlatuzana, in parliament last week when he strongly emphasised the protection of ethnic minorities and "volke" and criticised the Law Commission's human rights report for not affording sufficient protection to minorities.

The speech was widely interpreted as one of the most conservative by an NP MP in recent months and appeared to fly in the face of NP thinking.

The Law Commission's report has been praised inside the NP by cabinet ministers, among others.

CONGRATULATED AFTER SPEECH

However Dr Steenkamp said today that there was no question of him trying to lead a breakaway group.

He had been congratulated after the speech, also by some cabinet ministers (whom he did not wish to name).

There was no contradiction between him and President De Klerk on the issue of protecting minorities, he said.

If there was a difference in style it was because "he is the statesman while I am the politician."

He pointed out that Mr De Klerk had expressly asked the Law Commission to draw up another report on the constitutional protection of minorities.

He said there could easily be a contradiction between the protection of individuals through a Bill of Rights and the protection of groups in the constitution, unless the two were carefully matched.

Other NP sources said today that they doubted whether Dr Steenkamp was capable of organising a conservative backlash inside the party even if he wanted to, which they also doubted.

● FW's British TV interview, page 5.

Armed Boer commandos exist, admits party leader

ARC 45 23/4/90
306A

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat party, confirmed today that a series of commandos, based on the Boer republics' system, had been established.

He said no names or further details would be revealed, as leaders could be identified and possibly "victimised" if the government knew who they were.

He said most were already armed — "I don't think you know of a single white person who does not already own a firearm" — and trained, thanks to the military service young men had to undergo.

"Our only task has been to organise them," he said.

REFERENDUM

Mr Van Tonder said the move had been felt necessary because of the government's insistence on a referendum.

"We the Right-wing, including the Conservative Party, know that we cannot win a referendum, although the CP could win a general election because of the loading of seats.

"Under such circumstances it is futile to contest a referendum, and we have decided instead on the mobilisation of commandos, similar to the old Boer republics," he said.

Meanwhile, another two suspects, including a policeman, are expected to appear in court today in connection with the theft of a large number of weapons from the South African Air Force headquarters armoury in Pretoria.

This has been confirmed by police.

The two, who include a police non-commissioned officer, will appear in the Magistrate's Court, Pretoria, said a spokesman.

Detectives are still searching for Boerestaat Party deputy leader Mr Piet Rudolph, who allegedly took part in the theft over the Easter weekend.

Three national servicemen have already appeared in court in connection with the theft.

RECOVERED

As far as is known, only two pistols have been recovered, out of about 30 pistols, 20 shotguns, 20 R-5 rifles and night-sight equipment.

The Defence Force has appointed a board of inquiry into the theft and security procedures were being reviewed as the Defence Force saw the crime in a "very serious light", a spokesman said.

Mr Rudolph's disappearance has sparked widespread fears of Barend Strydom-type massacres of blacks which would deal the government's reform initiatives a serious blow and have serious political repercussions.

FW rejects idea of 'simplistic majority rule'

9th Feb
23/4/90
30/4

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk yesterday rejected the possibility of "simplistic majority rule" for South Africa.

He also told the ITV programme "The Walden Interview" that he would not present white South Africans with a model for government that would mean suicide.

The State President was speaking in his Cape Town home to Mr Brian Walden, one of Britain's leading political interviewers who is renowned for his tough, no-nonsense style which has sometimes been labelled outright badgering.

He has interviewed numerous world figures, including a particularly fiery confrontation with Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher last year shortly after the shock resignation of Chancellor Mr Nigel Lawson.

In yesterday's interview he concentrated on examining Mr De Klerk's principles and his vision for a new South Africa.

On the question of one person one vote, the State President said: "I want to strongly emphasise I am against simplistic majority rule. I don't want to exclude the majority. I don't want to put the majority in an inferior position."

The ANC was welcome to put a majority rule model forward on the negotiating table as he would be putting his model for power sharing on the table as "that is what negotiation is about".

When Mr Walden put to him that he would not accept such a model from the ANC, Mr De Klerk replied: "My approach — and I have committed myself and the government to it — is that we keep one promise that has been made over the years by my predecessor and myself. That is ... before implementation of a new constitution, I will go to the electorate of the legally constituted parliament as it is and ask them to say yes or no."

"I do not intend to go to them with a model which will mean suicide to them."

'Boer' army threat

Right-wing mobilise

Staff Reporter

AS right-wing elements formed a countrywide "Boer army" which was said to be ready to embark on an "armed struggle", the ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that Dr Andries Treurnicht and other "backward elements" belonged to the past.

Mr Mandela said that in a future South Africa there would not be place for people who advocated racial war and racism.

Speaking at a rally in Umtata, Mr Mandela said it was unfortunate at this delicate stage of the country's history that backward elements were still trying to gather support for their racist views by exploiting the unfounded fears of a section of the population.

He called on white South Africans to reject "these evil attempts" to polarise South Africans and invited whites to join the ANC.

Mr Mandela said he also condemned the desecration of a cemetery of



WELCOME HOME ... Mr Nelson Mandela addresses a crowd at Transkei's Matanzima Airport. Picture: REUTER

Tambo may not recover

UMTATA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo might never recover fully from the illness which has confined him to a clinic in Stockholm, Sweden, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here at the weekend.

Mr Mandela told a function in the presidential palace in Umtata that on his recent visit to Sweden, Mr Tambo had told him he wished it to be conveyed to people in SA that he might not recover completely from the stroke he suffered about two years ago.

Mr Mandela paid tribute to Mr Tambo. He said that as leader of the ANC he had held it together for 30 years, despite its exile from SA during that time. — Sapa

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From page 1

the Jewish community in Pretoria and gave the assurance that the ANC was not responsible.

"The policies of the ANC are fundamentally anti-racist and are opposed to anti-Semitism."

Meanwhile, it was claimed yesterday that a "Boereweermag" (Boer army) has been mobilised countrywide by an alliance consisting of the AWB and the Boerestaat Party.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the "army" was based on the commando system of the old Boer republics, according to an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport.

Mr Van Tonder said the right wing would protect Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolf, his deputy leader, who is alleged to be involved in the theft of R180 000 worth of modern weapons from the SADF — but denied that the stolen weapons had been intended for the arsenals of the "Boere army", said Rapport.

He claimed that "every white in the country was already armed" and that most of the recruits of the "army" had done military service.

Mr Rudolf is still on the run following the theft — the biggest from the SADF yet.

And in another development, a fugitive from Namibian justice, AWB member Mr Leonard Veenendal, is reported as saying that the AWB would not allow the ANC to come to power and if AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche called the right wing to arms "we will do so".

● Sapa reports that two more men have been arrested in connection with the theft of weapons from SA Air Force headquarters near Pretoria.

The chief of the Pretoria murder and robbery unit, Lt-Col Suiker Britz, said a policeman and a 46-year-old man would appear in Pretoria Regional Court today in connection with the thefts.

Shaping A Future South Africa - A Citizen's Guide to Constitution Making, edited by Bobby Godsell, is a new book which explores democratic options. This is the second in a

series of six articles highlighting some of the book's major themes written by Margie Keeton, a member of the team which produced the book.

Democracy: What does it mean in practice

IN the current debate about South Africa's political future, almost all major political parties advocate a democracy. But what does the term actually mean?

Many assume that democracy means "one man, one vote" and leave it at that. But the reality is more complex.

As an ideal, democracy is easier to define than it is to create in a political system. The word comes to us from the Ancient Greeks and means "rule by the people".

For centuries, mankind has tried to create governments which conform to this rule, but has not always been successful. As a result democracy is a term much used and much abused.

Let's see if we can try and restore some meaning to the word by identifying its fundamental characteristics. We will look at three important features of democracy.

Principle

The first feature of democratic government must be popular participation. A government is not democratic unless the people have a say in its formation. But who are the people who are to participate in the political processes?

The Ancient Greeks answered this question in a way which excluded all women, slaves and non-Greeks. During the French Revolution, the Jacobins claimed to rule in the name of "the People", but they chopped off the heads of thousands of French citizens whose views differed from theirs.

Sadly, this tradition of claiming to rule on behalf of the people while at the same time denying large numbers any real political

In this century, there have been communist states and "people's democracies" where a party seized power and as a self-appointed "people vanguard" declared itself a democratic government although it did not enjoy popular support or even seek popular membership.

So when governments call themselves democratic or claim to represent "the will of the people", we must probe a little.

If we discover that they really rule only in the interest of a chosen few (whether it be members of a particular party, class, or race) while excluding all others from meaningful participation, we will know that they are not democratic.

The notion of a National, General or People's Will has been used time and again to legitimise tyranny in the guise of so-called democracy.

This alerts us to another important principle - democratic governments must be accountable and must rule with consent of the people they govern. This consent is achieved through regular free elections, in which the people hire or fire their governments.

But in order to make the ballot box effective instrument for accountability, voters must be given a real choice, otherwise an election is nothing more than a charade.

The return of Eastern Europe from one-party to multi-party systems testifies that political parties are the engine house of real democracy.

If a government is to be accountable to the governed, it must be chosen by the voters from a plurality of political parties, each with a reasonable chance of attaining power (or at least participating in government) and each internally demo-

Only free and open competition between democratically constituted parties can create democratic politics.

This brings us to a third criteria for democracy and that is the accommodation of differences.

If everyone in a country agreed and wanted the same things, democratic politics would be simple.

But the truth of the matter is that people have competing views about what policies and programmes would be good for the country.

So far we have identified three important elements of democratic politics and government - popular participation, accountability and the accommodation of differences. Tomorrow we will examine three more.

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No areas snags - FW

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LONDON President F W de Klerk said yesterday he thought people were making too much of problems surrounding the Group Areas Act issue. Communities were well established and, with scrapping racially discriminatory measures combined with keeping up with urbanisation development needs, he did not see the issue posing that much of a problem. De Klerk was speaking in a London Weekend Television interview recorded in Cape Town on Friday by well-known TV personality, Mr Brian Walden. The President said he had just announced in Parliament that the remaining apartheid laws, which would be abolished, included in that which will have to be addressed is the Group Areas Act. Reserving certain residential areas on an absolute basis for certain population groups, he said, however, believe it would be possible to reach this goal with one of the bases being private ownership, and that there would be security of tenure over ground unless it was needed for development purposes. De Klerk said he did not think he could have greater success in moving away from existing, in official discrimination than the great Western democracies had managed.

De Klerk praises ANC

South Africa

23/11/90

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STATE President FW de Klerk has welcomed the ANC's reaction to his initiatives as a "positive step" and as being in line with an attitude which allowed for the search for peaceful solutions.

The full text of De Klerk's statement reads: "I welcome the decision of the National Executive Committee of the ANC to send a delegation to meet with me.

Talks

De Klerk issued a statement on Saturday afternoon welcoming the ANC decision to send a delegation to meet him, saying he believed that direct contact was the best method of achieving peaceful solutions.

"Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will get us nowhere," he said.

"This commitment to talks with the South African Government on ways and means of getting negotiations off the ground is a positive step and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through

peaceful means. I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this. Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere.

"Obviously, legal uncertainties which members of the National Executive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa will have to be addressed beforehand. These and other particulars concerning arrangements for the proposed meeting are receiving immediate attention.

"It is disappointing however that the ANC leadership meanwhile

continues to set preconditions despite the new climate created by the recent decisions of the Government.

"This attitude is in stark contrast to the enthusiasm, if not impatience, on the part of all other leaders in South Africa to get negotiations going.

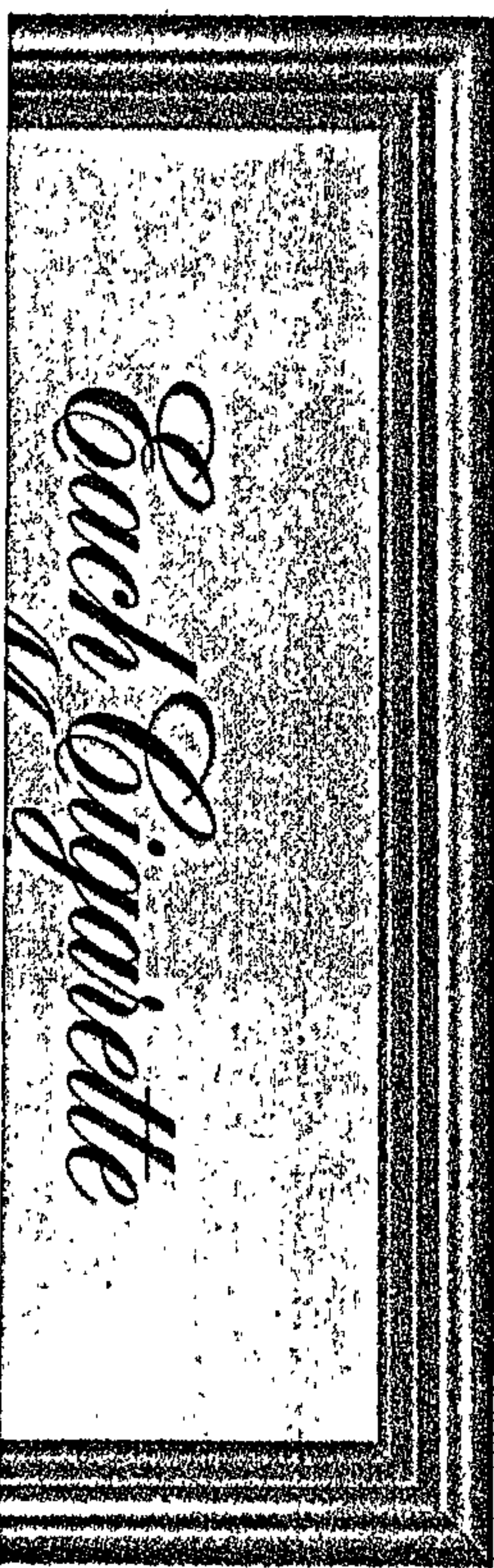
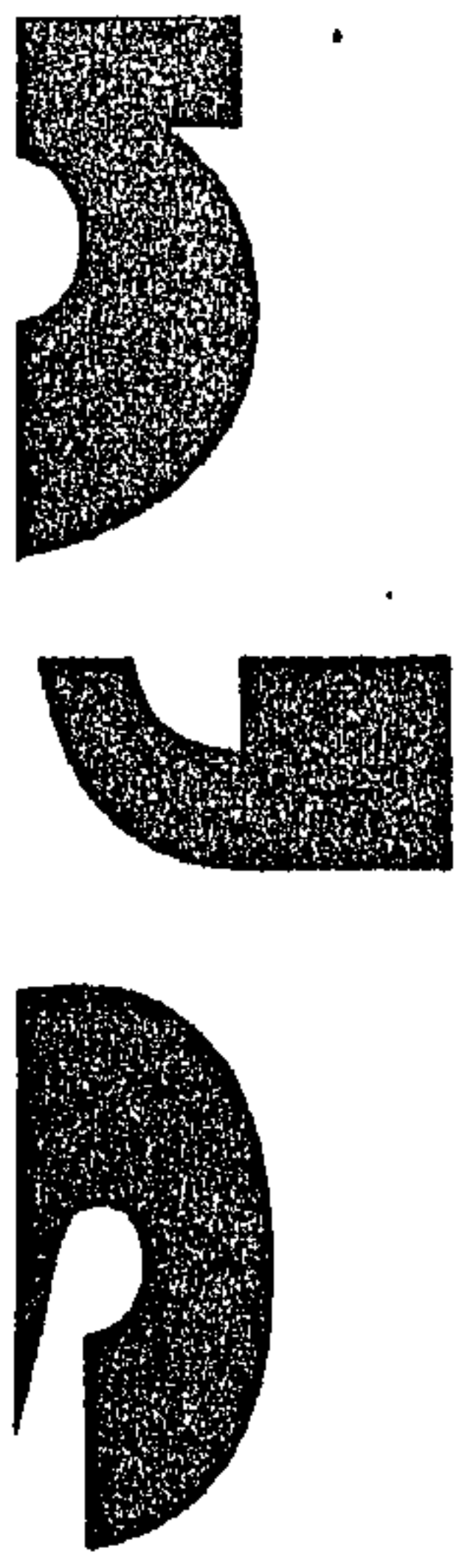
Peace

"It is also disappointing that the ANC leadership continues to talk about an armed struggle and hostilities at a time when most South Africans, supported by the rest of the world, want

peace. The South African Government is committed to a new dispensation which offers peace and justice for all. An armed struggle and hostilities do not fit into this pattern."

"The Government will continue to act firmly against violence from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country. We have the will and the ability to do just that. Besides a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order is of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiation."

in hospital



FW: free enterprise the key to SA's future

LONDON — A free enterprise system and assured property rights should be embedded in a new constitution, but neither the purpose nor the effect would be to entrench existing imbalances in favour of the white minority, State President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"There's no question of entrenchment or disadvantage," he said in reply to questions from Brian Walden broadcast by London Weekend Television.

"Free enterprise has proven itself to be a success across the world; redistribution of wealth is a socialistic term... I'm absolutely against that."

De Klerk said this did not mean there was not a problem: "We have got to solve the problem of backlogs of poverty in another way."

"... We sincerely believe that stability will... be built on broadening private ownership, so we need economic growth... such as you have in Britain, which (Prime Minister) Mrs (Margaret) Thatcher so marvellously succeeded in reviving."

"We do not want economic inequality... through growth we will open opportunities for all South Africans," De Klerk said.

If negotiations with the ANC and others

on a new SA broke down, government would continue gradual reform to revitalise a climate conducive to their resumption.

"If negotiations break down, they will just have to be resumed again because it is the only viable alternative for SA."

De Klerk reiterated his "basic principles" for the negotiation table, and his commitment to put any agreed model to the electorate of the present Parliament.

"I do not intend to go to them with a model which will mean suicide for them," he said.

□ To Page 2

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, April 23 1990

SA's future

The whole process of negotiation was going to be "unbelievably difficult", in view of government's concept of power-sharing being so far from what many understood by majority rule.

On the ANC's insistence on majority rule, nationalisation, continued sanctions and the armed struggle, De Klerk said he was "strongly opposed to war talk — even if it is just rhetoric, I regard it as a stumbling block in the way of negotiations which must be removed".

He said there was also another side to it: "We must also distinguish what is positioning and what is reality."

On government's insistence on built-in protection for minorities, De Klerk rejected as "absolutely wrong" a suggestion that his real objection to majority rule was that it would take away from the white minority power what enabled them to protect their privileges.

"There is no question of the whites, in any way whatsoever, trying to cling to a situation where the real power will be in their hands. It won't be a solution for SA."

Returning to his outline of basic principles for minority protection, De Klerk said a Bill of Rights was needed.

"We cannot only secure individual rights, but certain collective rights with regard to cultural and religious matters could be safeguarded through a Bill of rights, coupled with certain provisions in a constitution."

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen arrived at D F Malan Airport in Cape Town yesterday after four days of top-level discussions with US Secretary of State James Baker in Washington and with Thatcher in London.

He said one of the chief concerns voiced to him was about violence in Natal. — Sapa.

□ From Page 1

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government would insist on a free enterprise system in a new political dispensation and would not hand the country over to a socialist, Marxist government, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at the weekend.

Botha was speaking at a Bloemfontein City Council function for about 400 visitors from Australia, New Zealand, Europe and South America, who were attending the Coopers International Small Stock and Textile Expo. *B/DW 23/4/90*

Government also wanted a bill of rights and an independent judiciary to guarantee human rights, he said.

MATTHEW CURTIN reports DP co-leader Denis Worrall, commenting yesterday, said the NP was jeopardising the negotiating process by seeking to

NP's preconditions 'jeopardising talks'

"monopolise the preconditions".

Worrall said the NP was just one increasingly isolated, minority party. Its insistence on preconditions and the manipulation of negotiations were counterproductive. The ANC could be expected to remain committed to the armed struggle if they continued.

The NP had to take its place with all other parties in agreeing on a negotiating process — and there would have to be an "independent facilitator" to oversee the

☐ To Page 2

304A

Preconditions

process. *B/DW 23/4/90*

In his speech, Botha said South Africans realised the NP's past dreams of partition and trying to create black independent homelands did not work.

"We stand ready to negotiate to remove obstacles," Botha said.

Govt had no illusions that the road ahead would be smooth. It knew it had taken a risk, but a bigger risk would be to nothing.

"We will remove the iniquities and injustices, but then we want to rely on your support and understanding. We will not

hand over this country to a socialist, Marxist government," Botha said.

"We will bring in a bill of rights based on fundamental human freedoms."

"We hope that as we remove apartheid and racial discrimination we can count on friends to support all South Africans to bring about a government based on freedom — a government with an open society and not a government based on nationalisation that will take away the right of the individual," he said. — Sapa.

☐ From Page 1

304A

NP caucus to discuss coalition

THE Johannesburg City Council's National Party caucus meets tonight to thrash out the issue of the NP's position in a DP-led coalition management committee.

Three of the NP's former management committee, Koos Roets, Ernie Fabel and Cecil Long, were excluded from the management committee two weeks ago when the DP succeeded in a motion of no-confidence.

NP caucus leader Jan Burger and deputy leader Marietta Marx were elected to a coalition management committee led by DP leader Ian Davidson.

Several council sources confirmed that one NP member made a deal with the DP to have the three excluded from the new management committee, and defied an NP caucus decision to vote the old team back into power.

Long has expressed his dissatisfaction about the failure of himself and his two colleagues to win re-election.

Two NP sources who declined to be

EDYTH BULBRING

named said they were nervous about tonight's proceedings as the issue of why the caucus decision was defied would be raised by one of the former management committee members.

One of the NP sources speculated that Marx and Burger could be asked to stand down from the coalition, or a vote of no-confidence in their leadership could be raised.

The caucus meeting would determine the future position of the NP in council, and the three excluded NP members would also come to a decision as to whether they would stay with the party, or break away.

CP leader Jacques Theron said at the weekend his bid for leader of the official opposition depended on the outcome of tonight's caucus meeting.

He said he would be fully justified in staking a claim for leader of the official opposition if the NP caucus accepted their coalition status on the committee.

WELSH poet Dylan Thomas refused to mourn the death of a child by fire in London. After the first death, he said, there is no other. But even he might have cried out against the necklace murder of a child, a girl of nine, in Natal last week.

Almost five years have passed since Maki Skhosana was burned to death before the television cameras in Duda as a "self-out", prompting then-Bishop Desmond Tutu to threaten to emigrate if such horrible things continued, since then, more than 400 people have been necklaced, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu no longer cries out so passionately.

Like the rest of us, one assumes, he has suffered the blunting of sensibility which marks the initial stages of the slide towards the heart of darkness. Our moral senses, like our public institutions, have been profoundly corrupted, both by apartheid and by the struggle against apartheid.

More than four years have passed since Joseph Conrad's frightening phrase, "the heart of darkness", cropped up at a small conference of liberals in Johannesburg. The conference prompted me to protest (in this space) against the moral ambivalence displayed by Bishop Tutu and other clergy towards political killings, and against the glorification of violence in clerical pronouncements like the Kairos declaration.

For my pains I was denounced by devout Anglican churchgoers as a mere bishop-bater, and by various lawyers' wives and Black Sash ladies as a right-winger. Even after Maki Skhosana's public execution, there were people in the classier suburbs who thought armed struggle was quite a lark, and perhaps even a sign of a noble, Joan-of-Arc disposition.

Nelson Mandela, isolated from this decaying society for a quarter of a century, was disgusted and dismayed by his first sight of a burned body. Nobody reminded him who it was that urged the toiling masses to fight for freedom with "our little boxes of matches" and with neck-

A refusal to mourn a child's death by fire in Natal

KEN OWEN

laces, nor would it be fair: the Mother of the Nation is not among the recognised moral leaders of our time.

As for the true moral leaders of our time, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to American Senators and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, they have been more or less unanimous in saying that apartheid is so evil that any means — violence, or sanctions, or starvation, or unemployment, or ungovernability, or armed struggle, or bombs, or little boxes of matches and old cart tyres, or simple chaos — was justifiable in its removal.

Only Alan Paton stood against this moral tide. He condemned violence as a betrayal of liberalism; he confessed that he could never forgive John Harris for planting at the Johannesburg station a bomb that condemned a young girl to go through life hideously disfigured; he accused Nusas leaders of a "stupid kind of radicalism", and blamed them for providing a totalitarian government with excuses for repression; he opposed sanctions on the grounds that he would do nothing to make poor people starve; and he refused to abandon hope.

For all this he was derided. When he died Nadine Gordimer pronounced him "estranged" from the concerns of radical writers. In the trendy intellectual crowd, he was an outcast.

Apartheid, of course, was the original sin. It justified all things: in the name of fighting apartheid, eminent lawyers devised sophistries to gag unpopular speakers in order to defend freedom of speech; gentlefolk demanded that the troops be taken out of the townships so that the killing could continue; liberal judges were denounced as collaborators, and warned to prepare for their Nuremberg; people's courts, run by ignorant louts, executed people to the muted applause of defenders of the rule of law.

When Jill Wentzel of the Black Sash complained of the double standard, which made some killings so much less heinous than others, she was sent to Coventry by the sisterhood; mere respect for life was no match for indignation and anger. Belief in pacifism for conscripts lived side by side with enthusiasm for

armed struggle. Troops out of the townships, a *luta continua*.

Some killings, by the police or Inkatha, have captured headlines around the world; others, more bizarre, were ignored. When four mineworkers were executed by trade union members, three of them under spotlights in a stadium before a coerced crowd of 2 000 workers, most newspapers gave the matter only the most cursory attention. It was very embarrassing: it made the freedom fighters look so bad.

In fact, newspapers increasingly seek to lay blame rather than to uncover the facts. "Who lit the fuse?", says a headline, implying that the people who did the killing weren't really to blame. Elaborate theories of "constructive violence" have been put together to justify the most horrible deeds, and the language has been perverted by philosophers to erase the distinctions between violence and force, chaos and order, repression and law.

Lately, indeed, I have discerned in certain legal procedures a pattern which makes me deeply suspicious of the practice, increasingly favoured by lawyers, of asking a court to issue an interdict forbidding one party to use its violence against another.

The application is supported by a handful of affidavits, collected from only one side of the dispute, untested by cross-examination, and undisputed in court — no better as evidence than a statement taken down by a constable. The courts tend to grant the interdict — if only because it can do no harm to tell people to stop killing each other — and the game begins.

The affidavits are distributed as "evidence presented in a court", or "documents on which a court granted an interdict", acquiring a spurious validity from the process. The allegations they contain may or may not be tested on the return date, but by then the respondent is firmly saddened, at least in the public mind, with the blame.

The practice amounts to an exercise in sophisticated propaganda, and it will in the end discredit the courts and the officers of the courts.

Not all is lost. The collapse of socialist theory has destroyed the moral justification for violent revolution, armed struggle, as the ANC calls it; and the new willingness of the Nationalists to negotiate a non-racial democracy, with a common voters roll subject only to protection for minorities, destroys the need for violence. There is now neither justification nor need.

The difficulty is to persuade a nation bred on violence, and indoctrinated with hate, to beat its swords into ploughshares. That task is made more difficult by the moral abdication of leaders who lacked the courage to stand, when Alan Paton was alone in doing so, against both the atrocities of apartheid and the atrocities committed in the name of fighting apartheid.

Yet it must be done. We have slid a long way towards the depravity which lies at the heart of darkness. As we continue without mourning to feed children into the flames, blaming each other for our depravity, we already know what Dylan Thomas did not: that after the first death, there is another, and another, and another ... world without end. Amen.

Monday 22/4/90

2344

304A

Author had co-operation of AWB for new book

MATTHEW CURTIN



● DAVIS
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

A TWO-YEAR research effort including interviews with Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche lies behind the latest novel by Zimbabwe-born writer John Gordon Davis.

The Land Made in Anger is Davis's 11th novel, an account of neo-Nazi and AWB subversion in Namibia and SA orchestrated by a former Gestapo chief, and foiled by the Israeli secret service, Mossad, and the SA Police.

In Parktown last week Davis talked of the background to the novel and his interviews with the leaders of southern Africa's far-right movements.

Davis said the AWB's attitude was they had nothing to hide, and it was in their interests to ensure Davis was well-informed. He warned them he was a liberal, but was received courteously. Terre'Blanche, who had taken the

trouble to buy all his novels — Davis autographed the lot — he found articulate, with a magnetic and "almost likeable" personality.

Davis had no illusions the right-extremist threat in southern Africa was the figment of a novelist's imagination. Things had never looked better for the AWB who had the capacity to put a spanner in the negotiating process in SA, he said.

He expects the novel to receive some flak, though not from the far-right who are portrayed as they wish themselves to be portrayed.

His interview with Wiesenthal, "a most eloquent old man", confirmed these fears. Wiesenthal, ironically operating out of the old Gestapo HQ in

Vienna, had no doubts there were powerful Nazi interests scheming for a Fourth Reich.

Davis wrote his first novel, Hold My Hand I'm Dying, in 1967. Today, with a dozen novels under his belt — a thriller set in Australia is on its way to his publishers — Davis says he is weary of the physical effort of writing, the drudgery and loneliness. What keeps him going is the freedom — he and his wife Rosemary own a farm in Spain, a yacht in the Caribbean for the winter months and spend six months every year researching new books — the adventure and the final product as his characters come alive.

Davis's current project is a three-volume saga on the British Empire, focused on SA, which he calls the heart of the unfinished empire story.

as allowed by the State

Central education ministry suggested

BLOEMFONTEIN — Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid Piet Marais suggested at the weekend SA should have a new education system with a central policy-making ministry and several executive departments under "political authority".

Such a system would have to be negotiated, he told a Youth for SA education seminar on Saturday. He said the changes were necessary because the foundation of ethnically-based education caused problems for many people.

The current education system had created a framework which could form the foundation for the future education system, he added. *31 May 23/4/90*

Educationist Randall van den Heever said the democratic education system would only flow out of a democratic political system.

He said it would be important not to repeat the mistakes of the past and mother-tongue instruction would be of utmost importance.

Another educationist, Leepile Taunyane, said a radically new approach to education in the black community, involving innovative methods, should be introduced. — Sapa.

SA violence damaging all political parties, says study

304A
31 May 23/4/90
VIOLENCE in SA is denting the credibility of organisations across the political spectrum, says stockbrokers Mathison and Hollidge political consultant Prof David Welsh.

In an April political research bulletin, he describes the CP's position as desperate. It is capitalising on the violence-inspired white right-wing backlash as the NP loses considerable Afrikaner support, he says. Yet its chances of victory through the ballot box are remote under the present constitution.

And to maintain its respectability, the CP is eager to distance itself from the violent extra-parliamentary tactics of far-right groups.

Welsh says at the opposite end of the spectrum, the ANC's withdrawal from the April 11 talks, and its unsuccessful peace pleas in Natal, have cost it valuable prestige.

Weighing heavily on the ANC is its inadequate organisational infrastructure on the ground, as township violence continues. Its objective is now control before compromise.

MATTHEW CURTIN

In its favour is the decline in regional political support for Inkatha as the result of the violence.

Neither has the violence helped President F W de Klerk, as the NP seems increasingly reliant on English support. Should his popular support fall to the level of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's, he would be in serious trouble, says Welsh.

But De Klerk's trump card is his positive international image after the propaganda coup of the Namibian independence day celebrations.

Perceived ANC intransigence is working in his favour, as even Sweden — fiercely anti-apartheid — has not heeded ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's calls for increased sanctions.

And Welsh believes police discontent is no more than uncomfortable for the government, as rank-and-file obedience to officers and civilian control is strong.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

1440-24 2314170

Hospitals: unrest victims

12. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether her Department keeps records of the number of unrest victims treated at hospitals under her control; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many such victims were treated in each province during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available and (b) what was the total cost to the State?

D81E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

No, the Department of National Health and Population Development and the four provincial administrations do not keep records of unrest related victims treated in hospitals under their control.

It is not administratively possible or managerially necessary to identify and record unrest related patient contacts.

SATS: Indian train drivers

17. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises: 1440-24 2314170.

(1) Whether, since the reply to Question No 2 on 22 May 1986, any Indians have been employed as train drivers in the South African Transport Services; if not, why not; if so, how many;

(2) how many Indian assistant/pupil train drivers (a) were trained by the Transport Services, (b) qualified as train drivers and (c) resigned before qualifying during the latest specified period of five years for which figures are available;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

THE MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) No. Applicants who comply with the requirements are initially employed as train driver's assistants. Once they have successfully completed the training course they are appointed as pupil train drivers. After having served for four years as pupil train drivers, and it is deemed that they have gained enough practical experience, they are considered for appointment as train drivers. No Indian has as yet completed four years service as pupil train driver.

(2) (a) 98

(b) 0

(c) 54

(3) No.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Commission: national holidays/symbols

1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether he is considering recommending that a commission be appointed to give consideration to national holidays and national symbols; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B836E.INT

*THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, in no way is the appointment of a commission of enquiry into national holidays and national symbols being considered by the Government at this stage. The answer to the first portion of the hon member's question is therefore no. The rest falls away.

No country's holidays and symbols are immutable, but changing them is a very serious matter. It affects a people and what that people holds most dear. Changes can only be made if they prove useful and would have a positive effect on the Republic as a whole.

The interests of lesser groups can only be sacrificed in the most exceptional of cases, if this is in the broader interests of the country or the broader national interest. Any investigation at this early stage in the constitutional process would be jumping the gun.

The report of the President's Council on its investigation into the number of public holidays on the calendar was tabled in Parliament as recently as 15 September 1987. The report confirms, *inter alia*, that public holidays are a matter that should be approached with great circumspection owing to the nature of the composition of our population. I want to emphasise

that. The President's Council did, as a matter of fact, report on every holiday individually.

By way of a press release on 13 October 1989 I confirmed that after careful consideration of the President's Council's report, the Cabinet had decided that as far as the holidays on our calendar were concerned the status quo should be preserved.

Days of remembrance are a subject that can engender a great deal of emotion, not only in a specific population group, but in all the groups. It is completely irresponsible to use this matter to stir up emotions, and as far as possible this issue should be kept out of the political arena. The same considerations also apply to national symbols. The Republic of South Africa has internationally renowned symbols which are accepted as the State's national symbols. I really cannot see what could be achieved by the appointment of a commission of enquiry at this stage. I realise that criticism could be levelled at certain holidays and also at certain symbols. They have, however, served a proud purpose over many decades. We must therefore proceed, without let or hindrance, to treat them with the necessary respect and empathy, as in the past.

I should like to focus on one of these symbols, Afrikaans, my mother tongue, which had its origins in my constituency, Paarl. It is the pride of all Afrikaans-speaking individuals, just as English is the pride of all English-speaking individuals. May our Afrikaans language remain intact for as long as South Africa exists.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister of Home Affairs' reply is as unsatisfactory as that given by the hon the State President on Sunday evening in his television interview. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister's allies who, as a matter of innermost conviction, the hon the Minister also wants to incorporate in the new South Africa, have already expressed their thoughts on these matters. The hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives said, according to *Die Volksblad* of 15 July 1989:

Die Volkslied en die landslag is simbole van diefstal, verontregting en verdrukking. Daarom is dit noodsaaklik dat dit vervang word.

That is what one of the hon the Minister's allies says. According to *Die Burger* of 23 April 1990, the UDF said, by way of one its spokesmen, Mr Graham Bloch:

Ons sal die land terugneem. Die ANC-vlag sal bo die Parlement wapper.

The FAK, which is a public arm of the Broederbond and the NP, said the following:

Handhawers van die Afrikanerkultuur het dié week 'n groot vragteken laat hang oor die aanvaarbaarheid van die landsvlag en die volslied vir alle Suid-Afrikaners. Ook die rol van Afrikaans as 'n ampelike landstaal in 'n nuwe staatsbedeling was in die gedrang.

SATV also created a great deal of tension one evening when Prof F A van Jaarsveld, the person who thinks that the Day of the Vow should no longer be valid, was used to sow doubts about that day.

Only last year the ANC said that it wished to do away with religious freedom in South Africa by violent means.

My question now is: What will happen to the religious and Christian holidays we have in South Africa if the ANC, which the NP is prepared to accept as a government, were to come to power? [Interjections.]

One of the major Churches, the Anglican Church, said:

Objections to the Anglican Church's decision this week against "Die Stem" may not be ringing out from our blue heavens yet, but there are some in the Church likely to take umbrage.

Church sources believe, however, that those who feel offended are by far the minority. "Die Stem" is out. "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" is in.

[Interjections.] In the light of all these events, and in the light of the history of the NP over the past eight to ten years, I want to ask whether the NP thinks that there are still people, in possession of all their faculties, who believe that there is anything, built up by the Afrikaner people and other people in South Africa, which is still of value to the NP? [Time expired.]

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, from very early on in my life I recall how painful it was for me not to be able to identify com-

pletely, on an emotional level, with the national symbols of my country. I felt that was because of the ever-present knowledge that the governing party, at the time the NP, had largely arrogated those symbols to itself, using those symbols—and often misusing them—for its own ends.

My experience, of course, was multiplied a thousandfold on the part of the Black South African and South Africans of colour, the result being that today all our national symbols have become objects of dispute and contention rather than the symbols of unity and unification that they should be. Ultimately this also happened in regard to the Afrikaans language.

Today we are therefore confronted by the unpleasant reality that the close historical ties between Afrikaans and the NP's repressive past is going to do great harm to the future of Afrikaans.

Against that background my plea is therefore to allow the national symbols of the new South Africa to be the product of the emergence of a new nation through negotiation. Let us first determine the new constitution and new structure of our society and then devote our attention to new national symbols, if change is at all necessary. To speak about symbols before dedication to a new South Africa has properly taken hold and been accepted would give an emotional colouring to those negotiations which could be nothing if not harmful.

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I do not always agree with the hon member for Green Point, but I want to congratulate him on the unequivocal stand he has taken in this regard. [Interjections.] We appointed both the Gerike Commission and the State President's Commission, and must another commission now be appointed? We stated clearly that the status quo should be maintained. [Interjections.] Actually I should have said the following to the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe: "No, and that is the end of it."

What does the hon member want to achieve? He wants to stir up emotions. He wants to drag matters which are sacrosanct to a people into the party-political arena. [Interjections.] If the hon member wants to appoint a commission, who should serve on that commission? Does he want to eliminate the Coloured people? Does he want to eliminate the Asians? What does he want to

do? [Interjections.] Why will he not let sleeping dogs lie when things are running smoothly, when calm prevails and when everyone is leaving things as they are? Why start whipping up emotions? [Interjections.] Is this not a matter we should specifically be rational about? The NP will not sell this country down the river. [Interjections.] Now those people want to use this matter, which we regard as being sacrosanct, as part of the constitutional process. It is a process that could take one or five or even 10 years. The commission stated unequivocally that it wanted to maintain the status quo as such. What is all the fuss about—one would swear that we were in the process of abolishing all these things?

Meanwhile South Africa goes on as it has always done, with its flag and its national anthem. We shall be celebrating Republic Day next month. There has never been any doubt about all this. Does the hon member want five million White people to prescribe to 25 million Black people?

Would he want 25 million Black people prescribing to five million White people what the symbols should be? [Interjections.] As it is we have nine holidays, but does he want to give the Black people another nine holidays and therefore have 18 holidays for this country, with R500 million being lost for each holiday? [Time expired.]

*Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, the CP has specifically taken note of the hon the Minister's standpoint that five million Whites in the country cannot prescribe to 25 million Blacks about our symbols. [Interjections.]

A Black government, whether a simplistic majority government or a majority government with checks and balances—that product of the hon the State President's fantasies—would bring about a cultural revolution in South Africa. Our flag, the symbol of our freedom, would be replaced by a flag symbolising the freedom of the Black majority. Our holidays would be exchanged for holidays which would commemorate events acceptable to the Black majority. For Afrikaner nationalism that is an unthinkable, unacceptable situation.

We do not begrudge other peoples their own symbols. Nor do we expect them to find our symbols, which attest to our unique history, acceptable, but we are seriously saying that we shall not stand to attention for a flag designed by

the ANC. [Interjections.] We shall not stand to attention for a national anthem that does not represent our own freedom struggle and our own past. We shall not relinquish the Day of the Vow which symbolises our spiritual covenant with God. Whoever tampers with these things, encroaches on the soul of the Afrikaner. Whoever tries to take this away from us is declaring war on Afrikaner nationalism.

I am asking the hon the Minister to give us an answer today. Is he prepared to place the Day of the Vow on the table in his negotiations with the ANC? [Interjections.] Is he prepared, in the new South Africa, to stand to attention for Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika! as the national anthem of his new Azania? [Interjections.] Is he prepared to accept a flag designed by a Black government as his own flag? [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, woe beide the people in Southern Africa which has to be represented by the NP at the negotiating table, because that people would not be sure of its future or of what to call its own. I want to present the hon the Ministers with these well-known words: What they want to do they should do quickly, but be warned . . .

*Brig J F BOSMAN: What do your trays cost?

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: They may perhaps deprive us of everything, our freedom, our symbols, our fatherland, our holidays, our religious freedom . . . [Interjections] . . . but they will never deprive the Afrikaner people of its struggle and its prayers. [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I should just like to know whether that party's Boerestaat would also keep the existing flag intact. I should just like to know. [Interjections.]

It is no use that side telling us—or prescribing to us, as the first speaker did—that we will allow the hon Rev Hendrickse, the UDF, the FAK, SATV and the ANC to prescribe to us. That is not what it is all about. Our Constitution is a symbol, Parliament is a symbol, the office of State President is a symbol, the flag is a symbol, the national anthem is a symbol. All this will have to be dealt with very carefully, because there are controls. Someone cannot simply stand up here

and have them all abolished. There is a constitutional process that must run its course. Anything that is to be abolished can only be abolished by a two-thirds majority, and if the CP is in the minority, they must look for the fault in themselves. [Interjections.] 304A

What is more, five days ago in this Parliament the hon the State President said that when it came to the process of constitutional development he would go back to the voters. He would do so by way of a referendum or an election to obtain a final decision and a mandate, and it would certainly be possible for symbols and holidays to form part of that mandate. [Interjections.] 24/4/90

It is a people's decision that is the issue here. It is a people's indication to its Cabinet or its State President about the relevant action that should be taken. It is a decision that is and will remain a part of the constitutional process—constitutional negotiations which have not even started yet, and yet the CP wants to confuse the people with emotionalism about something that is not as yet even the subject of negotiation. [Interjections.]

*MR S C JACOBS: Because you are confused as it is!

*THE MINISTER: I want to ask this question. The President's Committee that carried out an investigation, a committee on which the hon member for Heilbron served, said itself that it was impossible to achieve agreement about holidays for all population groups. Surely that is logical.

*MR J H HOON: In one volksstaat! [Interjections.] In one multiracial state!

*THE MINISTER: But in so many words they said, about holidays, that everyone should get together and reach agreement on this issue.

*MR S C JACOBS: You have never once put forward your views. Not once!

*AN HON MEMBER: Go and comb your hair! [Interjections.]

[Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

White vigilante groups

2. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Law and Order: 24/4/90

(1) Whether any White vigilante groups operate in towns or cities in South Africa; if so,

(2) whether any of these groups have been sanctioned by the South African Police? B842E.INT

*THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I would like to reply as follows.

By means of democratically elected legislative and other structures, every civilised and ordered community creates instruments to which it allocates the functions and powers of such a constitutional state. That is the only correct and orderly way in which such functions and powers can be implemented. It is therefore logical that such instruments are then the only legally approved and authorised bodies which can act on behalf of the State. Furthermore, only actions which are implemented by this lawful instrument can have any legal protection and force of law.

What is generally true, is valid *mutatis mutandis* for the implementation of functions concerning law and order. The only legally authorised responsible body for this is the SA Police, established by Act 7 of 1958, and the functions with which they are entrusted in terms of section 5 of said Act. All unlawful attempts to take over the function of maintaining law and order from the State's legal instrument, the SA Police, are therefore unacceptable and cannot be allowed to occur. Of course this does not clash with the right of the private individual to defend himself, and even to make a so-called citizen's arrest under certain circumstances. With this type of action, carried out within the parameters of the law, the police can find no fault.

Recently, however, a tendency has emerged in our country to form organisations which are barely disguised police forces. In some cases they are called so-called White security guards as well as many other names; others talk about the Comrades or the Marshalls, etc. This is quite acceptable if the abovementioned Marshalls or security guards co-operate with the police at large gatherings to help maintain order. How-

ever, they are going too far when they chase the police away and carry out the functions of the police themselves. Then we are treading on dangerous ground where we will encounter problems and confrontation. In the same way we are heading for problems and confrontation when people organise themselves into armed groups which patrol streets and question, chase and even assault people left, right and centre without any acceptable reason at all.

This activity is quite unacceptable, and ultimately creates more problems than it solves for all involved. Despite the fact that it increases racial tension, it holds the great threat of criminal prosecution and enormous civil claims against the people involved.

Because the police are struggling to overcome a serious shortage of manpower and also desperately require the active support and co-operation of the public, two structures have been created over the years to assist them in the carrying out of their task, namely the neighbourhood watch system and the police reservists.

The neighbourhood watch simply acts as the eyes and ears of the police, while members of the public can actually join the reservists in order to become part of the legal policing instrument of the State. Both organisations have provided an invaluable service to South Africa and its inhabitants over the years. It is essential and in the interests of the maintaining of law and order that they should be allowed to continue in this regard. At the moment there are 12 796 reservists who provide a free service of 1,38 million hours per year. We need many more of them, *inter alia*, to help combat crime in our country. [Time expired.]

*MR J H MOMBORG: Mr Chairman, we are living in times of extreme tension and confusion in South Africa, and we must accept that today many people have questions about the future, but we cannot allow people to deliberately take the law into their own hands and take it upon themselves to fulfil the specific role of the police. In the *Patriot*, the CP's newspaper, of 6 April... [Interjections.]... they write...

*AN HON MEMBER: It is not a newspaper.

*MR J H MOMBORG: Under the title "Blanke Akkies" the following is stated:

Welkom het die afgelepe week die voorhoede geword van Blanke weerstand teen die chaotiese toestand wat al hoe meer in Suid-Afrika ontwikkel. Blanke Veiligheid wat gestig is, het meer as 3 000 lede en patrollier die strate van Welkom dag en nag.

According to reports they question Blacks who are walking around in the centre of town, and if they do not have business in the town, they are taken back to the Black areas.

We cannot allow citizens—according to this report they were clearly doing nothing wrong; they were simply present there—to be picked up and removed simply because they have a different skin colour. On the same page there is a photograph of the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition, with the caption "Indien die Regering ons nie beskerm nie, sal ons goedsoosak wees om onself te beskerm." [Interjections.]

I want to make the following very clear today: The DP rejects this exhibition of power on both sides of the political spectrum. The CP must tell us today where they stand with regard to this psychosis of violence in South Africa. If there are people who think they can fulfil the role of protector, they must do so in conjunction with the SA Police, and not in opposition to them. We cannot allow a situation to develop here similar to that which exists in America, where people take the law into their own hands. Our policemen, no matter how understaffed and underpaid they may be, are the only people who can fulfil this role. I am asking the CP once again to tell us where they stand with regard to this situation of violence.

MR M J MENTZ: Mr Chairman, let me make it clear where we stand. Everyone in this House is aware of the fact that the SA Police is understaffed, overtaxed and underpaid. I support the idea that every attempt on the side of the public to assist in the maintaining of law and order should be welcomed. [Interjections.]

We say that every person has a vested right to act in self-defence in order to protect his life or his property. I also have the right to protect the family members and property of my neighbour. There can therefore be nothing wrong with the fact that my neighbour and I are preparing ourselves in order to give expression to this right

Pull out of talks, PAC call to ANC

THE PAC and Azapo yesterday called on the ANC to pull out of negotiations with the Government following State President Mr FW De Klerk's Sunday British television interview in which he dismissed majority rule as a simplistic model.

In an interview on ITV, screened on SABC-TV1, De Klerk said majority rule would be suicide for South Africa's whites.

He said he was committed to negotiating a peaceful future for South Africa but would not give in to ANC demands for black majority rule.

The PAC and Azapo, who have rejected negotiations with De Klerk, said he had already pre-empted the talks-about-talks scheduled for May 2 on negotiations for a new constitution.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation would issue a statement when ready.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela heads the delegation which would meet De Klerk next week.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said: "The view still expressed is that De Klerk

By THEMBA MOLEFE

vindicates the PAC's stance that he is not ready for any meaningful talks and anybody who negotiates with the Government now is a sellout.

"The PAC wants to warn the masses that the smell of appeasement is thick in the air," Alexander said.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala said De Klerk's statement confirmed the organisation's suspicions that no real negotiations were intended by De Klerk.



DE KLERK

"We call on the ANC to get out of negotiations and, as a major liberation movement, engage in negotiations with other liberation forces. The ANC should not commit suicide," Mosala said.

Current and two executive and as nothing had been

New look Group Areas condemned

304A
So wefen
24/4/90

by ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THAT the Group Areas Act will be replaced with what State President Mr FW de Klerk calls a generally acceptable measure was objectionable, Actstop spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia said yesterday.

Responding to De Klerk's statement that the Group Areas Act would be "scrapped," Coovadia said his movement would continue fighting any Act that prohibited people from living where they chose.

"When De Klerk said 'generally acceptable' he meant accepted by the three houses of Parliament," Coovadia said.

Fight Act

"We do not believe the Act should be replaced by any measure. We do not accept there should be any legislation to control where an individual chooses to live.

"De Klerk had also made no mention of consulting those people directly affected by the Act: black citizens. There was also no mention of consultation with black people through legal organisations like Actstop," he said.

Coovadia said Actstop would continue to fight the Act whenever it could and would intensify its campaign for its total abolition.



By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night accused State President F W de Klerk of deliberately misrepresenting the facts to Parliament about an intelligence document on African National Congress plans to assassinate right-wingers.

At a public meeting in Vereeniging, Dr Treurnicht launched a scathing attack on Mr de Klerk's handling of the document which had been leaked to the CP and subsequently made public by the CP leader.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's challenge to reveal the source of the document, Dr Treurnicht said: "Even if you throw the entire CP into jail, the CP will not reveal our source."

FW under fire from

He said it was "truly regrettable" that the State President, in his eagerness to get at the CP, had handled the CP's revelations so haphazardly.

"The State President owes me and the country an apology because he has sent an untruth about me and the CP into the world."

Mr de Klerk had deliberately misrepresented the facts by saying in Parliament that:

- The document revealed to the CP had differed from the one given by National Intelligence to the State President.
- Dr Treurnicht and the CP's chief secre-

tary, Mr Andries Beyers, differed on the source of the document.

- Mr Beyers had told the SA Police he did not know where the document had come from, that the CP had destroyed the envelope in which the document had been posted and that copies had been made to ensure that it would be impossible to identify the original document.

Dr Treurnicht said the police had never questioned Mr Beyers about the source of the document. Mr Beyers had in fact told the police that he did not know where the envelope was. And he had told police that

the document had been copied, not with the aim to make identification of the document impossible, but that identification had been impossible as a result of the copying.

Dr Treurnicht said the investigating officer, a Brigadier Lambrechts, had confirmed Mr Beyers's account. Mr de Klerk's statement to Parliament had thus been incorrect.

He added that the intelligence source had passed on the information to the CP because he "has information" that the Government would not give any attention to the

The Star Tuesday April 24 1990

3

much of the content of the document — for example action against Inkatha, homeland governments and security officials — had already come true. The only new revelation had been intended action against right-wing leaders.

He challenged Mr de Klerk to say why he had "ordered the CP's persecution" and why he had launched an inquiry into police action in Sebokeng instead of prosecuting the ANC which was preaching violence and sanctions and which was contravening the Internal Security Act.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's "cynical" remark that he received numerous death threats, Dr Treurnicht said the position of the State President and that of the leader of the Opposition were not comparable. The State President enjoyed full and intensive security protection.

document because it would have embarrassed the ANC and thus jeopardised negotiations.

"I have reason to believe that the person acted in good faith and out of concern over human life by warning us about attacks by the ANC. The Government's fury about the revelation of the document is probably based on the fact that it (the document) had embarrassed the NP's negotiation partner, the ANC."

He said the Government's opinion that the CP had contributed to a violence psychosis was unfounded. This was so because

Treurnicht

SA 24/4/90

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252

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85

Abortion: a new look at present law invited

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government is to take a new look at the controversial Abortion and Sterilisation Act of 1975 and has called for people to approach the Department of Health to put forward their ideas for possible changes.

The Act forbids abortion in South Africa unless the woman has been raped, the baby is abnormal in some

way or a medical panel agrees that having the baby will irreparably damage the woman physically or mentally.

The Government decision has been welcomed by the Abortion Reform Action Group which issued a plea to all interested parties to accept the Department of Health's invitation.

"Before the 1975 legislation was promulgated, South African women and men and their organisations took no active part in the abortion debate," said Dr Marj Dyer, chairman of the Cape branch of the organisation.

"If they had, it might have prevented the restrictive law which has led to many deaths and much ill-health, especially among poor women."

Rich go overseas

The financially better off women have made ample use of overseas abortion facilities, she said.

"A woman who does not want to be pregnant doesn't worry about the law. If she can't get an abortion legally, she'll get it illegally. But illegal abortions are frequently dangerous and can lead to death, hideous infections, hysterectomies or infertility."

"We believe the decision to have an abortion should be taken, up to about 12 weeks of pregnancy, by the woman and her doctor."

Pro-Life could not be reached for comment.

Anyone wishing to make representations to the Department of Health should write to the Director-General, Department of National Health, Private Bag X63, Pretoria 0001.

Escape

*CAP 71mk5
24/4/90
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Police said the arrest of the NIS impostor was a breakthrough in the arms heist probe as they believe "J J Dempus" could provide valuable information about right-wing organisations and their plans to effect change through force of arms.

Mr Taylor, who appeared in court in Pretoria yesterday after his ill-fated escape bid, was refused bail and is back in police custody.

Four other suspects in the Air Force HQ arms raid also appeared in court yesterday.

Charges against a policeman, Warrant Officer Edward Libenberg Naude, 35, were dropped.

The three national ser-

vicemen who appeared yesterday were granted bail of R1 000 each.

They are Mr Christofel Gerhardus Liebenberg, 20, Mr Abraham Francois de Necker Vogel, 21, and Mr Francois Martinus van Rensburg, 22.

The case was adjourned to May 25.

● Meanwhile, the leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, said yesterday that a series of commandos — modelled on the Boer Republic's system — had been established.

He said that no names or further details would be disclosed as leaders could be identified.

26/4/90

304A 'Insist on talks for a new SA'

The president of the South African Institution of Civil Engineers, Mr Louis de Waal, commented on the country's economic and political problems during a speech at the institute's recent annual meeting. **JANET HEARD** reports.

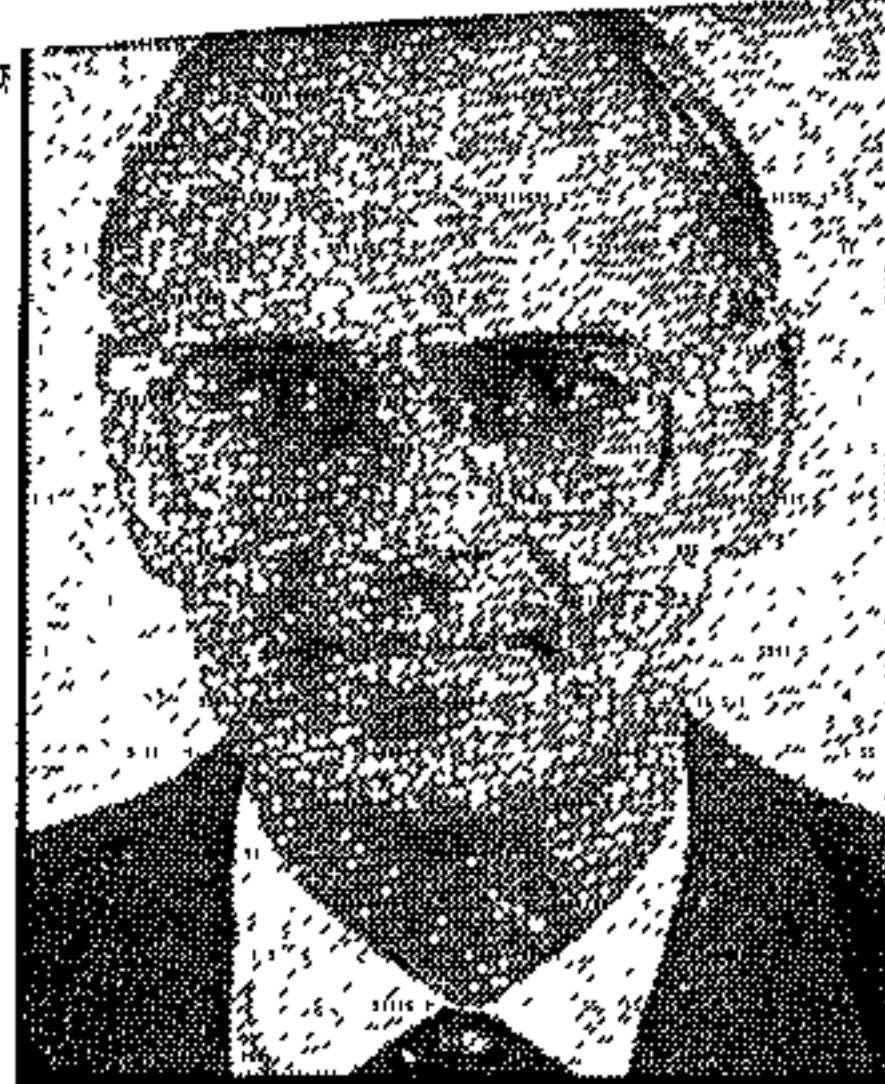
The most effective way to influence political events was to insist that all political leaders gathered around the conference table to thrash out a new political dispensation, Mr de Waal said.

"It is only in a peaceful environment that we make our maximum contribution to living standards, ... that foreign investment will be encouraged and economic growth will flourish."

Quoting statistics on violence, Mr de Waal said in 1989 a person was murdered every 45 minutes, a serious assault took place every four minutes, someone was raped every 26 minutes, a motor car was stolen every nine minutes and a burglary was carried out every three minutes.

On education, Mr de Waal said South Africa required at least a 50 percent annual increase in civil engineering graduates to be able to cope with its necessary development and maintenance.

During the last 15 years the first year civil engineering registration at universities had dropped by a



Louis de Waal.

third and the rate of civil engineers graduating from technikons was not as high as it should be.

Education of all young South Africans on a compulsory basis and the quality of mathematics and science teaching was of major concern to civil engineers.

He said there were positive examples of what could be done to improve the standard of education. He compared the matric results of the DET's 42 percent pass rate with that of the private All Saints College in Bisho at 76 percent, and St Luke's College in Johannesburg at 82 percent. The matric exemption percentages were nine percent, 56 percent and 51 percent respectively.

Mr de Waal said the Programme for Technical Careers (Protec) had obtained a matric exemption of more than 50 percent — "a tribute to those who teach and those companies and individuals who administered and financed this project".

Moving to urbanisation, Mr de Waal said it was the lack of capital that had prevented the country from keeping pace with the demand for housing.

He said by the year 2000, the urban PWV region would have a population of 12 million.

"Urbanisation should, however, be seen in a positive and challenging light. It affords better education and greater work and recreational opportunities for the city dweller and reduces the cost of necessary services".

He said for SA to benefit from urbanisation, transportation had to be improved.

"In the new South Africa let us make our contribution through support of reform initiatives, assist with the elimination of poverty and unemployment through infrastructural development and spread our technological expertise into Africa for the benefit of all who live in the subcontinent.

"The expertise of the South African engineer coupled with the natural resources of southern Africa could result in a subcontinental economic market that would rival other economic groupings."

Govt aims to bring rot into the light

Step 24/4/90

3047

In local council chambers, homeland courtrooms and even on Trafalgar Square, South Africa is engaged in an unprecedented search for the facts behind headline-making death and violence with no less than five Commissions of Inquiry sitting or appointed.

Judges and magistrates are or will be probing the deaths of newborn babies in strike-torn hospitals and political activists in their own homes and investigating the excesses of homeland leaders and spies controlled by City Hall.

The spate of commissions indicates a preparedness of the present Government to bring into the open issues of public concern, says Lawyers for Human Rights National Chairman Mr Jules Browde.

It would prefer wider terms of reference being given to commissions, but the organisation is in favour of commissions as being a means of exposing a hidden rot to the light before it "becomes a festering sore" and called for an inquiry into the Natal violence more than two years ago.

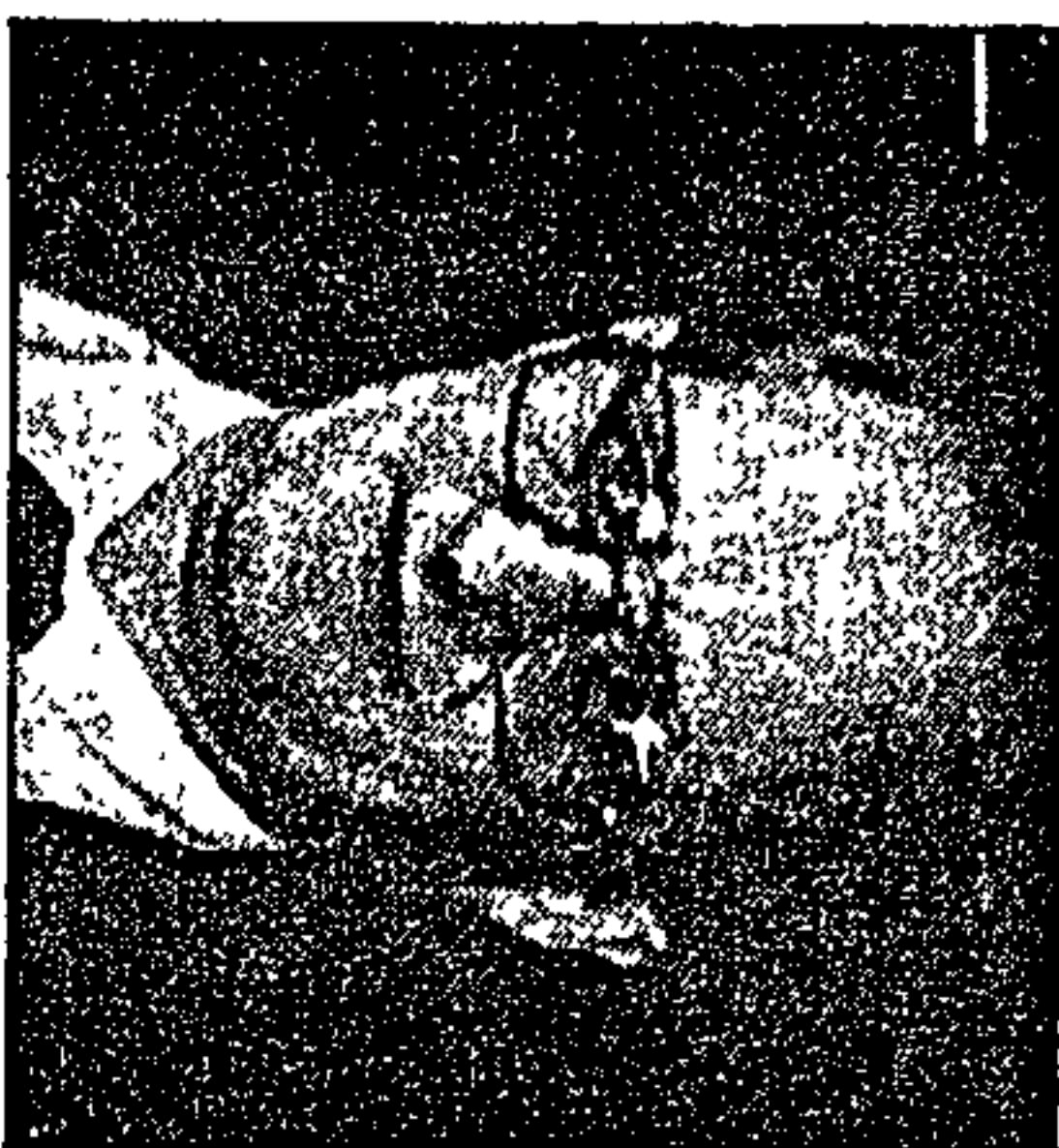
This and its call for an inquiry into capital punishment are still unheeded. Those issues which have travelled the route from exposure by the press to the attention of a commission include:

Harms Commission

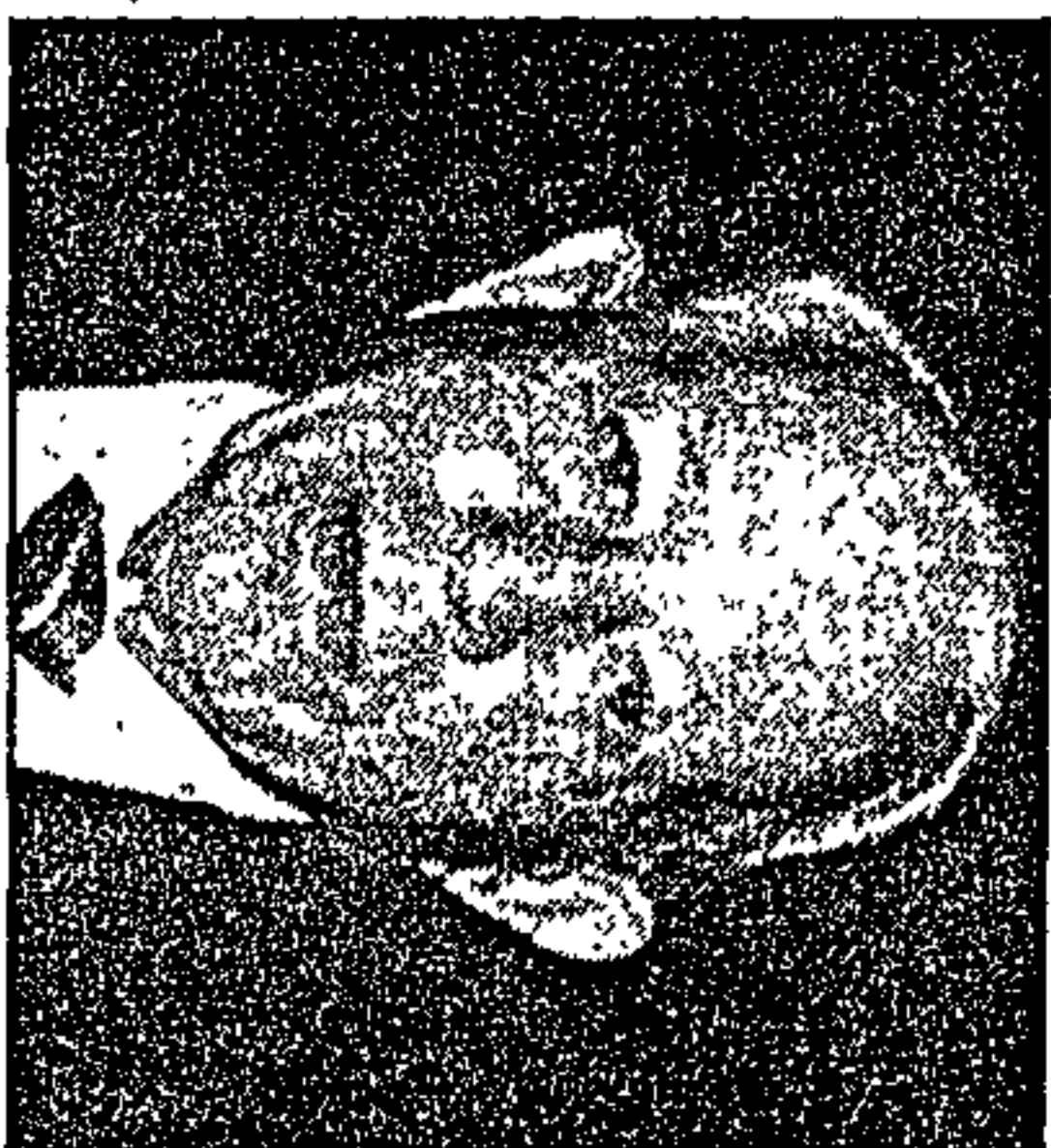
The Commission of Inquiry into alleged murders and other violence was appointed under the chairmanship of sole member Mr Justice Louis Harms in January this year after months of sensational revelations about alleged police death squads preying on local political figures.

Since he began hearing evidence in Pretoria early last month, Mr Justice Harms has listened to weeks of claims and counter-claims about espionage and murder from witnesses who include SA Defence Force generals, policemen and a condemned prisoner.

With no less than five Commissions of Inquiry the Government has shown a readiness to bring into the open issues of public concern, says the National Committee of Lawyers for Human Rights, reports **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** of the Pretoria Bureau.



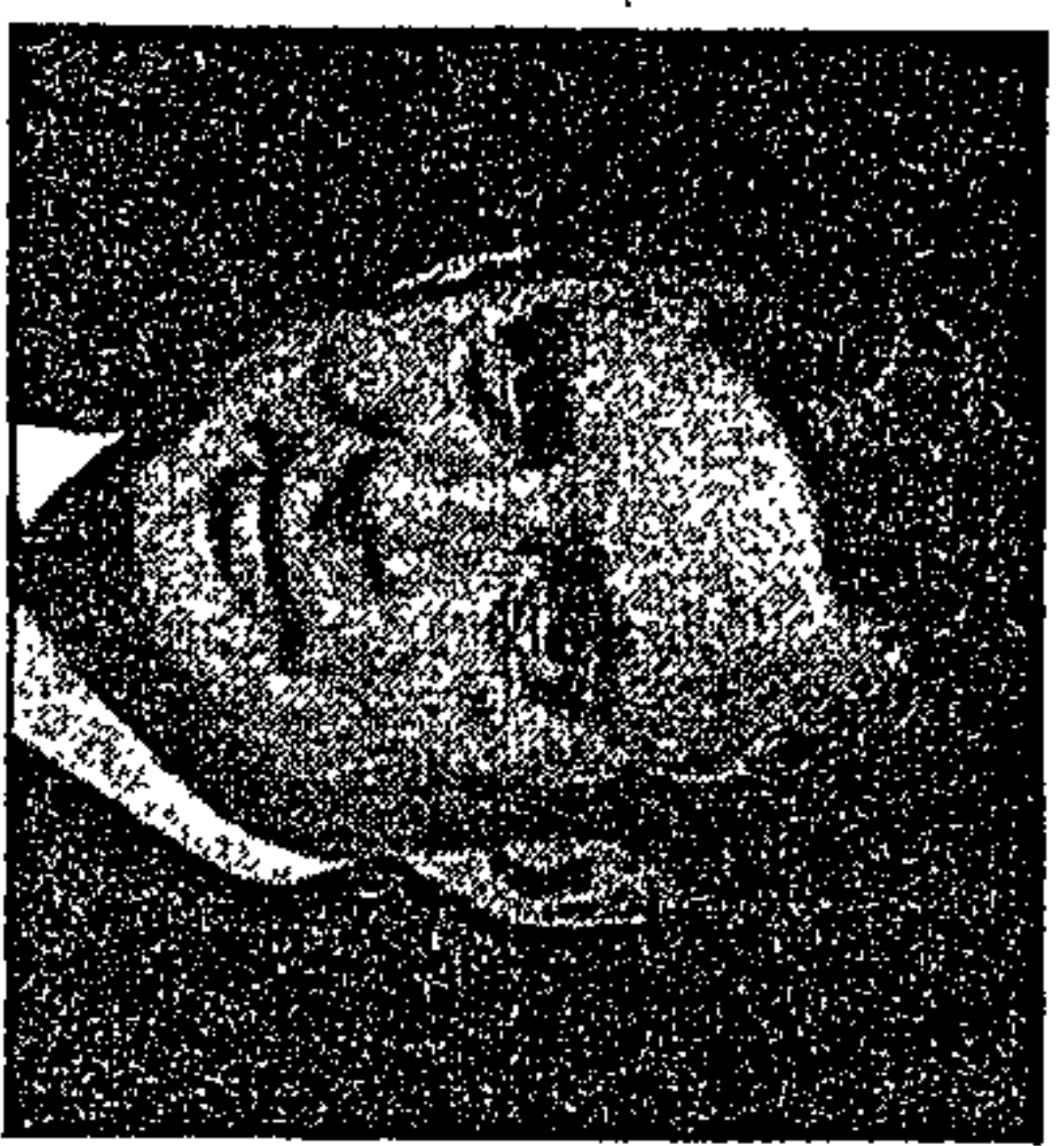
Mr Justice Harms . . . in London.



Mr Justice Hiemstra.



Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.



TPA Administrator Mr Danie Hough.

Revelations centre on the SADF's covert Civil Co-operation Bureau.

The Harms Commission started hearing evidence yesterday in the SA Embassy, Trafalgar Square, London. It returns to South Africa on May 7 when it will resume its inquiry into

uary death in custody of Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, boyfriend of ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela's daughter Zinzi, he has now been asked to investigate the shooting of protesters at Sebokeng on March 26 in which several people died.

Hiemstra Commission

Former Acting Judge President of Transvaal and chairman of the SWA Namibian constitutional council Mr Justice V G Hiemstra was appointed last month to head a Commission of Inquiry into the spy network in the Johannesburg City Council.

Since April 11 he and fellow commission member Mr W J van den Berg have heard in the Johannesburg council chamber how dozens of the city's political figures and organisations were spied on by paid informers and council employees.

Parsons Commission

Former regional court magistrate and president of the Industrial Tribunal Mr Ben Parsons is chairman and sole member of the Commission of Inquiry into the 1986 unrest and the alleged mismanagement which preceded it in kwaNdebele.

The commission has been sitting in a kwaMhlanga Magistrate's Court since September 1989 and could last up to three years as it probes alleged political thuggery in the self-governing state and causes of the unrest.

Ga-Rankuwa Commission

Transvaal Administrator Mr Danie Hough announced on April 19 that he intended to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the reported deaths of 23 babies at Ga-Rankuwa Hospital during a recent strike. Details are expected this week.

Local authorities have had their fair share of formal investigations this year, with inquiries being conducted into the affairs of authorities in Tembisa, Wesselsfontein, Midrand and Soweto.

Worrall calls on CP to end violence

The CP and its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, had just as much of a responsibility to end violence by right-wing whites as did leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to end it in the black community, Dr Denis Worrall (DP Berea) said on Monday.

He said in debate on the police budget vote that the DP expected the CP to speak out unequivocally during the debate against violence.

Dr Worrall said the DP wanted to see a return to "ordinary" law and order.

Unpopular

The police were affected by poor working conditions and salaries, the lack of manpower and vehicles, and the fact that they had to implement the National Party's unpopular, racist laws — laws which had affected their morale because they found themselves in a very difficult position.

The result was that the primary task of the police — combating crime and lawlessness — was one they were not performing successfully.

There had been a great increase in crime.

The DP's impression was that the Minister and senior policemen understood there should be a return to ordinary, non-political policing, but that the message was not getting thorough to grassroots.

This was because for so many years policemen had been conditioned to think in terms of the total onslaught. — Sapa.

Govt playing into hands of ANC - CP

24/4/90 (100) (304A)
The Government had directly played into the hands of the revolutionary forces, the Conservative Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, said yesterday.

Speaking during the Law and Order budget vote, he also said the Government was suffering from a delayed reaction about police pay.

The Government knew that they were being "scandalously underpaid", yet only now that thousands had left the force, did it offer them better pay.

The Government was breaking down the image of the SAP — while complaints were received by SAP members about the transgression of laws, the police could do nothing about it because of decisions by higher-up politicians that these laws were no longer being applied.

The ANC's Radio Freedom had called on black members of the security forces to turn their backs on the white members. It was therefore an alarming phenomenon that the ANC leadership was being allowed into South Africa. — Sapa.

F W was 'cagey' in BBC interview

Political Correspondent

President F W de Klerk put in a polished performance in his television engagement with former British MP and London Weekend Television interviewer, Brian Walden, but seemed "cagey" and even to have "fumbled" on some key constitutional matters, observers say.

The political substance aside, most observers say, Mr de Klerk's style and manner set him in sharp contrast with former President P W Botha.

Where interruptions or provocative and sometimes apparently ingenuous questions would almost certainly have had an inflammatory effect on the former head of state, Mr de Klerk "kept his cool" through Walden's taxing interview.

Professor Gavin Stewart of Rhodes University's school of journalism said that "under quite provocative questioning he did maintain a nice equanimi-



Mr F W de Klerk ... "fumbled" in interview.

ty", but this was not his best performance.

"He did far better in his press conference the day before Mr Mandela was released. I got the impression he was a little tired and a little under-prepared ... I felt he had perhaps accommodated the interview without giving it as much rehearsal as he

might have done."

He felt Mr de Klerk "fumbled" on the issue of majority rule, the redistribution or creation of wealth and the land question.

Professor H Kotze of the department of political science at Stellenbosch University acknowledged the President's "polished performance", but said his key impression was that Mr de Klerk had been "cagey" on the fundamental constitutional issue of majority rule.

Professor Kotze said: "I think he was pushed into a corner on this issue, in the sense that he was suggesting that the other side should compromise in negotiations, but he was not willing to do so."

Also evident in the interview, he said, was the massive difference in style between President de Klerk and Mr P W Botha.

He believed Mr de Klerk would have gained sympathy in Britain with his views on private property and the avoidance of the pitfalls of socialism.

CH 71415 (30/CA)
25/1/70 (1/10)
**"Better to die
on the right"**

PRETORIA. — The ultra-conservative Kappie Kommando has added its voice to the increasingly militant tone of rightist criticism of government-initiated reforms.

"It is better to die on the right than to live on the left and thereby establish the kingdom of the anti-Christ," Kappie Kommando leader Mrs Marie van Zyl told Sapa on Monday. She said the message was directed to Mr De Klerk and his cabinet. — Sapa

POLITICS

B/Day 25/4/90.
**Bill tabled to give
exiles indemnity**

CAPE TOWN — With the first talks to the ANC a week away, government yesterday tabled a Bill which will grant exiles temporary immunity or permanent indemnity against arrest.

The preamble of the Indemnity Bill of 1990 says for the sake of reconciliation and the pursuit of peaceful solutions it has become necessary to grant immunity or indemnity to people who might have been guilty of certain criminal offences in the past.

Once passed by Parliament, the Act will empower the President — if he deems it necessary for the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions or the unimpeded and efficient administration of justice — to grant either conditional or unconditional immunity to those exiles who participate in negotiations.

The Bill stipulates that no proceedings, either civil or criminal, will be instituted or continued against any person granted such immunity for actions carried out by him prior to his being granted immunity.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Immunity will apply for certain short periods.

In addition to this, the Act will empower the President by notice in the Government Gazette to grant indemnity "to any person or category of persons, either unconditionally, or on the conditions he may deem fit, in respect of any event or category of events specified in the notice".

304A Cease

The President will be entitled to make further additional regulations regarding matters covered by the Act if he considers it necessary.

Sections of the Act will cease to have effect a year after their commencement but this will not effect any immunity or indemnity granted in that period.

The President will be able to extend the life of these sections for a year at a time provided he has the concurrence of all three Houses of Parliament.

Some options for a constitution

Sowell 25/4/90 (304)

A constitution is simply a set of rules regulating the behaviour of government.

It provides the framework in which political power is exercised and defines the institutions and practices of government.

In some cases the rules are written down (as in the United States or Federal Republic of Germany), in others they are contained in a set of conventions or laws (as in Great Britain).

The existence of a constitution is no guarantee that the government will behave in accordance with it.

Before addressing constitutional details, South Africans must decide the role government should play in a future society. Governments cannot and should not control or manage every facet of life.

Delimit

A constitution should not delimit areas of competence for the individual, the community and higher levels of political decision making and then assign the necessary powers.

What are the constitutional options South Africans could consider?

Some people have proposed partition or dividing the country into separate racially-defined states.

So the first issue to be resolved is: "South Africa" one country or many? There are many international examples of partition resulting from domestic agreement, foreign intervention or civil war.

Partition is not without its costs (for example, up to a million people died and 12 million were displaced during the partition of India and Pakistan), but these must be measured against the likely alternatives which, in certain cases, may include prolonged, bloody civil war.

Partition

The constitutional alternative to partition is a united country with either a centralised or decentralised political power structure.

Under centralised government, power is concentrated in a few central institutions. This is commonly known as a unitary state (Britain and Japan).

In a decentralised system of government, power is divided between central and regional bodies. Federalism is one such form of government.

Here the duties of government, together with the power to make and implement the necessary laws, are shared between national and regional governments.

Usually the national or

federal government is responsible for foreign policy, national defence and the like, while regional governments take charge of more local issues.

The precise distribution of power varies from federation to federation. So while both countries have federal constitutions, the national government of India has more extensive powers than does the United States federal government.

How should people elect their government? In general, there are two

broad alternatives. "First past the post, winner takes all" is a competitive approach, aimed at identifying and rewarding a clear winner.

The second, proportional representation, tries to accommodate all significant interest groups by assigning seats in proportion to the support they receive from the voters.

Then there is the matter of the executive. Should we have a Prime Minister whose authority derives from his position as leader of the largest party in parliament or a

President who is elected separately and acts independently of parliament?

In Britain and the US, the party securing the most votes gets all cabinet seats. Whereas in Switzerland or Belgium, representatives of all significant parties participate in executive decision-making.

Britain, Japan, Germany, Belgium, the US and India all have stable democratic governments representing and governing their people in different ways according to constitutions which reflect their own needs and circumstances.

South Africans should examine these and other working models and make their own decisions.

Shaping A Future South Africa: A Citizen's Guide to Constitutional Making, edited by Bobby Godsell, is a new book which explores democratic options. This is the fourth in a series of six articles by Margie Keeton highlighting some of the book's themes. She is a member of the team which produced the book.



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Anthem to stay for the moment

It would only cause confusion if attempts were made to change South Africa's symbols such as the flag and the anthem, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said during an interpellation debate yesterday.

Replying to a question by Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Nominated) as to whether a commission was investigating new national symbols, he said this was not the case as the matter was not relevant at present.

Only after the negotiation process had been completed would the question of new symbols be considered.

Mr Van der Merwe said he could not see himself standing to attention to an anthem or flag accepted by the ANC.

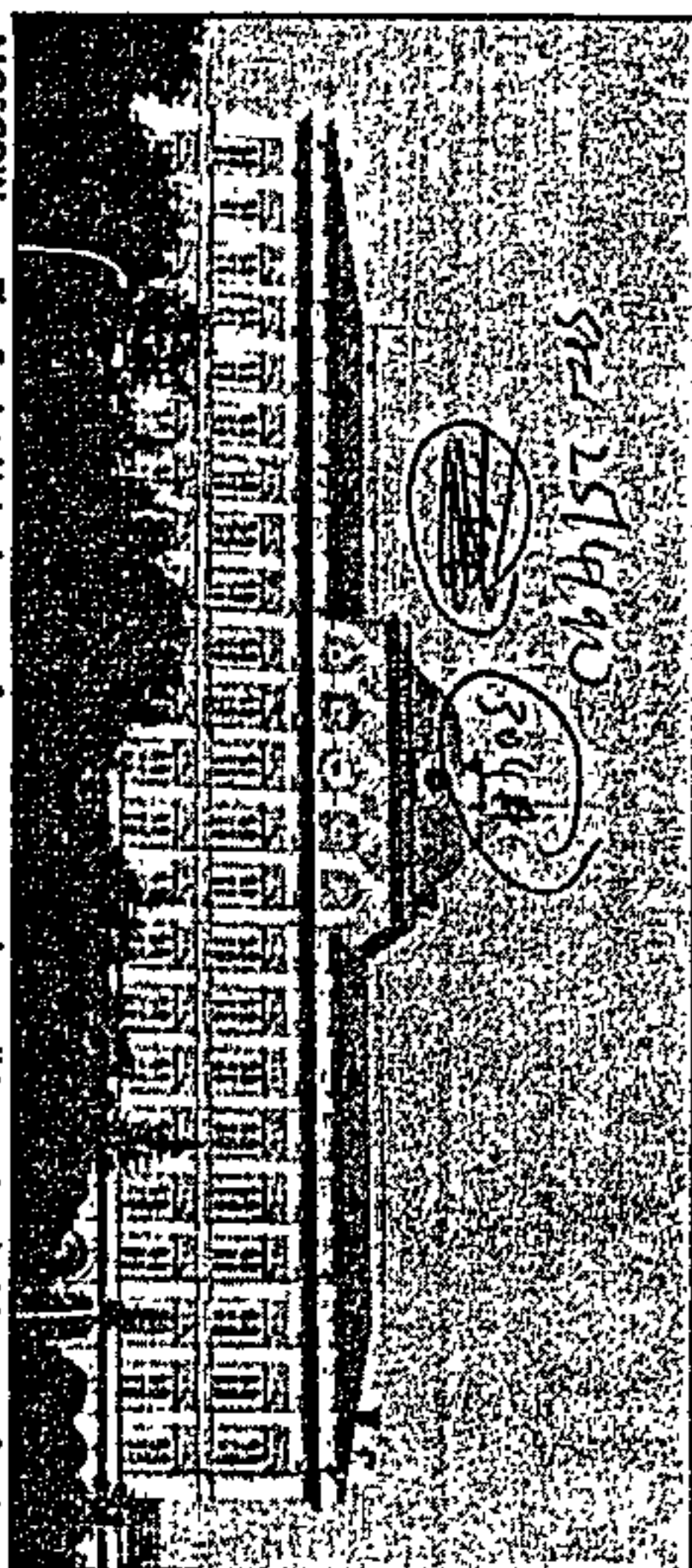
Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said the present symbols had become associated with the NP and had been misused. Rather than uniting people they had caused division.

However, talk of new symbols should not be allowed to bring about an emotional aspect to the negotiation process. This could only harm it. — Sapa

BACKGROUND

Soviets take critical look at African socialism

After talks last month between Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze and President F W de Klerk, relations between Moscow and Pretoria could soon be expanding. At the same time, as the **THE STAR'S AFRICA NEWS SERVICE** reports, the Soviet Union is taking a critical look at Africa's socialist countries.



MOSCOW... The Soviet Union's test of government where all its major decisions on foreign policy and other matters are made.



PRETORIA... The Union Buildings, where South Africa fathoms its approach to African neighbours and the outside world in general.

There are now clear indications that the Soviet Union could soon open some kind of representation in South Africa, even though diplomatic relations between the two countries have been ruled out.

For the second time in a week, Soviet sources have said it is essential to maintain contacts with South Africa, and that channels must be created to make those contacts permanent.

Mr. M Yudin, a special political correspondent with the Ir-

vestia newspaper in Moscow, said Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze had ruled out diplomatic relations with Pretoria, but had told him "it was essential to maintain contacts at other levels".

"One gets the impression that several concrete plans already exist in this regard."

"However, neither side is in

a hurry to make them public. "This is quite understandable — the issue is more than sensitive," Mr Yudin wrote in an article published by the Africa News Organisation ANO.

Mr Yudin last month accompanied Mr Shevardnadze in his trip to seven African countries, during which he had talks with President de Klerk in Wind-

Last week the Soviet Union's ambassador at large, Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov, said contacts between Moscow and Pretoria were taking place at several international forums and South Africa wanted to go "considerably further" in contacts between the two countries.

Mr Ustinov ruled out diplomatic relations with South Africa, but said that, in principle, it could not rule out "any further development of forms of Soviet-South Africa contacts".

"They will be expanding, and at a certain stage Soviet official institutions might also appear in South Africa," added Mr Ustinov.

In his article for ANO, Mr Yudin said the Soviet Foreign

Minister was inclined to continue supporting sanctions against South Africa, but "political contact... is a different matter".

The problems in Angola and Mozambique could not be solved without South Africa, and this was well understood in Luanda and Maputo.

The leaders of Mozambique and Angola told Mr Shevardnadze that they welcomed South Africa's involvement in their respective peace processes, Mr Yudin wrote.

"The need for an early settlement of regional conflicts in Africa is becoming more and more evident."

"It should be noted that the viewpoints of Pretoria, Washington and Moscow on that

matter are identical." Mr Yudin said that in the past the Soviets political mistake in relationships with Africa was "heavy emphasis on ideology."

"The socialist choice was imposed on all, in disregard of the particular historical, economic and ethnic features."

"The economic model chosen by African countries of socialist orientation proved to be bankrupt almost everywhere. "If these states managed to keep afloat, it was largely due to Soviet financial injections."

Mr Yudin said the African states which had chosen socialism became a heavy burden on the already strained Soviet budget.

He disclosed that Angola's debt to the Soviet Union is about R7.8 billion.

In his trip to Africa, Mr Shevardnadze told the governments of the seven countries he visited that co-operation could no longer remain a one-way street, and "should at long last start bringing benefits to the Soviet Union as well."

SAP there to serve us all - Vlok

Police face ban from party politics



Mr Adriaan Vlok.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police are not planning a witchhunt to root out policemen who belong to political parties.

Law and Order Ministry sources gave this assurance today following the announcement by the Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday that legislation was pending to forbid policemen from belonging to political parties.

The sources conceded it would be impossible to be absolutely sure no policeman was a member of a political party. But they expected that officers would not defy the law.

Policemen would be expected, when canvassed for their political affiliations, not to divulge them.

This would make the policeman's job easier when he had to maintain law and order at political meetings. People would know he was not partial to any party.

The sources said they were not expecting a flood of resignations from the force because of the ban. They also denied it was aimed at members of the Conservative Party.

CP spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said it was "foolish" to expect that forbidding a policeman from belonging to a party would alter his convictions, adding that if ordinary civil servants could belong to political parties, so should policemen.

Police sources said this was not a hasty measure, and had been coming since the October 1988 municipal elections when the police had received a lot of criticism for bias.

The measure would also make it difficult for any political party to claim it had the support of the police.

Mr Vlok in his announcement yesterday said members of the police, as well as new recruits, would in future not be allowed to be members of any political party or organisation.

'Evil day'

Speaking during the debate on the law and order budget vote, he said the police force was an instrument in the service of the whole population of South Africa and was not there to be claimed for any party political aims.

It would be an evil day if the police started interfering in party politics.

The new ruling in no way interfered with the civil right of police to vote for the political party of their choice — in fact police were encouraged to vote in elections and not to be fence-sitters.

Stw 25/4/90

304A



Baby warms two firemen's hearts

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — A newborn baby, discovered in a garden refuse bag last weekend, is alive and well, thanks to the quick actions of two Nelspruit firemen.

A municipal employee at the town's cemetery, hearing a baby's cries from a knotted plastic bag lying near the graveyard, alerted the fire department at 10 am on Saturday.

Within minutes, fireman Mr

Peet Nienaber and his assistant, Mr Dewald Diedricks, arrived and heard the screaming infant.

"I ripped open the bag and found the little girl, covered in blood and wrapped in an old piece of carpet," Mr Diedricks said.

After clearing the child's nasal passages, the men gave her oxygen, knotted the umbilical cord, cut it and rushed the bitterly cold baby to hospital.

"It's a miracle that the baby is still alive," Mr Nienaber said. Doctors believe she was born 45

minutes before the firemen found her, he added.

Though still under doctors' care, the little girl has fully recovered and has gained weight.

Nurses at Nelspruit's Robreira Hospital have named the little girl Simphiwe, which means "give us by God", but it's the two men who are proudest of the find.

Since she was admitted to hospital, they have visited her regularly and plan to buy her her first bear.

PAC exile, family shot dead

An exiled member of the Pan Africanist Congress, his family of four, their nightwatchman and a dog were shot dead in Botswana before a powerful explosion des-

ters had planned to kill the entire family, waiting until Imran was at home because of school holidays.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim last night

Hit man 'can't remember'

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau
LONDON — Alleged former member Mr David

out policemen who belong to political parties.

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It would be an evil day if the police started interfering in party politics.

The new ruling in no way interfered with the civil right of police to vote for the political party of their choice — in fact police were encouraged to vote in elections and not to be fence-sitters.

The South African community was highly politicised and everything indicated that this would probably continue for some time, said Mr Vlok.

The Minister went on to say that the streets would soon be "covered in blood" if armed vigilantes were allowed to take them over.

He was replying to a question from Mr Jannie Momberg (DP Simon's Town) as to whether white vigilantes were being allowed to operate.

"We must take care that we do not allow organisations to be created that will lead to bloodshed."

In the recent past there had been a tendency towards the formation of organisations that were thinly disguised police forces.

In some cases they were called "white security guards" and in other cases "comrades or marshals".

"It is completely acceptable if, with the co-operation of the police, they assist in maintaining order at large gatherings. However it goes too far when they chase the police away and perform the functions of the police themselves."

I'm not involved - Minister

Active police reservists would have to resign from the force if they insisted on belonging to a political party, but he himself was on the B or inactive list of reservists and would not have to follow suit, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said on Tuesday.

He was replying during the debate in Parliament on the police vote to a question from Mr Moolman Mentz, Conservative MP for Ermelo, on the proposed rules barring police from being members of political parties.

"Are you a police reservist?" asked Mr Mentz from the floor.

"I was a reservist," replied Mr Vlok.

"I'm now on the B list, as an inactive reservist, because I'm in the political life and I can't be active in the re-

serve."

"If you were a reservist would you have to resign (under the new rules)?" asked Mr Mentz.

"If you want to be a reservist or a policeman and you also want to be a politician you must make a choice," replied Mr Vlok.

"You can't be both. You can't belong to a political party and be a policeman. It's as simple as that.

"This goes also for reservists. They are also policemen."

"And also for B list reservists?" interjected Mr Chris de Jager (CP, Bethal).

"B list reservists are people who are not active. We may not work actively," said Mr Vlok. — Sapa.

No education

decision — Clase

25/4/90 (50) (3044)
No final decisions had yet been made in regard to the new education models proposed on March 23 1990, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, said yesterday.

During an interpellation debate by Mr A Gerber (CP Brits) on whether the Government would regard the standpoint of representative parent bodies in regard to the proposed new education models as binding, he said no specific advice must be regarded as binding.

The Government would collect all the advice, study it and then decide on a model.

"No one will force a decision on the parents. When all the facts are available, they will have to decide for themselves."

According to Mr Gerber the Government had already decided which model they would implement. — Sapa.

Squatters can stay

Tygerberg Bureau

KRAAIFONTEIN Town Council has agreed to leave the Bloekombos squatters where they are until they can be moved to the Uitkyk site.

Kraaifontein municipality, with police protection, bulldozed several structures at the Bloekombos settlement in a dawn raid on April 10.

Kraaifontein Mayor Mr Arthur Collyer said yesterday that squatters who were on the Bloekombos site on April 20 could stay there until the move to Uitkyk "in the near future".

UNOCCUPIED

However, shacks that were unoccupied or partly constructed on April 19 would be demolished.

Mr Collyer said council representatives agreed to this at a meeting with Housing Minister Mr David Curry and provincial executive member Mr Koos Theron last week. Mr Theron indicated that his department would appropriate 20 hectares of land near Uitkyk to resettle the squatters.

Mr Curry undertook to provide services for the site.



NATIONAL

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26/4/90

Rightwing professor to help CP in by-election

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A leading rightwing figure in South Africa, Professor Johan Schabort, is to spend next week canvassing for the Conservative Party for the Umlazi by-election.

Professor Schabort was restricted to the magisterial district of Brits in November 1988 for his rightwing activities as leader of the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), in terms of the Internal Security Act.

He was also restricted from addressing more than 10 people at one time, and from speaking to the media.

The BBB was banned under the emergency regulations, but freed by President F W de Klerk on February 2 when he also unbanned the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.

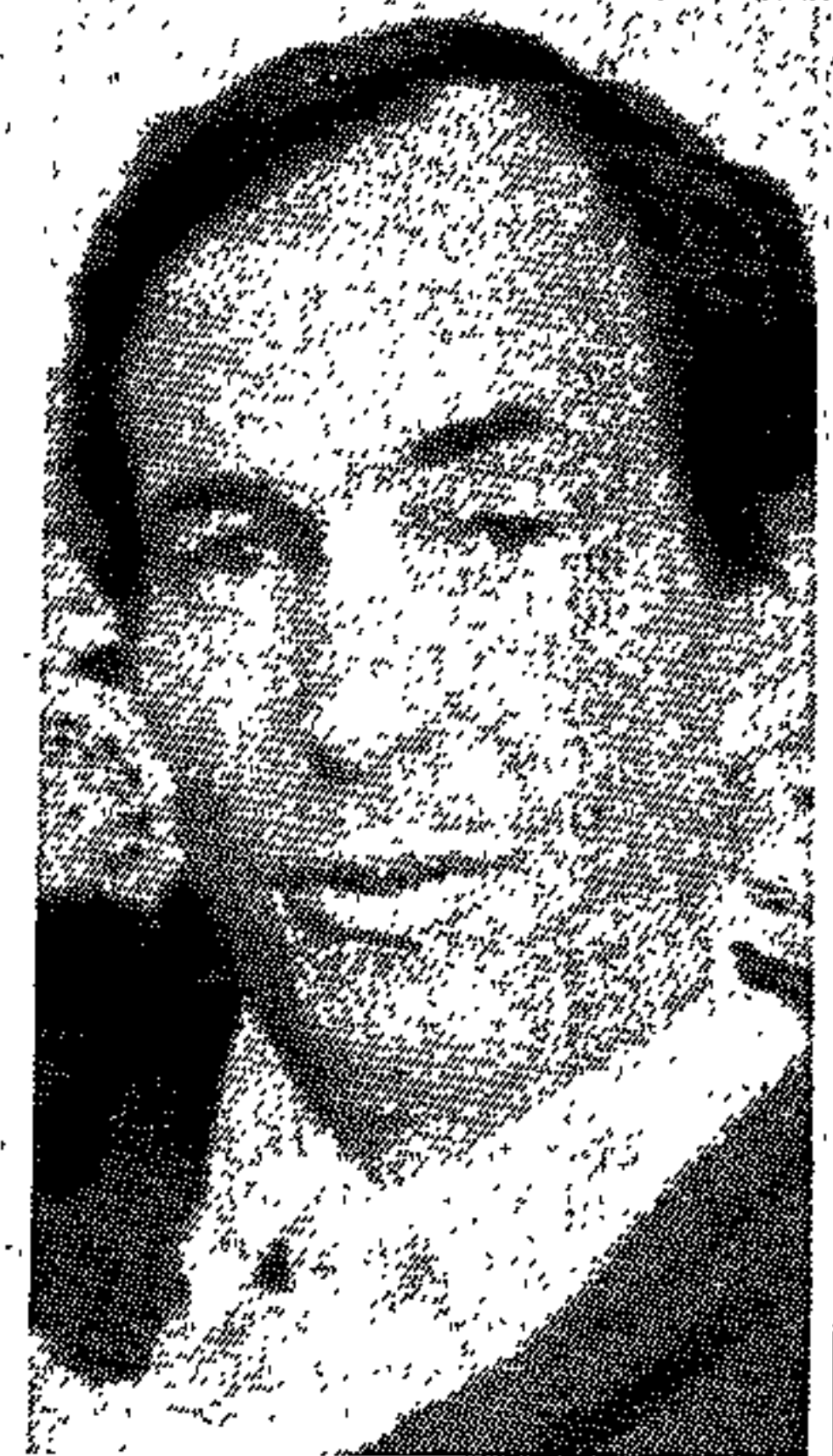
"Positive racist"

Professor Schabort is advocating unity among white patriots and has thus thrown in his lot with the CP. A professor of biochemistry and former head of the Department of Biochemistry at the Rand Afrikaans University, he is chairman of the CP's natural sciences and engineering advisory committee.

He is also, in his own words, a "positive racist based on love for my people" and refers to blacks as the "mud races".

When asked to define "mud races", he said they were the non-white races who, historically and scientifically, had proven they were inferior.

"They cannot maintain the standards set by the excellent white race," he said. "It is important to understand that these differences are genetic and unchangeable."



Professor Schabort

Professor Schabort will speak at a Patriotic Forum meeting next Friday in a Durban hotel.

The last Patriotic Forum meeting at the hotel took place in a room next to a room where an anti-apartheid group was meeting. Members of the Patriotic Forum broke up the anti-apartheid meeting and the hotel management had to sort out the fracas.

The CP candidate in Umlazi is Mr Francis Hitchcock. He is standing against the National Party's Mr Piet Matthee, the Democratic Party's Mr Trevor Coppen and independent candidate Mr Dave McNaught.

Business leaders to meet with ANC

Opt Tm's
26/4/90
304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — High-level discussions between the business community and the ANC on options for the country's future political economy are to be held here on May 23.

The gathering, organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), will include 400 of the country's top businessmen and 25 ANC leaders based both inside and outside South Africa.

Keynote addresses at the first conference will be Anglo American's roving ambassador Mr Gavin Rely and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The CBM described the meeting as a landmark one. It expected the discussions, to be held behind closed doors, to be "exploratory and form part of an on-going process".

Spokesman Mr Colin Coleman said the CBM hoped the meeting would be just the beginning of talks between the ANC and the business community over the shape of a future economy.

The CBM describes itself as "a voluntary grouping of senior business leaders who, from a business perspective, acknowledge and support the need for constructive transformation of South Africa's political economy".

"Its mission is to participate and initiate processes geared towards bridging the polarization in South Africa as the means to restore economic strength, by consulting across the broadest spectrum of interest groups to help create a prosperous, non-racial democratic South Africa."

The CBM began the process in 1987 with in depth discussions between businessmen and representatives of Cosatu and the UDF.

It has held a series of regional discussions between local business, union and political leaders in recent months.

Businessmen active in the CBM include Southern Life chief executive Mr Neal Chapman, Mr Leon Cohen of PG Bison, JCI director Mr Ken Maxwell, AECI managing director Mr Mike Sander, Volkswagen's Mr Peter Searle, Gencor director Mr Naas Steenkamp and Sentrachem managing director Mr Johan van der Walt.

Fish Hoek flocks to 'join' the AWB

By KIM CLARKIN

THE AWB Burger Council in Fish Hoek has been inundated with applications, with membership increasing to such an extent that the office has had to direct inquiries to its head office. This has followed

the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela.

A second council will open in Hermanus tomorrow with five regional bodies in Durbanville, Robertson, Malmesbury, Bredasdorp and either Piketberg or Vredenburg being established at a later stage. Under AWB rules each council need consist of only seven members.

According to the leader of the Western Cape AWB, Mr Steven Jacobson, the "blooming of the organisation" is due to people's realisation that the authenticity of the Nationalist government can't be trusted following the unbanning of the ANC on February 2 and the release of Nelson Mandela on February 11.

'Positive'

"Membership has increased locally to such an extent that we can't handle the flood of applications in Fish Hoek and many inquiries go straight to our head office which is also in a chaotic state," said Mr Jacobson, who is based in Fish Hoek.

The Fish Hoek AWB council has been in existence for 2½ years and

Mr Jacobson, originally from Lichtenburg, admitted that the difficulties of operating in the most "liberal part of South Africa" nearly drove him back to the Western Transvaal where "all right-wingers come from". However, since interest in the organisation snowballed in the wake of public talks given by AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche at the end of February, he is "very positively motivated".

This ultra right-wing organisation, which classifies itself as a "people's resistance movement" with the aim of preserving the Afrikaner boer nation, reportedly attracts followers from all walks of life and members have been recruited from French, English, German, Hungarian, Italian and Portuguese backgrounds.

"We are concentrating our membership drive in the Cape Peninsula at present and invite people to our meetings or to distribute literature. Our members are expected to take part in most of our activities — but some are afraid of victimisation."

Activities range from meetings of the Burger

Council to training sessions which include shooting practice, unarmed combat, bushcraft, survival techniques and dog training.

"Men, women and children, anyone who can handle a gun in fact, is trained in shooting because when the onslaught comes we will all have to fight the enemy which includes liberal whites who are selling our country out and the ANC Communists. We are preparing ourselves mentally and physically for this."

When asked what he would do if Cape Town was declared an open city, Mr Jacobson replied: "We will take our instructions from Eugene Terre-Blanche and follow him to the last man."

Although the Cape doesn't fall within the AWB's "White Nation State" — roughly the Transvaal, OFS and Northern Natal — Mr Jacobson made it clear that "when the revolution comes, the rest of South Africa, where our membership is strong, will be included in the boerestaat. Our members will enforce this through the barrel of a gun".

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Freedom - in our time -

Setting the 'table'

MOST people believe each side comes to the negotiations table with insistent, if not extreme demands.

The demands are gradually softened by confrontations, threats and pleading.

If the two parties do not trust each other, negotiations cannot succeed.

The positions of each party should be determined and a compromise found between the two extremes.

Concern exists about enforcing the compromise, and representatives often face the daunting task of trying to convince their constituency to support the agreement with the argument, "It's the best we could get, given the circumstances".

Future

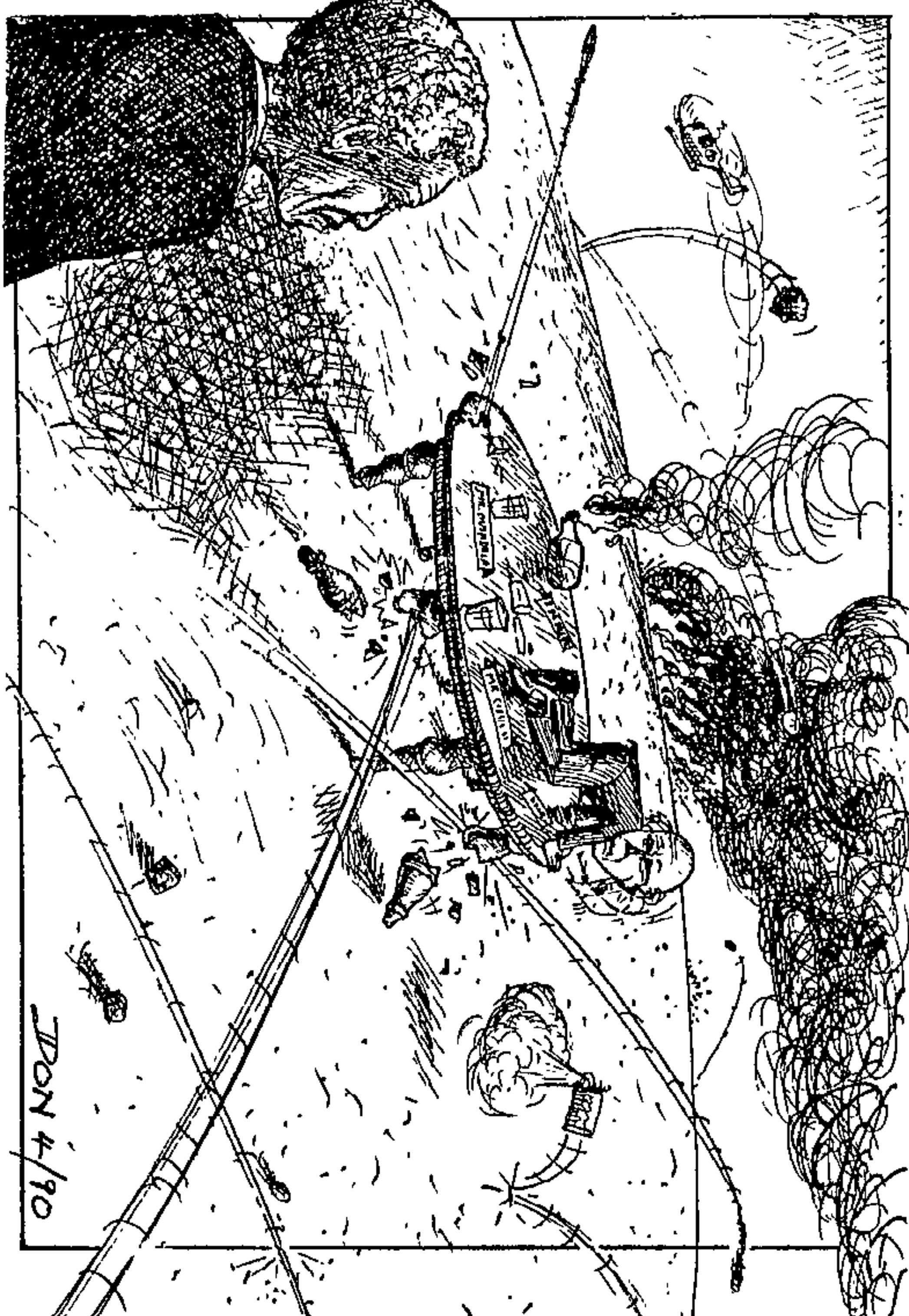
If this is the kind of negotiations South Africans have in mind when they anticipate the future, the process will be long and arduous.

The situation in South Africa, however, is unique and — while lessons can be learnt from other countries — they cannot be imposed in our negotiations.

The South African government and the ANC are

Most people view negotiations as a battlefield where two opposing sides continue their war at the bargaining table.

But, to progress at the table, key leaders will need to break from their old ways of thinking, not only about South Africa, but about negotiation itself. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:



not bargaining petty issues. They will debate the transfer of power from the National Party to the majority of people.

Their negotiations will determine not only a new constitution for the country, but — many hope — a new way of life.

People's expectations of negotiations are high. They expect it to deliver jobs, housing, education, land and health for all.

This was accomplished recently when the government unbanned the ANC and 35 other organisations, freeing them to meet, consult and plan for negotiations.

The popular myth of the government and the ANC sitting down at a table and negotiating the future of the nation is unrealistic.

The two key actors may well be able to agree on next steps for a negotiation process which will quickly bring in broader actors.

Getting to the table, or pre-negotiation, is often the hardest part of the job. "Bargaining about bargaining" is thus a key stage in negotiation.

tations can take place. These include:

Location — where talks are held often hold enormous emotional symbolism for parties.

Time frame — when to meet, how often and for how long.

Participants — who will be at the bargaining table?

Procedures and ground rules — format of discussion, behaviour at the table, how to deal with the media.

Challenge

The real challenge in South Africa will not be how to devise processes capable of bringing the right people to the right place at the right time. Rather, the question is whether the key actors are prepared to learn from the hard-won lessons of similar situations elsewhere.

(Adapted from an article by Ron Kraybill, an authority on conflict mediation established at the UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, published in the January 1990 edition of Leadership.)



Mandela



Sisulu



Nzo



Gumede



Mompoti



Kathrada



Mbeki

"STRENGTH through diversity" has been a favourite government cliché for describing South Africa's diverse mixture of tribes and cultures.

But when that government sits down for talks with the ANC next week, it will be their opponents who hold the most diverse — and some will say — strongest hand.

The ANC delegation is a fascinating mixture of men and women, Christians and communists, militants and moderates — all gathered under the movement's flag.

Broederbond

The ANC team, to be led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, ironically contains a former Broederbond, the Reverend Beyers Naude.

Co-opted to bolster the ANC group are two officials of the United Democratic Front, co-president Archie Gumede and Western Cape publicity officer Cheryl Carolus.

Naude's inclusion has come as a surprise but the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, explained: "He has been associated with the ANC for a very long time and has contributed tremendously to our struggle."

"Granted, like some others in the delegation, he is not a member of the ANC's national executive committee, but he is a

leading personality in anti-apartheid circles."

Apart from being the leader of the delegation, Mandela's main contribution will be his high-esteem among the men he will face across the table.

Gumede was more likely to be elected because of his knowledge and understanding of the violence in his home province of Natal — a topic expected to feature strongly.

Undoubtedly, a key member of the delegation is Thabo Mbeki, the 47-year-old director of the ANC's international affairs portfolio.

He is gifted with debating qualities. His ability to interact on a one-to-one basis with a Frederik van Zyl Slabbert or the former head of Anglo American Corporation, Gavin Relly, is well known.

Diplomatic

He has been at the centre of the ANC's diplomatic and political efforts abroad and is one of the main authors of the document that later became known as the Harare Declaration.

His CV includes military training in the Soviet Union and an MA degree in economics from Sussex University.

He is tipped as a future president of the ANC.

The most senior exiled member of the the ANC is

Indications are that the ANC '11' to represent the movement at next week's historic meeting with the government have been selected to produce results.

A mixed bag of young and old, Robben Island stalwarts and Young Turks based in Lusaka and inside the country, make up a formidable team.

MONO BADELA looks at the men and women the Nats will face:

secretary general Alfred Nzo.

With Oliver Tambo, he is credited with keeping the movement's structures together during the lonely years in exile. He heads the movement's external mission in the absence of the ailing Tambo.

A former health inspector in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg, he participated in the 1952 defiance campaign.

Boycott

He also played a leading role in the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra.

Joe Slovo, former chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is a figure white South Africa has come to hate.

A secretary general of the South African Communist Party, he served on the ANC's revolutionary council from 1969 until it was disbanded in 1983.

He was the first white to be elected to the the ANC's national executive committee.

Ahmed Kathrada, the 60-year-old former Rivonia trialist, is known to be an

ideologue in the ANC and a key figure in the internal leadership core.

Walter Sisulu, at 78, is the most senior member of

the delegation. A former ANC secretary-general, he now heads the newly-formed ANC Internal Leadership Core.

He serves on the ANC's national executive committee based in Lusaka.

Joe Modise, as commander-in-chief of the

ANC's army, is expected to provide the main response to the government's insistence that the ANC suspend its armed struggle.

Ruth Mompoti is a senior member of the ANC's NEC and a noted strategist on the Political and Military Council. She is a veteran of the 1952 defiance campaign.

She has been out of the country since 1962.



Modise



Carolus



Slovo



Naude



WEST COAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
WESKUS. RAAD VAN KERKE
IQUMRU LEENKONZO ZONXWEME LENTSHONA

The West Coast Council of Churches support the talks about talks between the ANC and the NP Government. These talks are crucial for peace in South Africa.

We believe that these talks are the fruit of decades of struggle, both internally and externally.

We see this as the beginning of the process of negotiations, that will ultimately ensure a just and democratic settlement for all in South Africa.

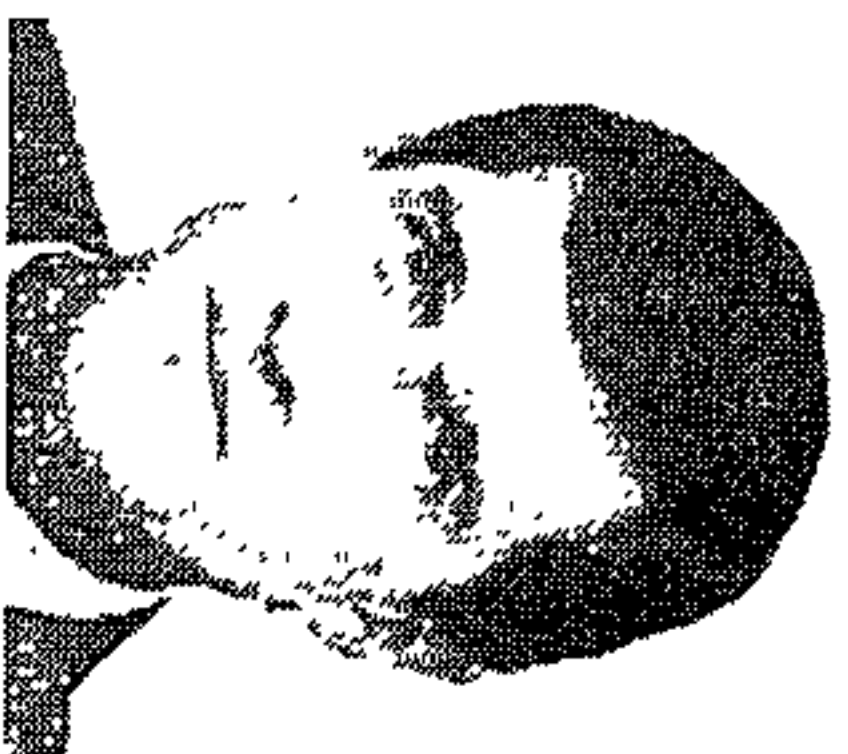
We pray that the talks will lead to a commitment by both parties to remove the stumbling blocks for the negotiations and ensure PEACE in OUR LIFETIME!



ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela greets the nation



Coetsee



Meyer



Botha



De Villiers



Du Plessis



De Klerk



Van der Merwe

The most striking thing about the government's negotiating team for May 2 with the ANC is how under-represented the Cape is and how prominent the Transvaal is.

Or viewed differently, how the University of Stellenbosch does not shape up to the University of Potchefstroom.

It demolishes one popu-

larly held view — namely that the Cape is more liberal than the Transvaal — because the nine men represent the strongly 'veligite' element in the Cabinet, with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok probably being closer to the centre of the National Party.

The other eight are FW de Klerk (State President), Gerrit Viljoen (Constitu-

Potch slant to FW's team

tional Development, Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Stoffel van der Merwe (Education and Development), Barend du Plessis (Finance), Dawie de Villiers (Mineral and Energy Affairs, Public Enterprises), Kobie Coetsee (Justice) and

Stellenbosch

Of these only Dawie de Villiers went to Stellenbosch and is also the only Cape Minister — a far cry from the days when it was accepted that Maties provide the leaders of the National Party.

The University of Potchefstroom provides two and a half members — FW himself plus Barend du Plessis and Stoffel van der Merwe, who started out at Potch but finished his degree at the University of Pretoria.

create a just society — a view and an approach which has Potchefstroom stamped all over it and one which is too frequently ignored when evaluating the De Klerk National Party.

Note, too, that the two men who carry most weight in the NP's caucus and in the party itself, are FW de Klerk and Barend du Plessis, both born in Johannesburg, schooled on the Reef and are Potch Old Boys.

With the exception of Vlok, all the ministers also sit on the special Cabinet committee on negotiation. Vlok has taken the place of Provincial Affairs Minister

FW de Klerk has surprised in naming his team for the historic talks with the ANC on May 2.

A possible influence on the line-up is the University of Potchefstroom and the Gereformeerde Kerk.

HARALD PAKEN-DORF examines the make-up of FW's side:

ing apartheid measures while several of the negotiating team have stressed the need for negotiations to get off the ground sooner rather than later.

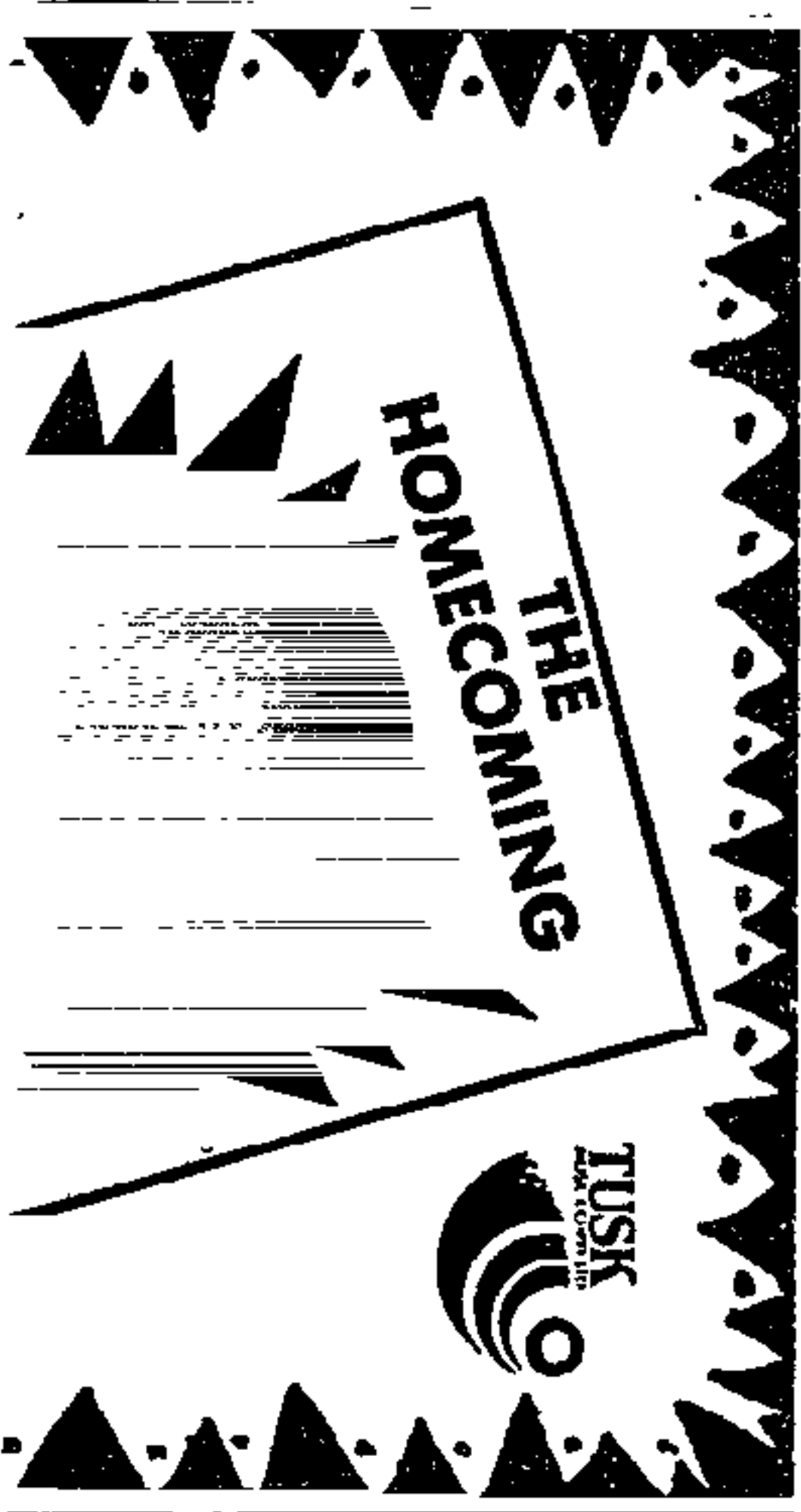
Of course, the main




Vlok

Viljoen

issues on the table will be the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners. The government will place the issue of violence high on the agenda and will look to a date for the next round.





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three and a half representatives—Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen and also Stoffel. The Free State university in Bloemfontein has two ex-students — Kobie Coetsee and Roelf Meyer.

While the geographic element is interesting, more important is the influence of Potcheitroom, intellectual home of the Gereformeerde Kerk, smallest of the three Dutch Reformed Churches. It is the most conservative of these churches in its social view but has always been strongly verligpolitically.

Increasingly the National Party leadership is saying that what it wants to do in South Africa is

indication that Kriel is too conservative but that the issue of law and order will be high on the agenda on May 2.

Exclusion

Most noticeable is the exclusion of senior minister Magnus Malan, whose department is playing a much smaller role under De Klerk than under Botha.

The composition of the government team underscores the fact that the basic issues to be discussed are political and not security-related.

In the past few weeks De Klerk has committed his government to the scrapping of the remain-

FW de Klerk
Kobie Coetsee
Adriaan Vlok
Roelf Meyer
Stoffel vd Merwe
Gerrit Viljoen
Pik Botha
Barend du Plessis
Dawie de Villiers



Nelson Mandela
Alfred Nzo
Walter Sisulu
Ruth Mompati
Joe Modise
Joe Slovo
Ahmed Kathrada
Beyers Naude
Archie Gumede
Thabo Mbeki
Cheryl Carolus



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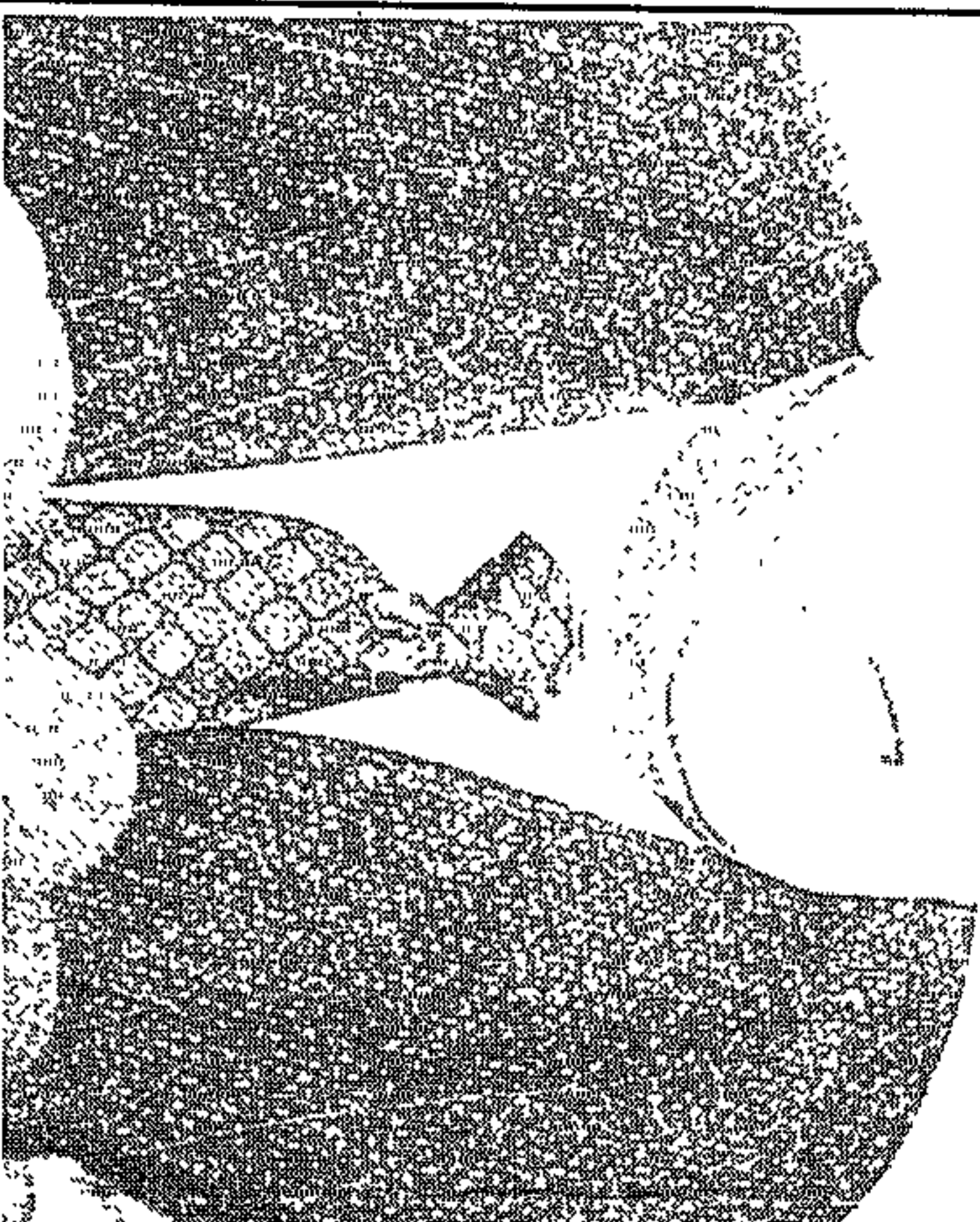
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State President FW de Klerk



IT appears President FW De Klerk's velvet glove was lined with steel when he made his dramatic announcements in parliament on February 2.

When he unbanned the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and South African Communist Party; and then ten days later he released Nelson Mandela, all of us cheered for here was a man to our liking.

Now three months later, he makes statements on British TV that shock us out of our euphoria.

After scrupulously going through his interview, I have this sinking feeling we are back to square one.

De Klerk linked calls for redistribution to socialism. He said he and his party did not support this concept.

Although taken aback by these statements, expecting better of the man, I am not surprised. The leopard does not change its spots.

Before the general election last year, *The Star* newspaper compared the Democratic Party, Conservative Party and National Party election manifestoes.

They all rejected redistribution, talking of opening opportunities to all.

Let us take a brief look at this opening of opportunities to all.

Opportunities can be only be utilised by those equipped to take

FW's velvet glove was lined with steel...

advantage of them.

As De Klerk and his cabinet ministers have publicly admitted that black education has serious shortcomings, how does he expect our children to take advantage of those opportunities?

The country's major employers; the mining houses, industrial giants and even his parastatals, all complain of the poor crop of graduates that flow from black universities and high schools.

Our children thus hardly have a chance when they vie for jobs with graduates from Pretoria University, Wits, UCT, Rhodes and Rau.

Yes-men

Employers end up giving them jobs because they are black, further denuding the esteem they have of themselves.

Some of the more ambitious turn into yes-men.

Our kids are not stupid or slow thinkers, as the disciples of apartheid claim, but the dice has been loaded against them since their birth.

This imbalance has affected every aspect of our lives.

According to Mark Addleson, an economist at the Wits Business School, income distribution in this country shows

It's
my

business



THAMI MAZWAI

that 20 percent of South Africans earn 60 percent of the country's income.

Forty percent, which includes a small number of blacks, share 33 percent.

The remaining 40 percent, and this means blacks, must make do with the remaining seven percent.

The unemployed, millions of our people, hardly feature much in these differentials.

De Klerk then tells us redistribution cannot be part of the new deal.

In township lingo I can only say: *Uyadlala*. We simply cannot expect a perpetuation of this status quo.

Also, as far as I know, redistribution is as much a part of socialism as it is of modern capitalism.

White South Africa wants to have its cake

and eat it too. They talk of change, but this change must not affect their privileges.

De Klerk says you cannot take from those who have.

We agree, but those who got more than the share they were entitled to must now be prepared to forgo this extra cash. Not unless we are being told they have got so used to the extra cash, that it would be cruel robbing them of it.

Our need

No sir, I reject this.

According to the NECC we need R21.5 billion to bring black education on par with that for whites. This simply means white education must only get that little to coast along, and everything must be thrown into black education.

We cannot overlook, as in the education example I have

just given, that Government expenditures in the past maintained white living standards at the expense of those of blacks.

To equate black living standards with those for whites, the Government must now reverse the process.

More money per head must be channelled our way. Is this unreasonable?

Getting funds for your new concern

*From Page 14

is used to calculate what the financial requirements of the business will be. Under receipts you will show how much money you intend putting into the business and how the money from the sales made will flow into the business.

If you intend selling for cash only then it is easy to show, but if the nature of the business is such that you will grant your customers credit then you have to make assumptions about how they will pay.

Under payments you must detail, in addition to your monthly expenses, the cost of any assets the business will need to purchase. These could include furniture, equip-

Soviet in bid to link up with South Africa

3048
Soviet 1/190

THERE are now clear indications that the Soviet Union could soon open some kind of representation in South Africa even though diplomatic relations between the two countries have been ruled out.

For the second time in one week Soviet sources have said that it is essential to maintain contacts with South Africa and that channels must be created to make those contacts permanent.

Mr M Yusin, a special political correspondent with the *Izvestia* newspaper in Moscow, said the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, had ruled out diplomatic relations with Pretoria but had told him that "it was essential to maintain contacts at other levels."

"One gets the impression that several concrete plans already exist in this regard. However, neither side is in a hurry to make them public. This is quite understandable - the issue is more than sensitive," Mr Yusin wrote in an article published by the *Africa News Organisation*, Anso.

Yusin last month

accompanied Shevardnadze on his trip to seven African countries during which the Soviet Foreign Minister held talks with President FW de Klerk in Windhoek.

Last week the Soviet Union's ambassador at large, Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov, said contacts between

Eduard Shevardnadze and President FW de Klerk, relations between Moscow and Pretoria could soon be expanding. At the same time, and as *Sowetan* Africa News Service reports, the Soviet Union is taking a critical look at Africa's socialist countries describing them as "bankrupt almost everywhere."

Moscow and Pretoria were taking place at several international forums and that South

Africa wanted to go "considerably further" in contacts between the two countries.

Ustinov ruled out diplomatic relations with South Africa but said that in principle he could not rule out "any further development of forms of Soviet-South Africa contacts"

Expanding

"They will be expanding and at a certain stage Soviet official institutions might also appear in South Africa," Ustinov said.

In his article for Anso, Mr Yusin said the Soviet Foreign Minister was inclined to keep supporting sanctions against South Africa, but he said "political contact... is a different matter."

The problems in Angola and Mozambique could not be solved without South Africa and this was well understood in

Lunda and Maputo. The leaders of Mozambique and Angola had told Shevardnadze that they welcomed South Africa's involvement in their respective peace process, Yusin wrote.

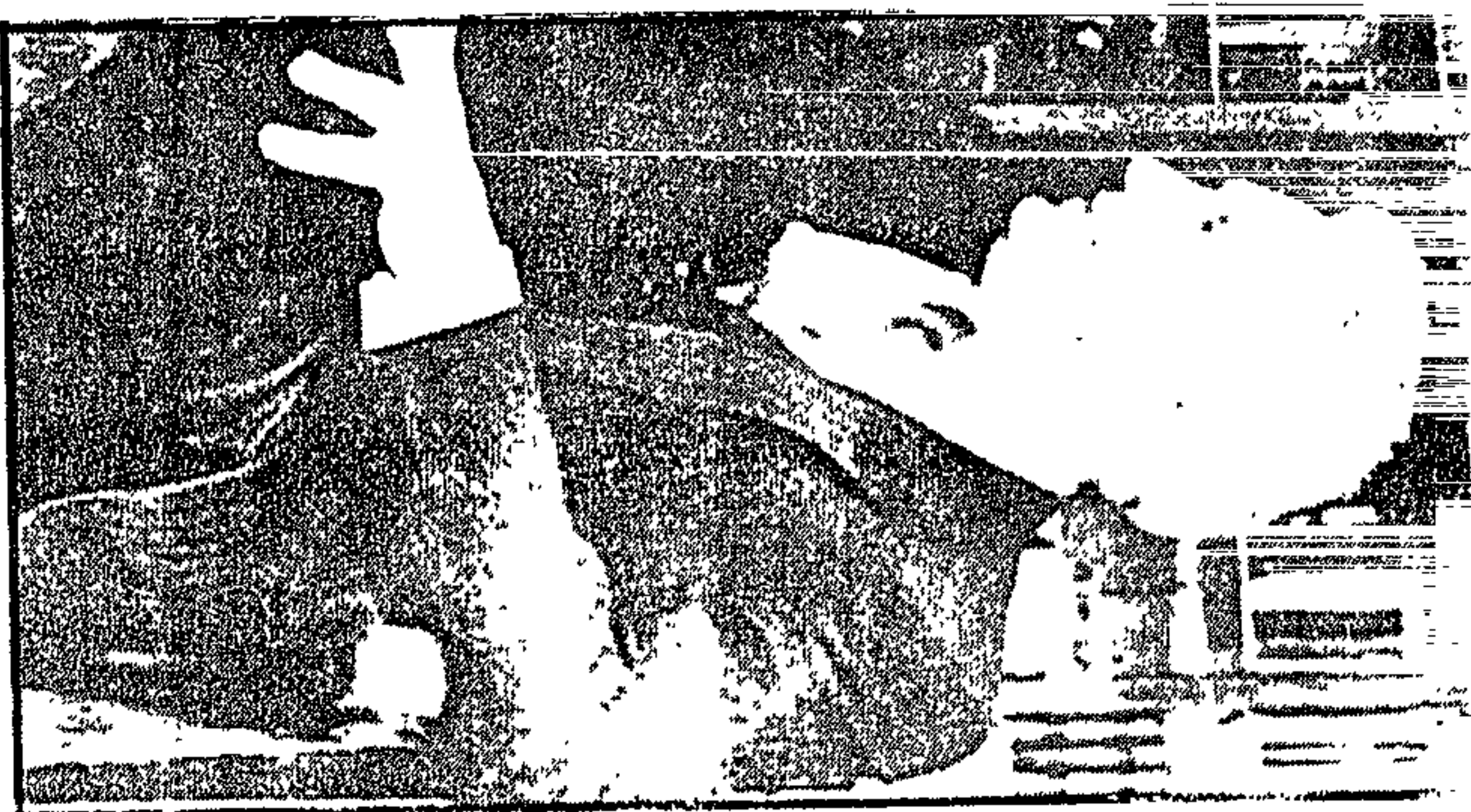
Evident

"The need for an early settlement of regional conflicts in Africa is becoming more and more evident. It should be noted that the viewpoints of Pretoria, Washington and Moscow on that matter are identical," he added.

In his article Yusin said that in the past the Soviet Union's political mistake in its relationships with Africa was "the heavy emphasis on ideology."

"The socialist choice was imposed on all in disregard of the particular historical, economic and ethnic features."

"The economic model chosen by African countries of



Foreign Minister Shevardnadze

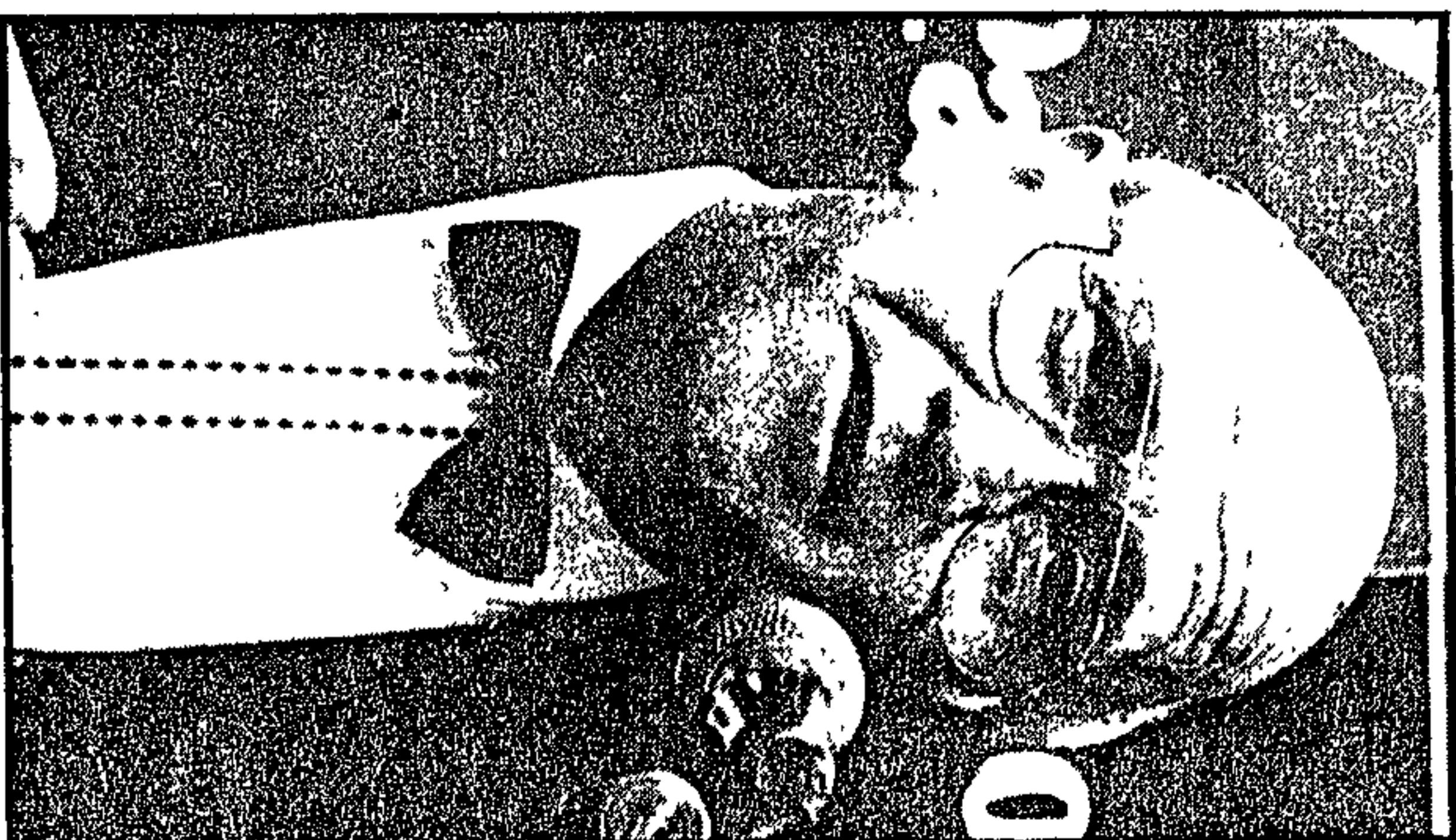
socialist orientation proved to be bankrupt almost everywhere. If these states managed to keep afloat it was largely due to Soviet financial injections," he said.

Burden

Yusin said the African states which had chosen socialism became a heavy burden on the already strained Soviet budget. He dis-

closed that Angola's debt to the Soviet Union is about R7.8 billion (3 billion US dollars).

On his trip to Africa Mr Shevardnadze had told the governments of the seven countries he visited that cooperation could no longer remain a one-way street and "should at long last start bringing benefits to the Soviet Union as well."



President FW de Klerk

Ban on cops in politics is not set to hit force

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

POLICE are not expecting a flood of resignations following the decision to forbid their members from belonging to political parties.

And Law and Order ministry sources have denied that the ban is aimed at members of the Conservative Party.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok told Parliament on Tuesday that legislation would be introduced soon to enforce the ban.

Sowetan 26/11/90
Right

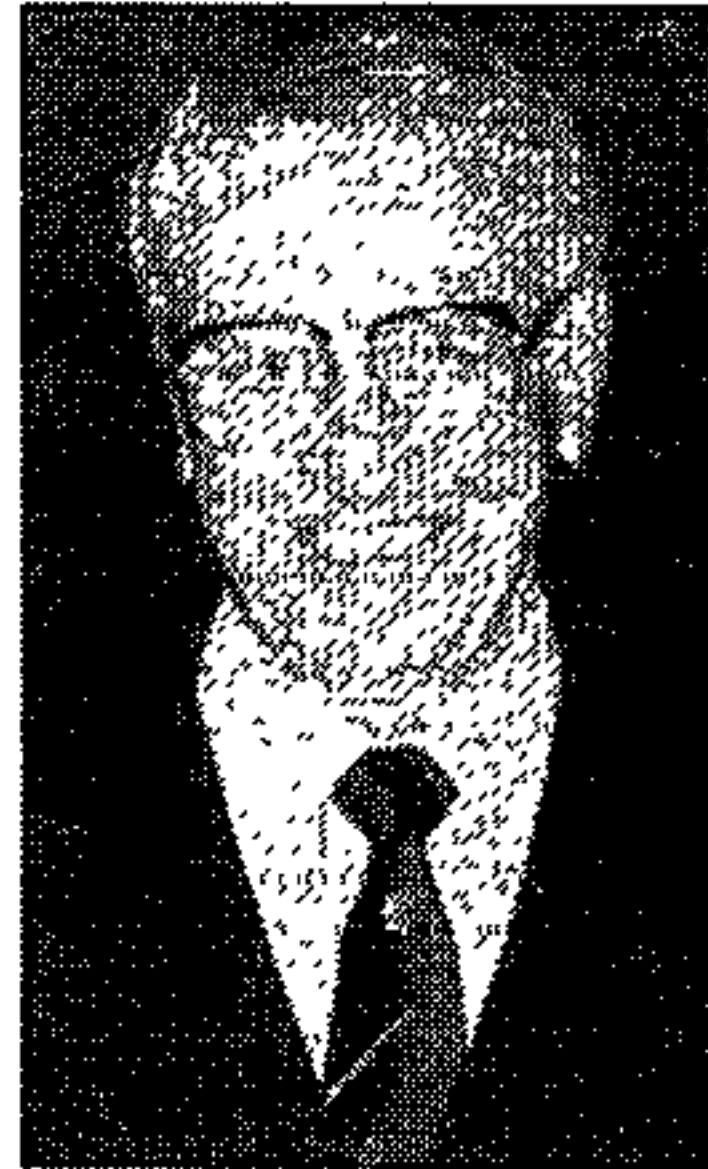
Conservative Party law and order spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz disagreed with the decision yesterday and said that it was "foolish" to expect that forbidding a policeman from belonging to a party would alter his convictions.

He said if ordinary civil servants could belong to political parties, policemen should also be allowed to.

This was their democratic right.

He could not say whether the measure was aimed at the CP.

Police sources said that the ban would make the policeman's job easier.



ADRIAAN VLOK

when he had to maintain law and order at political meetings.

People would know he was not partial to any party.

It would be impossible to be absolutely sure that no policeman was a member of a political party.

However policemen would be expected when canvassed for their political affiliations, not to divulge them.

The sources said that this was not a hasty measure and had been coming since the October 1988 municipal elections when the police had received a lot of criticism for bias.

The measure would also make it difficult for any political party to claim it had the support of the police.

Form committee to probe leak - call ³⁰⁴⁹

A SPECIAL parliamentary committee should be formed to look into the security document purporting to reveal ANC assassination plans leaked to the Conservative Party by a Government agent, Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz is to propose.

He is to move a motion calling for the formation of a house committee, to form part of a joint committee, to look into a report on the "circumstances and implications relating to the production, transmission and publication" of the document.



SCHWARTZ

The document, made public by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, has led to sharp exchanges between the CP and the Government.

The CP is refusing to divulge its source.

* Schwarz is also to move a motion that MPs be given an opportunity this session to look into possible unauthorised spending by the controversial Civil Co-operation Bureau.

He wants the Joint Committee on Public Accounts to have a report from the Auditor-General on possible unauthorised expenditure from the Special Defence Account for any period before April 1988 and after March 1989. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Sowetan 26/4/90

Economic and political systems usually mixed

South Africa 26/4/90

364A

SHAPING A Future South Africa - A Citizen's Guide to Constitution Making, edited by Bobby Godsell, is a new book which explores democratic options. This is the fifth in a series of six articles by Margie Keeton highlighting some of the book's themes. She is a member of the team which produced the book.

socialist or capitalist. Nor is it necessarily determined by the extent of the state's role in the economy or the level taxes.

Generosity

Rather the scale and generosity of these payments is linked to the wealth of the country.

What about the compatibility of capitalism and socialism with different political systems?

Both systems are to be found in countries with democratic and undemocratic governments, although all democratic countries in the world are capitalist to a significant extent.

Certainly, there cannot be meaningful democracy in a society where most of the economy is owned by the state.

Free elections are impossible when an all-powerful government, whose members will succumb to the inevitable and human desire to remain in power, control all means of communication and can deny opposition elements the necessary resources to ensure a free and fair contest.

Clearly the fundamental question is one of power - how much to give

on its own will not provide the solutions and indeed may deliver the opposite of what is intended in the hands of an undemocratic government.

Socialism is often thought to bring equality, but in circumstances where the people do not control the government which then acts in the interest of those who do control it, socialism could well lead to greater inequality.

Here it is important to remember that there are limits to what governments can achieve - no matter what politicians may say!

And the most fundamental limits are set by economic reality. Economic rules are the one set of rules which cannot be broken, although many governments have tried, to their country's great cost.

No country has unlimited resources and the extent to which a government wants to meet "need A", limits its ability to address "need B".

As South Africa is not a wealthy country by world standards this means some difficult trade-offs will have to be made.

An economic system is sometimes presented rather starkly - either socialism or capitalism. In fact, things are more complicated. Neither system exists in a "pure" form anywhere in the world and most countries have a mix of the two.

Under socialism the "means of production" are owned by the state or by the people.

Under capitalism they are privately owned and may be bought or sold. The "means of production" are simply those things which are used to make other things or to produce wealth, including

all kinds of machines and tools.

In a socialist system wages, prices and patterns of employment are set by the state.

In a capitalist system they are determined by the competition between the owner of capital and the workers for jobs, labour and customers.

Business

In most socialist countries, there is a good deal of private business activity within the limits set by the state on prices, the scale of operations and the like.

Equally, in capitalist countries, the government often owns a sizeable por-

WHAT is the relationship between a country's economic system and its political system? How does the one impact on the other? If we opt for a particular economic system, does it mean certain political systems are then impossible or, alternatively, inevitable?

An economic system confers power on the government, the political system sets the rules for the use of that and defines the people in whose interests it will be use.

Under a given economic system a monarchy, a democracy and a dictatorship will have different economic consequences because the common economic powers will be used to different ends in the interests of the different people who control the government.

The choice of economic

systems. The choice of economic system confers power on the government, the political system sets the rules for the use of that and defines the people in whose interests it will be use.

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The choice of economic

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The choice of economic

Star 26/4/90 304A

Middle ground must act

There are many straws in the wind these days and they are all blowing in different directions. The political scene is so confused that it is difficult indeed to discern trends, options, directions. Yet it is vital to do so in order to be able to take constructive action.

Contrary to all expectations, it seems that we now have the extraordinary phenomenon of the Government and the ANC occupying the middle ground. They do this not because they share common beliefs or ideologies, but because they are willing to negotiate an acceptable future and are showing surprising flexibility, tolerance and willingness to compromise.

When Mr Mandela was released, one nursed the irrational hope that his history, his ability and his undoubted stature would somehow make it possible for him to overcome all obstacles, contain his constituency, and be permitted to rise above it in order to achieve the miracle of peace, negotiation and an end to violence. Obviously this was asking too much of any one man, but he has certainly tried.

So has Mr de Klerk, from where

ANC, Nats both have ability to compromise

JOYCE HARRIS of the Transvaal region of the Black Sash argues the need for the middle ground in South African politics to be strengthened to achieve a just society as soon as possible.

he stands. Both leaders have taken enormous risks with their constituencies, the results of which are demonstrated by the osmosis of the middle ground towards the peripheries. The PAC appears to be consolidating. Violence in Natal is escalating and spreading to other areas.

The hideous necklace has surfaced once again. The security forces sometimes appear to be out of control. The right wing is stealing arms from the Air Force and threatening to go for the throat of the ANC and the National Party is bleeding. The creation of the middle

ground has not been without risks.

These remain and will be aggravated for as long as the middle ground is unable to consolidate itself, control its constituencies, and show tangible, constructive results.

The field in the middle is fertile — the Government, the ANC, business, Cosatu, the UDF, Nactu, the DP, liberals and their organisations, Inkatha — all those who have professed a preference for negotiation and peace.

Lumping these disparate constituencies together in the middle ground may require a double take. They appear to be odd bedfellows.

But the scenario is very different from that which has prevailed during all the years of National Party rule and the ideology of apartheid.

There has been a very real shift in the political configuration and it must be recognised.

It may be difficult indeed for all such parties and organisations to co-operate. It will probably go entirely against the grain for many of them. But each has its supporters. Each has its policies. Each has a stake in the future of this country, and each can help to swell the middle ground and make it prevail, stopping the leak to the peripheries.

If the process is allowed to reverse itself, if the leak is in the opposite direction and the radicalism, or the reaction, or the violence of the periphery are allowed to

spread and permeate the middle ground, the result can only be anarchy, bloodshed and disaster.

The middle ground will need to do more than woo its supporters to prevent the leak. It will have to deal firmly with all the chaos being created on the periphery. It will have to find a way of handling the violence in Natal and elsewhere, a violence which is becoming increasingly mindless and which feeds upon itself. Somehow this will have to be defused and the perpetrators courted with attractive alternatives.

The existence of a strong middle ground of co-operating constituencies will help, by offering positive, visible alternatives and hope for an eventual solution of all the problems. But it will have to act urgently and with firmness and strength, intervening physically to put a stop to the horrors that are being perpetrated and to exercise control.

None of this is easy. But the alternatives are "too ghastly to contemplate".

The middle ground must win. The periphery must be controlled and absorbed, so the contribution to the middle ground becomes increasingly broad.

Everyone has a part to play to strengthen the middle ground, and all of its constituencies must co-operate so that negotiations can proceed with the least possible delay and positive steps can be taken to stop the rot, quell the appetite for violence and get on course towards a future acceptable to all our people.

All those constituencies comprising the middle ground, actually or potentially, should stop their politicking and go for the achievement of a just society for all as peacefully as possible. Only then can their various agendas be brought into play, to be argued and not fought over. The future of the country demands this.

304A
26/4/90

Theories of alliances may be a little glib

GRAHAM LINSOTT examines current theories on possible alliances the National Party may consider with major black political groups.

An alliance between the Nats and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach an historic compromise. They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus do not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC states are excluded it is doubtful. Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance. Nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking. It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general, has already cried "Whoa" to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs to be branded with is Muzorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Muzorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC?

A broad consensus or grand alliance containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority, winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speak lately: power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers — one majoritarian, the other representing groups. This is straight from the proposals of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model. At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the homelands and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance — including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP and others — could create uncertainties. In time — and possibly quite a long time — power-sharing just might become more attractive.

Which brings us to bar-room theory No 2, usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establishments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated kwaZulu just a troublesome region — a containable Savimbi factor.

I hae me doots. And are we not weary of theories?

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions that have been tacked together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.

FW, Mandela expected to visit US soon

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are expected to take up President Bush's invitation to visit the United States within the next two months.

Mr Mandela is expected to visit Washington first, but the African National Congress has been urged to wait until after the high profile summit meeting between Mr Bush and President Gorbachev, scheduled to take place in May.

ANC sympathisers are recommending early June as a good time, after the publicity surround-

ing the superpower summit has subsided and the media can concentrate on Mr Mandela.

According to Washington commentators, the ANC will use Mr Bush's invitation to visit the White House as a stepping stone to reach the American public.

The ANC deputy president is expected to address a joint session of both Houses of Congress, an honour normally given to visiting heads of state.

He may also make one or two other high profile public appearances elsewhere in the US, including New York and the West Coast.

By appealing directly to the

American public for support, commentators predict Mr Mandela will keep up the pressure on both Congress and the Bush administration to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

Mr de Klerk's visit to the US is likely to be a more low profile affair. Some observers believe his visit will be announced only a day or two before, and that the South African president may be in Washington only a few hours.

Speculation in Washington is that Mr de Klerk will make a snap visit to Mr Bush either immediately before or after his coming tour of European capitals.

5/21
26/4/90

304A

CP won't revolt — Dr No

The Conservative Party would fight at the ballot box and did not speculate about revolution or counter-revolution but supported the rights of the public to defend themselves when they came under threat, the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement yesterday.

He asked whether the Government was aiming to disarm CP supporters while the ANC and the PAC were receiving weapons to carry on an armed struggle.

However, he said he had warned his supporters against talk of a coup d'etat and shooting as they pleased. But the Government had allowed the unrest to get out of hand leading to a feeling of insecurity among many people.

"People are arming themselves and they have the right to defend themselves. We support them. They are keeping their weapons ready and some are even threatening to start shooting." — Sapa.

NP, ANC will rule together - De Beer

CAPE TOWN — Leaders of the National Party and the ANC would sit together in one government in the near future, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

Addressing a DP meeting in Cape Town, he said this might sound improbable, but he believed it would prove essential, and that the country would one day see it happen.

He said South Africa would need a broadly-based coalition government in the future.

In 1933, after the Great Depression and before people of colour were participating in politics as they were now, it was necessary for the South African Party and the NP to merge to form the United Party. "In the near future we will need something similar."

He said it was necessary to have a government which would enjoy legitimacy.

"Now I am sure there are people who believe that a government composed of black people only could meet these cri-

teria. In the short run, anyhow, I do not believe it.

"The economy of South Africa is in deep trouble, and whilst it is true that this is mainly the result of apartheid, simply scrapping apartheid will not be a panacea.

"We shall also need skills, business experience, international relationships and all the factors which make the private sector work. And these, for the time being, are chiefly provided by white people. Hence the need for a wider political base."

Referring to rumours of an alliance between the NP and Inkatha, he said Inkatha policy did not differ materially from the DP. The NP had now moved close enough to these ideas to make it possible for it to share benches with Inkatha.

"However an exclusive partnership between those organisations would be a dangerous move and I agree with my co-leader, Denis Worrall, who has already said publicly that he does not think that it would be in Inkatha's interest. — Sapa.

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Lawyer sues steel worker over 'insult'

By Therese Anders

MIDDELBURG — A steel worker who is being sued for R10 000 damages for calling a Lebowa attorney "kaffir" told a civil court hearing here yesterday that he understood the word had everyday usage.

Mr Jacob Johannes Hendrik Davis (24), of Middelburg, admitted calling Mr Jeffrey Mathabatha a "kaffir" while he was "angry and shocked" on May 21 last year.

He had been driving in the opposite direction to Mr Mathabatha and he had to swerve to avoid Mr Mathabatha's car. He then did a U-turn and forced Mr Mathabatha off the road.

Mr Davis said he broke Mr Mathabatha's side window with his elbow, then said to him: "You donderse kaffir, what do you think you are doing. It is people like you that put my daughter in the grave."

Mr Davis said he would use the word again in the same situation.

He did not think it had a bad connotation. The word "kaffir" was used in the same way as blacks referred to whites as "boere".

Mr Mathabatha said he pulled off the road after a car behind him had flashed its lights.

He said a man came towards him with a sjambok in his hand. The man first tried the locked door, then broke the side window.

"He then insulted me by referring to me as a kaffir," said Mr Mathabatha. He said Mr Davis also threatened to kill him.

Mr Mathabatha said his feelings, dignity and good name as an attorney had been hurt or lowered by the use of the word.

CP gives Nats a hiding

The Argus Correspondent

Argus 27/4/90 (3064)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party has won a municipal by-election in Odendaalsrus in the Free State with a huge majority by polling 255 votes to the National Party's 81 and the Herstigte Nasionale Party's six.

The ward was previously held by the CP. The CP's Free State chief secretary, Mr Gustav Claasens, said: "This is once again proof that the voters of South Africa and the voters of Odendaalsrus in particular reject the fatal power-sharing policy of the NP and are in ever increasing numbers aligning themselves with the CP, whose policy is the only solution for South Africa's problems."



ARGUS 27/4/90

AWB leader in violence pledge (304A)

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Millions of British television viewers last night heard Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche pledge his supporters to violence in the face of reforms in South Africa.

Mr Terre'Blanche was speaking in the first of two special ITN reports on the reaction of South African whites to political changes.

In his report, ITN's Kevin Dunn said most whites, in spite of being uneasy about recent developments, were prepared to "give President F W de Klerk a chance".

However, not all whites were confident enough. Large numbers, many saying they supported President De Klerk's reforms, were obtaining British passports to use as an escape route in case things went wrong in South Africa.

Mr Dunn said the number of whites applying for British passports had doubled in recent months, with about 250 000 already holding British passports. Up to a million South African whites were believed to be eligible for British passports.

On the right, whites who were "unwilling or unable" to leave

were arming themselves in preparation for a showdown with blacks.

"The neo-nazis have called on whites to amass a million guns."

Mr Terre'Blanche was quoted as saying: "If you want to take away the land from our people and give it to the ANC, to other nations and other people we will have no other option but to fight for it physically in a war."

Jeans for Eton boys

LONDON. — Eton College has ruled that its students can go into town wearing jeans and open-necked shirts. — Sapa-AP.

The Stick-a-Pic clue below is repeated today because in some editions of The Argus yesterday the picture clue was inadvertently reversed.

Stick-a-Pic

THIS is the third clue in the

Argus/Atkinson's

Aggag

WIN A CAR

Stick-a-Pic

THIS is the fourth clue in the Argus/Atkinson's

W/Mail 27/4 - 3/5/90

FW blows hot and cold on Group Areas

304A

POLITICAL analysts are puzzled by the ambiguity and vagueness of State President FW de Klerk's announcement that the Group Areas Act "must go but be replaced by non-discriminatory legislation that is generally acceptable".

Is he stalling for time, trying to appease conservative elements in his white constituencies and trap resistance organisations, or does he have no alternative but to repeal this symbol of apartheid legislation?

United Democratic Front representative Patrick Lekota is sure the Act will ultimately be repealed.

Azanian People's Organisation representative Strini Moodley says resistance movements should not concern themselves with De Klerk's vague promises, but should be seeking joint strategies to dislodge the government.

"It is clearly a strategy by De Klerk to buy time to strengthen the state's position and weaken the power base of the broad liberation movement," he adds.

The Democratic Party representative on Group Areas, Tiaan van der Merwe, says he is puzzled by De Klerk's statement on "replacing the Act with non-discriminatory legislation".

It implies that some elements of racial apartheid in areas will remain. "The Act should go quickly and unequivocally," Van der Merwe said.

But Conservative Party representative on Group Areas, Moolman Mentz, is adamant that replacing the Act with a non-discriminatory measure in effect means scrapping it.

De Klerk has also said the principles of private ownership and security of tenure of land except for development purposes must be retained in replacing discriminatory legislation.

Political scientist Ian Phillips says De Klerk's talk about ensuring these principles may be to retain the class character of different suburbs.

"Our society is based on a system where the rich are largely white and the poor largely black, so if you can afford moving into areas, all very well. But property and wealth are so well entrenched, that the group identity of suburbs will prevail."

Replacing the Group Areas Act with a non-discriminatory law, as FW de Klerk recently promised, does not mean anyone can move into the white suburbs — only the wealthy blacks can afford to. If the government is serious, it should subsidise those who cannot afford housing in these areas, reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY

Lekota adds that De Klerk's stated intention to remove discriminatory legislation but retain principles such as private ownership and security of tenure over ground is merely a pronouncement of the NP position in this pre-negotiation period.

During the negotiations process the parties will have to make compromises, he says.

But what is also puzzling is whether

Most political activists and analysts believe that economic imbalances will remain in society even after discriminatory legislation such as the Group Areas Act is removed.

Johannesburg Legal Resources Centre director Geoff Budlender, who has researched the issue, says repealing the Act is fine but if nothing is done to remove economic imbalances in society the impact will be limited.

Moodley says the repeal will not satisfy most people. "Open areas will only serve thin slices of the black community — the bourgeois elite."

The price of an average three-bedroom, two-bathroom house in Johannesburg's northern suburbs is R250 000.

"The step is therefore meaningless as only the middle class will be able to buy in these areas. A fund should be established to subsidise the purchasing of housing," he adds.

And Budlender stresses that the repeal of the Group Areas Act is meaningless without the abolition of the Black Land Act and Development Trust Land Act.

Another grave problem would be white attitudes, says Van der Merwe. The DP does not believe people have the right to choose their neighbours.

But the CP feels, ultimately, there will naturally develop separate areas for blacks, coloureds and whites as has happened in the United States.

Private property owners and municipalities can still prevent the opening up of areas, said Budlender.

A situation could arise where title deeds stipulate that property could not be sold to anybody besides whites, a situation which existed in the United States at one stage.

"There is also the question of the local option — where white residents can decide who is able to live in open areas — the privatisation of apartheid."

Phillips reiterates that De Klerk's ambiguous statement may mean removing definitions of race from the Act, but the group identity of suburbs could still be linked to structures and processes of local government.



Patrick "Terror" Lekota ... The Act will be scrapped

the removal of one of the major symbols of apartheid is the solution? Does it necessarily mean black South Africans will be free to buy or rent property in any part of the country?

Van der Merwe says the repeal would allow the process of normalisation to take place, but admits that the question of returning the land is impossible.

"We need to create the opportunity for people to live where they prefer to according to property prices and available funds," he adds.

South Africa - the road to democracy

See fan 27/4/90

3044

Most South Africans agree on the need for democracy, but how do we get there? There are no maps pointing out the road to democracy so we will have to find our own way. Nor is our destination assured for democracy is not South Africa's inevitable or lasting future.

It is only one of a great number of possible political outcomes many of which are "too ghastly to contemplate".

Furthermore, we must be realistic about what we will find there.

Democracy will not turn South Africa into the "promised land". On its own democracy cannot deliver houses, jobs or peace. So we should be cautious of those advocating grandiose political systems promising solutions to all our country's many problems.

The world's experience of such grand designs (like apartheid and communism) suggests that we would do better to seek real progress in measured steps, than in sweeping political and economic visions.

Time is also an important factor as South Africans are impatient for political change. Elsewhere, the time scale for democracy has varied from centuries (as in Britain) to mere months (Eastern Europe).

In South Africa we face the additional task of creating a democratic political culture to sustain

Shaping A Future South Africa - A Citizens' Guide to Constitution Making, edited by Bobby Godsell, is a new book which explores democratic options. This is the last in a series of six articles by Margie Keeton highlighting some of the book's themes. She is a member of the team which produced the book.

A draft constitution should build on this consensus. It should also incorporate the principles of good government drawn from those countries which successful democracies.

Confidence

Who should prepare such a document? It may be necessary to look beyond the political terrain for persons who enjoy the confidence of all South Africans.

The Chief Justice, local academics or a group of experts could chat

areas of agreement and set out constitutional alternatives.

The next stage would be to debate these proposals.

Here it is essential that all significant groups are included and that they participate in a spirit of compromise, at least in regard to some important issues.

These negotiations must also allow leaders to consult their followers for agreements reached by leaders without the knowledge and support of

their followers will not last.

The final stage is popular ratification. All South Africans must be given the chance to express their views on the proposed constitution in the broadest, most inclusive process of participation.

Referendum

This could be done in a referendum, but special arrangements may be necessary to canvass the support of key interest groups on whose cooperation the constitution will depend.

The adoption of a Bill of Rights may be a good way to begin constitution making. Endorsed by most political groups, a Bill of Rights is intended to create the space in which citizens can ex-

ercise political rights and liberties.

By reconciling the demand of freedom and order, such a charter could create the conditions for a more positive and constructive debate about a democratic future.

The challenge of creating a working democracy in South Africa should not be underestimated, but we do have some advantages.

Culture

South Africans of all backgrounds and political belief are united by the desire for a more peaceful, prosperous and just future.

We also have a num-

ber of institutions among them the churches, the Press and the courts which will provide a good

foundation for the democratic political culture without which our best efforts at constitution making will come to naught.

Ultimately democracy depends for its creation and maintenance on the people of South Africa, their expectations, the demands they make of the system, and the accountability they require of their politicians.

We have the rare opportunity to shape our own future - let's try and make a good job of it for we will not get another chance.

The first stage in constitution making is to prepare a draft constitution for debate. The NP, the ANC, Inkatha and others have already put forward their own constitutional proposals.

These suggest some important areas of agreement including the recognition of South Africa as a united (but not necessarily unitary) country, equal political participation for all, a multi-party democracy, a Bill of Rights and an independent democracy.

SHIPPING FIM 2714190

Whither Walvis Bay?

Namibia cannot afford to forgo the use of Walvis Bay and Walvis Bay cannot afford to lose the business of Namibia. They're both all too aware of one statistic — Namibia accounts for 97% of Walvis Bay's traffic.

Nevertheless, the many shipping lines that serve Namibia, both European and South African, are concerned over the future of the SA enclave along the desert seaboard.

Namibia, of course, wants SA to relinquish control of the port and turn it over to the newly independent country. President F W de Klerk's counter offer falls far short of that. While in Windhoek last month, he pledged that whatever happens in discussions over Walvis Bay, SA will assure that Namibia continues to enjoy convenient access. ~~SECRET~~ (304A)

But Namibia, independent for about five weeks now, is eager to cut its dependence on SA. So government has discussed developing Swakopmund as a lighterage port as in the days of the German occupation and even operating a new port at Henties Bay, 140 km north of Walvis Bay. There is also the possi-

93

FIM 2714190

~~SECRET~~

(304A)

bility of a port across the border in Angola, which would be a convenient outlet for Ovamboland, the ruling Swapo party's stronghold.

Important shipments of copper, uranium, lead and fish products move out of Walvis Bay. The shipping lines are consequently anxious that politics don't interfere with the business of the port. Luderitz, the only other Namibian outlet, could not handle anything like the tonnage of Walvis Bay and its rail line wouldn't be able to carry the greater volume.

Only small coasters can use the wharf at Luderitz now, but there is a sizeable fishing fleet there. If it became untenable for the Namibian-owned fishing operations in Walvis Bay to remain there because of political pressure to move into Namibia, they could

relocate to Luderitz.

But talk of developing new ports and lessening dependence on SA could be missing the point — independence could bring an enhanced status for Walvis Bay and expand the enclave's links with the rest of SA. The improved rail connections to Botswana and Zimbabwe that the Namibian government has proposed would certainly raise Walvis Bay's profile.

And if independence leads to greater industrialisation, as the government hopes, it also must lead to greater imports of capital machinery. So suitable dock facilities will become even more important and Walvis Bay, fully equipped with cranes and other amenities, is the natural terminal. It would take years to build an alternative harbour.

In any case, the major imports through

Walvis Bay are from SA, so establishing an alternative to Walvis Bay on Namibian soil would not lessen the country's dependence on SA all that much. Imports make up 90% of Namibia's capital goods, 70% of its consumer goods and more than 50% of its basic foodstuffs.

Unicorn Lines of Durban, which offers the most frequent service to Walvis Bay, may find that its two ageing container vessels serving Namibia are hardly adequate for a route likely to demand versatile carriers. While the ships, the *Berg* and the *Breede*, now provide a clockwork weekly service from SA to Walvis Bay, there are many commodities shipped through the port that do not lend themselves to boxing. A pair of roll-on, roll-off replacements, suitable for a wider variety of cargo, may be required. ■

FIM 27/4/90

FIM 27/4/90

304A-1

While the appointment of Judge Goldstone to probe the Sebokeng killings has been widely welcomed, it's unlikely that the internal investigations into the other two incidents will satisfy government's opponents — unless the AGs decide on further action against the police.

Vlok also announced details of the new R200m financial package to improve pay and service conditions for the police. ■

DIPLOMACY

Arctic thaw

FIM 27/4/90

A possible visit to Canada by President F W de Klerk has been discussed informally between officials of the two countries. While the Canadians feel that a visit would be premature at this stage, relations have warmed substantially.

"We are working at a measurable pace to improve bilateral relations," says Lucy Edwards, director of the Southern African Taskforce. Speaking to the FM from Ottawa, Edwards said the fact that a formal invitation has not been extended to De Klerk to visit Canada after seeing George Bush in Washington on June 18, should not be seen as a diplomatic snub.

"I know that there has been some consideration given to a visit by the SA government — it was suggested as such to us informally.



Botha



Clark

What I can say is that there will be no pre-conditions to such an invitation."

Edwards says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen would have been welcome to visit Canada earlier this year, but due to work pressure Viljoen cancelled. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wesels and senior official Malcolm Ferguson had been there. "We've had two senior officials visiting your country since February. There has also been some correspondence between our foreign minister, Joe Clark, and your Pik Botha."

However, Canadian Foreign Affairs spokesperson Patricia Low-Bedard is reported as saying that the result of talks between De Klerk and deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela next month would determine future relations between Canada and SA. SA's promises of change have not been substantial enough for Canada to change its

policy on sanctions, said Low-Bedard.

Mandela is expected to meet Canadian PM Brian Mulroney at the end of next month; a big gathering is planned for Mandela in Toronto.

During his visit to the US capital, De Klerk will be given the "Blair House treatment" — he will be accommodated in Blair House, the official guest house next to the White House.

Mandela, on the other hand, will (according to sources) address a joint sitting of the US Congress on Capitol Hill and a ticker-tape parade is also planned to welcome the ANC leader to New York City. ■

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Funds astray

FIM 27/4/90

Parliament's Joint Committee on Public Accounts will continue hearing evidence next week on widespread financial maladministration in government departments responsible for coloured "own affairs." (253)

Details of the mismanagement were disclosed last week in a scathing report to parliament by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley.

He said he could not give an opinion on the true state of the financial affairs of the departments for the 1988-1989 financial year because much of the information he needed could not be provided by the officials

254

Good foundation

FIM 27/4/90

304A

SHAPING A FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA
— A Citizen's Guide to Constitution-making
edited by Bobby Godsell (*Human & Rousseau*, 63pp, R12,95).

This is the latest think tank book from Anglo American. Like the others, it is brief and concise — especially admirable, given the complexity of the subject. It is not likely to modify the vocabulary of political debate, as did Clem Sunter's "High Road, Low Road" scenario book. But it should enrich the perceptions of those who are not professionally concerned with politics or the niceties of constitutional theory.

For a book of this length — an extended essay, really — the authors cover an enormous amount of ground. They move from a clarification of the terms to a consideration of constitutional options and then a discussion of "responsible transition." At times it seems that they are merely stating the simple and obvious, but this is deceptive: there are many fresh insights (or old ones presented freshly, which are no less valuable).

Some neat points are established at the beginning, with the quoting of various policy statements. "SA shall become a united, democratic and nonracial state," affirmed the Organisation of African Unity in 1989. The ANC said much the same, adding that "sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration."

The National Party's view (in September 1989 — a long time ago!) is that "SA is one undivided state with one citizenship for all. Every South African has the right to participate in political decision-making on all levels of government which affect his interests, subject to the principle of no domination."

As the authors point out, political actors tend to use similar words while meaning different things; yet the common vocabulary also suggests shared values.

Heads roll

The commentary is sharp and occasionally acidic. Dealing with the differences between the concepts of country, nation and State, the authors assert that "the term nation-state is dangerous as it has been used time and again for majority (and minority) domination. Conceiving countries as having common cultures has also allowed politicians to avoid both the accommodation of differences and the design of structures to resolve inter-group conflicts."

Indeed, one of the strengths of this work is that it does not pretend to be neutral. The nailing of colours to the mast (usually discreetly done) encourages a common-sense style and a refreshing brevity.

Jacobin politicians, we are told, "act — as

they see it — in the name of The People as a whole ... The distinctive political instrument of the Jacobins is that of the guillotine. Where 'the People' rule, heads have a tendency to roll."

One of the most effective sections is on the accountability of government: "The test is a simple one: can consent, once given, be withdrawn? Can the electors change their mind?"

Chicken and egg

When it comes to the discussion of constitutions, the tone is sternly prescriptive: "Where the words and deeds of politicians diverge, their deeds are almost always more important than their words. This is also true of SA. The country needs a new political culture as much as it needs a new constitution."

No doubt they are right, but the Anglo team does not consider whether the creation of a new political culture is not *dependent* on a new constitution. Which comes first? Much the same question mark hangs over the (otherwise useful) discussion of elections. Do we need to design a new electoral system immediately, to produce a representative assembly which will then negotiate everything else?

Or should the electoral mechanism only be put in place once everything else has been sorted out?

Either way, we are advised "to be cautious about Utopian designs. It seems both more difficult, but also more important, to decide how to move forward in a society, rather than to design an impeccable vision of the final destination." Most important of all, perhaps, is the implicit warning to those who are tempted to play with words and structures which serve only to maintain white privilege: "Unless (the constitution) is the creation of the interplay of the real political forces at work in a society, it is unlikely to be successful in regulating these forces."

Towards the end, we are advised, rather sonorously, that "constitutional change in SA is both urgent and important. It cannot be delayed. However, neither can it be attempted with a haste which will undermine its possible success ... We must at least allow the process a reasonable time to take root."

Those are the words of reasonable men. But they are also unreasonable words, because they assume that "we" — in effect, the writers and readers of this book — are in a position to control the pace of events.

This guide is certainly useful; perhaps it will be influential. But it is essentially a liberal treatise. It will not be heeded by those who need to read it most — the Jacobins who wish to rule in the name of The People.

David Williams

In the vernacular

OLD CAPE FARMSTEADS by James Walton (*Human & Rousseau*, 147pp, R34,95).

This is the culmination of 40 years' research into our vernacular architecture. Unlike most students of SA domestic architecture, Walton is also familiar with vernacular architecture in many parts of Europe.

He is thus well placed to comment on the extent to which "Cape Dutch" was indeed a Cape creation and to what extent European in derivation — where, he believes, sources must be sought not just in Holland, but in a wide region of northwest Europe.

In particular, he points out, while the stepped, curvilinear end gables and much rarer *klokgevels* may well come from Holland, application of decorative gables to central dormer windows is found only sporadically in Holland and not at all in England, where Dutch-inspired houses are a legacy of the Hollanders employed to drain the fens in



Cape houses ... varied origins

the 18th Century. The later baroque and neo-classical pilaster gables must also have another derivation, as Holland was declining both culturally and as a maritime power when these were introduced in the Cape.

Walton traces the development of the T and H design and longhouses and then describes the specialist buildings of the wine farmer and — a much less familiar topic — the stock farmer. Even fowl-runs, *wolwehokke* and soaphouses (making soap from sheep fat was an indispensable supplementary income for many stock farmers) are covered, as well as the interesting stock-farmers' corbelled houses between Fraserburg and Carnarvon — first built by an itinerant Mediterranean artisan, he surmises, then copied by local Khoi builders.

He describes and/or illustrates some 150 farmsteads, most dating from the 18th Century. In virtually every one, some unique point of interest is found.

It's a pity that photographic detail is often lost in the reproduction, but then this is not really a coffee-table book. Rather, it is a valuable sourcebook for serious students of this fascinating aspect of our cultural history.

Michael Coulson

ANC will push F W to the limits

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would push President F W de Klerk to the limits to win irreversible political reforms at next week's talks, senior ANC strategist Trevor Manuel said yesterday. (A) (304A)

"We cannot afford to lose the moment. The only alternative to the present situation is violence on a scale this country has never seen before," he said.

He said the ANC, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, would try to lock De Klerk into political reforms without driving him beyond the limits of his flexibility.

"You have to understand De Klerk, his motivation, what he can live with. You have to be able to yield and know what your next step is going to be," Manuel said.

"The transfer of power is at hand... we cannot back down because of the right-wing threat from the whites who are arming themselves on such a scale."

Then De Klerk would be compelled to retreat into the laager, to abdicate to the right wing and we would have to relive the times of repression all over again," he said.

Manuel said if the ANC and De Klerk

responded to their obligations to pursue negotiations, SA could have a new, non-racial constitution by 1995.

Five Lusaka-based members of the ANC delegation that will meet De Klerk for talks on May 2 are due to arrive in Cape Town this afternoon. They are Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki, Ruth Mompati, and Joe Slovo.

Meanwhile, the Home Affairs Department in Pretoria yesterday refused to divulge whether it was aware of the arrival of eight — now detained — ANC dissidents this week. 5102 271490

The department did not identify people who entered the country, and thus did not want to comment on whether a particular person or persons had entered, department spokesman Charles Theron said.

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mwezi Twala is believed to be one of those detained.

The group has charged the ANC with torturing and killing exiled members in southern African camps and reportedly intends organising internal opposition to the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.

Council spy befriended slain activist

W/Mail 27/4 - 3/5/90

304A



Slain activist David Webster
... target of city hall spying

The man who watched Webster

By KATHY STRACHAN
and IVOR POWELL

JOHANNESBURG security department spy Tony Naude was paid to cultivate the friendship of David Webster and was his jogging partner until shortly before the activist was gunned down, according to sources who knew Webster.

The Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry — which is expected to throw light on the Webster murder as the May 1 anniversary of the assassination approaches — heard this week that Naude's information was passed on to military intelligence and that Naude had meetings with SADF intelligence officers.

Former Johannesburg security training officer Johan Beetge said that the city hall security department functioned as "nothing more than a front for South African Defence Force military intelligence".

Military intelligence's alleged involvement in Webster's murder, via the Civil Co-Operation Bureau, is being investigated by the Harms Commission.

Nowhere on earth
is political
violence worse
Page 1

Naude was involved in the Progressive Federal Party youth section when another PFP member introduced him to the Five Freedoms Forum, according to FFF representative Gael Neke.

He immediately joined the FFF's "contact group", chaired by Webster, and worked there for a year. Friends of Webster say Naude went out of his way to befriend him.

Naude filed reports to the security department the day after every meeting of the group. These reports, including references to Webster and his home address, were sent the same day to military intelligence, according to evidence before the Hiemstra Commission.

Documents before the commission indicate that the security department kept a file on Webster — but these cannot be found, indicating that they may have been destroyed.

In another dramatic development at the commission yesterday, former city council security department section leader Hannes Gouws claimed that he had been instructed to carry out acts of violence against the council's political opponents.

He said he had been ordered by Major Frik Barnard, a major in military intelligence, to "sort out" a black security guard and trade union shop steward in March 1989.

According to Gouws, Barnard said "he wouldn't mind if the man died" when asked what he meant by

●To PAGE 3

occasions; he himself was beaten with a steel pipe.

Finally, after approaching Barnard, his superior, and being repeatedly snubbed by the town clerk, Gouws said he took the advice of a "senior member of the city council" and approached a newspaper with the documentation which broke the city hall spy scandal.

Council spies 'only gathered information'

●From PAGE 1

"sorting out". The man was locked in a small hut and teargassed by Gouws and three colleagues.

During the three weeks of hearings at the commission of inquiry into alleged irregularities within the Johannesburg City Council, headed by Mr Justice VG Hiemstra, witnesses have repeatedly denied that the municipal spy ring's activities went beyond the collection of information.

Gouws claimed yesterday that reports from operatives were made directly to officers in military intelligence, though city council funds were used for payments. He also contradicted evidence given by Johannesburg security chief John Pearce that the covert operations of the security section had been wound down in June 1988.

According to Gouws, Barnard referred to the order but instructed his operatives to carry on as usual.

Gouws went on to allege that Barnard was responsible for spying on colleagues in the security apparatus. He cited one instance in which Barnard arranged for the tapping of the telephone of former policeman and senior security officer, Brigadier Jan Visser.

On another occasion he came into possession of a tape which recorded a private conversation in the office of a military intelligence commandant.

The incident in which the guard was assaulted, Gouws claimed, led to conflict between himself and Barnard. He said he was harassed until he signed from the city council's security department.

He was, he claimed, subjected to further intimidation from his former peers and, as an insurance policy, took bundles of documentation from the city hall files.

However, the intimidation did not cease. His parents' house was watched by people in a white Toyota Corolla; the windows of his own house were broken on two separate

Defy Govt, CP urges cops 304A

THE Conservative Party has challenged its members in the police reserve openly to defy the Government's ban on policemen being members of political parties.

Mr Moolman Mentz, CP law and order spokesman, last night called on CP reservists to declare their allegiance to their commanders.

The Minister of Law and Order would then

have to decide if he could afford to do without their services "in the current revolutionary climate."

Journal 27/4/90

Mentz said the position of permanent members of the SAP was different.

To spare them the embarrassment of resigning from the CP against their will, the CP had decided to suspend their member-

ship "until the Conservative Party comes to power."

Mentz said the government's decision to prevent SAP members from belonging to political parties was "childish and nonsensical."

He said the obligatory termination of a person's membership of a political party would have no influence on his sympathy for that party.

'SAP, Vlok doing their best for police officers'

Star 27/4/90
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and the SAP were doing their best to improve police officers' benefits and working conditions, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday.

The Government was fully aware that the improvements in the financial benefits of the police announced this week were not sufficient, he said.

But, if considered in the light of the present economic situation, they were substantial.

He urged the 81 500 policemen not to be misled by reports which created the impression

that the police force was manned by demoralised, underpaid members.

The reports, though well-meaning, had created unrealistic expectations "which in the present economic circumstances can never be met".

Details of the adjustments were still being worked on.

In saying there could be "quite substantial improvements" he did not want to raise unrealistic expectations.

General van der Merwe said the morale of most policemen was good. Despite being 11 000 members short, the SAP was quite capable of tackling crime.

STV 27/4/90 (10) (3047)
**No turning back
now, says Pik**

Political Staff

President de Klerk and his Cabinet have no guarantee that agreement will be reached on a new constitution for South Africa, but there is no turning back, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Parliament yesterday.

"Had we not started to walk towards the moral high ground our doom would have been sealed in the dark hole of apartheid," he said in the foreign affairs vote debate.

He said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of critics were not just tactical moves or just to "gain time".

27/5/90 304A

Justice a white domain — Dalling

The face of justice in South Africa was white and the situation had not changed much since last year, Mr David Dalling (DP Sandton) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Justice vote, he said prosecutors, magistrates and judges were white and the people being trained to be prosecutors and magistrates were overwhelmingly white.

"The only role the vast majority of black, coloured and Indian South Africans play in the administration of justice, with very limited exceptions, are to be the accused and sentenced."

The Government could not wait until a policy of crash Africanisation lowered or destroyed the standards of justice, and it was better to make a genuine effort to recruit, train, adapt and prepare for tomorrow, Mr Dalling said. — Sapa.

Political Correspondent

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has acknowledged that apartheid and the Group Areas Act stand in the way of black, coloured and Indian recruits joining the diplomatic service.

One of the obstacles he highlighted was the "understandable psychological barrier" in accepting a job which meant selling the Government's policy of separate development abroad.

Responding to points raised in the debate on the foreign affairs

Blacks shun diplomatic careers over apartheid

Star 27/4/90 304A

budget, Mr Botha said that while recruitment of people of colour had risen by 200 percent in three years, the department encountered several problems.

One was that potential recruits who passed the selection process were lured by higher private sector rewards.

But he blamed race legislation as the next most important factor.

In what he described as a "painful matter", he said recruits could often not find appropriate and adequate housing in Pretoria — where the department was based. This made it

impossible for them to accept the jobs.

"This is a problem which I hope will soon be resolved when the racial restrictions of the Group Areas Act are removed."

The third factor was, until recently, the "psychological barrier in accepting a job requiring the incumbent to sell the Government's policy of separate development abroad. This is understandable.

"I sincerely hope that as we remove the last vestiges of racial discrimination, this barrier will also disappear."

Race bars to vanish from SA's jail cells

Stk 27/4/90

3044

CAPE TOWN — Racial segregation of prisoners will be abolished under an amendment to the Prisons Act to be tabled by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Replying to debate on the Extended Public Committee on Prisons yesterday, he said commanding officers would, with consideration to the maintenance of an orderly prison community, discipline and security measures, be able to decide on the grouping of prisoners according to the need of every prison under their command.

Security

Security and orderliness would be the only considerations.

The amended Act had already been presented to the Cabinet and would be dealt with this session.

Mr Cecil Herandien (DRP Macassar) pleaded with Mr Coetsee earlier in the debate to stop separation of prisoners on the basis of race.

"A rapist is a rapist is a rapist, and the same applies to murderers and drug dealers." — Sapa.

27/4/90 SOLA

Govt changes law on death penalty

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Legislation to scrap the compulsory death sentence was published yesterday in a major reform of capital punishment.

The changes are contained in the Criminal Law Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

President F W de Klerk gave notice of the measures in his speech at the opening of Parliament speech on February 2.

He said that the death penalty should be limited to extreme cases, and that judicial discretion on sentences should be broadened.

A moratorium had been placed on the death penalty until the necessary legislation had been passed by Parliament. Nobody has been hanged since November 14 last year.

The amendment Bill said a court was previously obliged to impose the death sentence for murder — except for persons under 18, for a woman who murdered her new-born child or

where the court found extenuating circumstances.

The death sentence could also be imposed for treason, kidnapping, child stealing or rape or for robbery, attempted robbery, housebreaking or attempted housebreaking, if aggravating circumstances were found.

"One of the main objects of the Bill is to do away with the compulsory imposition of the death sentence and to vest the Supreme Court with a discretion to impose that sentence in appropriate cases," a memorandum on the Bill said.

Life sentences could be imposed instead.

Even if the person does not appeal, his conviction and sentence can be reviewed by the Appellate Division.

If after losing an appeal in the Appellate Division the person does not submit a petition for mercy to the State President within 21 days, counsel can be appointed to petition the State President on his behalf so as to give every possible assistance to a condemned person.

The Minister of Justice may also appeal against a conviction

or death sentence.

A panel of experts, most of them judges, will review the sentence of every one now on Death Row who has exhausted all legal procedures, to see if the death sentence would have been imposed by the trial court if the new criteria had applied.

Where the panel finds the death sentence would probably not have been imposed by the trial court, the cases will be passed to the State President to decide whether to extend mercy.

The Minister of Justice, and not the State President, will in future receive petitions for fresh evidence to be presented to the trial court, after people have been convicted of any offence.

Attorney generals will be able to appeal against sentences imposed in lower and superior courts, but the court of appeal could not impose the death sentence.

The jurisdiction of regional courts is being extended to enable them to hear murder cases where the death sentence is not in question. Their maximum sentence has been increased from 10 to 15 years.

FIM 27/4/90

304A

the prenegotiation process. It's now up to his opponents to stop posturing and put forward their own plans.

In essence, De Klerk made important concessions by agreeing unilaterally to dismantle key apartheid measures ahead of real negotiations, even though the ANC has indicated that it regards them as "negotiable." They are the Group Areas Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (though it had already been announced that this measure would be scrapped this year) and the Land Acts.

The Group Areas and the Land Acts will be replaced — possibly as early as next year — by "suitable" alternative measures, but with no racial connotation. Though it's not quite clear what De Klerk has in mind here, it seems that the "alternative" measures will merely ensure the maintenance of standards and protect existing property rights. In effect, the GAA as it is known today will be scrapped.

The Land Acts are far more complicated because they include the regulation of communally owned land in tribal areas. However, the scrapping of the Acts will mean in effect that rural land will be available for ownership and occupation regardless of race.

De Klerk doesn't intend changing the Population Registration Act at this stage. It forms the basis of apartheid and as such, he says, will become redundant with the introduction of a new, non-racial constitution. In effect the Act is De Klerk's lifeline to the status quo. To scrap it now will negate all race-based laws before adequate "protections" are negotiated for "minorities."

It is clear that De Klerk accepts that statutory racism will have no role in the new SA and that any system which protects white interests at the expense of other South Africans will be unacceptable. "We shall never be able to have complete peace in SA as long as there is statutory discrimination."

But he also rejects simple majority rule (one person, one vote in a unitary state), though he accepts that other parties to the negotiations have the right to put forward such proposals. That's when the hard slog will really begin.

Before that, however, De Klerk has committed the NP to the publication of a "comprehensive statement of principles, fundamental points of departure and aims" to serve as a basis for debate and negotiation "with a view to establishing a broadly representative consensus."

Such "consensus" could form the basis of an alliance between the NP and groups with similar aims, including Inkatha, the Democratic Party and the Labour Party. The alliance would ensure the inclusion of smaller interest groups and present a broad front against the simple majority/socialist economy model likely to be put forward as a negotiation departure point by the ANC and its allies.

De Klerk says he is convinced that common ground exists for the formation of alliances. "The NP will actively promote such a

NEW CONSTITUTION FIM 27/4/90

The opening shots

Ideally, President FW de Klerk hopes to enter the negotiation phase at the head of a broad-based political alliance unencumbered by apartheid laws.

He hopes to emerge with a generally acceptable constitution, based on unqualified universal suffrage and protection through a Bill of Rights of both individuals and voluntarily constituted "minority" groups.

He also hopes for a vigorously expanding market economy based on private initiative and deregulation. This would lead to more distributable wealth, rather than the "redistribution" of existing wealth and nationalisation.

(304A)

But contrary to conventional belief — particularly overseas — De Klerk is no longer in a position to dictate either the terms or outcome of negotiation. He is irrevocably committed to radical change. At best, he can play a dominant role in shaping the sort of future he believes is best for SA. At worst, he will lose control of the process and accept the best of a bad deal. There is no going back.

In broad terms, De Klerk accepted this with his "statement of intent" in parliament last week — the clearest indication yet of where the Nats are heading. As was to be expected, it didn't really satisfy NP critics to either Left or Right, but it undeniably underpinned De Klerk's pro-active role in

FIM 27/4/90

304A

process and will actively take part in it."

He sees the alliance more as an acceptance of common ground rather than an abandonment of individual identities. "The dualism of remaining opponents as well as being partners at the same time will demand a great responsibility from all who participate."

It also seems that government is no longer looking at ways to oblige its likely negotiating partners to prove their support through elections. Instead, De Klerk is now offering the facility of allowing negotiators to test the outcome of negotiations among their supporters if they wish. At the same time, he recommitted himself to testing the acceptability of the negotiated package among white voters.

It is understandable that the question of constitutional "models" remains vague in spite of comments by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen on the possibility of a number of different voters' rolls. De Klerk is obviously reluctant to commit himself irrevocably to a particular solution before negotiations have begun.

But his series of speeches last week were important new steps towards positioning himself and the NP for negotiations. In that sense the party is well ahead of its adversaries. The pending publication of an even broader statement of intent will be the final platform from which it will start bargaining. Unless its opponents move fast it may be the only serious set of proposals on the table. ■

FIM 27/4/90

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(789)

Portuguese. De Castro Moura personally was spurred into action two years ago after reading a harsh and bitter attack on Portuguese colonialism and fast-food outlets by author Es'kia Mphahlele.

Following the release of Nelson Mandela, says Dipsa, a great deal of uncertainty and even hysteria arose in the white community, including the Portuguese.

Apparently in response, Lisbon even confirmed the existence of an emergency evacuation plan in the event of matters turning nasty. At a debutante's ball in Johannesburg last month, the Portuguese ambassador dur-

ing a speech was booed by his local brethren for discussing the changes occurring in SA.

"We feel the best means to secure the future of our community in a nonracial democratic SA is by contact with everyone, particularly extra-parliamentary groups," says Dipsa.



Moura

These have, it adds, been inaccessible and the object of prejudice from a part of the Portuguese community which has suffered a high degree of parochialism.

Among the fledgling group's backers is the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA. Though Dipsa uses offices provided by the DP's Wynand Malan, the party's other leader, Zac de Beer, while welcoming Dipsa's initiative and support, is said to feel somewhat uncomfortable about having it on board as a separate "group."

COMMUNITIES FIM 27/4/90

Not all the same

A "progressive" Portuguese political interest group has been launched in SA. The primary aim, say the conveners, is to improve the 500 000-strong community's evidently negative image as exploitative racists.

The new Democratic Initiative of Portuguese in SA (Dipsa) also intends building contact with extra-parliamentary groups, such as the ANC, and will endeavour to prepare local Portuguese for fundamental political change, explains spokesperson Manuela de Castro Moura.

Dipsa, which doesn't aim to be a political party, wants to avoid the "mistakes" Portuguese made in their former colonies, Mozambique and Angola, and hence "avoid becoming *retornados* (returnees) once more, through meaningful negotiation and contact."

The group, which values and wishes to preserve its cultural heritage, came together initially as a Portuguese-speaking support group for the Democratic Party just before last September's general election. Its objective then was to counter the influence of the National Party "especially in its propaganda, then, against extra-parliamentary groups and its failure to address apartheid."

The CP, too, has been making inroads into the community, running campaign posters in

F14 274190

MEN IN BLUE BACK TO THE OLD BEAT

(3041)



President De Klerk's determination to remove the police from the political sphere is highlighted in an editorial in this month's issue of *Servamus*, the official SAP mouthpiece.

"The police must not be used by the government of the day to keep other participants from exercising their democratic rights in the political game."

The editorial admits that De Klerk's February 2 speech has resulted in some uncertainty among policemen. "Protest marches are now suddenly legal, while organisations such as the ANC — pre-

viously banned and generally agreed to be our country's enemy number one — are now seen to be equal partners during the negotiation process."

Servamus says that over the years it had been the police who had to defend the country against Umkhonto we Sizwe. It is thus understandable that there are now policemen who are unhappy about the course of events.

"But history has taught that man is always subjected to an ongoing process of change and adaptation, especially on the political terrain. Governments come and

go. New thoughts and new time periods demand a new approach.

"It is our head of State's declared policy to free the police from politics and this he has already done. The police are not a political instrument. It is the task of the police to uphold law and order, and politics should be left to politicians."

The editorial says the SAP is apolitical. "We do not serve a specific government. We serve the country and its people under the government of the day, regardless of whether that government is 'left' or 'right'..."

ANC firm on removal of 'obstacles'

W/1 MBUS
By MICHAEL MORRIS
28/4/90 Weekend Argus
Policital Staff

3044

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and his team of 10 are determined not to budge on their demands for the removal of obstacles they say stand in the way of a negotiation process.

They reasserted their commitment to "the struggle" and the South Africa's international isolation.

The spirit of their engagement with the government was one of conciliation, but the political essence, the purpose, was uncompromising, one of the key figures, Mr Joe Slovo said on his arrival yesterday.

"We have not come as negotiators," he said. "We have come as claimants on behalf of people who have been kept down for too long".

Another key exile visiting the country for the first time in years, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, revealed the delegation's attitude when he said there was no question of "give and take" when it came to political prisoners and the emergency.

These were "straightforward" issues. What was required was to create equality among all parties.

"Exciting moment"

But he said the ANC hoped the government would approach the issues "in the spirit we would want them to" and he was "hopeful the meeting will produce the necessary results".

Secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo described the arrival as an "emotional, exciting moment" after being exiled for almost three decades.

This, however, was tempered by the recognition that the country was still "bleeding, ravaged by the apartheid system which continues to divide people into warring clusters of minorities".

He said the main task was to explore the possibility of removing obstacles to negotiations "which must lead to the establishment of a non-racial democracy".

"We hope, when that time comes, negotiations will begin in real earnest to achieve this goal."

However, until it was clear the new South Africa had arrived, the struggle — and the international campaign to isolate South Africa — must continue, he said.

He congratulated those who had consistently rejected apartheid.

He added, in a message to whites: "Through them we wish to assure the rest of the white community that they have nothing to fear in a democratic South Africa."

SQUARRING

UP

28/4/90

Nats to push for struggle to be ended

Weekend Angus Political Staff

GOVERNMENT leaders hope progress will be made towards real negotiations in next week's talks with the African National Congress, but they regard the encounter as only one of a number of preliminary rounds.

They are preparing for a further rounds of talks if the initial discussions do not prove decisive. It is possible a government tactic in the first round could be to postpone, until the real negotiations begin, dealing with the issues the ANC regards as stumbling blocks.

Demands

The ANC delegation is to demand the lifting of the state of emergency, the removal of troops from the townships, the release of political prisoners, an end to political trials and the scrapping of Acts like the Internal Security — all of which it says are obstacles to negotiations.

In turn, the government team is to tackle the ANC on its commitment to armed struggle.

The ANC senior government figures have said repeatedly in recent weeks, is being inconsistent when it speaks of being committed to finding peaceful solutions while it continues its armed struggle.

The ANC needs to transform itself from a "liberation movement" into a political party, Nationalist politicians say.

It has been under pressure from prominent sympathisers and international backers to abandon violence.

However, one reason why government sources are confident of a breakthrough at the first talks is that ANC exiles — of whom there are 20,000 or more — are said to be eager to return home.

The Indemnity Bill tabled during the week gives President De Klerk the power to grant indemnity from prosecution to these exiles. However, amnesty for political prisoners who were involved in violence may be one of the sticking points.



Pictures BRENTON, GEACH, weekend Angus

South African Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, left, and his African National Congress counterpart, Alf Nzo, at F. M. Airport.



ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo (second from right) shares a joke with internal leader Mr. Walter Sisulu, right, shortly after a second group of ANC delegates arrived at F. M. Airport today. Mr. Ahmed Kathrada (left) arrived with Mr. Sisulu from Johannesburg. There to meet them were Mr. Jacob Zuma (second from left) and Mr. Aziz Pahad (behind Mr. Nzo). Top security has been imposed at a hotel outside Cape Town where the five-member group, part of a delegation due to have historic talks with the government next week, is staying.

conference yesterday that the decision was

New trade doors being opened, says De Klerk

star 28/4/90

304A

VEREENIGING — South Africa's difficult years of international isolation, boycotts and sanctions were being replaced by negotiation and greater co-operation, State President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the official opening of Dorbyl's seamless tube project at Vereeniging, he said doors which had been closed for many years were being opened and new trade opportunities were in operation with traditional and new partners.

The aim of broadening democracy was futile unless it was accompanied by developments in other fields. This included the sound creation of wealth and employment to ensure social peace, stability and improvement in the general quality of life.

The Government's role in the economy had been set out clearly in the annual Budget speech, the emphasis being primarily on achieving the highest rates of balanced economic growth, job creation and investment.

The creation of wealth, investment and opportunities fell mainly in the domain of the business fraternity.

"That being so, the Government's re-

sponsibility is to create a climate conducive to investment in industrial expansion and in new business by international and local entrepreneurs in accordance with the principles of a market economy."

He said it was imperative that the country's mineral riches were used to their full potential. Admittedly, the shortage of capital was often an inhibiting factor.

"The question which concerns me is whether all the available internal capital is optimally used for productive projects and development," said Mr de Klerk.

"We must become more competitive."

Local manufacturers should be able to compete better with imports. It was necessary to ask whether they had literally priced themselves out of the market.

Effective management, improvement of quality and better productivity in all facets of production should be the aim.

"In future, less dependance will have to be placed on subsidies, protection and other forms of state help." — Sapa.

Modise's new SA mission

for 28/4/90 (15A) 3049

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The last time Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise visited South Africa he was on a mission of destruction, his ANC colleague, Mr Govan Mbeki, told journalists yesterday.

Now his mission was different, the former Robben Island prisoner said.

Welcoming the delegation to Cape Town at the press conference at D F Malan Airport yesterday, Mr Mbeki said of Mr Modise: "The last time I met him here, he was seeking to destroy ... not South Africa or the people of South Africa, but to destroy that which was evil, which sought to keep the people of this country apart."

"And today he has come, together with the others, on a different mission. The mission is to build a new South Africa."

LET'S TALK

CP/MS 29/4/90

304A

304A

Councillor commits suicide after body is found

By ELIAS MALULEKE CP/MS 29/4/90

WEALTHY businessman and councillor John Gatite, 75, shot and killed himself as a 2 000-strong crowd attacked his house in Osizweni, Newcastle, following the discovery of the mutilated body of his daughter-in-law.

The attack on Gatite - in which he was stoned and his house set alight - follows the unearthing early this month of the dismembered remains of his daughter-in-law, Thembeke, 30, in a trunk under the bedroom floor of their house.

Her private parts had been removed, her breasts cut off and her teeth extracted. The body was then hacked into pieces with a saw and stuffed into the trunk.



Govt and ANC apprehensive over this week's discussions

SOUTH Africa is holding its breath before the talks-about-talks between the ANC and the government in Cape Town this week.

The ANC is expected to insist on full indemnity for all ANC returning exiles while the government fears a section of the ANC might try to sink talks.

It is believed both parties are apprehensive about the talks. ANC delegates have promised a "hard line" in the talks, while the government is not expected to budge easily on certain issues.

Foreign Minister Pk Botha, however, told a City Press correspondent yesterday the government would discuss the ANC's view on the armed struggle and would not be dogmatic about it.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due to arrive in Cape Town last night. ANC delegates Beyers Naudé, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada arrived in Cape Town yesterday morning after the arrival on Friday of Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Modise and Ruth Momo-phati.

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A tight security network was thrown around their hotel, the Lord Charles, in Somerset West. Armed security men were screening the few people allowed



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It is now clear that one of the main issues to be tackled in the talks - which start on Wednesday and last until Friday - will be full amnesty for all political prisoners and ANC members. The ANC will insist this demand be met before the right climate for negotiations could be created.

It is believed the government, which this week tabled the Indemnity Bill in Parliament making provision for temporary and selective indemnity, could strongly resist this demand unless guarantees were given that Umkhonto we Sizwe would not establish itself as an armed force in the country.

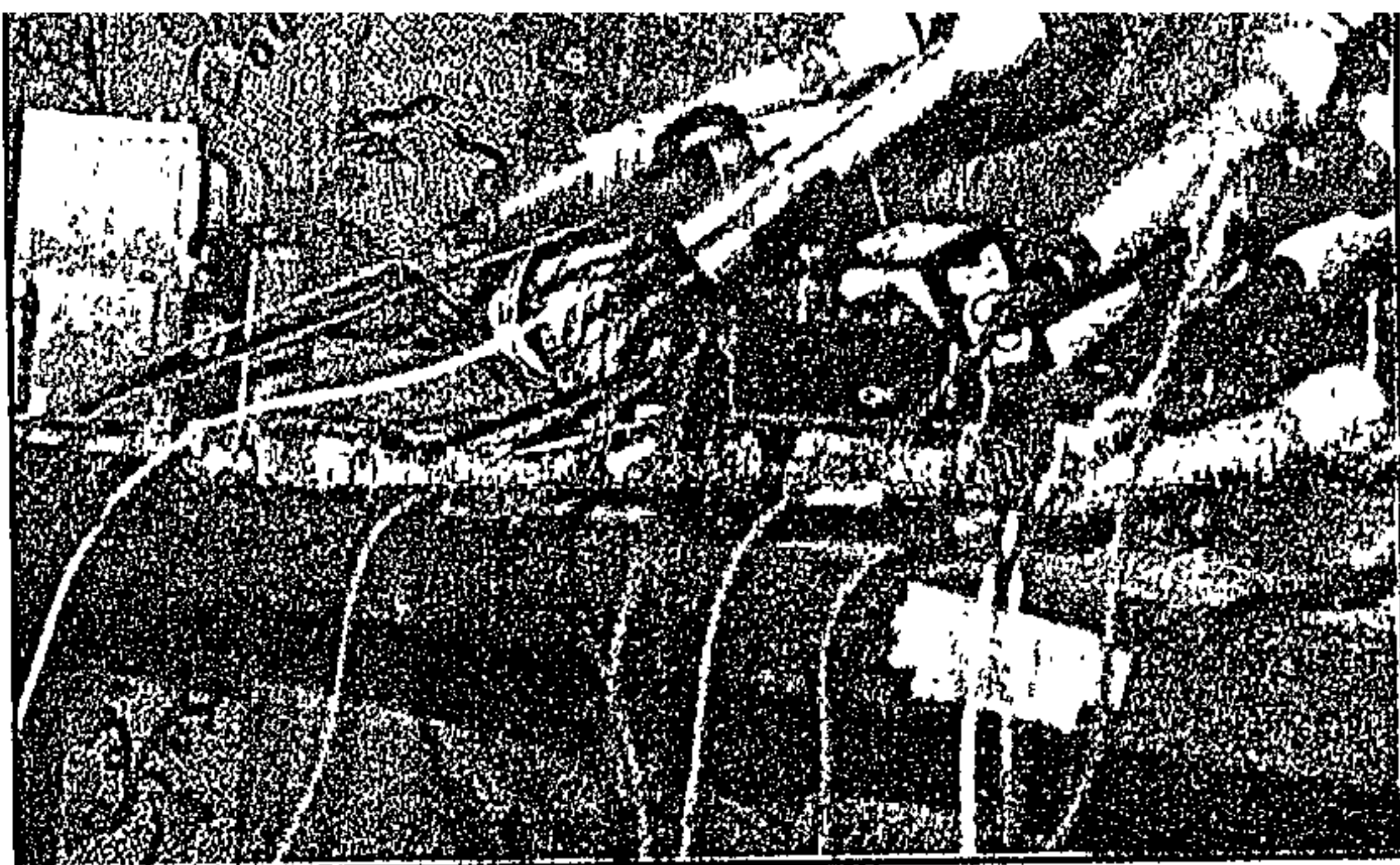
It is also believed the government could strongly resist the lifting of the state of emergency because of the widespread violence in the country.

Fears have been expressed in government circles that a certain group of delegates might try to scupper the talks.

It is believed in government circles that President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe advised the ANC to conduct the talks in such a way that it appears as if the ANC had won the armed struggle and that they insisted on a ceasefire.

The government reaction would be that the two parties were beyond that stage and the talks were now about power-sharing.

The situation is seen as one of the ANC and the government jockeying for international support and the government feels it



Back home to negotiate... the ANC's Ruth Mompoti and Joe Slovo at the DF Malan Airport press conference

CP Correspondent

is moving on to high moral ground.

An unannounced approach by Denmark to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa is quoted as an example of the way international opinion has turned in favour of the government.

Mass Democratic Movement spokesman Murphy Morobe said this week: "The ANC is committed to the peaceful resolution of apartheid. But this hinges on the unconditional return of all exiles and the granting of amnesty to all political prisoners."

He said since the unbanning of the ANC in February the personnel of the organisation had remained outside the country and this hampered the consolidation of the organisation in South Africa.

Mandela and Slovo are today expected to address a historic ANC rally at Mitchell's Plain.

But wet weather in Cape Town may force the cancellation of the rally. A final decision on whether it would take place would have been taken by late yesterday afternoon, an ANC spokesperson said.

The PAC's trade union arm, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), on Saturday attacked the ANC for agreeing to the talks.

Nactu assistant general secretary Cunningham Nqekana, addressing thousands of mourners at the funeral service of PAC founder member Japhtha Masemola, accused the ANC of going into talks with the government without consulting other sectors of the liberation movement.

"It is very sad for the ANC to have taken that decision. We in Nactu say it is arrogant of the ANC in that regard."

He said the PAC and Nactu's only choice was to escalate the armed struggle.

ect cries thief

Courtroom, saying he needed an assurance from the magistrate that his case would be taken up by the prison's commanding officer.

He was dressed in a paint-spattered blue overall, a tattered grey shirt and a pair of gumboots.

Zwane has been charged with the murder of Winnie Makgoro in Naledi on October 16 last year.

He allegedly attempted to murder four others - Jaconita Gelane, Ouma Elizabeth Kgwale, Patricia Lebogang Kgwale and Boy Matlala Mtholo.

Wilbur Smith faces flak over new novel

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN

A NEW intrigue-packed, nail-biting blockbuster by Cape Town author Wilbur Smith is set to propel the writer into a storm of controversy and provoke sharp reactions from ANC sympathisers as well as from the Afrikaner establishment.

Titled Golden Fox, the novel, his 22nd, has a kaffan-clad "mother Africa" stripped to the waist and swilling gin as, in a frenzy of power, she flogs a young township "police spy".

He is being pinned to a table by her "bodyguards" who are members of an athletic club named after her husband.

The author also has the daughter of a fictitious South African ambassador to London wheedle her way into the Cabinet to get her hands on top secret information — including a poison gas being manufactured in South Africa with government approval — to give to the Cubans and Russians.

Fictitious

But the prospect of controversy does not alarm the author, considered to be one of the top five adventure writers in the world, with more than 52-million copies of books sold.

Controversy ensued when he crossed swords with censors in South Africa at the time his first book, When the Lion Feeds, was banned for its explicit sex scenes.

Another of his novels, Dark

Afrikaners and ANC are likely to take offence

of the Sun, was also banned. Both were later unbanned. In an exclusive interview at his Bishopscourt, Cape Town, home this week Mr Smith said: "My characters are entirely fictitious. I am a story-teller."

He said he did not write history books nor books which prophesied the future.

Referring to the whipping scene — in which Victoria Gama, a "black Evita", the Mother of the Nation, is depicted as a gin-swilling sadist — he said he was attempting to show that

power, money and media attention were potentially corrupting of even the most dedicated people.

Mr Smith said the scene did not refer to any particular person but a type of person who could have existed in the time span in which the novel was set.

Referring to the Cabinet "mole", Isabella, Mr Smith said he believed it was possible for a spy to infiltrate the top structure of the South African Government without being detected.

"Recent newspaper head-



NOT UNDULY CONCERNED... Wilbur Smith is no stranger to controversy over his books

lines are proof enough," he said, referring to the allegations that Swapo leader Anton Lubowski was a South African spy and the fact that

SA Naval officer Dieter Gerhard had been convicted of selling South African naval secrets to the Russians.

Mr Smith also revealed

that Golden Fox, which is set in South Africa from 1969 to the early Eighties, is the last book he will write which interweaves recent South African political history into his fiction.

"I have come as close as I dare to the present in Golden Fox," he said. "If I get any closer I will be entering the realm of prophecy and that, as a story-teller, is not my business."

Golden Fox is the latest in the saga of the Courtney family, which has spanned a number of his novels.

Top

"Some of my books upset some people and delight others," he said, "but it is impossible to make all my readers happy all the time."

Mr Smith said he was researching his 23rd book. "All I can say is that it will not be about the Courtney family and it will not be set in South Africa," he said.

Golden Fox, which has just reached the top of the London Sunday Times best-seller list, is due to be published by McMillan in South Africa on May 23.

Lost in the political maelstrom

A LUNCHEON debate on nationalisation between JCT's Ronnie Bethlehem and the ANC's Harry Gwala packs Wits Great Hall.

Thanks to South Africa's nationalised airline, Gwala is late. This affords students towards the front of the audience an opportunity to do a little toy-toying and sing a few war paens.

A number of white boys and girls join in. Their efforts are in comic contrast to the overtly threatening performance of their black comrades. They seem not so much to be asserting defiance with their raised fists as trying to ask a question in class.

The question, to judge from their wringing rendition of the ANC dance, is whether they may be excused.

Towards the back of the hall, a group of black students is sitting silently. One, crouched in the aisle, is unselfconsciously using my knee as an arm-rest. Her body language suggests the deep but cowed exasperation of one who wants an education but knows she will probably be denied its full fruits — both by Doris Lessing's "Good Terrorists" up front and the white establishment they have so successfully man-maned. It is not a complaint she is permitted to voice.

Bethlehem speaks first, thanking "comrade chairperson" for her introduction. Not the place for a sly joke, this. Nor, regrettably, does Bethlehem appear to be making one as he slides into the revolutionary vernacular. He talks about the need to address poverty and inequity by a "complete restructuring of ownership and economic control".

There should be a "partnership" of the State, the private sector and the labour unions. Everyone, in other words, for whom poverty is not a problem.

The free market thus defended, Gwala

Simon Barber

who has returned to Washington after a visit to South Africa, reflects on some of the events he witnessed here

enters. More dancing, more paens. A businessman before his imprisonment, he is a descended from the Amakho!wa who sided with the British in the Zulu War and were rewarded with land grants.

Gwala is determined that no one, except perhaps the ANC nomenclatura that succeeds Afrikaner nationalism in power, should be so lucky again. The only thing wrong with socialism was Stalin. When the ANC "in alliance with the SACP" takes over, "those who don't agree will have to jump it".

Perhaps we should coin a new term for the majority class in the new SA. The lumpitproletariat.



"POLITICS," says the teacher, gesturing graphically, "is the thing I reject from my body." We are in a shebeen of the most informal kind — the front room of a house in Orlando West.

Like all his colleagues crowded into that tiny space, the speaker is on strike. We are at a point where the beer is starting to unmask the truth without making it totally unintelligible.

Many in the company participated in the teacher's march in Johannesburg the day after Nelson Mandela made his first appearance in Soweto and called on pupils to return to school. The irony is not lost on them.

Most are trying to continue teaching

informally. The union has told them to down chalk, so they have taken the injunction literally and are going about their duties without using blackboards.

They are painfully aware that indeed their physical security is regularly threatened by the lost generation of "liberation first, education later".

Political sophisticates they are not. In the course of a raucous debate on why Mandela was released when he was, one opines that because Madiba was the first major ANC figure to be jailed, it stood to reason that he had to be the last out.

Another professes to be a member of the PAC because Zephania Mothopeng is a relation. She is considering changing to the ANC because its T-shirts are free while the PAC charges R20.

They are doing their best to function in a world of terrifying contradictions. Their demands, so simple — nothing grander, really, than textbooks for every child and an environment in which learning can take place — are lost in the insane hubbub of ideology and racial politics. They are doubly powerless. Unspoken for by the liberation movement, they are unspoken to by the white establishment.



CHIEF P M MAJOZI is the nominal ruler of three townships near Richmond, Natal: Indaleni, Estimozeni, Magoda. Until his election-for-life in 1983, he was Richmond's traffic policeman.

His letterhead is nonetheless remarkably literate, not to mention accurate. Underneath a coronet, it carries the legend: "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown." The chief recently had his house burnt down and currently wields about the same authority as Richard II in the latter stages of the play.

UDF supporters started challenging his

legitimacy and that of his indunas and councillors in late 1986. In 1988 he wrote a letter to the then chief of KwaZulu police, Brigadier A M J Laas, asking for increased protection.

There was mounting trouble, he reported, compounded by the fact that he was being pressured to "conscript" his subjects into Inkatha.

Though an Inkatha member himself, he said he did not want to aggravate the "Inkatha/UDF syndrome which is tearing our Zulu nation apart". Instead, he preferred to concentrate on "socio-economic issues" like giving his people running water in their homes.

I am not sure that this was the most politically expedient way to petition Ullundi. At all events, Brig Laas replied that he could not help because Indaleni had not been "proclaimed" as a KZP sphere. Perhaps Majosi might care to contact the SAP Commissioner in Pretoria. He did, but to no avail either.

Since then, the UDF has gradually hijacked civil authority in Majosi's areas, replacing the traditional system with street committees and kangaroo courts that mete out extremely rough political justice.

It has also replaced tribal levies with taxes of its own. These include, I am told, a R10-a-month fee for the rental of fire-arms. You do not have to have loved the old order to recognise that this is gangsterism. It is also a reason Natal is in flames.

The new SA will be built on the corpses and ruined lives of the ordinary people in the middle, the majority of them black and ill-equipped to stand up for their own interests.

This does not seem to bother the white establishment. "In Africa," says one leading industrialist, "it is unwise to compete in the race for power. Just be the first to congratulate the winner."

Socialism the only way says Joe Slovo

By KURT SWART.

JOE SLOVO's favourite South African dishes are boerewors and snoek, and he still believes socialism is the only way forward for mankind.

At a plush hotel in Somerset West the ANC ideologue, reviled by many South Africans as a bloodthirsty communist bogeyman, talked quietly about the pain of three decades in exile.

The friendly and youthful-looking politician, 64, said his image as Public Enemy Number One was undeserved.

"The intention has been to rubbish me, but I've had a very positive response from the majority. While Thatcher had Saatchi and Saatchi for public relations, I had Botha and Botha."

Mr Slovo said he was concerned about the violence sweeping South Africa, although his political views reflected the ANC's hardline approach to next week's talks with the Government.

Only if the preconditions in the Harare Declaration were met could there be grounds for suspension of the armed struggle, he said.

The Lithuanian-born lawyer said he started believing in the possibility of returning to South Africa a year ago.

"I was certain we'd be back in my lifetime, but not necessarily under Nationalist rule. In a sense one can say that is at least some kind of tribute to the courage of De Klerk."

The visits by SA delegations to the ANC leadership in exile triggered off severe bouts of homesickness.

Failed

"We had wonderful times when the locals came to visit. It was the first taste of things to come. When the pilgrimages to Lusaka began, I really started believing that perhaps there'd be one in the other direction."

Mr Slovo said he didn't believe the introduction of socialism in South Africa would kill "the golden goose".

"If you look at South Africa, you see that what has failed here has not been socialism but capitalism. Although I don't believe that socialism is immediately on the agenda in South Africa, it's the only rational way for humankind to order its life in the long term."

"On the question of redistributing wealth, the ANC is acting in a tradition which was actually set by the NP when it first came to power in the 1940s."

"It proceeded immediately to redistribute wealth in the interests of disadvantaged Afrikaners."

Diplomatic move by arch-foe Denmark

By LESTER VENTER

5/7mes 29/4/90
PLANS are now well advanced for Denmark, one of apartheid's most bitter Western opponents, to establish full diplomatic relations with Pretoria. The Copenhagen government has sent Pretoria the name of a senior Danish diplomat for clearance as its first ambassador. Denmark has enforced a strict trade embargo against South Africa since 1986 and new developments are seen as a significant step in South Africa's gradual re-entry to the international community.

The Danish Government has made it clear its opposition to apartheid remains. But it first raised the possibility of an embassy days after President F W de Klerk released ANC leader Nelson Mandela from prison.

Denmark's Nordic partner, Sweden, which also has no ambassador in SA, is certain to watch the developments closely.

South African diplomats see Denmark's lead as particularly important as it is the only Nordic member of the European Community.

Giant leap as new Bill edges out the death sentence

By DESMOND BLOW

THE fight for the abolition of the death sentence took another giant step this week when a Bill was tabled in parliament abolishing compulsory executions.

Before the Criminal Law Amendment Bill (1990) was tabled by Justice Minister Koble Coetsee, judges had no option but to sentence a man to death if the court found no extenuating circumstances.

Many judges found having to send a person to the gallows barbaric.

When the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty was re-launched in 1988, Justice RN Leon QC - then chancellor of the University of Natal - said he had sleepless nights after imposing the death penalty.

With the help of Lawyers for Human Rights, the Society has fought tirelessly during the past two years to abolish the death penalty.

Leon said the Rev Dr Junod, who spent 28 years ministering to prisoners and accompanied 800 blacks to the gallows, was convinced mistakes had been made.

A questionnaire sent by the late Prof Barend van Niekerk to the South African Bar more than 20 years ago showed 78 percent of lawyers believed an innocent could be found guilty of murder and executed.

Supreme Court judge John Didecott caused a furore in January this year when he came out publicly on British television in favour of abolishing the death penalty in South Africa.

On the same programme, Professor of Law at the University of Cape Town, Dennis Davis, said 97 percent of people hanged were black.

"If you are poor and black, you stand more chance of being hanged than if you are in any other category."

Although most judges disliked sentencing people to death, one or two had a reputation as "hanging judges".

Between 1980 and 1988, 1 070 people were hanged in South Africa. In 1987 alone there were 164 executions.

However, pressure was brought on the Minister of Justice by LHR's fight against each death sentence and by public and church support for the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.

In 1989 executions dropped to 32 in the first eight months, but in the six weeks following the election of FW de Klerk as State President on September 6, 1989, there were 15 executions.

By the end of the year 51 people had been executed and 54 death sentences commuted.

But the number of people sentenced to the gallows did not drop.

In July last year *City Press* revealed the Death Row population was growing so rapidly additional cells were being built at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison.

At the time there were 283 people on Death Row - most of them black.

When De Klerk opened Parliament on February 2 this year he announced a moratorium on all executions, pending a full investigation into the death sentence.

Welcoming the new Bill this week, LHR spokesman Shucks Sefanyetso said it gave hope for the eventual abolition of the death sentence.

Beware the flag-waving for a Fourth Reich in SA

THE shrill right-wing call to arms sounds like a chilling echo from the past.

The issues are different but the similarities between the rise of extremist Afrikaner movements during the Second World War and now are striking.

The turmoil of the war was seen as an ideal opportunity to rid the Afrikaner of British rule and regain the independence lost during the South African War.

Hitler was seen as an ally in this struggle and a possible Fourth Reich in South Africa as "sympathetic" to the Afrikaner.

A new Afrikaner-dominated Republic was not regained through the bullet but later through the ballot — in an all-white referendum.

Now their dream is about to be shattered again. The Republic as they know it will disappear. Afrikaner control will be replaced by a mixed government or — worse, they fear — black domination.

To them the most unthinkable is happening — power is being negotiated away. There is no glory on the battlefields. No Blood Rivers, Majubas or Magerfonteins.

Just a conference table.

Symbolic

And the Vierkleur, the flag of the old Transvaal Republic, has become the symbolic rallying point once again.

On being sentenced to death Robey Leibbrandt raised his right arm in his Nazi-like salute.

"I greet death! Die Vierkleur hoog!" he shouted.

Piet Rudolph and his Vierkleur were a common sight in Pretoria.

Just as thousands of these flags were seen at Ossewa Brandwag rallies during the war, they flutter nowadays at right-wing meetings.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has styled itself along the same lines as the OB. Both disclaim parliamentary democracy and do not see themselves as



ROBEY LEIBBRANDT



PIET RUDOLPH



Hans Strydom

author of *For Volk and Fuhrer: Robey Leibbrandt and Operation Weissdorn*, examines the parallels between today's right-wing militants and the Ossewa Brandwag

political parties but militant movements.

But they use political arms — the OB supported the National Party, the AWB the HNP and the CP.

The OB was a mass movement, claiming 400 000 members. The AWB has only a fraction of that.

The leadership of the OB was also way above that of the AWB. Many OB leaders made their mark later in life and the intellectual Dr Hans van Rensburg could even have become Prime Minister if he had remained in the National Party.

In contrast, the tainted Eugene Terre Blanche leads a motley band of discontents and "ware politieke takhare".

That in itself makes them more dangerous, because reason does not prevail with fanatics. The biggest danger, therefore, is not a mass uprising among Afrikaner right-wingers but the actions of small groups and individuals.

Like the OB, the AWB soon discovered that whipping up emotions from the platform is one thing — to spark off a civil war is another.

If the ANC calls off the armed struggle even the most extreme right-wingers will find it hard to support a kill-on-sight action.

Both organisations lost support to splinter groups. Emotional OB rallies and moonlight drilling sessions with broomsticks soon became boring to some.

And so the Stormjaers were

born — a more militant, trained and armed section who committed acts of sabotage and payroll robberies totalling about £300 000 to fund their "struggle".

But even they knew the limits they could go to.

When Robey Leibbrandt was landed at Mitchell's Bay by the Nazis he knew the weaknesses of the right-wing movements from intelligence reports. He was trained as a lone saboteur and was to rely on a handful of highly-trained fanatics.

He found very willing recruits from the ranks of the police and Stormjaers who were beginning to yawn at the lack of real action. They all signed an oath of allegiance in their own blood to Leibbrandt and Adolf Hitler.

Their assignment was to engineer a coup by assassinating 10 political and financial leaders. Prime Minister General Jan Smuts was top of the death list, followed by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. Even Dr Malan figured.

Some present day fanatics have copied Leibbrandt by drawing up their own death list.

Leibbrandt and his Nazi handlers hoped to establish a Fourth Reich in the chaos which would have followed.

Circumstances were ideal — more so than today — and they came within weeks of implementing their monstrous plans.

Sabotage

The South African army was fighting up north. Thousands of policemen were also out of the country taking part in the war. Those who remained were suspect. South Africa was vulnerable.

Many policemen were supporters of the Stormjaers and Leibbrandt. They took part in sabotage and the payroll robberies.

Some investigations were ignored; Leibbrandt's "wanted" posters never appeared on the notice boards of many police stations.

Twice he was surrounded by police squads with guns aimed at him and each time he emotionally talked his way out of arrest, by challenging them to shoot him in his "Afrikaner heart".

On more than one occasion he was warned by former colleagues that the police had discovered his whereabouts and he had to move on.

Eventually hundreds of policemen, railway police and prison warders were rounded up and sent to internment camps. One of them was Special Constable Lang Hendrik van den Bergh, who met John Vorster at Koffiefontein and rose to the top with him.

But by then Leibbrandt's group and the Stormjaers had done considerable damage. The Springbok boxer had collected, stolen and confiscated storerooms full of arms and explosives.

Ironically, Leibbrandt, Terre Blanche and Rudolph are all former policemen. The police force is again deeply divided, but unlike the war period the army and the security forces are in place inside the borders of the country.

As in Leibbrandt's case, it is a race against time to get Rudolph before he harms anybody. He is consumed by hatred for those he thinks "betrayed the Afrikaner".

He sees himself becoming a martyr of Afrikanerdom.

Piet Rudolph and others who misguidedly cast themselves in the role of Afrikaner heroes should reflect. Sydney Robey Leibbrandt died in obscurity in his fish and chip shop at Ladybrand.

Hatred

The assassinations of Dike Lotter and Louis Pienaar remain unsolved and the disappearance of a political correspondent George Heard and a key state witness is still a mystery.

Logic says there were several more. These were probably the only ones investigated by loyal policemen.

NOW that it is all systems go for Wednesday's talks between the ANC and the government, it is safe to speculate about the possible outcome.

If I were a fly on the wall at Tuynhuys where the meeting is scheduled to be held, this is probably what I would hear.

Before the gentlemen from Parliament and the comrades from the bush move into the room, I suspect a bugging device will be placed in a corner. But after all, not all the cards will be laid on the table.

This is just the first round of talks, and like all such first encounters, not everything will be discussed.

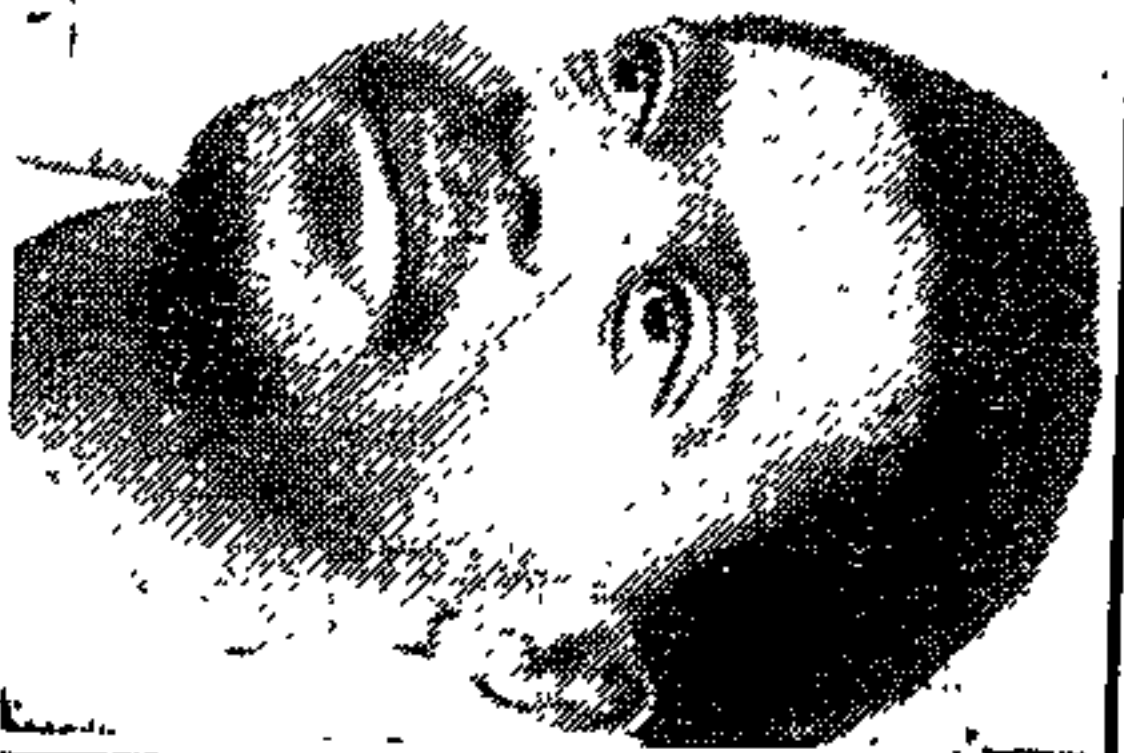
The meeting is to get to know each other better. More serious stuff will follow. The ANC cannot make the mistake of negotiating without a mandate from the "people".

Key players in this game, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk, have had two sparring sessions already and they seem to know each other's

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

Now for Round 2



weaknesses and strengths. They know how critical this meeting may turn out to be.

Neither Mandela nor De Klerk want to come out of the talks carrying the blame for being unreasonable, especially as the outside world is keen to see a positive outcome.

Nearer home, Mandela knows how keen elements of the black leftwing are to make political capital out of the failure of the talks.

Organisations like the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement have expressed misgivings about any talks with government at this stage.

De Klerk too, knows the rightwing are waiting to whip up white emotions should there be any concessions from the government.

No one wants to be called a sellout, and at the same time both parties want to achieve as much as possible in the first meeting.

Sitting on that wall, I could clearly hear De Klerk saying this was the moment he and his new government had been waiting for all these years - but he was interrupted by Mandela who told him the situation was the other way round.

"Mr President all these people on my side are older than you and were forced into a life of exile. Others were sent to prison for long terms precisely for wanting to talk to your government..."

"I know that gentleman. But this is not the time to start reminding each other about the past. Mr Mandela is right. Some of us were still at school when you gentlemen fought for equal rights. But you must understand we are not like the past government. We are for change and for power sharing..."

"If I may correct you

Mr President," interrupted Dr Beyers Naude, "my friend there, Dr Gerit Viljoen, and I served on the Broederbond. Our main task was to groom and select future Prime Ministers in South Africa. From the background we controlled just about everything in the country. But as you know, some of us resigned..."

"But Dr Naude, this is not the time to be talking about such things. What about Mr (Joe) Slovo and Mr (Joe) Modise sitting over there, who over many years committed crimes and atrocities as leaders of MK..."

But after De Klerk had agreed to the demands of the ANC contained in the Harare Declaration, the ANC felt triumphant as winners of the first round of talks.

But in fact the first round winners were the National Party.

They proved their commitment to peaceful change. And what better way of getting the ANC back to the talks than making this little concession.

DILEMMA OF 1

the DP

8 Times 29/4/90

304A

AMID the shifting sands of South African politics it is not surprising that parties are casting around for alliances. The party that has had the least to say about it, but on which most of the speculation is centred, is the Democratic Party.

The forces around it, both growing in intensity and changing in character, are unlikely to allow the DP the luxury of avoiding yet another identity crisis in the near future.

The young party is having to cope not only with the internal dynamics of forging an identity — it is having to do so in a political arena where all parties are moving base as never before.

The way in which the DP defines itself in relation to other parties is becoming rapidly more important than its inner search for its true personality and will ultimately have everything to do with the political persona that emerges.

More than that, it will define the role the DP can and may yet play in this present-day crucible of history.

And that unfolding story will not be only an account of the fate of the DP — it will be a paradigm for how all those voters who, until the last election, were never Nationalists will use or shift their political weight.

There are many in the party who believe that the DP has just been through all this, and has now come to rest in the territory it has marked out for itself. In a sense it has.

After President FW de Klerk reshuffled the political deck three months ago, the DP plunged itself into a series of strategy appraisals, from grassroots up to a specially convened Strategy Committee. It emerged from there with a Son of Turbo-charge (remember the well-intentioned political overdrive that so lamentably failed the Progressive Federal Party in the 1987 election?).

Beacons

It designated its new thinking as "convergence", an admirable ideal of playing a facilitating role in focusing attention on democratic beacons and bringing parties together around them. While it is, in all fairness, too early to pass judgment, "convergence" was last heard of at the Press conference at which it was announced.

In the meantime, it will not be good enough for the DP simply to hang around in the system as an amorphous political lump with vague cultural and historical grudges against the two massive poles of the National Party and the African National Congress.

Since the quiet birth of convergence, the DP has struck out bravely in the unaccustomed direction for an opposition party of supporting the Government on ad hoc issues.

Favour

Mr Harry Schwarz did so in supporting this year's Budget and Mr Colin Eglin did it again this week in speaking in favour of the Foreign Minister in Parliament's examination of his Ministry.

Beyond that, though, there has been little creative analysis and even less action as President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela vie to dominate the political stage.

If this carries on — and it's hard to see anything else happening — the DP will find it increasingly difficult to rebut a growing feel-



ing that it is merely standing in the way.

True, opposition parties have never had it easy in South African politics. And surely no party to the left of the Government has been buffeted by such great forces. It is much to the credit of the DP's democratic tenacity that it has held together better than the United Party or even the various Progressive parties did under less demanding circumstances.

This is even more remarkable when one takes into account the strongly divergent strains in the DP — once again greater than any the UP or the Progressives harboured.

Unpalatable

But no one should be too surprised if the DP's democratic glue gives way in the political boiler-house still to come.

The question now becomes what the DP should do, can do, and probably will do about all this.

In the classical nature of all great dilemmas, there seem to be many more questions than



Lester Venter

considers the options facing the Democratic Party

answers. Beyond the option of just hanging in and hoping for the best, the DP's two root questions remain:

● Should it pack in its political bags by act or default and free its members to follow their consciences into either of the great forces dominating the political process?

● Or should it prepare itself for an alliance with one or the other?

The "pack in" option has a major disqualifier — it just doesn't feel right. The DP is the present-day bearer of a proud political legacy in SA. And the idea of abandoning the process to a clash between white nationalism and black nationalism, and the value systems that come attached, is unpalatable.

Besides, the idea of independently illuminated democratic beacons in the struggle for ascendancy that is already under way between the major forces, is decidedly comforting.

Still, the question will not go away and a case in point is coming up in the by-election in Umlazi.

The situation is familiar. The

NP is in a struggle to hold the seat against the CP. When those two parties offered only a choice between soft and hard apartheid, the DP's participation was clearly desirable.

Now the situation is different. Whites are dangerously divided between apartheid and a society free of official racism. According to last year's polls, the DP holds about 3 000 votes in Umlazi that will definitely decide the contest.

The DP and its voters have to think harder than ever before about the "spoiler" role that could end up giving the seat by default to the CP.

Already there is a philosophic pessimism in the party over Umlazi — but, once again, that is simply not good enough.

The DP's second root question — whether to form an alliance — raises another question in turn, namely, with whom?

On the face of it, this answer seems easier than others. The DP is further from the ANC's simplistic, socialist majoritarianism than it is from the latter-day NP's policy of federalism and a common voters' roll with negotiated minority protections.

Decisive

But that's only as far as policy goes. A more decisive element in the political mix is the people who give it its character. The DP's three leaders now, more than ever, illustrate the party's tripartite personality.

Dr Zach de Beer represents well-heeled, mainly English, classical liberalism.

Dr Denis Worrall is a hardnosed power player.

Mr Wynand Malan is the figurehead of the new, ultra-democratic Afrikaner.

For the sake of simplifying the argument, one could imagine Dr Worrall and his followers favouring an alliance with an NP cleansed of its regrettable past and offering the best prospects of realising an acceptable, if not ideal, future.

Pressure

Mr Malan and his followers, driven by the ideological puritanism spawned by the immorality of apartheid, would head for the ANC.

Dr De Beer and his followers, rooted immovably in Anglo-Saxon distaste for extremes, would hold the true-blue centre and stay right where they are.

When the great strains of negotiating values and power in a entirely new society start telling, the pressure on the DP's multiple personality will be enormous.

In the meantime its dilemma remains a painful one — and it seems Umlazi's voters may very well begin pointing a way out of it before the DP's leaders do.

THE past few months have seen one-upmanship and competition with the ANC and the CP, position with a view to the future.

Inevitably, it has been the side of the angels and the devil.

The ANC is much more armed struggle, but one week's talks it will be practically amenable, even to the tent of renouncing or to renounce violence, which President FW de Klerk recently insisted upon.

Should the ANC go on to call off the armed struggle, senses it will overplay its hand.

It would be tactically upset the remarkable and goodwill towards part of many Africans since February.

The ANC also needs to account those who hitherto have held such a view of it.

In this phase of before real negotiation the ANC, as ever, needs (and media) support of the world. And out there elements are beginning to the nobility of its soul.

Above all, it is the ANC for continued violence that works against it opening some impure eyes to its ugly side.

The ANC must stand itself: how long can we on foreign backing? renunciation of obviously stand it in a

Nonetheless, it is a turbing perception that could yet have it both ways by saying it will armed struggle.

Should the ANC off violence there little peace.

The point is that succeeded in building of surrogate organisations placed to continue the violence that serves the poses. It is backed by

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SHEILA CAMERER of the National Party wants the Democratic Party to "clear up its role" (Sunday Times, April 22). What she obviously wants is for the DP not to contest the Umlazi by-election because the NP is apparently not very confident about its chances.

The DP is perfectly clear about its own role, but Mrs Camerer does not know that because, inter alia, she admits not understanding what "non-racial" means.

The DP is unequivocally committed to a non-racial, fully democratic future South Africa where human rights will be respected and race discrimination eradicated.

The new State President has adopted some aspects of this policy for which the DP and its predecessors have fought over the years in spite of NP resistance — even as recently as last year's general election.

We are obviously highly satisfied about the adoption of our policies and we have said so. We shall support Mr De Klerk whenever he does something we believe to be in the interests of South Africa.

Attacks

What the DP will not do is stand aside and allow the white political debate to degenerate into a slanging match between the Conservative Party and the NP.

The focus in parliamentary politics should be on the needs of the new South Africa and the DP takes pride in that it invariably manages to emphasise those needs in debate with either the NP or the CP.

The interests of South Africa and Umlazi cannot be served in that by-election if it consists of racist attacks by the CP and defensive, equivocal responses from the NP because it is not yet able to offer clear guidelines for a new constitution and to offer a hopeful vision for the future.

The presence of the DP in that by-election will ensure a more balanced, more realistic, more relevant exchange of views to put before the Umlazi voters.

The Democratic Party and its outstanding candidate, Mr Trevor Coppen, will use the Umlazi by-election to show its commitment to the orderly progress to a non-racial South Africa. We will place before the electorate detailed constitutional concepts, while the NP shifts uneasily from one concession to the other. We will plead for the

We are the real champs



Tian van der Merwe (304A)

national chairman of the Democratic Party, explains why the DP will not stand aside for the Umlazi by-election

planned, orderly opening of our cities, while the NP prevaricates. We will prepare and plan for successful open schools, while the NP plays around with "models" in a ham-handed and uncertain manner.

There must be a party that sticks its neck out, there must be a party that speaks out against injustice. There must be a party that honestly prepares the electorate for the reality and demands of our future and does not wait for an expedient moment. The DP has played that role and will continue to do so.

Mrs Camerer's views also reveal a limited understanding of the political needs of the moment. This is not the time for arrogance, it is the time for tolerance. It is not the time to discourage any political movement.

If a future negotiated constitution is to enjoy the broadest possible support then every significant political grouping should be encouraged to enter the competitive field of democratic politics

and to make their contribution, also at the negotiating table.

Nobody should be regarded as irrelevant, not even the CP/AWB; they should be encouraged to participate in talks. If we fail in this, we may force some elements through desperation into violence and revolution.

The National Party has only recently broken out of its obsessive fear of the ANC/SACP. Mrs Camerer's article indicates they are becoming equally fearful of the CP/AWB. Escaping from the old siege mentality will be pointless if the NP falls victim to a new one.

It is inadequate to talk glibly of "reform". If the DP is to lend its support to anything or anybody, we need to see the quality of their commitment. I cannot recall hearing Mrs Camerer plead for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, for universal franchise, for unbanning the banned movements and for talking to them.

Like other NP caucus members, she learnt of Mr De Klerk's plans during the opening of Parliament. Before that no Nationalist would dare suggest we free the banned ANC and start negotiating with them.

Precious

On the contrary, they vilified the DP for suggesting that. The DP must therefore not be blamed if we do not trust the depth of the NP's commitment to change.

While we welcome its apparent change of heart, we are not prepared to leave the precious ideal of a democratic non-racial South Africa exclusively in the hands of such an unpredictable government.

The very real question the DP has to ask is this: If someone of the same mindset as Mr PW Botha had succeeded him, would Mrs Camerer — and Mr de Klerk — have continued to loyally support the stagnant confrontation policies of the past?

Then of course, the old argument of "don't split the vote" is raised. The election results in Umlazi in September last year were: NP 6 149, DP 3 314, CP 2 429.

Is the NP really suggesting the CP can win Umlazi?

Or is it they suggesting that the real champion of negotiation politics, the DP, must now make way for the recent converts, the NP?

Think again, Mrs Camerer.

DP and NP in squabble over Umlazi election

Political Staff

THE Umlazi by-election has sparked a bad-tempered squabble between two Durban MPs, Mr Mike Ellis of the Democratic Party and Mr Renier Schoeman of the National Party.

Years ago they were pupils together at a Durban school but today they were trading attacks over Umlazi.

In the most recent exchanges, Mr Ellis called Mr Schoeman "a whining school-boy".

This prompted Mr Schoeman to claim the DP was divided over whether or not it should fight Umlazi, and that a senior DP member had asked the NP to help them find a way to back out of the by-election gracefully.

DISAPPOINTED

Mr Ellis has now said in a statement he was disappointed that Mr Schoeman had continued to fight the by-election in a petty way.

"For him to assume that he has access to the thinking of senior DP members is frankly ridiculous.

"What some individuals may have said at some stage is to-

tally different from what a party decides to do," Mr Ellis said.

"Mr Schoeman knows this better than I do. He need only look at his own party to believe what I say.

"It is quite obvious that there is dissension in the minds of certain NP caucus members at the changes their leader has introduced into South Africa. These are said in quiet moments although publicly President De Klerk appears to have the full support of his caucus.

"The same applies to the DP and Umlazi," Mr Ellis said.

Mr Schoeman's attempts to undermine the DP by painting a picture of internal dissension was the lowest of political tricks, Mr Ellis said, and "simply serves to paint the picture of an extremely worried NP which will stoop to any level in order to gain a few votes".

Nominations take place today for the by-election on June 6. Mr Piet Matthee of the NP, Mr Trevor Coppen of the DP, Mr Francis Hitchcock of the Conservative Party and the independent Mr Dave McNaught are expected to contest the seat.

Govt torn over flag, anthem

Cart. Times 30/4/90

Political Correspondent

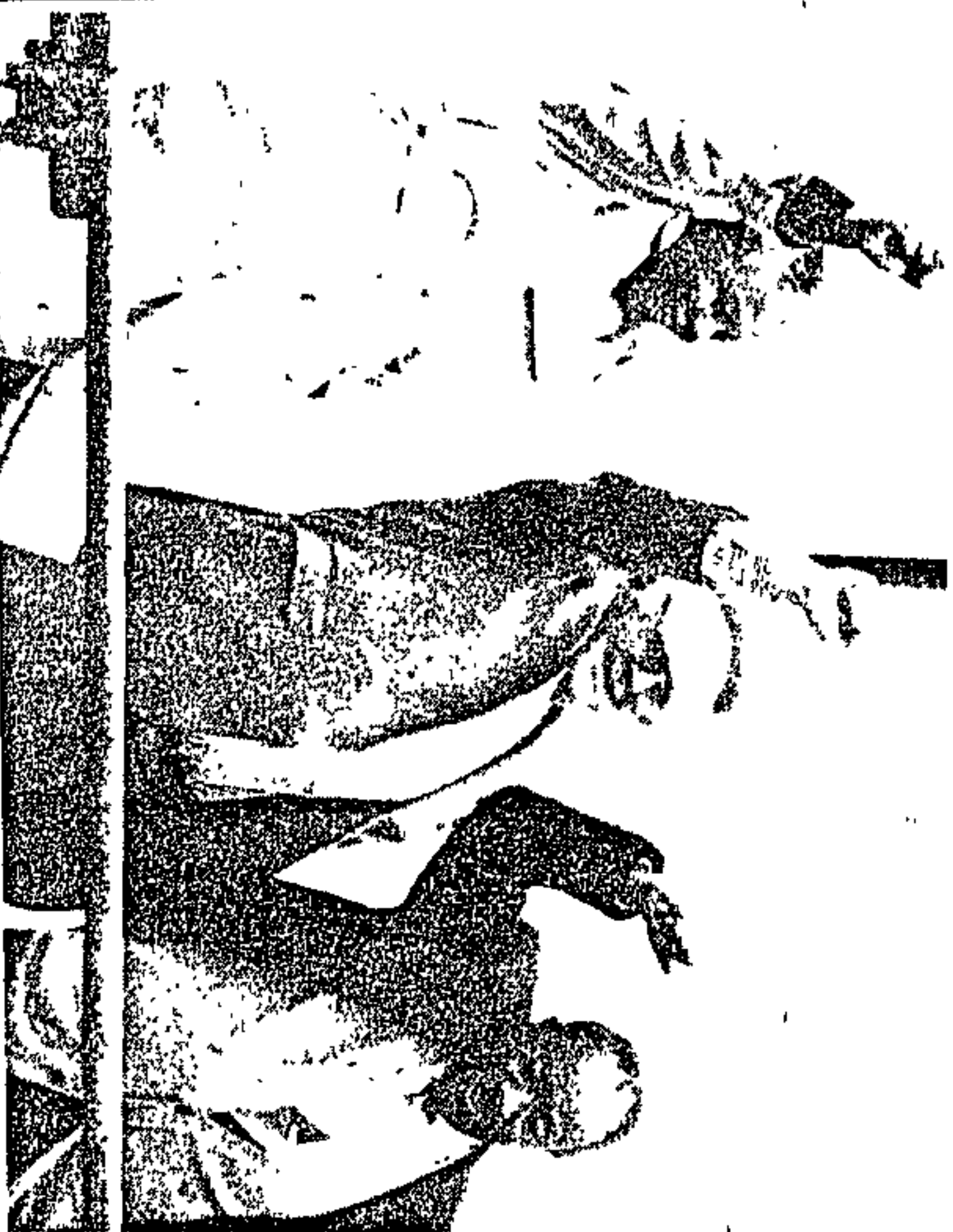
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GOVERNMENT ministers appear to hold divergent views on the thorny issue of changes to symbols like the South African flag and the national anthem.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told *Insig* magazine that he was prepared to see *Die Stem* and the flag changed but would not countenance the downgrading of Afrikaans in a future South Africa.

However, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw told Parliament last week that attempts to change the symbols would "only cause confusion".

Replying to a question from Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP nominated) on whether a commission was investigating national symbols, Mr Louw said this would only be considered once negotiations had been completed.



THE BIG THREE: The speakers at the rally in Mitchell's Plain, ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela, left, SA Communist party chief Mr. Joe Slovo and ANC secretary-general Mr. Alfred Nzo greet an ecstatic crowd.

Picture ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

Hard work for talks teams

PR 64/3014/90
2014

By IOS WENZEL On the Presidency
THE government and African National Congress teams for this week's historic first round of peace talks were today meeting separately to establish their positions on key issues.

This week's talks are being held to remove obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

One of the ANC delegates said they would have a hard working session today to prepare for issues on the agenda such as the release of political prisoners, immunity from prosecution for exiles and an end to political trials and executions.

At today's meeting they will assess reports on issues to be raised which have been prepared by various experts and interest groups, including the leadership of the trades union alliance, Cosatu, the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement.

One of the government delegates confirmed that his delegation was also making last-minute preparations today.

Matters for discussion today among members of the government team also include political prisoners and exiles. Legislation dealing with this is to be introduced soon.

Also on the government team's agenda today will be



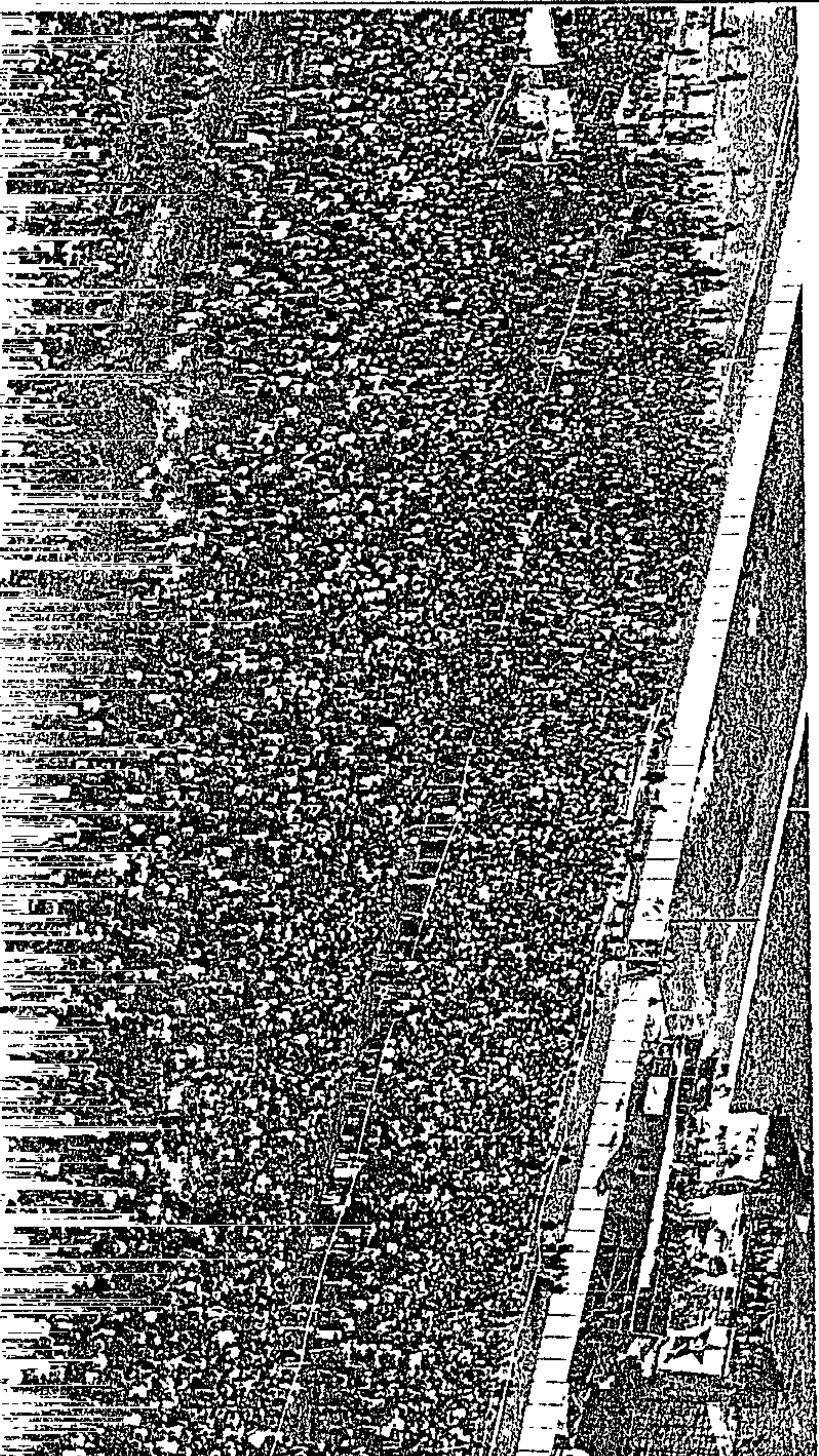
David Frost

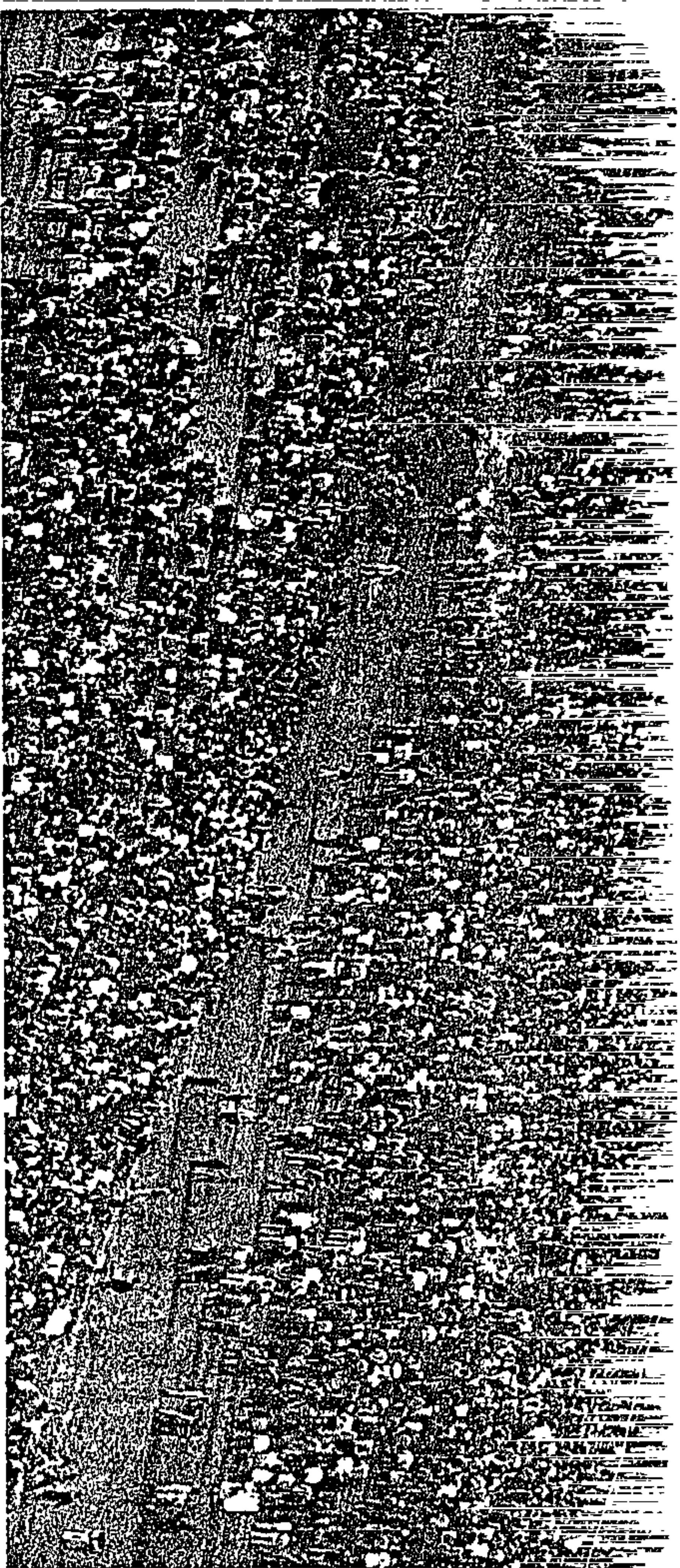
Sensational sand shot

SOUTH African golfer David Frost sank a sensational sand shot on the final hole of the 72-hole USFG Classic at New Orleans to claim his fourth major US PGA title.

It was a dramatic way for Frost to break out of the worst drought in his short career having missed the cut in his last eight tournaments.

● See page 14.





AERIAL VIEW: The scene at Lentegeur Stadium where the ANC negotiating team for this week were introduced to supporters.

Gas blast horror: 9 fight for their lives

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Fears are that the death toll from a huge gas blast which rocked central Stanger in Natal on Saturday could rise, as nine critically burned victims battle for their lives.

Two people have died so far and 34 have been injured.

An adult and a 10-year-old boy have died at King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, and seven critically ill people — four women and three men — are fighting a desperate battle for their lives.

GAS CYLINDERS

And a spokesman for the R K Khan Hospital at Chatsworth said a husband and wife were in a critical condition there.

The blast occurred in the parking lot of a Couper Street

Wettest for 25 years

Staff Reporter

THIS month has been the Peninsula's wettest April in the last quarter century, according to the weather bureau at D F Malan airport.

Weathermen estimate that, including last night's rain, almost 130mm has fallen. The average April rainfall is 49mm.

And there is little sign of a let-up in the cold frontal conditions.

The rest of the week is likely to remain cloudy with showers and a north-westerly wind turning to south-west later in the week.

BLESSING

There have been reports of minor damage in several areas, but in at least one instance the results may be positive.

This was in Kloof Street, where the April deluge caused the collapse of the original gable of historic 18th century Rozenhof Gardens.

The destruction of the gable could, however, turn out to be a blessing in disguise, according to Mr Warren Simpson, the architect in charge of a R4-million

project to turn the derelict building into an office complex.

He said today that the National Monuments Council had granted reconstruction and not restoration approval for the building.

Now the gable and portion of wall which collapsed will be fully rebuilt. "It means it will be properly constructed and at the end of the day will last far longer," Mr Simpson said.

Today a basement in Woolworths in Main Road, Claremont, was flooded and low-lying parts of Rosmead Avenue, Claremont, were also under water.

Parts of Hout Bay were without electricity this morning and a shop in Beach Crescent, Hout Bay, was flooded.

● A weather office spokesman at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport some 50.3mm of rain was recorded in the 24 hours from dawn on Saturday.

In Pretoria 51mm was recorded and 69mm in Irene.

Heavy rain in Johannesburg caused power cuts in Emmarentia, Greenside, Belgavia and Mayfair.

Boy dies in shack blaze: 2 arrested

Staff Reporter

A YOUNG boy was burned to death early today when alleged arsonists set his family's shack alight in Khayelitsha, turning the wood-and-iron home into an inferno.

Police said Mzwandile Eleni of Section C, Khayelitsha, was trapped in the flames.

A man and a woman have been arrested. Charges of murder and arson are being investigated.

Man shot in bar dies

DURBAN. — An Amantzimtoti man, Mr Richard Herbst, 40, died after being shot in a bar at the town. Police said that Mr Herbst became involved in an argument with another man who took out a pistol and shot him. A man has been arrested.

— The Argus Correspondent

Choreographer dies

NEW YORK. — Michael Shawn, choreographer for the Broadway musical *Legs Diamond*, has died from Aids at the age of 45. — Sapa-AP.

groups, including the leadership of the union alliance, Cosatu, the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement.

One of the government delegates confirmed that his delegation was also making last-minute preparations today.

Matters for discussion today among members of the government team also include political prisoners and exiles. Legislation dealing with this is to be introduced soon.

Also on the government team's agenda today will be the official position on the ANC's commitment to violence.

A steering committee of officials from both sides will also meet each other today to continue with planning logistics

The ANC 'wants real democracy'

— page 11.

for the talks, which are scheduled to start on Wednesday and continue until Friday.

Security has been one of the key items on this committee's agenda. The talks themselves are due to be held in Cape Town itself but no statement on this issue has been made.

An ANC spokesman emphasised that the initial round of talks would be purely about the obstacles to real negotiations.

There was also the feeling that this might be only the first of a number of preparatory talks as they dealt with matters that could not be rushed, although leaders from both have expressed the wish for speedy progress.

From the government side the impression of yesterday's rally was that the ANC leaders were taking a conciliatory line, in spite of their seemingly hardline stand on majority rule.

Michael Morris, The Argus Political Correspondent, reports that the ANC's delegation, in fighting form for the talks after a weekend of consultations between the internal and external leadership, is expected to come under pressure from the government team on the question of the "armed struggle".

But ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who heads

Odd spot

Jobless man



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GAS CYLINDERS

And a spokesman for the R K Khan Hospital at Chatsworth said a husband and wife were in a critical condition there.

The blast occurred in the parking lot of a Couper Street Shopping centre on Saturday afternoon.

Businessman Mr Ismail Rawat said two gas cylinders had exploded and victims had had their clothes burned off almost instantly.

"It was a frightening sight as the victims' skin burned within seconds, and their bodies turned snow white. It was horrible; it was almost ghost-like," he said.

House of Delegates MP Mr Yunus Moolla described the tragedy as "the biggest calamity to hit the town in living memory."

Mr Moolla has also thrown his weight behind a campaign to set up a relief fund to help the victims.

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Odd spot Mail-order bride ban

The Argus Foreign Service

MELBOURNE. — The flourishing mail-order bride trade in Australia is likely to slump following new laws in the Philippines banning brides-wanted advertisements.

The Manila government passed the law last week, thus taking the first positive step in stopping the flow of brides to Australia.

There has been rising concern in both governments at the number of young Filipino women marrying much older Australian men.

Many such marriages do not last, causing considerable social problems, mainly for the young Filipinos who end up alone and destitute in a strange land.

Agencies in several Australian cities — and Manila — promote the bride trade, advertising extensively in the Philippines for young women.

Boy dies in shack blaze: 2 arrested

Staff Reporter

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Choreographer dies

NEW YORK. — Michael Shawn, choreographer for the Broadway musical *Legs Diamond*, has died from Aids at the age of 45. — Sapa-AP.

The Argus

THE Argus will not be published tomorrow, Workers' Day.

The front counter and Classified Advertisement Department will be open from 8.30am to 11am.

SUBMIT-2-200

Because there is no Argus tomorrow two clues for the Stick-a-Pic car competition will be published on Wednesday.

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Michael Morris, The Argus Political Correspondent, reports that the ANC's delegation, in fighting form for the talks after a weekend of consultations between the internal and external leadership, is expected to come under pressure from the government team on the question of the "armed struggle".

But ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who heads the delegation, made it clear at the Lentegeur rally that this was up to the government.

While the ANC did not want to "reduce the country to ashes", he added: "We appeal to whites to make it possible for us to throw away our AK 47s. We appeal to them to allow us to move away from an atmosphere of conflict and confrontation. We ourselves will seize the opportunity with both hands.

The responsibility for bringing this about, however, "does not lie in our hands, but in the hands of the government".

The first step towards this, he said, was for the government to remove the obstacles to negotiations.

Change: 'FW serious

Sowetan 30/4/90

304A
LONDON - The South African Government "not renege on its promise to end apartheid" it is now time for a rigorous intellectual debate on what will replace it, according to journalist Brian Walden.

Walden, who recently interviewed President F. W. de Klerk, said in a *Times* article he has no doubt that negotiation by law would be the way to go.

"In public and private conversations with me, President de Klerk was categorical on this point, saying that the removal of apartheid did not depend on successful negotiations with the ANC.

"The South African Government intends to be rid of *de jure* apartheid before the negotiation process is complete and will do so even if the process breaks down.

"But what will replace apartheid? This is the question that matters."

Apartheid's greatest fault, he says, was always to the poorest of the population. But greater prosperity meant whites did not now live without apartheid if their property rights were preserved.

"De Klerk is an intelligent and astute politician who realises that though apartheid is defensible, the private ownership of property is not. (He) wants a bill of rights and constitutional changes that will protect property rights.

"These measures must be non-discriminatory and would

SOWETAN Foreign News Service

protect black property as effectively as that of whites, because they would contain no mention of race. But most of the property is in the hands of the white minority. Entrenching property rights is a formula for maintaining the status quo.

"Before rushing forward to denounce this and demand that property is not safe-guarded, one would do well to consider the implications of such a course. Can any Western society function under a system that announces that anybody's house or wealth can be taken away without redress whenever the majority feels it should be? Then try to construct a means of preventing such arbitrary action.

"After thinking the issue through, you may agree with me that De Klerk is a very clever man who will soon have many of his critics over a barrel."

Mr de Klerk, he says, "would like to see more land in black hands and more money in black pockets. But he wants it done through a free enterprise system. That means the pace of change will be slow."

'Slovo posed a risk'

THE Government wanted the ANC to drop Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo from the ANC negotiating team for this week's "talks about talks", deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed at a rally in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

(304A) A Cabinet Minister made the approach, but the ANC made it plain it would not compromise on its alliance with the SACP. *Sowetan 30/4/90*

Mandela said the Cabinet was "worried" that Slovo's presence at the talks would be "difficult to explain" to their white constituency.

"I pointed out to them that we sympathise with them. I suggested they regard this matter as closed."

Mandela said he told the Minister - who he did not name - that he had risked his own reputation by telling the ANC and diplomats that President de Klerk "is an honest man and that I believed he meant everything he said". (304A)

● See picture on

page 11

PR drive for the ANC

Agency may help promote political campaign



FW DE KLERK

LONDON - The African Nationalist Congress had called on Saatchi and Saatchi's London agency to advise a campaign to promote the prospect of black majority rule in South Africa.

If the agency took the account it would produce an unlikely pairing of the Saatchi brothers, who

SOWETAN Foreign News Service

helped Mrs Thatcher to victory in 1979, with the ANC and Mr Mandela.

But the agency's Blue Chip client list - including multi-nationals such as Procter and Gamble, ICI and BP - might inhibit it taking on such a politically sensitive account.

Representatives from the ANC are thought to have met with Saatchi's management following a formal approach.

Concern

The thaw in relations with the South African Government since the release of Mr Mandela has caused concern within

the ANC that pressure for sanctions and a democratic electoral system has subsided.

Anglo American, South Africa's largest company, is running an extensive press advertising campaign stressing the company's record on work-place equality and its opposition to apartheid.

The ANC is anxious that this and the more liberal stance of President FW de Klerk should not lead to a slackening of the international campaign against apartheid. UK opinion-formers are a key target for the ANC as Britain has consistently refused to impose trade sanctions against South Africa.



MRS THATCHER

SOWETAN Monday April 30 1990

Azapo slams ANC over 'illusory' talks

Sowetan 30/4/90

304A

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

IN THE hardest hitting statement yet on the impending talks between the ANC and the Government, the Government, Azapo yesterday denounced the May 2 meeting, accusing the ANC of attempting to reach "an illusory winning post".

"We are surprised that you (the ANC) seem to consider that there are more commonalities between yourself and the De Klerk government to justify a prior meeting with them to the exclusion of a meeting that Azapo has

proposed among liberation organisations," said the statement.

The Black Consciousness organisation said the proposed meeting did not enjoy the mandate of black people and the talks would bear no fruit as "the people's suffering will not be alleviated". It pointed out that De

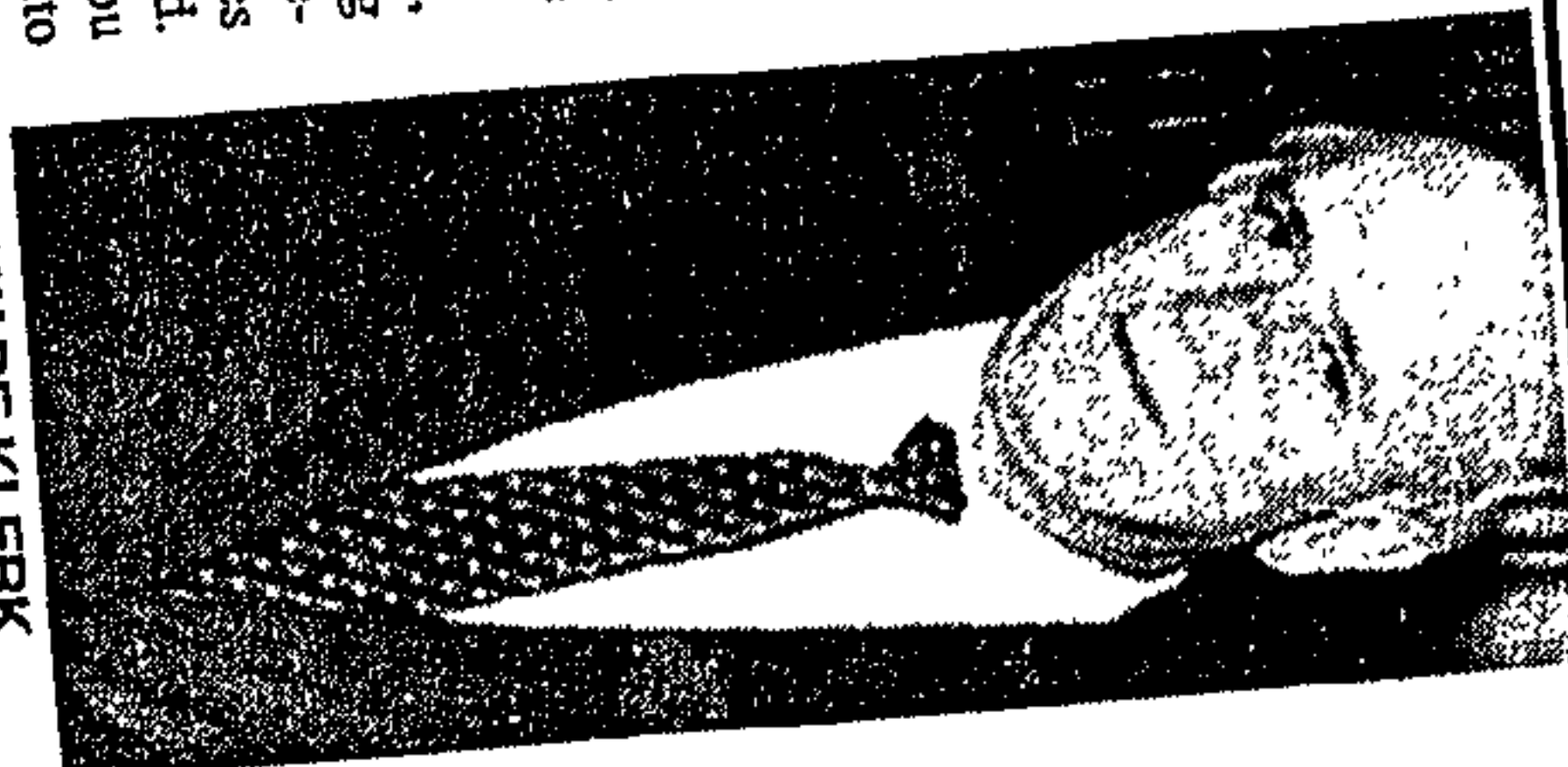
Klerk had not acceded to majority rule in a unitary state and that he wished to enshrine minority rights in any future constitution.

In addition, the State President had also stated that the redistribution of land and wealth could not take place.

"All of these tenets

are but what constituted white oppression and exploitation over the centuries.

"This is apartheid, nothing more, nothing less. It is evident, therefore, that De Klerk wishes you to endorse apartheid. We are surprised that you should be lured into this," said Azapo.



F W DE KLERK

SACP chief Joe Slovo tells rally

Victory is ours

Sowetan 30/4/90 304A



SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

NEWLY-arrived ANC and Communist Party exiles received a tumultuous welcome in Cape Town yesterday when they addressed a political rally attended by thousands of people in Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party general secretary, and Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC general secretary, who arrived in South Africa on Saturday to take part in talks with the Government on Wednesday, told the crowd that the battle to end apartheid will be won.

Slovo said the working people of South Africa were today better organised than at any other time in the history of South Africa.

"It is you, the youth, the young lions who have and are still prepared to struggle in the face of death, who refuse to bow down before race domination, who

South African Press Association

made it happen."

He said the ANC wanted the Government to know that "we know only one kind of democracy - a democracy in which every adult has an equal vote and equal say in running South Africa."

"We'll win a united South African homeland," he told the crowd.

This homeland would not be in the bantustans "but in every square metre of South Africa from Cape Point to the Limpopo and from the mouth of the Orange River to the Indian ocean."

He said it was his moment of greatest joy at last being back in this beautiful country but it was a moment tinged with sadness.

Slovo said he was also filled with sadness because some of the finest martyrs in the struggle were buried in South Africa's soil and some far away killed by death squads.

"They should have had the first place on this platform. Their blood fertilised the tree of defiance, the tree of resistance and this tree cannot be cut down," he said.

Apartheid was in the throes of a crisis from which it would not recover and although the ANC appreciated the boldness of President F W de Klerk, the struggles of the peoples had made the Government see reason, ANC general secretary Nzo said at a rally at Lenteguer in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

Change

"We have returned and our presence here today is a reflection of the change and changing position in South Africa," he said.

"Ours is a society in transition to a new order," he said.

He also said that Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, had made remarkable progress recently since his illness last year.

Nzo urged the ending of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners and said this was a right.

Sharing the stage with

To Page 2

More pupils held in police swoops

304B 304C

A WAVE of detentions under the State of Emergency has hit Western Transvaal townships and while a number of cases are confirmed by police, scores of other people have gone missing.

Activists say the areas affected are Klerksdorp, Orkney, Stilfontein and Hartbeesfontein, where a consumer boycott is in progress.

Monitoring organisations and activists put the figure of detainees as high as 300, consisting mostly of young people aged between 14 and 20.

A Klerksdorp attorney, and member of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Mohammed Motala, could confirm only those cases in which he had received instructions from families of the detainees.

By SONTI
MASEKO

He confirmed about 60 cases in Klerksdorp, six in Schweizer-Reneke and 18 at Hartbeesfontein.

However, he said he could not confirm several cases where either full or proper names were not used.

Report

Motala said it was difficult to establish the right number of detained people because several families did not know where to report detentions.

He said about 50 schoolchildren travelling in three minibuses were arrested in Klerksdorp on their way from a funeral at Schweizer-Reneke on April 7. This was reported

to him last week.

"The Western Transvaal has been worst hit with detentions," he said.

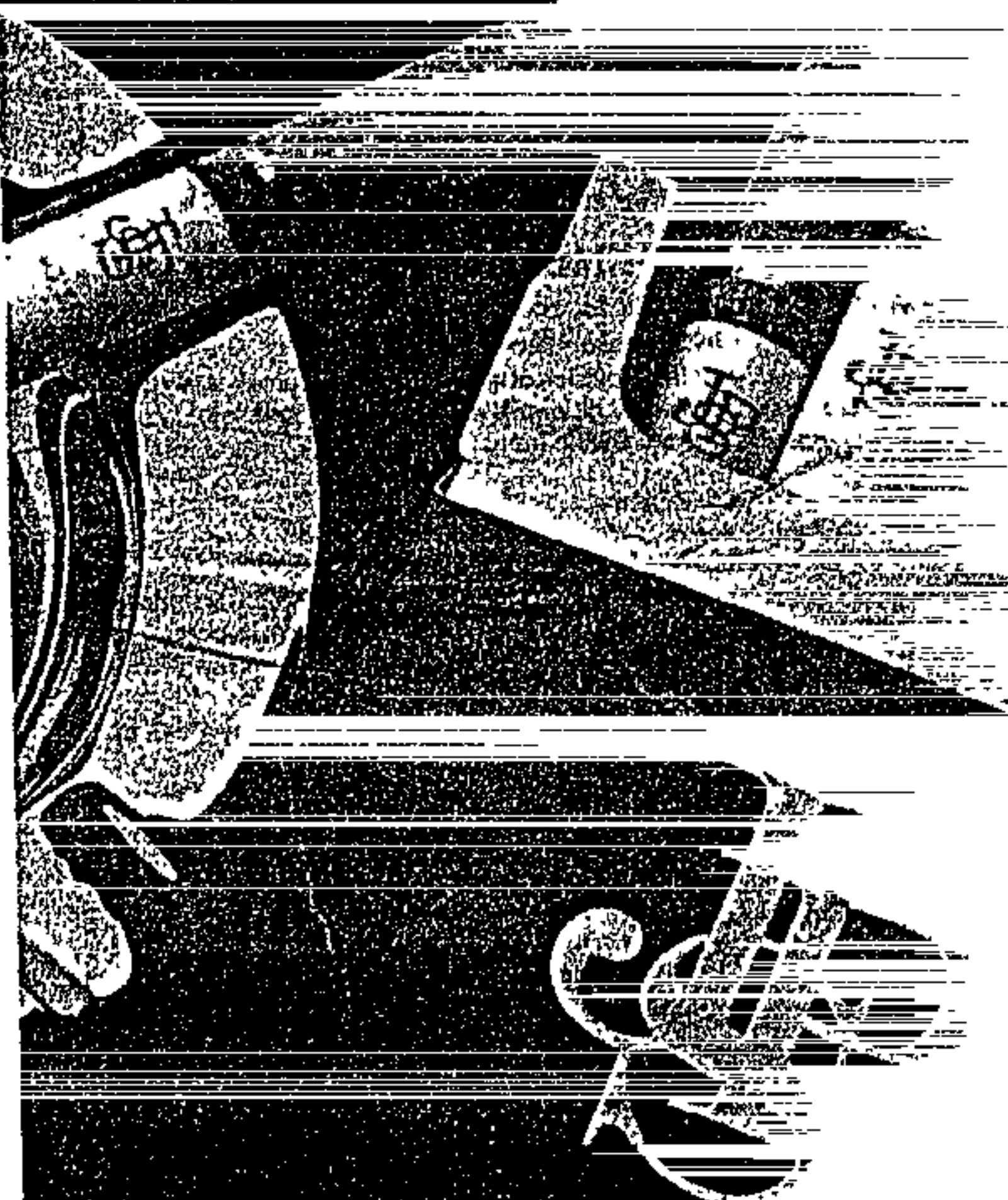
The Rev Xoliso Duka of the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape Council of Churches said in most cases teenagers gave their nicknames to the police and the organisation could not confirm their detentions.

"It is a problem for us. Parents have brought us reports about missing children and we are unable to trace them because they give wrong names to the police."

One detainee, Mr Lucas Ntlotlomisang, is reported to have died at the Klerksdorp prison from "natural causes". He was from Schweizer-Reneke and was buried two weeks ago.

Police comment could not be obtained last night.

There will be no newspaper tomorrow as it is a public holiday, Workers Day. But your favourite newspaper will hit the streets on Wednesday with all the news, racing, sport and pictures. Don't miss it.



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John Player Speaks

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P.T.O

Govt, ANC burn midnight oil

'Ceasefire' the key to historic talks



Greetings ... Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo at yesterday's rally.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the South African Government both entered final preparations today for Wednesday's historic talks, with the ANC apparently aiming to negotiate a mutual "ceasefire".

Both delegations held intense consultations over the weekend to prepare for the talks, which are unanimously regarded as critical for South Africa's future.

The Government's nine-man delegation met over the weekend and will spend the whole of the public holiday tomorrow finalising its strategy for the three-day talks which begin at 3.30 pm on Wednesday at an undisclosed venue in Cape Town.

ANC sources said its delegation would hold consultations today with various experts and interest groups in various fields to finalise the agenda.

The issue of violence is emerging as the central problem in the talks, at least in the Government's view.

The ANC has placed the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners and return of exiles as its top priorities.

The talks are being held in the face of hostility from both the far-left Pan Africanist Congress and the far-right white Conservative Party.

At the funeral of PAC founder member Mr Japhta Masemola in Atteridgeville on Saturday, PAC vice-president Mr M Mawetu told a crowd of thousands the ANC had "sold out" by agreeing to talks.

"We do not need reform. We need a complete overhaul of the entire economic and political system" There could be no compromise. "Africa will always be for Africans, Africans for humanity, and humanity for God."

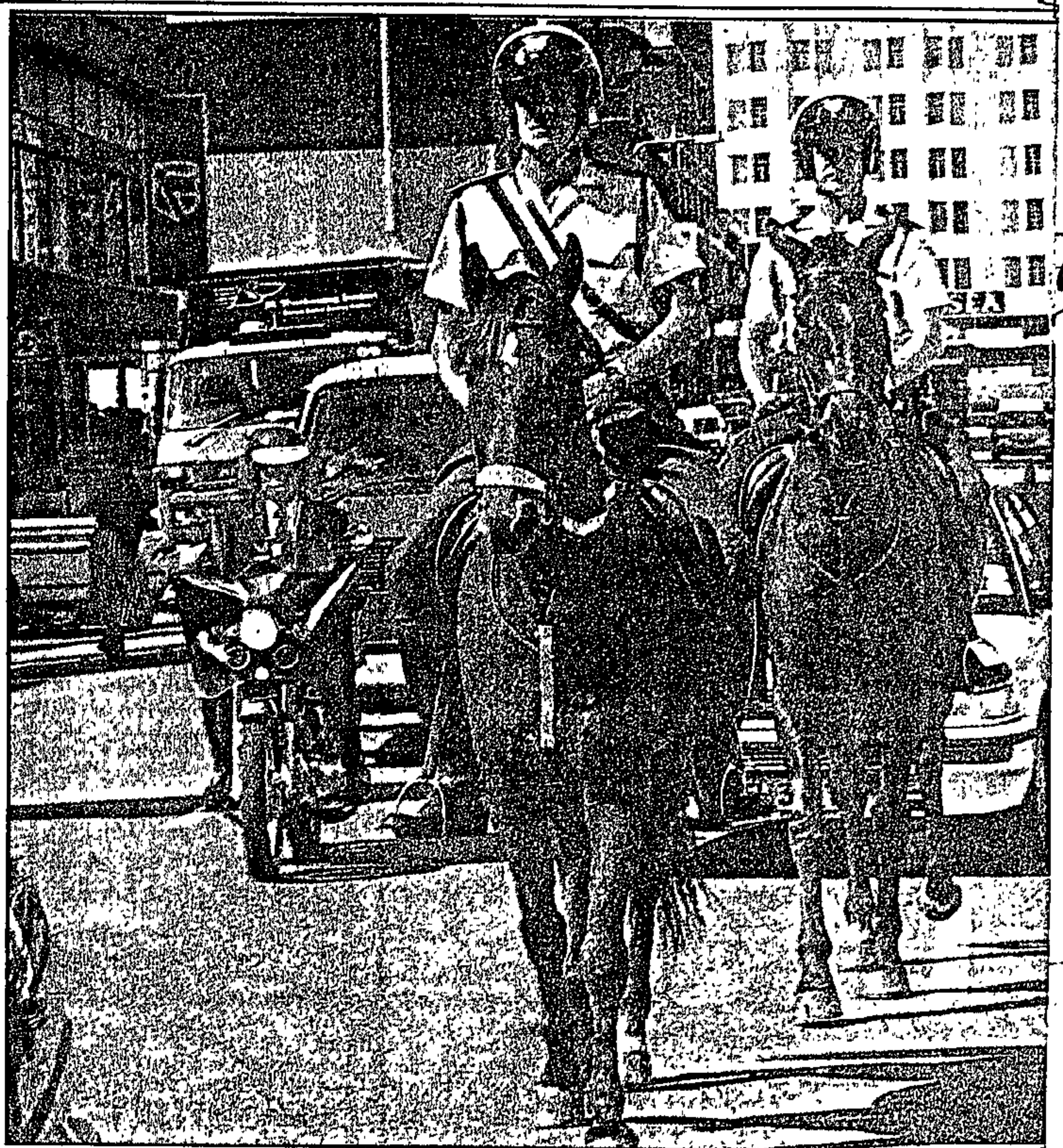
Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused President de Klerk at a weekend rally at Potchefstroom of getting people "charged-up" to behave recklessly. It was not the CP that was doing so.

'Slowly chaps'

"It is Mr de Klerk who is making people so excited. I must say to them: 'Slowly chaps, slowly, slowly'."

He said the CP was not against negotiation, but the CP "will not barter away its territory to the ANC".

The Government's view at Wednesday's talks is expected to be that the state of emergency cannot be lifted unless the ANC commits itself firmly and unambiguously to a peaceful negotiation process, but the Government is likely to have difficulty with the notion of a ceasefire. A Cabinet



Will these 'Mounties' get their man? ... Heads turned in Hillbrow when two horsemen from their mounts through the traffic en route to the parks, which they have been patrolling during assistants Ivan Judeal riding "Tank" (left) and Andre de Lange on "Tomcat" are used to the welcome they receive from regular park visitors relaxing in the CBD, Hillbrow, Rosebank and Bra

Police to quiz witness on assassination claim

By Craig Kotze

Police will question former Johannesburg City Council spy handler Mr Hannes Gouws, who has named a former SADF sergeant as the killer of Dr David Webster, as soon as he has completed giving evidence before the Hiemstra Commission, said Brigadier Floris Mostert, the detective investigat-



Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, to investigate the claim.

Demo recalls Webster death

Students, staff and members of the Black Sash and Five Freedoms Forum held a placard demonstration outside Witwatersrand University today to commemorate the anniversary of the murder of Dr David Webster.

It is a year ago tomorrow that Dr Webster was gunned down outside his home in Treurivier.

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The Government's view at Wednesday's talks is expected to be that the state of emergency cannot be lifted unless the ANC commits itself firmly and unambiguously to a peaceful negotiation process, but the Government is likely to have difficulty with the notion of a ceasefire. A Cabinet source said agreeing to a ceasefire would imply the ANC had achieved a military victory.

The Government and the ANC will start their talks with diametrically opposite views on the state of emergency. Government's view is that the state of emergency is necessary to curb violence — and is therefore inextricably linked to the need for the ANC to suspend violence.

By contrast, the ANC sees the emergency purely as a device to curb Government's political opponents.

Sources in the Government's delegation said today they were "fairly encouraged" by the weekend's statements of ANC leaders.

A source said that although SA Communist Party chief, Mr Joe Slovo, had taken a tough line on majority rule — completely rejecting power sharing — both he and Mr Nelson Mandela had committed themselves to peaceful negotiations.

Mr Slovo had twice said he had come in a spirit of conciliation and ANC foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, accepted that the issue of violence would have to be set aside before proper negotiations could begin.

Govt wanted Slovo 'dropped'

Political Staff

Star 30/4/90

(30/4/90)

(KIA)

The Government wanted the ANC to drop SA Communist Party (SACP) chief Mr Joe Slovo from its negotiating team in Cape Town for this week's "talks about talks", Mr Nelson Mandela revealed at yesterday's political rally in Mitchell's Plain.

A Cabinet Minister made the approach, Mr Mandela said, but the ANC made it clear that it would not compromise on its alliance with the SACP.

He said the Cabinet was worried that the presence of Mr Slovo, a communist, at the talks would be difficult to explain to their white constituency.

Mr Mandela said he told the Minister, who he did not name, that he had

risked his own reputation by telling the ANC and diplomats that President de Klerk "is an honest man and that I believed he meant everything he said".

"I said to them that they should also risk their own reputation and explain to whites in this country that Mr Slovo was a true son of South Africa and that it was quite proper for him to ... try and settle problems in this country in a peaceful manner."

● Mr Mandela yesterday appealed to white South Africans to make it possible for ANC members to throw away their AK47s, reports Sapa.

The ANC was not able to bring about peace, he said. The Government should lead the way and the ANC would try to find a solution as soon as possible.

CAPE TOWN

'Govt will not renege on ending apartheid'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The South African Government will not renege on its promise to end apartheid and it was now time for a rigorous intellectual debate on what will replace it, according to journalist Brian Walden.

Mr Walden, who recently interviewed President de Klerk, said in an article in London's Sunday Times that he had no doubt that segregation by law would soon go.

"In public and private conversations with me, President de Klerk was emphatic on this point, stressing that the removal of apartheid did not depend on successful negotiations with the ANC. The South African Government intends to get rid of *de jure* apartheid before the negotiating process is complete and will do so even if the talks break down.

"But what will replace apartheid? This is the question that matters."

Apartheid's greatest appeal, he said, was always to the poorest whites. But greater prosperity meant whites could live without apartheid if their property rights were preserved.

"De Klerk is an intelligent and astute politician who realises that though apartheid is indefensible, the private owner-

ship of property is not. (He) wants a bill of rights and constitutional guarantees that will entrench property rights.

"These measures would be non-discriminatory and would protect black property as effectively as that of whites, because they would contain no mention of race. But most of the property is in the hands of the white minority. Entrenching property rights is a formula for maintaining the status quo.

"Before rushing forward to denounce this and demand that property is not safeguarded, one would do well to consider the implications of such a course. Can any Western society function under a system that announces that anybody's house or wealth can be taken away without redress whenever the majority feels it should be? Then try to construct a means of preventing such arbitrary action."

"After thinking the issue through, you may agree with me that De Klerk is a very clever man who will soon have many of his critics over a barrel."

Mr de Klerk, he says, "would like to see more land in black hands and more money in black pockets. But he wants it done through a free enterprise system. That means the pace of change will be slow."